ADDRESSING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THE AGE OF AIDS: RURAL YOUTH ENGAGING PEERS THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

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ADDRESSING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THE AGE OF AIDS: RURAL YOUTH ENGAGING PEERS THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

by

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DEDICATION

First, I dedicate this thesis in memory of my extraordinary father, Peet Kotzee, who passed away shortly after I received my Masters Degree. My dad was a wise man with vision and integrity and was very dear to me. I will forever be thankful for the sacrifices he made for me, but most importantly for how much he believed in me. We had a very special bond and I am proud to carry his memory with me throughout the pages of my thesis.

Second, I dedicate this thesis to every woman and girl who suffers under gender inequality and gender-based violence (GBV). For the many women and girls for whom life is only a struggle and a burden. For the countless of women and girls who live in fear…

Throughout my adult life and through my research, my heart has always been with you…

> *For every woman and girl violently attacked, we reduce our humanity. For every woman forced into unprotected sex because men demand this, we destroy dignity and pride... For every moment we remain silent, we conspire against our women... For every woman infected by HIV, we destroy a generation.*

Nelson Mandela (Nelson Mandela, 2005, n.p.)

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Last, but not least, my wonderful children, John-Vincent and Eva, who give meaning to my life. I hope that you will follow your dreams, live, be happy and enjoy life!

DECLARATION

I, Martha Maria Geldenhuys, declare that this thesis is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for assessment to any other institution. Where the work of others has been used, it has been duly indicated and acknowledged, using APA 6th referencing style.

……

MM Geldenhuys

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ABSTRACT

This study responds to the following research question: How might rural school youth engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing gender-based violence in their community? This question is supported by the following secondary questions:

- How do rural school youth understand gender-based violence in their community?
- How might rural school youth use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV?
- How can rural school youth engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework?

This qualitative study is positioned in a critical paradigm and employs a visual participatory research methodology to contribute to addressing gender-based violence in the age of HIV and AIDS. The participants in this study are five learners (3 boys and 2 girls) with five of their peers (3 boys and 2 girls) from a secondary school in rural Vulindlela in KwaZulu-Natal, purposively selected from Grade 9 classes. Digital storytelling was employed as the main visual method of data generation to express the participants' understanding of, and solutions to, gender-based violence. The stories were used by the participants to engage their peers around the topic via social media and to enable them to reflect on their own agency. The study draws on Jenkins' theory of participatory cultures as a theoretical framework. Thematic analysis was applied to make meaning of the findings.

The findings show that rural school youth understand gender-based violence (GBV) as a complex problem. Youthful learners are able to competently apply social media to address GBV and engage their peers through social media – shifting the power to participate as agents of change.

The findings have implications for youth, the school, and the community. The youth are seen as knowledgeable actors who should inform intervention programmes aimed at social change. Social media can offer an engaging environment for peer learning and support. For digital participation, the youth need to acquire digital skills at school which could be integrated throughout the curriculum, drawing on

participatory cultures. In the community, youth as knowledge producers are competent in leading, guiding, and instructing community members using social media spaces as more people have access to inexpensive digital technology that allows them to participate in community intervention programmes aimed at social change.

I conclude by arguing that youth can express lived realties on GBV and solutions to GBV through visual methods such as digital storytelling. Their engagement on social media such as Facebook can be viewed as intervention by assuming agency through a guided process of solving community problems collaboratively with peers through the process of participatory cultures. This democratic process strengthens agency for community benefit and highlights a new youth and peer culture where youth circulate new and self-made content aimed at social action through their continuous reflection – a shift in power as the voices and actions of youth are acknowledged.

KEYWORDS

Digital Storytelling

Gender-based violence

HIV and AIDS

Rural KwaZulu-Natal

Participatory cultures

Peer education

Secondary school youth

Social media

Visual participatory methodology

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ARVs	Antiretroviral (drugs)
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
DoH	Department of Health
GBV	Gender-based Violence
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
NSP	National Strategic Plan
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SAPS	South African Police Services
SIPV	Sexual Intimate Partner Violence
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

> *South Africa is one of the most violent societies in the world and also one of the most grievously afflicted by the AIDS pandemic* (Morrell, Epstein, Unterhalter, Bhana & Moletsane, 2009, p. 34).

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

We live in a digital society where access to digital technology is increasing (Buckingham, 2010) and where its use is seeping into every area of life. With a wealth of digital technologies available, researchers are starting to probe its use, also in communities that are underserved or experience the effects of harmful social norms (Moletsane, 2012; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013; Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015). While digital technologies and digital media could be used in deviant ways (such as cyber bullying or pornography addiction) (Gouws, 2015a), it does enable digital spaces to raise awareness on a range of social issues such as gender-based violence (GBV) (De Lange, 2012). (See Figure 1.1)

YOUNG BOYS DON'T HIT GIRLS

This video "Slap her" on YouTube provides young boys' perspectives on violence against girls and women, raising awareness of this pervasive problem. The young boys in this 'experiment' refuse to slap the girl when instructed to do so. They point out that it is wrong, and when asked why they won't slap her, one responds, 'because I am a man'.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b2OcKQ_mbiQ

Figure 1.1 "Slap her": Children's reactions

Researchers are also in agreement that youth should be given a more significant voice in and around social issues that place them at risk, as Mitchell and Murray (2012) point out:

> [O]ne key component of youth voice is social media, with more and more young people around the world using social media services, mobile apps, and other digital communication technologies to produce, share, and comment on videos, photos, podcasts, and text-based resources in order to effect change in a collaborative community capacity… . Social media trends and the sheer volume of data produced by youth-driven online activity are compelling reasons for researchers to tap into what young people are saying, or are willing to say… about their own health and well-being through social media… (pp. 26-27).

I link this to Kommers' (2011, p. 5) view and the possibility of "cent[ering] the education in rural schools and arranging their curricula around urgent community topics" so that youth are prepared to contribute to addressing community issues.

It has been shown that rural youth are especially susceptible to GBV and HIV infection (National Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS, STIs and TB [NPS], 2011; UNAIDS, 2011; WHO, 2011). There is also a feminisation of HIV and AIDS (Jain, 2009) which points to a disproportionate number of young girls between 15 and 24 (WHO, 2011) who are infected. According to UNAIDS (2008; 2011), young sub-Saharan girls are approximately three times more likely to be infected than boys. This crisis is linked to GBV (Jain, 2009; WHO, 2011) and Bennett (2011) points to the harm that is being done:

> I think of nurses, counsellors, priests and sangomas, imams and school teachers, I think of surgeons who are asked regularly, to repair the atrocious physical damages of gang or baby rape. And I think of survivors, and what it means to fall in love with a survivor of child sexual abuse, to work with those who experience domestic violence regularly, to live with family and friends whom one knows to be assailants or to try to speak of gender-based violence as though it did not carry the hooks of terror, repetitive trauma and chaos in its wake … to live in a society in which so many know so much about the micro-politics of gender-based violence: its perpetration as a norm or rite of passage, its tentacle intimacies, its irrelevance in face of starvation, desperate unemployment or just plain making it today (p.58).

This critical reflection on the lived realities of girls and women experiencing GBV portrays it as physical, emotional, and economic crises. GBV is not just a South African phenomenon. According to Weiss, Mukasa, Ellsber, Abrahams, Mathews, Michau, Kemitare and Young (2012) it is an international pandemic affecting people all over the globe. A multi-country study on domestic violence by WHO (2005) reported that one in every four women will experience sexual violence in her life time. Statistics in 2013 looked worse: WHO, in the same year reported that 35% of the world's women experience physical and sexual violence. Women and girls are also victims of femicide and in 2012 half of the women killed were killed by intimate partners (WHO, 2013b). Women and girls also bear the brunt of many human rights violations including human trafficking, female genital mutilation or cutting (WHO, 2005), being married off as child brides (UNICEF, 2014), sexual harassment at the workplace or school (Morrell et al., 2009), and rape during times of conflict and war

(Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). There are commonalities in all the studies consulted, namely that GBV increases girls' and women's vulnerability to HIV infection, and that it is costly in terms of expenditure on justice and health systems, and to the general economy (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

In spite of the high rates of under-reporting (WHO, 2011), South Africa still has alarmingly high rates of violence against girls and women (UNAIDS, 2011; WHO, 2011). Even when considering that the statistics may be conservative, the South African Police Service (SAPS) (2012) still indicates that more than 55 000 rape cases are reported each year. The Rape Survivor Journey (2010) however states that over 500 000 actual rapes take place each year in South Africa. Jansen van Rensburg (2007) points out that one in every three women in South Africa are subjected to one or more forms of GBV. According to him, up to 69% of South African women are subjected to physical violence, and 59% experience sexual violence (Jansen van Rensburg, 2007). Gender Links (2015) currently confirms that three quarters of South African men have perpetrated GBV and half of South African women have experienced some form of GBV. While the statistics might show differences, it does not take away from the fact that GBV remains a concern in South Africa.

The under-reporting (as I have indicated) as well as differing statistics could indicate that victims of GBV are often silent about their abuse. Leach (2002) believes that this could be because GBV is linked to sex and social perceptions. A 2008 report, 'A state of sexual tyranny: The prevalence, nature and causes of sexual violence in South Africa' (Department of Safety and Security, 2008) highlights the fact that violence is deep-seated and that attitudes and beliefs about it enforce women's silence. Ellsberg and Betron (2011) confirm that women who suffer GBV are often culturally silenced for fear of social exclusion and stigma. This too can prevent them from seeking treatment or being proactive about their health. Victims often blame or try and change themselves into the kind of partner they think would stop the abuse, especially where there is financial dependence and where there is fear that their lives would be in greater danger if they leave (Raditloaneng, 2013). Raditloaneng (2013) links this culture of silence to Freire's (1970) notion of cultural silence due to oppression and a lack of voice.

Silence around GBV also links to cultural discourses of power (Foucault, 1980). The cultural discourses in South African communities seem to highlight power inequalities in GBV. This deduction is based on evidence that some women do not view GBV as a reason for leaving a husband; or are angry with a neighbour for reporting the violence to the police; or a teacher does not get reprimanded for GBV misconduct; or male police abuse their power either through sexual exploitation or not assisting victims (Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama & Sikweyiya, 2006; Dosekun, 2011). These actions all encourage messages of legitimising GBV and men's unequal power over women (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Dosekun, 2011). Patriarchy dictates that women are controlled by men, and are disempowered home-keepers and child bearers (Amollo, 2009). This lack of power causes great social vulnerability to GBV and HIV infection (UNAIDS, 2008); women's inequalities result in social subordination and disable them from negotiation when it comes to self-protection (Wojicki & Malala, 2001).

According to the South African Department of Health (2010), GBV is the number one and most complicated driver of HIV and the rapid spread of new HIV infections. In South Africa in 2012, 12,2 % of the population was HIV positive, with KwaZulu-Natal having a prevalence rate of 16,9%, the highest of all 9 provinces (Shisana, Rehle, Simbayi, Zuma, Jooste, Zungu, …, Norman, 2014, p. xxiv). According to estimates 38% of the population in rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal have been infected with HIV (UNAIDS, 2008; 2011). Reports confirm that GBV and the prevalence of HIV infection is in fact two sides of the same coin in KwaZulu-Natal and that there is a need for effective social intervention and prevention strategies (WHO, 2010, 2011, 2013; UNAIDS, 2011). In an attempt to curb GBV in South Africa, several policy documents have been put in place, namely: The Constitution (equality clause); the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996; the Domestic Violence Act of 1998; the Maintenance Act of 1998; the Customary Marriages Act of 1998; the Equality Act of 2000; the Children Act of 2005; and the Sexual Offences Bill of 2003 (Jewkes, 2013). These however seem to be unable to protect – on the ground - those who are most vulnerable.

According to a recent Lancet (2015) publication, more research is needed to increase knowledge on what works to prevent GBV. Garcia-Morena, Zimmerman, Morris-Gehring, Heise, Amin et al. (2015) argue for multi-disciplinary research into interventions and the engagement of all actors. Turning to the youth, it would appear

as though youth are most at risk to GBV and HIV infection because of their vulnerability (UNAIDS, 2011). According to UNICEF (2009) 40% of cases of GBV are committed against children. The situation is worse in South Africa; for example, between April 2010 and March 2011, of the 55 000 reported cases of sexual violence, half were committed against children (SAPS, 2012). It would seem that, "…poverty, under-resourced schools, relations within families and identities framed by ideas about appropriate, but inegalitarian forms of masculinity and femininity" (Morrell, et al., 2009, p. 4), fuel GBV. Evidence from research with youth in South Africa confirms that nearly one in every seven new HIV infections could be prevented if young women were not subjected to GBV (Jewkes, 2011). It is thus surprising that very little is done to make youth a central part of intervention strategies.

In 2003 UNICEF pointed out that youth are not fully included in policy making, campaigns, and programmes that could empower them and mobilise social change to prevent social challenges such as GBV. The South African National Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS, STI and TB, 2011 (NSP) (2011) too, calls for the inclusion of youth. Considering this, the NSP "pledge[s] to eliminate gender inequality, gender-based abuse and violence and to increase the capacity of women and adolescent girls to protect themselves from HIV infection" (NPS, 2011, p. 27). The NSP advises that the "key populations that should be targeted for prevention, care and treatment intervention… [are] young girls – preventing [their] early sexual debut" (2011, p.36). To agree with Gibbs, Crone, Willan, and Mannell (2012), the most noticeable lag in progress is the inclusion of youth intervention "protection" strategies in the NSP for HIV and AIDS. This should be corrected as youth are at an age where they can make lasting social changes regarding their health. It is important to include youth since many countries show positive results when working with adolescents; unsafe and harmful behaviour is also less established in younger than in older people (UNICEF, 2009).

Fargas-Malet, McSherry, Larkin, and Robinson (2010), and Swanepoel and De Beer (2013), refer to youth as social actors who have valuable input to make regarding their lives and futures. Although much awareness has been raised on curbing GBV, Singh and Walsh (2012), identify the existence of a gap in new, fresh, and innovative research that collaborates with youth to find answers to social ills. Harper (2005) highlights the web as an inexpensive and accessible commodity used by youth. In addition, youth have a natural inclination towards digital social media (Jenkins,

Clinton, Purushotma, Robison, & Wiegel, 2006) which means that the web can be a low cost and highly effective social research instrument plus an effective way to implement interventions via youth (Singh & Walsh, 2012). Pascarella (2009), who researched the use of blogs with youth, suggests that although social media is no longer new, using it for research purposes certainly remains fairly new. The use of new media with youth could therefore contribute to creating new research infrastructures for the 21st century (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, Buthelezi & Taylor, 2007) where the research itself can contribute to social change.

Youth interactive communication through new media (communicating through digital technologies) could, for example, enable them to develop their own solutions to issues such as GBV. The internet and social media can be an education tool for change, and coupled with the use of visual methodologies, can be an instrument to create new ways of doing research with youth (De Lange, 2012). De Lange, Mitchell, and Stuart (2007) are of the opinion that unless youth are involved and given opportunities to participate in programmes which address social change, these programmes will be doomed to fail; in fact youth using new media can in itself be a tool for social change. For this reason the NSP (2011) pushes for behavioural change using intervention strategies that includes mass media and technologies like cellphones, the web, and social networking which can reach whole communities. As social media is already occupying a significant space in South Africa (access to cellphone technology and social media is widespread even in rural areas) (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013), this could be seen as the basis for engaging youth in intervention strategies to address GBV. Mitchell and Murray (2012) concur:

> …social media trends and the sheer volume of data produced by youth-driven online initiatives and activities are compelling reasons for researchers to tap into what young people are saying through their online practices and ultimately to consider how communities of young people might themselves shape policies and practices that are of importance to their lives. This is an area that is critical at the global level where the idea of youth as protagonist has been central to policy making, at least in principle, since the late 1990s (p. 37).

Considering this introduction and rationale I therefore formulate the problem statement of the study.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

South African rural youth - both boys and girls - are vulnerable to GBV and experience high levels of GBV which also drives new HIV infections. A culture of silence around GBV, however, makes it difficult to identify and address. Several policies frame the GBV work and several intervention programmes are in place – focusing on youth and drawing on peer education programmes. While the peer interventions are important entry points, the input and participation of youth in shaping these interventions are necessary to ensure that they are in line with youth culture. The ubiquity of digital technologies and new media – and the idea of participatory cultures (See 1.7) – create a new space to engage youth. This space is often presented as dangerous because it can be used in negative ways, so the question is how to use it in a positive way to enable rural youth to intervene according to local needs and so contribute to breaking the silence and engaging each other in addressing the issue of GBV in their schools and communities?

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary research question is:

- How might rural school youth engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community?

The following secondary questions are formulated to help answer the primary research question:

- What are rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community?
- How might rural school youth use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV?
- How can rural school youth engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework?

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS

Considering the problem stated and the research questions, the aim of the study is:

- To explore how rural school youth might engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community.

The secondary aims are to explore:

- Rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community
- How rural school youth might use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV, and
- How rural school youth can engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework.

1.5 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.5.1 Gender, GBV and VAWG

In order to understand the concept of gender-based violence it is important to look closer at the term *gender*. According to WHO (2005) gender refers to a differentiation of men (and boys) and women (and girls) according to socio-cultural differences, which influence masculine and feminine behaviour. Stereotypes of masculinity and femininity in a patriarchal society pave the way for power inequalities; for example, violence against women could be a means of disciplining women, and keeping them both at a disadvantage and socially disempowered.

GBV refers to "any harm that is perpetrated against a person's will that has a negative impact on their physical or psychological health, development, and identity of the person, because of their gender. This violence has its roots in the gendered power inequalities… . " (Mpani & Nsibande, 2015, p. 9). Wilson (2012) describes GBV in two overlapping categories; one is sexual violence including harassment, intimidation, abuse, assault, and rape, and the second is implicit gender violence which includes corporal punishment, bullying, verbal and psychological abuse, and any form of aggressive behaviour that is violent.

The term Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) is sometimes used interchangeably with GBV. The United Nations defines VAWG as:

> …any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (General Assembly, 1993, p.2).

The difference is that GBV refers to gender dynamics and violence directed at a person because of their gender in conjunction with the cultural role expected of him or her in society. The term VAWG disregards the inclusion of gender and points to the disproportionate number of women and girls who are victims of violence (UNWOMEN, 2014).

For the purposes of this research, I will use the term GBV, referring to any misconduct based on gender that takes place within the lived realities of my participants.

1.5.2 Rural youth

'Youth' is explained by the United Nations (n.d.) as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood, and is as a category quite fluid. The UN (n.d.) suggests that 'youth', for statistical purposes, refers to the ages between 15 and 24, but acknowledges that the meaning of the term varies in different societies around the world. For the purposes of this research I use the term youth to refer to young people in general, but also to those in early and middle adolescence who are in transition from childhood to adulthood (Gouws, 2015b). MacDonald, Gagnon, Mitchell, De Meglio, Rennick, and Cox (2011, p. 1127) state that "adolescence is a time of significant biological, cognitive, emotional, and social change. It is a time when adolescents make major choices about their health and health-related behaviours".

According to Balfour, Mitchell, and Moletsane (2008) 'rural' indicates a remote area which could be perceived as underdeveloped and under-resourced, yet has an abundance of human assets and strengths. Balfour et al. (2008, p. 101) point out that while many see rural as "backward and ignorant" or "being in need of rescue, help, pity or charity", rural people in rural environments are also knowledgeable and capable. Youth who reside in rural areas are often exposed to poverty and high levels of GBV and HIV infection and are thus more at risk and vulnerable to these social ills (Moletsane & Ntombela, 2010). They are also able to articulate the needs of their communities and so contribute to making rural voices heard (HSRC-EPC, 2006).

Regarding this research, rural youth refers to learners between the ages 13 and 16 in a secondary school in a rural area in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.5.3 Peer engagement

Peer engagement is viewed as a process and a tool to involve peers in organised activities that aim to modify knowledge, attitudes, norms and beliefs, or behaviours (UNAIDS, 1999). It involves positively influencing peers in peer-led intervention programmes. Peer engagement can promote leadership skills amongst youth, as they set the example; peer engagers often change their own behaviour after

becoming peer leaders. Peer engagement can give youth the legitimacy to talk about sensitive issues without feeling stigmatised. The success of peer engagement lies in involving youth in a participatory fashion (UNICEF, 2003).

For the purposes of this research, peer engagement refers to a small group of youth in a rural secondary school who participate in research around GBV and engage another small group of their peers to address GBV using social media.

1.5.4 Social media

Social media refers to media for social interaction (Kommers, 2011) which enables building relationships through electronic communication, in online communities where users share information, messages, and other visual material, but also produce and co-create new knowledge (Kommers, 2011). Facebook is the most popular and accessible social media system (Lego Muñoz & Towner, 2009) which allows participants to create, share, and collaborate in an informal and participatory manner (Jenkins et al., 2006).

In this research social media refers to the digital platform, Facebook, where participants engage with one another.

1.5.5 HIV and AIDS

HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) is a virus unlike any other as its destructive path compromises a person's immune system by killing off white blood cells. Ultimately a person has no or little antibodies left to fight any disease and is said to have AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) and can die from diseases like pneumonia or even diarrhoea. Infection is primarily caused through unprotected sex, but other modes of transmission can include blood transfusions, injection drug use, and mother to child transmission through birth and breastfeeding. An infected person is considered most infectious within eight weeks of contracting the virus, and this is often a time period when carriers are unaware of their HIV status as they are healthy and show no signs of being infected (Van Dyk, 2008).

For the purposes of this research, HIV and AIDS is referred to as the context in which GBV is explored since GBV is seen as a key driver of the epidemic.

1.6 GBV IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is a country of diversity in terms of its people and consequently has a rich variety of cultures. Patriarchy, however, underpins most of the gender relationships in the various cultures. In a patriarchal society women are unequal to and controlled by men, and are often disempowered making them vulnerable to GBV (Amollo, 2009) as they might be unable to negotiate for their own safety (Wojicki & Malala, 2001). Patriarchy can create a cultural acceptance of inequality and GBV (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010) can create an opportunity for excuses that protect perpetrators of GBV, and silence victims (Jackson, 1997). This could be due to a culture of normalising, or trivialising GBV, with buy-in from all members of society including the victims. For this reason high rates of GBV could be seen as inevitable due to a culture of accepting inequality. Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, points out that:

> [g]ender equity should not be seen narrowly as a women's issue…, it is an issue that requires men and women to work together in search of solutions that are both practical and based on principle. Increasingly, those solutions will be neither acceptable nor sustainable if the equal rights, dignity and worth of men and women are not respected (2014, p.3).

While inequality is understood to be the underlying cause of GBV, researchers in South Africa (Baasaden & Hochfeld, 2005; Jewkes et al., 2015) note that theories around GBV do not take local contexts and cultural realities of inequality into consideration. This has important implications for eradicating a culture of GBV. According to WHO (2013b) and UNAIDS (2011) cultural mindsets and stereotyping contribute to GBV. Particular socio-cultural, traditional, and even religious contexts in society, reinforce patriarchal gender roles and norms. Furthermore cultural euphemisms around gender construction seem to justify perpetration - leaving in its wake a culture of vulnerability (Baasaden & Hochfeld, 2005). Two discourses of importance are vulnerable femininities and violent masculinities.

Feminine vulnerability operates on a deep level of invisible social systems and structures which limit women's power (Baloyi, 2010). These power inequalities form around unequal gender constructions where women have less power which could lead to their acceptance of abuse (WHO, 2010). Mswela (2009) refers to an innocent passivity where women in such a society accept their perceived inferiority.

This is reflected in a traditional African proverb which positions women as passive, vulnerable, and as objects:

> … an unmarried African woman [is] a garden without an owner. A man is compared to a gardener, for he claims the garden and sows his seed. Whilst one man can have several gardens, a garden can have only one owner (African proverb cited by Baloyi, 2010, p. 3).

Wood, Maforah, and Jewkes (1996) draw attention to the fact that many women support the idea of being controlled by men. Such vulnerable femininities could be due to social conditioning, with women colluding in their own oppression. Sathiparsad (2011) indicates that women are scared of men because both men and women buy into destructive ideologies of masculinity. They do so by engaging in and re-producing normative or gender-appropriate behaviour which keeps the pattern of female submission and power inequalities alive.

Masculinity for many South African men is defined by their ability to dominate and control women (Sathiparsad, 2011). It would seem as though men often expect a position of advantage over women as their inherent right, which in turn leads some women to internalise feelings of inferiority (Moletsane, 2012). For example, when it comes to sex, discourses highlight men's uncontrolled sexual desire that requires instant gratification from women (Sathiparsad, 2011). Such mindsets reflect South African men's patriarchal attitudes. In South Africa power discourses point to violent masculinities that force women into subordination and acceptance of male dominance (Sathiparsad, 2011). This highlights that for many men in South Africa, forced sex, violence, the objectification of women, and multiple partnerships are viewed as a normal part of heterosexual relationships (Sathiparsad, 2011). There is also a double standard in that men's violent behaviour earns respect, but similar behaviour from a woman will result in a beating or damaged reputation (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2010; Sathiparsad, 2011). Harmful cultural norms thus contribute to the shaping of identities - be they dominant or violent masculinities or vulnerable femininities (Sathiparsad, 2011).

Moletsane (2012) insists that in order to change the culture of GBV, harmful cultural views on femininity and masculinity need to be revised. To resolve GBV there is a need to deconstruct harmful cultural discourses so that men's power over women is replaced with equality (Sathiparsad, 2011), co-operation, and mutual respect (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). There are clearly strong links between gender inequality,

GBV, and high HIV infection rates (Moletsane, 2012), while a goal of achieving gender equality would help reduce the extent of GBV. Youth, too, have a role to play in this regard.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study draws on Jenkins et al. (2006) theory of participatory cultures to frame the exploration of using social media and visual methods in a participatory way with youth to address GBV. The theory of participatory cultures advances the idea that the participants' remix of existing material (for example material already in the public domain) plus newly created material, can produce new knowledge. Expert media analyst Crosbie (2006) indicates that new media is centred upon youth who are quick to participate in their own digital spaces to control, monitor, and re-mix content, all in a participatory fashion.

Four constructs of participatory cultures, i.e. affiliations, expressions, collaborative problem-solving, and circulation, guide the research design and enable meaning-making of the findings. Affiliations indicate membership and participation in an online community; expressions allow for creating and re-mixing media content as visual representations; collaborative problem-solving includes working together to complete problem-solving tasks; and circulation allows for sharing the re-mixed content for the benefit of the online community (Jenkins et al., 2006).

The research with youth itself should create opportunities for them to learn new skills in the research process, and also enable them to use it in their own lives in the community. Kellner and Share (2005) are of the opinion that participatory cultures contribute to the development of skills such as reading, interpreting, and producing material. Other skills include manipulating artefacts, simulating, observing, experimenting, remixing, planning, and implementing (Knobel, 2005). Through online communities, spaces for cybercitizens are created and through acquiring technological skills, youth can fully participate as cultural producers in their society (Crosbie, 2006). (See 3.9).

1.8 SITUATING MYSELF AS RESEARCHER

The central social issue around which this study pivots is GBV in the context of youth in a rural community. This is, as I have argued, underpinned by inequality which leaves women and girls in a place of subordination and vulnerability. Growing up as

an Afrikaans girl I also noted the inequalities my mother experienced in her life as married Afrikaans woman. I noticed the prejudice on a daily basis - without questioning it or giving it much thought. My mother would work a full day as a qualified nurse to come home to her second job of running the household and taking care of her husband and children's needs. She played her part and accepted her role as subordinate (to my father) and as primary caregiver. I think that in her mind she was being a good wife and a good mother - doing her duty. As daughter, I remember being told that: *"'n Meisie praat nie so nie, sit nie so nie, drink nie so nie, vloek nie so"* (A girl doesn't talk like that, sit like that, drink like that, swear like that). My mother tried her best to raise me to behave according to the norms my Afrikaner community required of a lady.

I also recall that teenage girls from my community who had been date-raped were judged as "*asking for it*", by either being drunk at a party or having acted in a provocative way. My teenage friends who fell pregnant quietly left school and were soon forgotten. It was clear that the responsibilities and consequences of sex rested firmly on a girl's shoulders and I started wondering why boys were exempted from having to take responsibility when it comes to the consequences of unprotected sex.

As a young adult I was in a relationship where my partner documented - in an eight page letter - the duties he desired of me, indicating quite clearly that he was absolutely not buying into the idea of equality. The initial emotional abuse eventually escalated into physical abuse. I did however manage to break the ties with him. I was fortunate to have a well-paid job and could afford to do so, but I often wondered what women who had no money and nowhere to go, did in similar situations. Although a social worker might suggest leaving the abusive partner, she cannot provide basic needs and does not bring bags of groceries home. Reflecting on this dark stage of my life I remember the fear, the helplessness, and the loneliness. I remember being a target of gossip and pity and I wondered why a community does not rather support women in these situations.

In my early twenties then, the implications of this inequality became apparent to me. The few women, like me, who were willing to break the silence were not supported. I have since become stronger in voicing my opinions, and I am often ridiculed by peers or older women for my outspokenness. I have experienced the possibilities of a relationship in which both I and my new partner subscribe to equality. At home, for example, we divide duties according to our strengths, but this too, is frowned upon

by family and friends. While I was admired for having chosen a partner who would share the household chores, he was ridiculed by his peers for doing so.

Having two beautiful children, a boy and a girl, further opened my eyes to the power of normative roles for boys and girls, and the persistent inequalities in society. If little girls display rough and tough behaviour such as climbing trees or playing super hero games I notice chuckles from moms who proudly call their girls *"tomboys"*. Contrary to this I notice that when boys prefer to participate in activities associated with girls, parents display genuine worry that their son who enjoys girl games such as playing with dolls or playing dress-up, might be homosexual. Are parents valuing boyhood qualities over that of girlhood qualities?

I knew, as activist researcher, that I needed to focus on a research study that would explore these inequalities in society with the aim of *addressing* them. Close to my heart was finding ways to address GBV in society. As a teacher I knew the value of including youth in problem-solving activities and, remembering Erikson's (1969) identity crisis stage, I knew that youth are of an age where they can still make positive changes in their lives and for their futures. The participants in my Master's study, for example, demonstrated a sense of agency in tackling GBV through participatory video which strengthened my motivation to tap into rural youth voices for intervention aimed at social change (Geldenhuys, 2011). This inspired new research in working with youth to provide new insights into addressing GBV in the age of AIDS. As a computer literacy teacher I witnessed youth's natural inclination towards new media and decided to design research that would draw on this digital participatory youth culture. In agreement with Rice (2012), and from my teaching background, I also found that learners enjoy problem-based and open-ended tasks, which allow for creative and collaborative responses; I wanted to explore these multiple inclinations as a pathway which may open spaces to address inequality and specifically GBV. I also acknowledge my white Afrikaner privilege and power and have tried to keep this in mind throughout the study when working with the rural African learners.

1.9 RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

1.9.1 Context of the study

The study took place in Vulindlela in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal is the province with the most people living with HIV in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2008; 2011). The Vulindlela community, with about 400 000 people, live simple lives without the resources of big cities (Clark, 2014). Impoverished homes often house numerous family members. Unemployment is high and the available jobs mostly include truck driving, farm labour work, domestic work, forestry industry work, and migrant labour, and some women are engaged in communal income generating activities like gardening and sewing (MacQueen & Karim, 2007; Gaym, Mashego, Kharsany, Walldorf, Frohlich & Abdool Karim, 2007; Mnisi, 2014). The Vulindlela community has eight primary health care clinics, ambulances, and two nearby hospitals (Gaym et al., 2007). There are sixty community-based organisations close by with civic interests including religion, politics, housing, and HIV prevention and home-based care (Mnisi, 2014). Vulindlela falls into the Umgungundlovu district (one of the eleven districts in KwaZulu-Natal) near Pietermaritzburg. This district houses 345 schools with grade R and 42 schools without Grade R (15387 learners, 514 educators) (Department of Education KZN, 2012).

Karim a scientist and researcher at the Centre for the AIDS Programme of Research in South Africa (CAPRISA), is of the view that KwaZulu-Natal has the most HIV-infected women in the world, and their research indicates that over 50% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 in the Vulindlela district are already living with HIV (MacQueen & Karim, 2007). There are alarming disparities between HIV infections among boys and girls between the ages of 17 and 18, as statistics indicate a 7,9 % HIV prevalence among girls compared to a 1,2 % prevalence among boys (NSP, 2011, p. 22). Research from CAPRISA links GBV to the spread of HIV in Vulindlela (MacQueen & Karim, 2007).

The context of KwaZulu-Natal and Vulindlela district necessitates exploring with youth the risks they are exposed to, and also their agency in addressing it. The GBV youth experience includes sexual abuse, sexual coercion, domestic violence, and implicit GBV (Geldenhuys, 2011; Mitchell & De Lange, 2011; Karam/Hamon, 2011). As in many other contexts this requires measures to reduce GBV (MacQueen & Karim, 2007). To this end some social science research projects conducted in this district include the “Learning together: Towards an integrated participatory approach

to youth, gender and HIV/AIDS interventions in rural KwaZulu-Natal schools" project (De Lange, Buthelezi, Mazibuko, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, &Taylor, 2004-2006), and the Digitization and Data Management with Visual Data in Social Research: 'Giving life (to data) to save lives' project (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, Buthelezi, & Taylor, 2008-2011). Both of these projects tried out research as intervention to address HIV and AIDS, and GBV, and involved community health workers, parents, teachers, and youth. The data, now part of the Digitizing Data project (De Lange et al., 2008-2011), generated about the community by the community, was uploaded into a digital archive (see website, http://nmmudigidata.co.za/), and has been used in this study (see 5.3.1.2).

1.9.2 The school which participants attend

The secondary school which the participants attend has 433 learners (male and female), sixteen educators (seven male and nine female), most from the local community. A principal, a deputy principal, and a head of department make up the school management team. The school is fenced with an administration block with three offices, and three blocks of classrooms. The teachers teach isiZulu and English, and a first additional language, namely Afrikaans. They also teach Mathematics or Mathematical Literacy as well as Life Orientation which is a compulsory subject. In addition they teach elective subjects such as Physical Science, Life Sciences, Business Studies, History, Geography and Accounting. The Life Orientation teachers have to address sexuality and HIV and AIDS and could engage the learners to assume agency around issues of GBV. Teaching such sensitive topics is challenging for most teachers (Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma, & Klepp, 2009). The school has only two extra-mural activities, namely soccer and netball. Most learners walk to and from school, with distances up to and sometimes greater than 2km. The school community is predominantly African and isiZulu-speaking (Geldenhuys, 2011).

1.9.3 Participants

Non-probability and purposive sampling was used for this small-scale study, which means that my findings are not generalisable beyond the sample (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The inclusion criteria were that the participants had to live in a rural community, that they attended a secondary school, were in Grade 9, were boys and girls, and were willing to participate in the study. I approached the principal of the school, who in turn spoke to the Grade 9 teachers to select participants according to

the inclusion criteria. The teachers selected five Grade 9 isiZulu-speaking youth (2 girls and 3 boys), ranging in ages from 13 to 16 years.

Each Grade 9 participant also worked with another Grade 9 peer in a peer-engaging session. These Grade 9 learners were from the aforementioned secondary school and residents of Vulindlela (see 1.9.2). The participants were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

1.10 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research question influences the choice of the design and methodology. The study is thus qualitative in nature since it describes, explores, makes sense of, interprets, and reconstructs social interactions in terms of how the youth participants view the world, how they define it, and what it means to them (Creswell, 2006) (see 4.3.3).

The research also draws on a critical paradigm, in line with the NSP's (2011) call for critical involvement from social science researchers for community mobilisation. Working in this paradigm provides participants with an opportunity to become producers of knowledge and to generate ideas and solutions for social change (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this critical research, both the researcher and the participants are active role players. The participants are encouraged to draw on their understanding of GBV in the age of AIDS and to critically reflect on their social realities aiming to make a difference in terms of GBV in their community - by engaging their peers through social media.

Visual participatory methodology – the methodology appropriate for the research question - offers a powerful means for engaging youth participants and stimulating their thinking about their social realities (Mitchell, 2008). It engages participants through mind, body, and emotions (De Lange, 2012) and can, in and of itself, be an intervention and a way of taking action to bring about social change (De Lange & Stuart, 2008). The involvement, fun, expressiveness, and use of imagery, furthermore make it suitable for working with youth. The participants become the means to social change through their work with visual images (Mitchell, 2006; Schratz & Walker, 1995) (see 4.5.1).

1.10.1 Methods

Through the use of visual participatory methods the participants are provoked to tell their own stories and to present them visually (Mitchell, 2008). Choosing youth from a rural area - on the other side of the digital divide (Buckingham, 2008) - provided rural school youth with an opportunity to construct visual data, and re-use and re-mix visual material through a participatory cultures framework to create ways to address GBV within their school and community (see 4.5). I used several methods to generate the data, but digital storytelling, the main method, was complemented by digital drawing (to explore their understanding of GBV), using a digital archive (to further explore their understanding of GBV in their community), and using Facebook to publish their digital story and to engage with each other's stories. I also used group discussions and critical reflections to explore the research question more deeply (see 4.6).

The oral tradition of knowledge transfer and exchange through storytelling has served as the basis of education since the dawn of time and digital storytelling builds on this tradition by keeping up with the times and incorporating rich, dynamic media (Rule, 2011). It allows users to create a specific story with specific intent, to be appropriately conveyed to a specific audience through the use of digital tools which can be transferred and stored, re-used, and updated if and when needed (Barrett, 2011). Digital storytelling is flexible and participant-driven media making through first-person storytelling (Rule, 2011; Lambert 2013). Digital stories can be instructional, persuasive, historical, or reflective or a combination of these. The resources available are 'virtually' limitless giving the storytellers enormous latitude (Burges, 2006; Barrett, 2011). Digital stories enable participants to express themselves not only in their own words, but also in their own voices, creating a sense of individuality in their productions as well as ownership. It provides an opportunity to experiment with self-representation, telling a story in a specific way or genre, and establishing identity (Barrett, 2011). Rule (2011, p.1) emphasises that "[d]igital [s]torytelling is the modern expression of the ancient art of storytelling….[and] derive their power by weaving images, music, narratives and voice together thereby giving deep dimension and vivid colour to character, situations, experiences and insights". The richness of storytelling and the use of digital tools were appropriate for working with youth, in this instance rural youth, and

getting them to use digital storytelling around the issue of GBV and addressing it (see 4.7.2.1).

Copies were made of all the visual artefacts, and the explanations and discussions around the artefacts were recorded and transcribed, and then prepared for analysis.

1.11 DATA ANALYSIS

In analysing data it is necessary to make meaning of texts in a systematic and rigorous manner (Smit, 2002). In this study data analysis took place throughout the data generation process when the participants explained their productions and in so doing offered a first layer of analysis. This was transcribed and transcriptions were checked for completeness and errors. Using thematic analysis, I did a second layer of analysis, and broke the data systematically into smaller and more meaningful units as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994), Tesch (1990), and Smit (2002), and then allocated codes. Corbin and Strauss (2007, p.57) point out that "coding represents the operations by which data is broken down, conceptualised, and put back together in new ways". I synthesised the units into categories and then into themes, also known as thin descriptions (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). I finally recontextualised the findings (thin descriptions) in the literature and provided what is called thick descriptions in response to the research questions (see 4.8).

1.12 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Lincoln and Guba (1985) use the concept of trustworthiness to explain the reliability and validity of qualitative research – research that can be trusted and which is worthy of paying attention to. I drew on Guba's (1985) model of trustworthiness and adhered to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (see 4.9).

1.13 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Doing research with rural school youth, especially when exploring a sensitive social phenomenon such as GBV in light of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, could create challenging situations. Throughout the study I considered working ethically, also in terms of the dynamics of race, gender and class. I was vigilant and I approached the whole study in a sensitive way. I strove to do the least harm and most good through the participatory research process (Trafford & Leshem, 2008). I ensured that the rural school youth's participation in my research was voluntary, and although they were teacher selected they still had the choice whether they wanted to participate or

not. I received assent from the learner participants and consent from their parents or guardians. The participants were allowed to withdraw at any point in the study (Trochim, 2006). Anonymity and confidentiality is a challenge as visual data can hardly be anonymous. This too, I approached in a sensitive way and negotiated the use of the visual data with the participants. However, the data was to be used for research purposes and publications and access to the social media was restricted to myself, the five participants, and the five peers. The participants were briefed on ethical considerations when working with social media. Where I do refer to the participants' work in this thesis I use pseudonyms (Henning et al., 2004).

I applied for ethical clearance and adhered to the ethical code of conduct of NMMU (See appendix A), and permission was sought from the Department of Education (See Appendix B) as well as the principal of the school (See Appendix C).

1.13 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study is located in the field of Educational Psychology, and Life Orientation, focusing on a social issue, namely GBV which affects youth's development and learning in the age of AIDS. Gouws points out that "[t]echnology plays a key role in education and is transforming instructional practices in the classroom" (2015a, p. 230), and that with a computer or cellphone at nearly every adolescent youth's disposal and for whom social media is increasingly becoming a part of youth culture, it can be utilised as an intervention tool.

The study explores how a small group of rural isiZulu-speaking secondary school boys and girls understand GBV in their community, and how they might use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV, and how it might facilitate youth agency. Their meaning-making as youth members of a rural community is understood against a backdrop of engaging with new media within a social and cultural context that includes GBV and HIV and AIDS in South Africa (Geldenhuys, 2011).

1.14 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provided the background and rationale for trying out using new media to work with youth to address GBV in their community - attempting to respond to what I believe is the NSP's (2011) request for social science research as intervention that engages youth, and which could contribute to social change. In

identifying a gap in the existing research, i.e. finding innovative research as intervention that enable rural youth to address GBV, this study attempts to make a contribution in illustrating that when rural youth have the opportunity to address GBV and when they use new media, it is possible for them to speak out and to address the problem. In the next chapter I provide a theoretical exposition of GBV in the age of AIDS.

CHAPTER 2
A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

…the toxic mix of patriarchy, poverty, unemployment, inequality, substance abuse, and gangs … show solutions to gender-based violence cannot be isolated from the social context within which it occurs (Bathabile Dlamini, Minister of Social Development, 2013, n.p.).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I offer a theoretical perspective on GBV in light of the experiences of women and girls, even though GBV is a social problem which both sexes face. I am reminded by Reingardienė (2004, p.7) that in spite of decades of scholarly research and activism against GBV, "little consensus has yet been reached on the etiology of the subject" and I likewise acknowledge that this theoretical chapter does not offer a definitive perspective on the complexities of GBV. It does however try to contribute to understanding GBV as a global concern, from a perspective which is sensitive to the social context which shapes its social acceptability and meaning (Crowell & Burgess, 1995 cited in Reingardienė, 2004), as well as the associated interventions of GBV.

The chapter thus pivots around the UN's Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) which hypothesises that,

> …violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men (UN, 1993, p. 217).

This inequality prevails and is manifested in GBV as a worldwide phenomenon with particularly high prevalence rates in South Africa. In 1995 the Human Rights Watch stated, "what is certain...is that South African women, living in one of the most violent countries in the world, are disproportionately likely to be victims of that violence" (p.44). In 2013 Shefer confirmed that not much had changed considering the pervasiveness of GBV and alarmingly high numbers of rape and femicide in South Africa.

In an attempt to illustrate that GBV is not merely an individual problem but a complex social dilemma, I explain the ecologies of GBV (home, school, community, society) and how they are interrelated. A pattern of female vulnerability emerges and I describe the feminisation of GBV and HIV and AIDS. Several discourses of GBV exist – which I discuss – to deepen the theoretical understanding of GBV. Youth, the focus of this study, also experience GBV, and I therefore explore how rural youth are burdened by GBV. I write about what limits girls' agency and point towards violent masculinities in boyhood as a troubling precursor of GBV. Towards the end of the chapter I discuss interventions, focusing on peer engagement as a particular kind of intervention, with youth. This I locate within the existing policy framework, and show the necessity of trying out innovative and participative youth-based interventions to address GBV and the spread of HIV.

2.2 PERSPECTIVES FROM WHICH TO UNDERSTAND GBV

GBV can be explained from a variety of perspectives and it is therefore necessary to explain which perspectives I draw on. Lau (2009) offers a diagram which helps me show the diverse entry points into the discussion about GBV (See Figure 2.1), but also the complexities of trying to explain it.

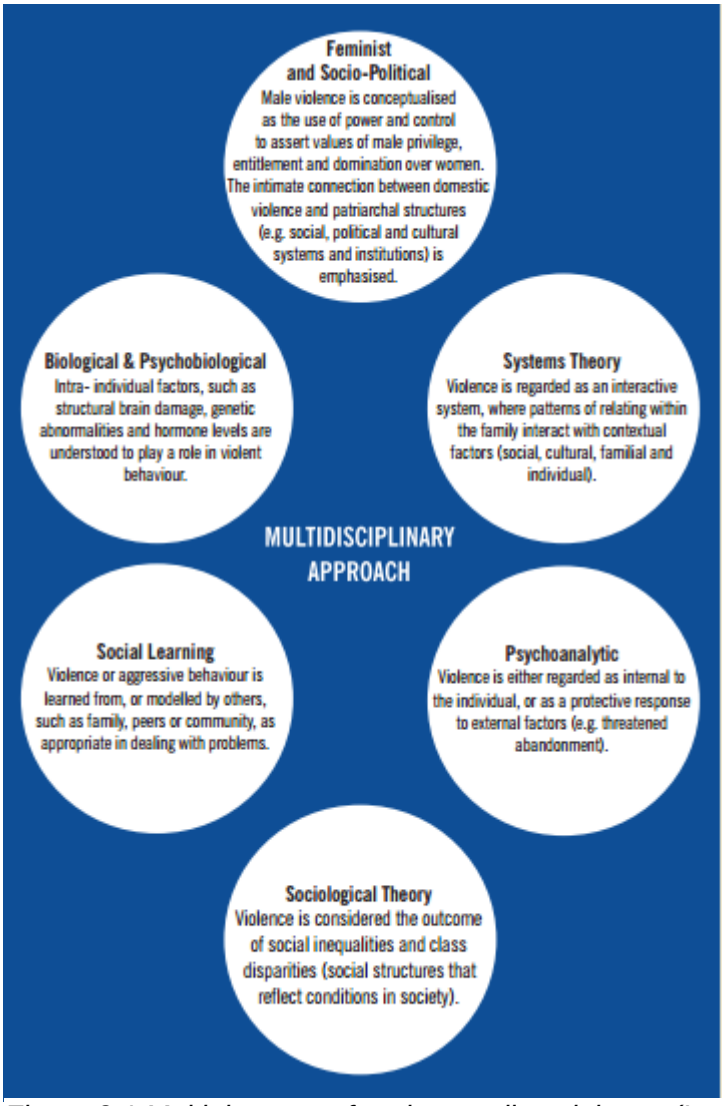


Figure 2.1 Multiple ways of understanding violence (Lau, 2009, p. 1)

Lau (2009) believes a good place to start is to review the multiple ways of understanding violence. She highlights that it can be viewed from a biological and psychobiological perspective placing the cause of violent behaviour in the functioning of the brain, or from a psychoanalytical position which sees violence as internal to an individual, or as a response to external factors. It could also be viewed from a feminist and socio-political stance where it is understood that male violence is a form of domination over women. Violence can further be viewed from a systems theory perspective indicating how different systems are interrelated and implicated in violence. From a sociological theory perspective violence is considered an outcome of social inequalities or class differences. From a social learning perspective violence is viewed as learnt aggression modelled on the behaviour of others. In this study I draw on a combination of these views in a multi-disciplinary way, highlighting the

influence of inequality, power and domination, within a systemic or ecological perspective, as I work with rural school youth in a rural community in South Africa.

2.3 DISCOURSES OF GBV

Several discourses on GBV try to explain the broad question of "how and why women come to be subordinated" and how social and cultural processes perpetuate such subordination (Jackson, 1993, p. 3). Reingardienė (2004) frames GBV as: a pathology, expressed tension, instrumental power strategy, normative learned behaviour, or a human rights issue, which inform the understanding of violence against women in the social sciences. I draw on Reingardienė's work (2004, pp. 7-17) to discuss the six discourses around violence against women and I use these as an organising framework for discursive distinctions around GBV.

2.3.1 Violence as a pathology

Reingardienė's (2004) first discourse in her framework to distinguish violence against women is around pathologies of violence. According to her, research has largely focused on the psychological profiling of offenders and victims of violence. Violence against women and children was initially constructed as a rare or an abnormal phenomenon explained through pathologies such as abnormal personality traits or mental illness, abusive families of origin, and alcoholism. The various clinical diagnoses to explain violent behaviour include depression, passive or aggressive personality disorders, neurosis, psychosis, or alcoholism (alcoholism is seen as a pathology rendering a person temporarily out of control and could aggravate frustration and aggression). The psychodynamic pathologies explain violence as a result of traumatic childhood events and/or unhealthy attachments with significant others. Psychological offenders' profiles suggest that violent men might suffer from "cognitive, affective, or behavioural deficits in various attributes, such as low self-esteem, an inability to express feelings, a fear of intimacy, an inability to trust in relationship, or poor communication skills" (Reingardienė, 2004, p.9). Violence as pathology also includes victimisation theories proposing that violence survivors possess characteristics that trigger their victimisation, such as desiring abuse, or deliberately provoking abuse. This according to Walker (in Reingardienė, 2004) ties in with the Freudian masochistic model where women who sadistically want to suffer and might derive pleasure from pain provoke violent behaviour.

2.3.2 Violence as expressive tension

According to Reingardiene (2004) expressive tension is another discourse in GBV particularly in explaining domestic violence. Expressive tension is violence most often driven by impulses such as anger or tension, and implies causing threats or pain to the source of distress. The discourse in the field of domestic violence puts forward the idea that expressive violence is due to tension in the family which is greater than in any other social setting due to the time partners spend together and the scope of diverse interactions. Social structural theorists (O'Neill in Reingardienė, 2004) state that families of lower socioeconomic status are particularly vulnerable to expressive tensions due to poverty and a lack of skills and resources to deal effectively with tensions. However, expressive violence in GBV crosses boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, identity, ability, and location.

2.3.3 Violence as learnt behaviour

This discourse is mainly based on social psychological theories of social learning which account for violent behaviour as a learned phenomenon. Bandura's model (in Reingardienė, 2004) which is based on learning through experience because of exposure to violence indicates that violent behaviour develops through observation and reinforcement, and that acquired violent behaviour is often a response caused by the fact that nonviolent or appropriate responses are not witnessed or acquired. In the field of GBV or violence against women violent behaviour can be termed intergenerational transmission of violence, suggesting that violence is learned through socialisation practices in the family, implying that the family, culture/subculture, or even media is a training ground for violence. Walker (in Reingardienė, 2004) calls learnt violent behaviour a cycle of violence based on social learning and reinforcement. She mentions three stages in GBV or violence against women: in the first stage tension builds, in the second stage violence occurs, and in the third stage there is repentance that will last until the tension builds up again. Thus it never ends but becomes a repetitive or re-occurring pattern of violence which often increases in frequency and extremity (in Reingardienė, 2004). From this idea Walker (in Reingardienė, 2004) introduces the term *learned helplessness* in women, which can explain their inability to leave relationships with patterns of continual violence.

2.3.4 Violence as instrumental power strategy

Reingardienė's (2004) model to explain violence against women includes instrumental violence as intentional threat and deliberate power strategy. Expressive violence might well tie up with a deliberate intention to express violence for a specific goal. Violence as an instrumental power strategy however highlights the imbalances and tensions within a social system that create the desire for power and the perceived need to achieve it through violence. Family dynamics allow for violent power as it is often a private and quick way of advancing power. Goode (in Reingardienė's, 2004) believes that all social systems rely to some extent on forceful power, and that violence is often an expression of instrumental power to advance and sustain personal interests. In the field of domestic violence it is argued that a wife with little means of escaping instrumental power (such as lack of finances) is more likely to be a victim of instrumental power. Violence as instrumental power can be related to the wider,

> …historical, cultural, or institutional context, in which this practice is created, culturally supported and, even encouraged. … [as] an explicit manifestation of masculine instrumental power strategy, which serves to create and maintain male dominance, and female subordination in the family, and society in general…" (in Reingardienė, 2004, pp.11-12).

Although I discuss patriarchy (see 2.6.9), violence as an instrumental power discourse highlights violence as an instrument used to affirm male power.

2.3.5 Violence as normative

Violence as normative suggests violence is behaviour acquired through cultural norms of masculinity, femininity, family, and heterosexual relationships which legitimise and lead to widespread forms of GBV. The discourse highlights GBV as more than a biological occurrence of abnormal behaviour; as an extension of cultural and social norms or practices. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (in Reingardienė, 2004) state that there are sub-cultural groups in society that develop and legitimise physical force which is accepted by dominant culture. This is true not only for lower socioeconomic groups but also for overtly, sexist violent male peer, sub-cultures (O'Neill in Reingardienė, 2004). Violence prevails and is accepted in many segments of society – such as the disciplining of children. There seems to be acceptable and unacceptable forms of violence in society.

However, the violence categorisation is more complex in GBV which is often expressed as domestic violence because of sex-role stereotyping and masculine socialisation practices which encourage men to control and dominate their families and to refrain from showing emotion which might be frowned upon as feminine. Women's socialisation is idealised as submissive and obedient and makes them prone to self-blame and long-term tolerance and suffering in violent relationships. These learnt misogynist cultural traditions devalue women and traits associated with being feminine. Reingardienė (2004) mentions pornography as an example of a construction that powerfully undermines women and encourages objectification and violence towards them. Reingardienė, (2004, p.12) also mentions the role of media in the representation of femininity and masculinity to represent the "natural order" to reflect "gender naturalization, or gender difference essentialism". Learnt violence through the normalisation thereof in social systems provides another discourse in GBV which illustrates the impact of culture on learnt behaviour: "… it is the norms and values surrounding violence, masculinity, femininity, family, and heterosexual relationship within the culture at large that constitute the problem and cause of men's violence toward their partners" (O'Neill in Reingardienė, 2004, p.12).

2.3.6 Violence against woman - as a human rights issue

Reingardienė (2004) points out that since the 1990s violence against women has been systematically researched for legislative guidelines around women's rights in the process of seeking redress for human rights violations. This topic has of late become a public and private issue through the inspection of social conditions to transform harmful conditions which make women subordinate in both public and private spaces.

2.4 NATURE OF DEALING WITH GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The recognition that GBV as a human rights violation which persists as the result of the influence of gender inequalities and unequal power relations between men and women (UN General Assembly, 1993) has led to GBV now being regarded as a social issue that needs to be addressed. In 1993 The United General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in an attempt to highlight the widespread discrimination against women in all spheres of life. This bill of rights for women, as it is often referred to (UN General Assembly, 1993), did not include GBV as a form of discrimination

against women and girls. However, in 1993 this was corrected with the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) identifying GBV, in all its forms, as not only discriminatory but disparate as women and girls made up the largest percentage of victims. In 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action (in Beijing Shadow Report, 2010) further emphasised GBV and the particular vulnerabilities experienced by women and girls because of gender inequalities and power imbalances.

South Africa signed these and other policies aimed at addressing GBV including: the African Charter on Human and People's Rights; the Rights of Women in Africa; the Millennium Declaration Goals; and the SADC Addendum on Violence Against Women. These policies resulted in many legislative changes in the area of GBV between 1995 and 2005 (Memela & Ayogu, 2005). Changes in South African legislation to support women and children included the Constitution (equality clause); the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996; the Domestic Violence Act of 1998; the Maintenance Act of 1998; the Customary Marriages Act of 1998; the Equality Act of 2000; the Children's Act of 2005; and the Sexual Offences Bill of 2003 (Memela & Ayogu, 2005). The authors point out that these laws all deal with GBV in one form or another and that:

> Working on the premise that patriarchy, socialisation and culture are the underlying factors of violence, if an environment of gender equality is promoted, it would help to reduce the extent of violence that women experience (Memela & Ayogu, 2005, p.98).

These declarations have framed the efforts to address GBV and have propelled the need for further research into GBV. Since the early 1980s, worldwide prevention research and much humanitarian action (at present) have been noted (Jewkes, 2013; Heise, Ellsberg & Gottmoeller, 2002). Jewkes et al. (2015) provide an interesting analysis of prevention and point out that in the past the focus was placed on men as the perpetrators of GBV, and women as the key group to target in prevention. They also point to the shift in prevention in recent years towards looking for ways to transform harmful social and cultural norms that drive GBV. A trend has developed to address women's vulnerability not only on individual levels, but also at relationship, community, and societal levels (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). Jewkes (2013) makes a strong argument for interventions that are theory-based and which should focus on the following key points: the drivers of GBV, what needs to be

changed, strategies for behavioural change, and approaches to secure all of these. Considering the shifts in GBV research, Shefer (2013) cautions all:

> [t]o ensure that our responses to violence do not perpetuate or legitimise the very conditions that make such violence possible, we need to be critically reflective of the subtle messages implicit in the multiple social responses to GBV, from prevention efforts to mass action in the media and public campaigns and to supporting victims (p.1).

Temmerman (2015) – in terms of research priorities to address GBV – points out that global health and development, social justice, public health, and equality remain a concern, and confirms gaps in research on what responds to GBV.

2.5 PREVALENCE OF GBV

2.5.1 GBV worldwide

GBV is a worldwide phenomenon and statistics indicate that it is still a serious problem across the globe (Temmerman, 2015). Garcia-Morena et al. (2015) confirm that:

> [v]iolence against women and girls is a global phenomenon that historically has been hidden, ignored, and accepted. Child sexual abuse has remained a silent shame. Rape has often been a matter of stigma for the victim rather than the perpetrator [and] [v]iolence in the home has been considered a private affair (p.1685).

In fact Garcia-Morena et al. (2015) confirmed, one in every three women will either be raped, beaten, or abused in her lifetime and that in most cases the abuser is known to the victim. The significance of these statistics (and specifically of women and girls' lived realities) was underscored by Manjoo (who held the position of United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women for the past six years), at a recent Sexual Violence Research Initiative (in De Lange, 2015, p.109). She spoke about her task of "monitoring and reporting on States' compliance in responding to and preventing GBV, its causes and consequences, both generally and in different country contexts". While she provided an overview of the status of violence against women in different countries, she emphasised the importance of recognising the intersectionality of discrimination and violence against women, in particular the relationship between socioeconomic conditions, race, historical, and cultural contexts (De Lange, 2015).

In sub-Saharan Africa, a different region on a unique continent, GBV too continues unabated, but with different nuances.

2.5.2 GBV in sub-Saharan Africa

WHO (2011) and UNAIDS (2011) are in agreement that sub-Saharan African women suffer the most because of GBV, and that in all sub-Saharan countries the prevalence of physical and sexual violence is high. However, the most noticeable difference between sub-Saharan countries and other regions of the world is not GBV statistics, but the direct link between GBV and the spread of HIV (WHO, 2011). In this region GBV is seen as a major driver for new HIV infections (UNAIDS, 2011).

The high volumes of GBV in sub-Saharan Africa is often explained in relation to the predominantly patriarchal society:

> [p]atriarchy is not new. It is a system created and maintained by men of faith and politics who hold the levers of economic, cultural, and political power and who confuse strength and masculinity with domination and brutality (Carter, 2015, p.40).

Bhana (2012, p. 352) concurs and links patriarchy to the experiences of sexual violence directed at women and girls within "…the context of great structural and social inequalities and the pervasiveness of gender norms through which male sexual violence is asserted".

It is not just the global community, or sub-Saharan Africa which suffers GBV; South Africa has its own shame.

2.5.3 GBV in South Africa

GBV remains a daunting problem in South Africa - perceived to have one of the highest sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) prevalence rates in the world (Gever, Shai & Sikweyiya, 2013):

> South African research spanning more than two decades has shown that the prevalence of gender-based violence, including the abuse, rape, or murder of women and children, is alarmingly high…[i]ndeed…intimate partner violence, is second only to HIV/AIDS in South Africa's burden of disease (Gever et al., 2013, p.13).

GBV is pervasive in all communities in SA but its nature and extent differ in different contexts. Noteworthy though is that the statistics point towards higher perpetration in lower income social settings (Dartnell & Jewkes, 2013), while Moletsane and Ntombela (2010) indicate that high rates of GBV are experienced by rural women. In 1997 Wood and Jewkes noted that township life was plagued by male coercion and

sexual violence and in 2012 Bhana confirmed that the pervasive nature of GBV in townships continue to harm specifically young township girls as they fear both men and boys at home, in school, and in the community.

Jewkes et al. (2012) also confirm that intimate partner violence (IPV) is the most prevalent form of GBV in South Africa since 33% of women are at the receiving end of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse from partners in their lifetime. Violence within a relationship includes physical, emotional, economic, and sexual abuse (Mpani & Nsibande, 2015). Young girls seem particularly vulnerable to this form of abuse according to a recent literature review by Mpani and Nsibande (2015), especially to sexual coercion which undermines their agency in determining whether, when, or how sex occurs.

IPV, however, is not the only form of GBV that causes alarm in South Africa. In fact, Jewkes (2013) confirm that IPV is followed by sexual abuse, particularly in the form of rape, and point out that 25% of adult women in South Africa have been raped. Similar to the global trend, of the one in three women in South Africa that has been or will be raped, only 1 in 13 will report the rape (Jewkes, 2013), and only 15% of those cases end up in convicted trials (Rape Survivor Journey, 2010). According Mpani and Nsibande (2015) over 41% of rape cases involve children under the age of 18. Moletsane (2012) is of the opinion that underreporting and low conviction rates are due to the fact that most victims of rape are related to or know the perpetrator, while Jewkes (2013) suggest there is a lack of faith in the judicial system and possible fear of further traumatisation.

Underreporting of sexual violence is also evident in South African schools. The report by the Human Rights Watch (2001) *Scared at School* confirmed that girls face high levels of violence and that most cases go unreported. This was again confirmed in 2012 by the National Schools Violence Study (Burton & Leoschut, 2012) which iterated that girls submit to unwanted touching, sexting, and cyberbullying such as receiving nude photos or explicit images amongst other forms of sexual violence from male learners and educators.

Jewkes (2013) believe the trend of GBV in South Africa falls into three categories, namely intimate partner violence, sexual violence against adults, and sexual abuse of children. This points to the possibility that a person could be subjected to GBV at

different life stages and experience its damaging effects. According to Jewkes et al. (2015):

> … the necessity exists to understand the dynamic intersections between factors pertaining to an individual, peer, household, or relationship, and broader community levels (p. 7).

In order to further explain GBV in South Africa I therefore look at the ecologies in which GBV manifests itself.

2.6 ECOLOGIES OF GBV IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa there exists a diversity of cultures, communities, and social settings – clearly not a homogenous society - but one with a common history. For example, besides the differences between Indian, White, Coloured, and Black people, Black Africans consist of many different ethnic groups including Zulu, Xhosa, Basotho (South Sotho), Bapedi (North Sotho), Venda, Tswana, Tsonga, Swazi, and Ndebele and makes up about 80% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

While GBV is expressed differently in the different cultures, communities, and social settings, I draw on Jewkes and Morrell (2012, p.4) to provide an overview of how South Africa's violent history can be seen as a driver of GBV. The material inequalities, spatial separation, as well as gender construction segregation could not only be seen as drivers of GBV but can help explain why today impoverished women in rural areas are still at the receiving end of GBV. The authors suggest that because African men are so oppressed in their livelihoods they desire masculine affirmation at home in their relationships with black women. After 1994, when apartheid was abolished, changes were set in place to construct a new legal and policy framework for a non-racial democracy with the vision of tolerated diversity and fluidity in gender identities. Even with South Africa's new policy framework and Constitution, the history of violence due to apartheid still impacts on communities, and women and young girls are still suffering under a violent history.

There is violence and gender inequality specifically within relationships, in all South African communities (Morrell et al., 2009). It has been argued that in Black South African communities, such as rural communities, apartheid introduced migrant labour and as already mentioned, suppressed Black masculinity which perhaps elevated GBV at home. GBV was witnessed by children inside the homes who reproduced this behaviour as adults which possibly helps explain why it is still so rife today

(Gabbidon, 2010). GBV is certainly rife in all communities, but when a judge in a GBV case argues “Why complain? Women in the coloured community are used to being beaten up. Violence is part of their nature” (Jackson, 1997, p. 4), the chances of escaping from this burden is minimal.

Britton (2006) suggests that white women were not excluded from GBV. Gender discrimination is part of colonialism, and supported by the apartheid system, white women were also disadvantaged, which can be seen as another driver of GBV. In South African Indian culture women and girls are subjected to GBV because of religious and social norms rooted in the culture (Mahadev, 2014). However according to Moletsane (2012) it is women and girls in rural areas who face the biggest blows:

> [a]lmost two decades after the demise of apartheid, rural communities in South Africa are still plagued by seemingly insurmountable challenges, with no change in sight for those who need it most (p.1).

GBV thus plays itself out differently in different cultures, communities, and social

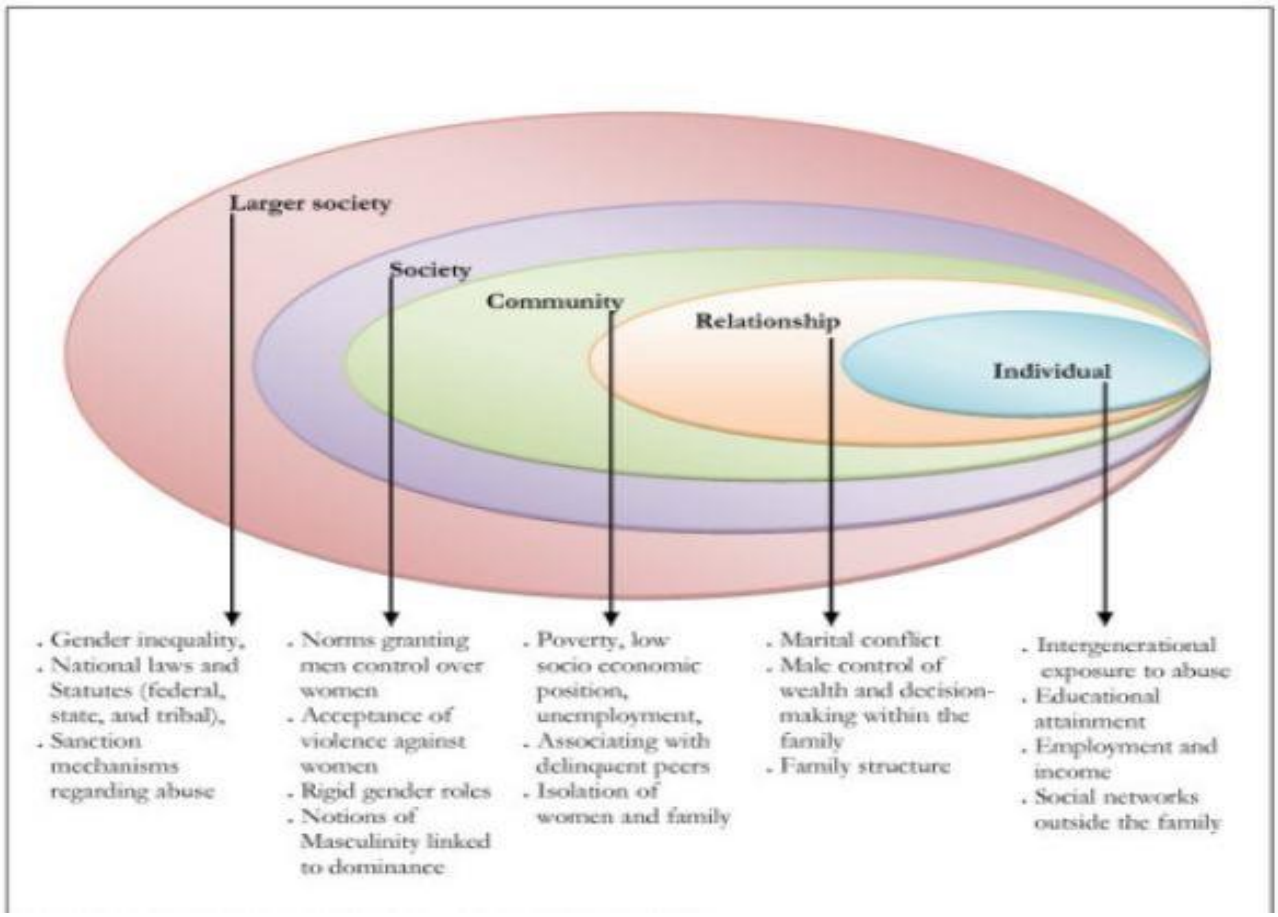


Figure 2.2 Social ecological model (Heise in Mpani & Nsibande, 2015, p.18)

ecologies. Heise's social ecological model on violence against women (in Mpani & Nsibande, 2015) offers an overview of various factors within different ecologies associated with violence against women.

Mpani and Nsibande (2015) give a more detailed table of risk factors drawn from Buvnic, Morrison and Shifter (1999); Heise and Garcia Moreno (2002); Jewkes, Sen and Garcia Moreno (2002) and Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg and Swi (2002) for violence based on the ecological model.

Societal	Community	Relationship	Individual
Broad factors that reduce inhibitions against violence	Neighborhood, schools and workplaces	With family, Intimate partners and friends	Personal factors that influence individual behavior
■ Poverty ■ Economic, social and gender inequalities ■ Poor Social Security ■ Masculinity linked to aggression & dominance ■ Weak legal and criminal justice system ■ Perpetrators not prosecuted ■ No legal rights for victims ■ Social and cultural norms support violence ■ Small fire arms ■ Conflict or post-conflict ■ Internal displacement & ■ Refugee camps	■ High Unemployment ■ High population density ■ Social isolation of females & family ■ Lack of information ■ Inadequate victim care ■ Schools & workplaces not addressing GBV ■ Weak community sanctions against GBV ■ Poor safety in public spaces ■ Challenging traditional gender roles ■ Blaming the victim ■ Violating of victim confidentiality	■ Family dysfunction ■ Inter generational Violence Poor parenting practices ■ Parental conflict involving violence ■ Association with friends who engage in violent or delinquent behavior ■ Low socio-economic status Socio-economic stress ■ Friction over women's empowerment ■ Family honor more important than female health and safety	■ Gender, age & education ■ A family history of violence ■ Witnessing GBV. ■ Victim of child abuse or neglect ■ Lack of sufficient livelihood & personal income ■ Unemployment ■ Mental health and behavioral problems ■ Alcohol & Substance abuse ■ Prostitution ■ Refugee Internally displaced ■ Disabilities ■ Small fire arms ownership

Figure 2.3 Risk factors for violence based on the ecological model (in Mpani & Nsibande, 2015, p. 17)

Although the ecological model provides a framework to explain the different dynamics of GBV, Manjoo (in De Lange, 2015, p.108) warns against creating "hierarchies of violence against women", for example making out that one type of violence is more severe than the other, pointing out that it does not serve women well.

Drawing on an ecological approach I discuss GBV and the individual, the family, the school, the community, and society at large – focusing on the South African context.

2.6.1 GBV and the individual

The individual at the centre of the experience of GBV is deeply affected and has to find ways of understanding it, avoiding it, and preventing it. According to Jewkes and Morrell (2012):

> [g]ender inequalities give men considerable relational power over young women, particularly in circumstances of poverty and where sex is materially rewarded. Young women are often described as victims of men (p.1729).

Jewkes et al. (2010) mention various factors that seem to make young women and girls most likely to fall victim to abuse with significant risk factors associated with inequality, including little or a low levels of education, maltreatment, and a culture that could contribute to internal acceptance of violence. The risk factors that cause men to abuse are also associated with inequality, including poverty or having a low income.

Jewkes and Morrell (2012) highlight that hegemony can operate differently in different communities and internalised views on values and practices could emphasise inequality. Hegemonic masculinity is an internalisation of ideals, values and practices which place young women at the receiving end of patriarchal power and could help explain why they are almost defenceless to negotiate sexual power (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). According to Wood and Jewkes (1997) young women are vulnerable in relationships with older men due to inequalities.

2.6.2 GBV and the family

A home is more than a roof over one's head and is seen to be a place where families live together, relate to each other, care for each other, and love each other. It does not matter whether it is a mansion, a middle class home, a small township house, or a shack. The home can however become a site of GBV when relationships become destructive and families experience GBV – hidden behind walls, closed doors, and drawn curtains. The most common and widespread form of GBV at home is intimate partner violence (IPV) (Jewkes, 2011), but other forms of violence include domestic violence, incest, and of late abuse of AIDS orphans (Clarfelt, 2014). All of these challenge the traditional views of the family as a safe haven.

A victim of IPV may very well be subjected to lifelong abuse either from one partner or from multiple partners (WHO, 2005), which profoundly damages the physical, sexual, reproductive, emotional, mental, and social well-being of individuals and families. IPV however, is laced with secrecy as sexuality is socio-culturally not openly discussed (Raditloaneng, 2013).

Young girls also face the burden of incest (which is any sexual contact between close family members) and being sexually abused as AIDS orphans (due to their

vulnerability within family dynamics) (Mtshali, 2010). Although there is a lack of research that indicates the prevalence of incest as well as sexual abuse of AIDS orphans in South Africa, the problem exists and is a serious concern for the safety of girls (Mtshali, 2010). In many cases it would appear as if situational factors such as broken homes or the introduction of a stepparent, who sees young girls as potential sexual partners and not as children whom they should protect, are used to justify this form of abuse instead of blaming the offender/s. Arguments have been made for situational factors leading to incest and sexual abuse of vulnerable children, such as the girl should have avoided the abuse, not have dressed provocatively, not have seduced older family members, mothers should have been more watchful over their children, and siblings – who are looking for comfort and love from one another – should not have been neglected. Excuses and possible victim blaming do not protect these children, but can cause further victimisation absolving the perpetrators from their wrong doing and neglecting the victims in terms of therapy and possibly causing a lifetime of trauma as the victims might internalise self-responsibility for the abuse (Madu & Marivate, 2003).

2.6.3 GBV and the school

School as a secondary education institution, is intended to be a safe space conducive for learners to learn. The school structure itself, however, is based on hierarchies with a principal, deputy principal, a school management team, teachers, administrative staff, a learner leadership team, and learners. Gender and power is inscribed in this structure as is the possibility to position women and girls in subordinate positions. Such unequal power relations can cause harm, disrupt teaching and learning, and distract from a conducive learning space. School-based gender violence (SBGV) can be perpetrated by adults or learners - in other words GBV happens both vertically and horizontally within a school structures - due to power inequalities (Leach, Dunne & Salvi, 2012). The United Nations Study on Violence against Children (2006) highlighted that violence in and around school is recognised as a worldwide phenomenon that needs to be addressed.

UNESCO views SRGBV as complex and multifaceted and as "… as acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools" (UNESCO, 2015, p.2).

Figure 2.4 School related gender-based violence is complex and multifaceted (UNESCO, 2015, p.2).

Leach and Humphreys (2007) confirm that the school structure and everyday processes normalise gender inequalities and therefore fuels GBV, while De Lange, Mitchell and Bhana (2012, p. 502) highlight the idea that "… it is often the authoritarian school that allows gender based violence to flourish".

SRGBV is clearly linked to power inequalities and can take the form of verbal abuse, bullying, sexual harassment, intimidation, physical abuse, assault and rape, corporal punishment, psychological abuse, educators' unofficial use of learners' free labour, and other aggressive and unauthorised behaviour that is violent (Wilson, 2012). It would seem though that the most common form of SRGBV remains corporal punishment borne by male youth at the hands of male educators. Corporal punishment is illegal, but remains a problem in South African schools especially in impoverished communities (Morrell et al., 2009). Morrell (2001) highlights that if physical punishment is left unchecked boys can carry this form of violence into adulthood which could possibly explain the formation of hegemonic and even violent masculinities. Bullying, linked to power differences, is according to Morrell (1994) directly linked to violence in adulthood.

While SRGBV happens to both boys and girls, girls are disproportionately more affected since schools are sites of unsafe spaces for them (Weiss et al., 2012). GenderLinks (2015) adds that perpetrators are often youth of adolescent ages.

However, girls at school fear violence from both peers and educators (South African Human Rights Commission, 2006). The early study *Scared at School* (Human Rights Watch, 2001) revealed that girls are sexually abused, harassed, and assaulted at school and are scared of unwanted pregnancies, scared to disclose abuse, and often internalise the belief that GBV is inescapable (Human Rights Watch, 2001). De Lange and Mitchell (2014) point out that SRGBV against girls in and around schools is a barrier to their safety and education. A report from Human Rights Watch (2010) iterates that:

> … left unchecked, sexual violence in schools has a negative impact on the educational and emotional needs of girls and acts as a barrier to attaining education … . Rape and other forms of sexual violence place girls at risk of contracting … HIV … which has in turn taken its toll on the educational system and disrupted education…especially for girls (p.5).

2.6.4 GBV and the community

GBV happens in homes and schools in communities and these spaces are therefore interrelated. Communities reflect diversity in terms of geographical space, for example urban, peri-urban, township, informal settlement, rural, and deep rural; in terms of socio-economic status, for example affluent, middle class, working class, poor; in terms of its housing, for example sprawling homes, small homes, reconstruction and development homes, shacks; as well as in terms of culture, for example mono-cultural, multicultural, and traditional. While GBV happens in all communities, the communities that suffer most are often poverty-stricken and might hold on to traditional cultural norms of accepted GBV (Jewkes, 2011b).

In Black African communities cultural customary laws, traditions, and beliefs dictate community life which can exacerbate gender inequality. Customary traditions can increase women and girl's vulnerability and be outright harmful to women including: early forced marriages (ukuthwala), virginity testing, widow marriage in the case of a levirate union, female genital mutilation and breast ironing (to prevent early sexual debut) (Maluleke, 2012). Community customary beliefs can exacerbate the likelihood of women's unequal power when women are expected to serve men and address their desires, or take submissive roles in decision-making (Moletsane, 2012). Furthermore traditional practices (supported by The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa as well as the South African Constitution) legitimise honoured customs that are potentially harmful to women, such as polygamy. Often poor

women have no choice but to commit to polygamy for survival and women in such marriages are potentially vulnerable to GBV and HIV and AIDS. Customary laws also do not seem to protect women adequately; as in rural areas women are subjected to the use of traditional courts which do not necessarily have procedures for addressing cases of rape, and if they do, traditional legal system tends to blame women for inviting or luring perpetrators to commit sexual deeds (Baasaden & Hochfeld, 2005).

Moletsane (2012) highlights the harm caused by rape in South African communities and writes that:

> [r]ape stalks our country, ravages the innocence of girl infants and children; chuckles evilly into grannies' ears that "this is what you want", "jackrolls" young women to remind them of their place, and buries women's bodies – torn, beaten, dismembered – in shallow graves hidden amongst cane fields, sandy stretches of land, the bare veld, and most frighteningly, in their own homes (p. 2).

Moletsane's haunting words point to the fear women have to live with. Dosekun (2011) argues that in a country which has a high level of rape cases (also a high level of possible unreported rape cases) even if a woman is not raped, she may think of it as inherently possible. Although men are also scared of crime, they do not fear being violated as women and girls do (Dosekun, 2011). Many women believe that real rape only occurs between strangers late at night in dark alleyways, and this perception makes it difficult to conceive of rape by a partner or someone one might know (Vetten, 2000). Jewkes (2011a) believes this is why violent stranger rape is more likely to be reported than acquaintance rape. The tolerance of rape in marriage is explained by Raditloaneng (2013):

> …[w]omen are sex. A man wants what a woman has − sex. He can steal it (by rape), persuade her to give it away by seduction, rent it through prostitution, lease it over a long term through marriage, or own it outright by marriage in most communities (p. 1).

In many communities in South Africa rape and acts of sexual aggression are part of everyday life, and many victims perceive it as normal (Shefer, Clowes & Vergnani, 2012).

2.6.5 GBV and society

In a non-homogenous society such as South Africa it is important to emphasise that the contextual specificities of social behaviours differ. "In working cross-culturally there is a need to be cautious in making assumptions about social rules, norms and

meanings as well as about terminology" (Leach et al., 2012, p.4). However from the overview of the ecologies of GBV (see 2.6) it is clear that unequal power in society due to gender constructions place women in subservient positions. Gender construction is tied up with an individual's perception of accepted social norms of male and female behaviour as accepted in general society (Jewkes et al., 2010).

Such social norms and practices are also visible in structures that inform the organisation of society, and GBV plays itself out in such structures, preventing women from actualising their potential. Men are socialised to dominate women and GBV is the unequal distribution of power between men and women which propels the devaluing of women and their subordination to men (Jewkes et al., 2010).

The normalisation of violence is also framed by the nature of social issues in a society. It can be argued that in society where alcohol and drugs are abused, violence may follow (Morojele, Parry, Brook & Kekwaletswe, 2012). In a society where gangs are an interrelated part of the social hierarchy, violence may follow (Jewkes, 2011b). In a society where poverty and unemployment is rife, violence may follow. In a society where the moral fibre has been eroded, violence may follow. These complex social issues place the vulnerable in society at the receiving end of violence.

While each layer of the ecosystem is presented separately, there is interrelation and reciprocity of influences that explain the manifestation and exacerbation of GBV. Home or school - places entrusted with the safe keeping of children – seem to be sites where GBV manifests, and the gatekeepers and protectors of young girls such as father figures and educators are often the perpetrators of violence. Youth's exposure to violence can encourage further violence later in life and could explain why IPV is rife in many societies. Throughout the ecologies the risk factors and reasons for perpetration there are an unequal impact on women and girls. Considering their risk of contracting HIV it is therefore necessary to look at GBV and the interface with HIV and AIDS.

2.7 INTERFACE OF GBV AND HIV AND AIDS

The link between GBV and HIV has been referred to earlier and requires explanation. I find Jewkes et al.'s (2010) diagram showing the complexities of the links useful as it moves away from a simplistic understanding of GBV and HIV.

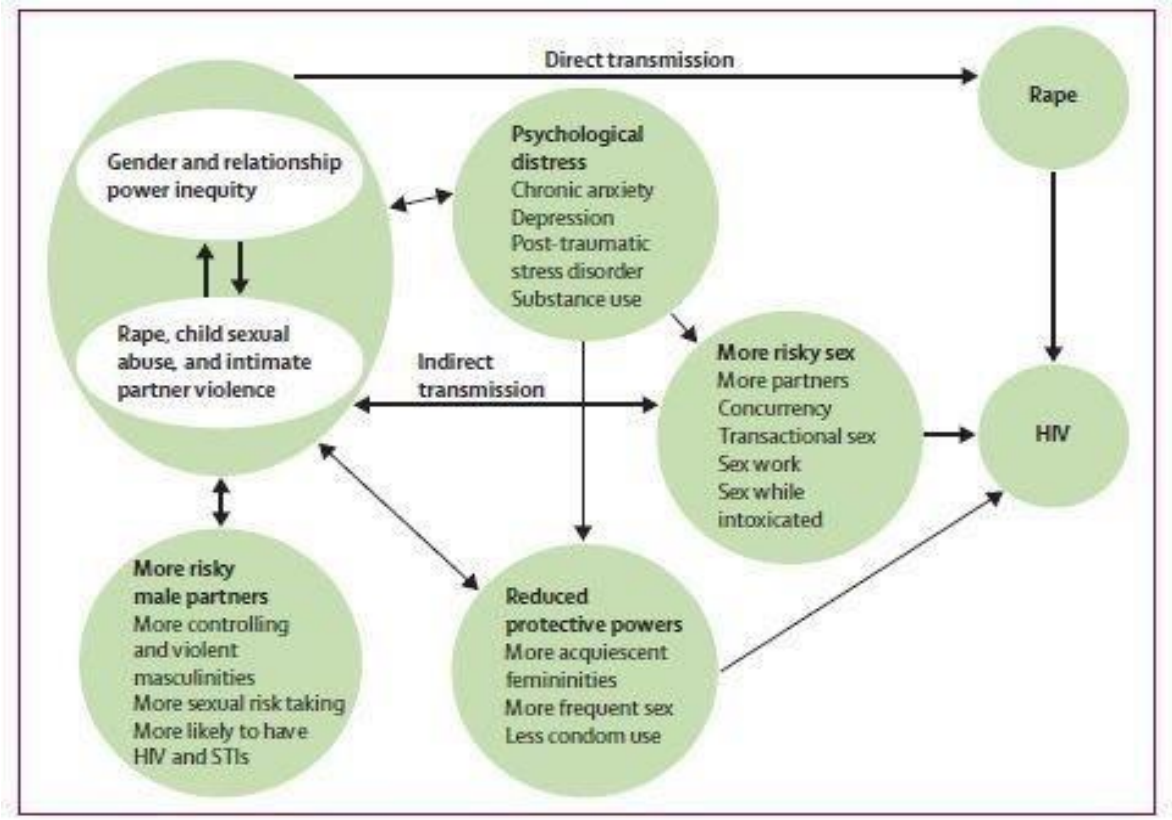


Figure 2.5 Pathways of GBV for women at risk of HIV (Jewkes et al., 2010, p. 42)

Figure 2.5 shows the complexity of the multiple pathways associated with GBV and HIV serostatus in women. According to Jewkes et al.'s (2010, p.42) explanation there are direct and indirect pathways to contracting HIV. The authors point to rape as a direct pathway to contracting HIV and to more risky sex as an indirect pathway. These pathways map chronically abusive relationships and women who are continuously exposed to violence and controlling practices (Jewkes et al. 2010, pp. 41-48). Jewkes et al. (2010) indicate that:

> exposure to gender-based violence, including controlling behaviour of a partner, is associated with high-risk sexual behaviour, including multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships, substance use, transactional sex and prostitution, and less frequent condom use. … [w]omen might agree to riskier sex, and be less able to refuse it, when drunk, drugged, dissociating, desperately seeking affection, or otherwise manipulated by controlling partners. Thus, there is a vicious cycle, with abuse enhancing risks of HIV infection and further abuse (p.42).

High levels of GBV are further exacerbated by dangerous myths such as that having sex with a virgin will cure HIV and AIDS, resulting in violent rapes increasing the

spread of HIV (Bennett, 2011). In a similar way as GBV, the spread of HIV infection should be seen in terms of social, economic, and gender inequities (Hudson, 2004). Bennett therefore is of the view that "…gender-based violence is both a cause and an effect of transmission" and indeed, "a leading reality in the lives of women and girls" (2011, p.56).

Emerging evidence from South Africa shows that men who perpetrate sexual violence are more likely to be HIV infected (Jewkes et al., 2010); a positive HIV status seeming to drive men to several acts of violence (Jewkes, 2012). The expectation of male power and the expectation that they should hide their vulnerability prevent men from seeking treatment and health care, placing them at further risk (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

Commitment to eradicate HIV and AIDS includes a commitment to addressing the links between HIV and AIDS and GBV (WHO, 2011). It is important to note that HIV is linked to other health issues, such as sexually transmitted infections, drug dependence, and tuberculosis. These health issues cannot be addressed without addressing GBV and HIV and AIDS (WHO, 2011). WHO (2011) stresses the importance of attending to survivors of GBV through emergency contraception, counselling, and providing post-exposure prophylaxis. Reducing the vulnerability of women and girls is therefore key as it could contribute to the reduction of GBV and also HIV.

According to Shisana et al. (2014) 6.4 million people living in South Africa are HIV infected, an increase of 1,2% to 12,2% in 2012, mostly in rural communities. In South Africa the prevalence rate for women is higher than for men, in all age groups, except the 50-54 and 60+ years. It is also Black African women between 20-34 years who are the most at-risk group, with a prevalence rate of 31,6% (Shisana et al., 2014, p. 3). It is no surprise then that AIDS-related illness is the leading cause of death in women of a productive age in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2010; 2012).

The vulnerable position of women and girls in the context of HIV and AIDS is related to the interplay between biological vulnerabilities, socio-behavioural, and contextual factors (Shisana et al., 2014, p. 3). Many women and girls do not know their own HIV status or that of their partners, and only find out about their status during antenatal care when they are pregnant, and are then held accountable for passing it on to their husbands which could lead to acts of GBV (Durojaye & Amollo, 2006).

WHO (2005) indicated that up to 60% of women were aware that their partners placed them at risk of contracting HIV, but were not in a position to protect themselves from infection for fear of violence and abandonment. Their vulnerability deepens when they know their positive status, but do not want to access treatment as they are scared to disclose their HIV statuses. Issues such as these that contribute to the complexity which Bennett (2011) identifies in addressing the vulnerability of women, aggravated by stigmatisation and the silencing of their voices. I explore the drivers of GBV in order to further understand the complexities of this phenomenon.

2.8 DRIVERS OF GBV: A "TOXIC MIX"

Understanding the complexities of what drives GBV is necessary if appropriate measures to prevent and address it are to be developed (Institute of Security Services (ISS), 2015; Temmerman, 2015). Dlamini (2013, n.p.) refers to the drivers as a "toxic mix" of inequality, unemployment, and substance abuse which propel GBV. Temmerman (2015), however, encourages a continued exploration of the drivers of GBV to develop comprehensive knowledge and enable avenues for preventative action in the context of GBV. Manjoo emphasises the importance of seeing and acknowledging the interactions of interpersonal, institutional, and structural violence (in De Lange, 2015).

Gender inequality in relationships can be explained through constructions which are shaped by social, cultural, and community structures (Morrell et al., 2009). In many South African social contexts men see themselves as superior to women and domination over women as a part of culturally sanctioned gender-constructed roles. Gender inequality means women might have very little say over most aspects of their lives and if there are limited resources available to women this might encourage their tolerance and even subservience to violence (Jewkes, 2013).

Besides physical and social vulnerability many women's lack of financial independence causes economic vulnerability which contributes to their experiences of GBV and becoming HIV infected. In a survey of 63 countries, South Africa was found to have the worst income inequality as well as homicide rates of all the countries surveyed. Income inequity is seen to be a strong precursor of violence (Jewkes et al., 2015). Morrell (2012) confirms that Black South African women still experience stark gender discrimination:

> Black African women, generally without the means to be economically independent, have often been dependent on black African men and this, together with cultural practices of respect, has promoted obedience and passivity as hallmarks of African femininity (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010, p.4).

In cases where women are economically empowered they may face the risk of violence as well. Social gender construction is confronted by modernity and men are often challenged by women who have jobs and earn an income. De Lange and Mitchell (2014) note that when a woman provides an income the "situation influences the family dynamics, because the male, who traditionally holds the power of being the family breadwinner, and who thus holds the purse, is no longer in such a strong position. Such disruption of the traditional roles is seen as contributing to gender-based violence" (p.506) as the man could feel insecure, disempowered or that his masculinity is challenged (Jewkes, 2013).

The social context in which women and girls find themselves can contribute to their experiences of GBV. According to *MenEngage* (2014) there are clear links between alcohol and drug use and GBV (and the spread of HIV); the study found that 45% of men and 20% of women were under the influence of alcohol during episodes of IPV. Not only is a social context of drug and alcohol abuse problematic, but the women and girls who rely on transactional sex for economic survival often use substances such as drugs and alcohol to give them "courage" for "dates" (Wechsberg, Parry & Jewkes, 2008, p.1). Drug and alcohol in such instances put them further at risk as it:

> may lower inhibitions for sexual transactions, it increases the likelihood of high-risk sex behaviors, such as not using condoms properly, and prevents women from negotiating sexual risk reduction and thereby reducing physical and sexual violence. Overall, these women lack the essential skills for violence prevention to reduce being victimized (Wechsberg et al., 2008, p.1).

There is also a strong link between substance abuse, masculinities, GBV, and youth copying the behaviour of others (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). In a society with patriarchal values, consuming alcohol can be seen as part of masculine behaviour, having power, and an excuse to justify GBV. In gang culture alcohol and drugs are used in initiation rituals, as a means to show that members conform, and to display dominant masculine roles through GBV. Alcohol and drugs can however be a masculine coping mechanism for men who feel vulnerable or powerless (Bloomfield, Gmel, & Wilsnack, 2006; Peacock & Barker, 2008). Youth are following in the trend

of using and abusing alcohol and drugs as per the examples set by older community members. As Morojele et al. (2011) note, alcohol and drug use among youth is a concern in South Africa as it contributes to crime, violence, and injuries, and other social, health, and economic problems. Noting the relation between substance abuse, masculinities, and GBV, women often carry the responsibility to avoid GBV.

The roles of women and girls in GBV has been thoroughly researched (Moletsane, Mitchell & Smith, 2012) and an argument put forward about their responsibility for causing GBV, whether through their behaviour, where they were, or what they wore. This thinking affects women's and girls' social interactions and controls and dictates their behaviour (Dosekun, 2011). It is seen as limiting and causing women and girls to internalise the belief that they themselves are implicated in GBV and need to police their own behaviour to avoid being blamed when they are harassed or raped (Gordon & Collins, 2013). The example from a girl-participant in a study by Jewkes et al. (2006) points to such policing behaviour:

> It is not easy for me to wear tight trousers when there are men at home. I stay with my mother and my younger sister most of the time. So when my father, my uncle or my brother is there I don't wear them because if they rape me, I can't blame them. Same as at school, if you dress in a way that is not right at school, you will be raped and you must never blame anyone (p. 1813).

In *Was it something I wore*, Moletsane et al. (2012) take up the issue of personal and socially constructed identities around dress. Their framing question signals the idea that women's clothing represents their identity and that dress positions body and identity in different social cultural spaces. They strongly argue that the dress a woman or girl wears has nothing to do with being a victim of GBV, in fact there is no sufficient circumstantial evidence that justifies GBV towards women or girls, rather it represents a larger warped societal habit of victim-blaming.

This thinking places unreasonable limits on women's socialising, removes the blame from the perpetrator, is restrictive and oppressive, and emphasises existing power inequality. It is ironic that most vulnerable groups are expected to protect themselves from men who are supposed to provide protection, understandably creating a culture of fear (Jewkes et al., 2006).

Hegemonic cultural norms often dictate victims and communities' responses to GBV (Bassadien & Hochfeld, 2005). Fear could cause both the victims and witnesses to

keep quiet - being afraid of more or worse violations. Not only are victims silent, but community members might be aware of, or witness the violence, yet choose to turn a blind eye with excuses such as they do not want to interfere or judge, thereby fuelling a culture of silence (UN Women, 2014).

The acceptance of GBV as normal could mean that some persons are simply unaware that they themselves or others are being abused (Jewkes, 2013). Others might be aware that there is little support from either community members or the authority structures and therefore shy away from even attempting to disclose abuse. A pattern is formed where the abused are stripped of their self-confidence and buy into and believe these types of lies and therefore suffer GBV in silence internalizing that no-one will believe them if they disclose the abuse (Sathiparsad, 2011).

Disclosing abuse means admitting that there is a problem, which in itself bears stigma and carries with it a fear of tarnishing one's as well as the family's reputation. Many would rather just pretend it didn't happen and move on, as it might be easier to cope or deal with GBV in silence. Silence around GBV is a way of avoiding stigma related to GBV. It is often regarded that GBV is a private issue and that women choose to remain silent because of feelings of guilt and betrayal (Sathiparsad, 2011; Jansen van Rensburg, 2007).

Jewkes and Morrell's study (2010) looked at gender and sexuality perspectives and write that in African hegemonic masculinity - as found in the Zulu concept of *isoka* - a virile man is idealized for prodigious sexual successes, and is the envy of other men. Ideals such as these might not be coupled with force but it helps shape specific gender identities that can contribute to elevated levels of GBV. Furthermore in light of hegemonic masculinity and gender identity formation it "can be seen as a cultural ideal that links risky sexual practices and the use of violence and other controlling behaviours against women" (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010, p.4).

For men to have hegemonic power means female identities are constructed to allow for male power. Moletsane (2007) argues the imagined and actual GBV highlights the severe powerlessness experienced by most South African women (Moletsane, 2007; Dosekun, 2011). Thumi, a participant in Dosekun's study iterated the powerlessness caused by fear with the following:

> We live in fear, we feel very unsafe... so that's sad actually that you have to live a life where you constantly have to make, you know, measures for in case gender-based violence happens (2011, p. 97).

Jewkes and Morrell (2010) also highlight that power inequality exists in the dominant identity formation of young South African black girls and the connection to subordination, having to report to men, to be available to men at their will and provide sex on demand. Therefore Jewkes and Morrell (2010) believe,

> "[i]t is hardly surprising that women with violent and controlling partners have been shown both to have more frequent sex and to use condoms less often. Women are expected to avoid behaving in a way that threatens men's sense of control, failing which they are expected to endure and accept their physical punishment. For African women, excusing male behaviour is an integral part of dominant femininity and essential for keeping the right man. In a practical sense that entails tolerance of violence (if he is violent), tolerance of his other partners (or when this fails, direction of aggression against them, rather than him), and ensuring that sex with the right man is 'the best' (i.e., no condoms)(p.5).

This form of male power is also referred to as patriarchy. Dlamini (2013), the South African Minister of Social Development believes GBV is systematic, socially constructed and legitimized through patriarchy. Patriarchy is a culture of accepted male dominance. Jewkes and Morrell (2010) write on patriarchy as:

> … the social organization that allocates, distributes and secures the power of men over women … through the use of force, indeed the cultural foundations … and processes [that allow] the use of violence, within limits and in particular contexts, … as legitimate in pursuit of their goals. This applies both in the public (for example, men resolving differences between one another using physical violence) and private domains (…domestic violence, including femicide) (p. 5).

In South Africa many patriarchal practices were sanctioned by apartheid with a code of conduct drawn from the Bible, creating a hierarchy with men atop and women as acquiescent. According to Carter (2015),

> [m]ost societies were shaped by religious doctrine mandated by male authorities, so attitudes and systems that promote male dominance have become the norm. … Alongside such patriarchal systems, violence in society has also become normalised (p.1555-1556).

Patriarchy justifies the oppression of girls and women by regulating what they may or may not do. In the Zulu culture for example patriarchy underpins the expectations of a Zulu woman: to take her place in the kitchen, to take care of the children, remain faithful to her husband, and so on, while on the other hand it also points to male anger and fear around gender equality regarding women's increasing freedom (De Lange, Mitchell & Bhana, 2012). In Zulu culture, for example, Zulu people are of the view that a husband has sexual rights over his wife as he has paid lobola for her - a dowry which entitles him to conjugal rights (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Many women do not perceive coerced sexual experiences within a marriage as rape, as they believe it is a wife's duty to provide her husband with sexual pleasure. Another cultural practice of the Black South African people such as the Zulus, Tsongas and Xhosas, pertaining to marriage, is polygamy, where a man is entitled to more than one wife. This practice stresses gender inequality, as it only permits the men to engage in sexual relations with several other women whom he can deem as his wives after a traditional wedding ceremony. In a polygamous marriage where the women are seen as subordinate to the man, women's power in voicing their opinions and making decisions is also limited. This situation exacerbates the spread of HIV as one partner can be infected which in turn will lead to everyone contracting the virus (Mswela, 2009).

In a patriarchal context many forms of violence are tolerated and deemed harmless (UNFPA, 2011). In South Africa some women may therefore experience GBV on a daily basis and see it as normal. In some South African communities, according to Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005), it might even be culturally acceptable to anger a woman, to hit a woman in anger, and also expect her to apologise:

> [It is] cultural to beat women with a stick or a sjambok and not with an open hand. If he has paid lobola she can't go back to her family unless he tells her to 'go home'. Then her family has to repay the lobola (a participant in the study of Bassadien & Hochfeld, 2005, p.1415).

Jewkes et al. (2015, p.1580-1588) point to the social and cultural norms that support violence against women. Taken from studies from diverse settings they identified the following: a man has a right to assert power over a woman and is considered socially superior; a man has a right to physically discipline a woman for 'incorrect' behaviour; physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict in a relationship; sexual intercourse is a man's right in marriage; a woman should tolerate

violence in order to keep her family together; there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten; sexual activity – including rape – is a marker of masculinity; and girls are responsible for controlling a man's sexual urges. This gender inequality framed by unjust social and cultural norms is blatant imbalance of power and is key in the understanding of vulnerability of women to GBV and HIV and AIDS infection (Ackermann, 2006; Van de Wouwer, 2005).

Reingardienė (2004) believes a feminist perspective positions GBV as a gendered phenomenon. GBV is culturally defined and socially constructed through the constructs of gender and power within the social context i.e.:

> …systematic, intentional and socially constructed behaviour to exercise power and to control. Although there are many ways, in which men as a group maintain women in oppressed social positions, violence is the most overt and effective means of social control (Reingardienė's, 2004, p.14).

Social learning approach suggests an intergenerational transmission of violence through power. Therefore the power discourse – when capturing the subtle and complex nature of GBV and when framing it in the "wider historical, cultural, or institutional context, in which the practice is created, culturally supported and, even encouraged" (Reingardienė's, 2004, p.11), and when not presented as gender-neutral, a clear understanding of the drivers of GBV is enabled.

Foucault (1982) posits that power is dependent on culture rooted in social relations. Bassadien and Hochfeld too, take this argument further and point out that:

> Culture is an effective tool for affirming and maintaining male authority, across all races, religions and ethnic groups in South Africa …, and strongly permeates social discourses on … violence in ways that are harmful to women (2005, p.4).

Men seem to be able to carry out their will with little or no resistance from other men or women (Sadan, 1997). Power oppresses or disempowers women from making independent decisions. According to Jewkes (2013) most women collude - due to culture and their own internalization of its values - in this oppression. Joubert-Wallis and Fourie (2009) argue that this is why women accept male power.

In concluding the explanation of the drivers, I concur with Reingardienė (2004) who points out that:

> …the examination of the relevant individual characteristics of individual men and women has to be integrated within understandings of the patriarchal social context, of

> the unequal distribution of power, and of the socially constructed and culturally maintained patterns of gender meanings. … multilevel analysis, which systematically integrates different constructs and discourses together into coherent model of predisposing conditions, from which gender based violence emerges (p.15).

2.9 YOUTH AND GBV

Turning to youth - a target group considering the risk factors to GBV – it is necessary to understand the nature of their experiences of GBV and what might be done to prevent these experiences from occurring.

GBV is a problem for youth worldwide who experience similar types of GBV as adults (Swart & Bredekamp, 2009). In the context of sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa, African girls experience GBV not only through IPV and sexual violence, but through other forms such as female genital mutilation, child marriage, forced marriage, sex trafficking, GBV in warfare and rape (Samarasekera & Horton, 2015). Girls experience GBV of a more sexual nature, i.e. sexual violence, harassment, intimidation, abuse, assault, rape, while boys experience implicit GBV, i.e. corporal punishment, bullying, verbal and psychological abuse, and harm from aggressive behaviour (see 2.4.3). Boys who witness abuse at home also face the risk of developing harmful behaviours such as participating in unsafe sex, and different forms of violence. It would seem that boys are mostly victims of unwanted violence from peers or gangs. Violence by and against men and boys remains an issue of concern (Jewkes et al., 2015) and considering the general pervasive social trends of GBV and affected youth, it shows the need for increasing youth's agency as a human rights issue (Bhana, 2012).

Many South African youth are sexually active in high school - 50% according to Commission on Gender Equality (Jekwes et al., 2006). The average age of sexual debut for both boys and girls is fourteen, an age where they still lack comprehensive knowledge about their own sexuality. Sathiparsad (2011) found that for them 'sex on demand' was acceptable. This is linked to the fact that half of adolescent sexual intercourse is non-consensual, and that youth make up half of all rape survivors (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2010). Most adult men who have raped confessed that they raped as adolescents (Jewkes, et al., 2012). It is therefore necessary to hear youth voices on solutions to their experiences of GBV as a means to prevent this pattern of abuse. Sociologist Ann Oakley (in Moletsane, 2012)

believes we should incorporate ways for youth to be active both as knowers and social actors to contribute to addressing social problems.

The context in which rural youth find themselves seems to exacerbate their vulnerability to GBV. Evidence indicates that rural youth are not only susceptible to GBV but often lack support or protection from it (De Lange & Mitchell, 2014; Balfour et al., 2008). In South Africa 34% of the population live in rural areas (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012). In these contexts issues such as poverty, cultural customs, HIV and AIDS, having to walk long distances to and from school, lack of resources, and lack of access to social services (Morojele et al., 2012) all increase the vulnerability of rural youth to GBV. According to Balfour et al. (2008) "…the very isolation of the rural makes for the intensity of lived experience in more or less proportion to the forces, agencies, and resources available for intervening in that experience" (p.99).

Moletsane (2012) confirms high levels of GBV in poorer communities with children and youth from poorer settings being particularly vulnerable. Youth in Varga's study (2004, p.164) in rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal viewed forced sex as normal and even described it as "a custom and a norm in our community". The high levels of HIV prevalence in rural KwaZulu-Natal (38%) (UNAIDS, 2008; 2011) is in and of itself a risk for youth. A study in rural Vulindlela, a district of KwaZulu-Natal, noted that in 2010, 10% of girls aged 15 years were living with HIV, 50% of girls were living with HIV by age 25, and by the time they turned 30 the rate was over 60% (Karim & Karim, 2012). Rural girls are more susceptible to GBV due to gender normatives as well as HIV infection due to tears and lacerations from forced sex. Therefore UNAIDS (2011) refers to a feminisation of AIDS, since more than 75% of new infections occur among girls aged 15-24 years making them the most vulnerable group in South Africa (Health Systems Trust, 2013) (see 2.5.2).

In rural Vulindlela youth have been engaged in discussions around GBV and in 2006, as part of the *Learning Together Project* working with participatory video, they were asked to identify the most important issues in their lives and to make a video about these issues (Mitchell 2011). They also had to come up with real solutions to address the problems they had identified within their local community. They highlighted challenges of the realities of living in a country known to have the highest rates of GBV, and also the realities of growing up and living in a rural district that

experiences high levels of GBV. Stark realities of rape and incest as well as the spread of HIV and AIDS were mentioned in the visual or graphic evidence. De Lange and Mitchell (2014) indicate that the engaging process and "the [video] production [process] is an end in itself and possibly sustainable and can be a tool for community outreach in addressing gender violence" (p.588).

Disclosure of GBV is more difficult in adolescence, as an adolescent is already at a self-conscious age, and abuse could lead to aggravated emotional despair with feelings of low self-esteem, parental neglect, and needing to protect the family from shame (Skinner & Mfecane, 2004). Furthermore, youth could be subjected to verbal abuse, accusations, blame, shame, guilt, feelings of dirtiness, physical abuse, and direct confrontation (Skinner & Mfecane, 2004). Stigma can cause much emotional suffering and can alter adolescents' sense of identity through self-internalisation and ultimately how they react to the world, which is often framed by a process of isolation (Skinner & Mfecane, 2004), in which the sense of self erodes and they proceed to take the blame for their situation (Skinner & Mfecane, 2004).

These feelings might be heightened in adolescent female youth, since they are likely to be marginalised and experience social hostility for disclosure of GBV. This is due to pre-existing stigmas regarding gender, race, and stereotypes of HIV and AIDS transmission (Wingood, Reddy, Peterson, DiClemente, Nogoduka & Braxton, 2008). Thus, if girls disclose abuse, peers might blame them, bully, or avoid them, and cause social isolation. As opposed to facing the realities of stigma, girls accept being scapegoats, leading to greater vulnerability to experiencing GBV and contracting HIV and AIDS (Van de Wouwer, 2005). The findings of a study examining stigma among black adolescent females in South Africa exposed adverse mental health problems, depression, less quality of life, more severe post-traumatic stress and greater fear of disclosure, as some of the adverse effects of stigma (Wingood et al., 2008).

2.10 INTERVENTION

Michau, Horn, Bak, Putt, and Zimmerman (2015) believe that effective programming on the prevention of GBV should be a systematic and sustained plan that keeps in mind the social ecology that contributes to GBV – this means keeping in mind the delicate equilibrium of social, institutional, cultural, and political contexts of people's daily lives.

Temmerman (2015) believes we need to build on successful examples of community-based approaches to prevent GBV, while Claudia Garcia-Moreno in her foreword to a sexual violence research initiative argues for the need to focus on:

> the role of social norms in prevention of different forms of gender-based violence; the importance of integrating prevention and response into other sectors and programmes; the global trends and best practices in terms of prevention and, most importantly, what is working, why is it working, how do we measure success, how much does it cost and how do we scale up? (in De Lange, 2015, p. 108).

Intervention around GBV is a process or action to improve the lives of the affected through behavioural change strategies. Intervention programmes that promote the empowerment of people need to also include the necessary skills to bring about change. Empowerment implies that individuals can be agents of change (De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012). Despite being context-driven, the latest interventions share a common set of methodological guidelines to facilitate positive behaviour change within communities (Leach & Humphreys, 2007):

> The most important of these is a commitment to behaviour change and a belief that this can only be brought about through participatory methodologies … facilitated by the use of visual media such as drawings, film, drama, video, and interactive web sites. … Second is a commitment to seek out and value children's knowledge, opinions and perspectives, and for adults to engage in an open and democratic partnership, minimising the traditional adult child power imbalance. … creating a non-threatening and safe environment in which young people can openly discuss sensitive topics, question traditional views, express fears, and seek advice. This encourages and facilitates self-reflection, and provides space to learn and rehearse new behaviours (p. 57).

According to Michau et al. in *Lancet* (2015) intervention should happen on three levels: comprehensive – applying multiple risk reduction strategies; combination – behaviour change strategies and structural approaches to effect change in social and economic conditions; and large scale intervention – to produce generational shifts in behaviour.

According to UNAIDS (2008) traditional prevention has placed the individual at the heart of the response, however "…successful interventions are likely to be based on context-specific understandings of complex issues" (Leach & Humphreys, 2007, p.52). Having explored the literature on GBV it has become clear that prevention

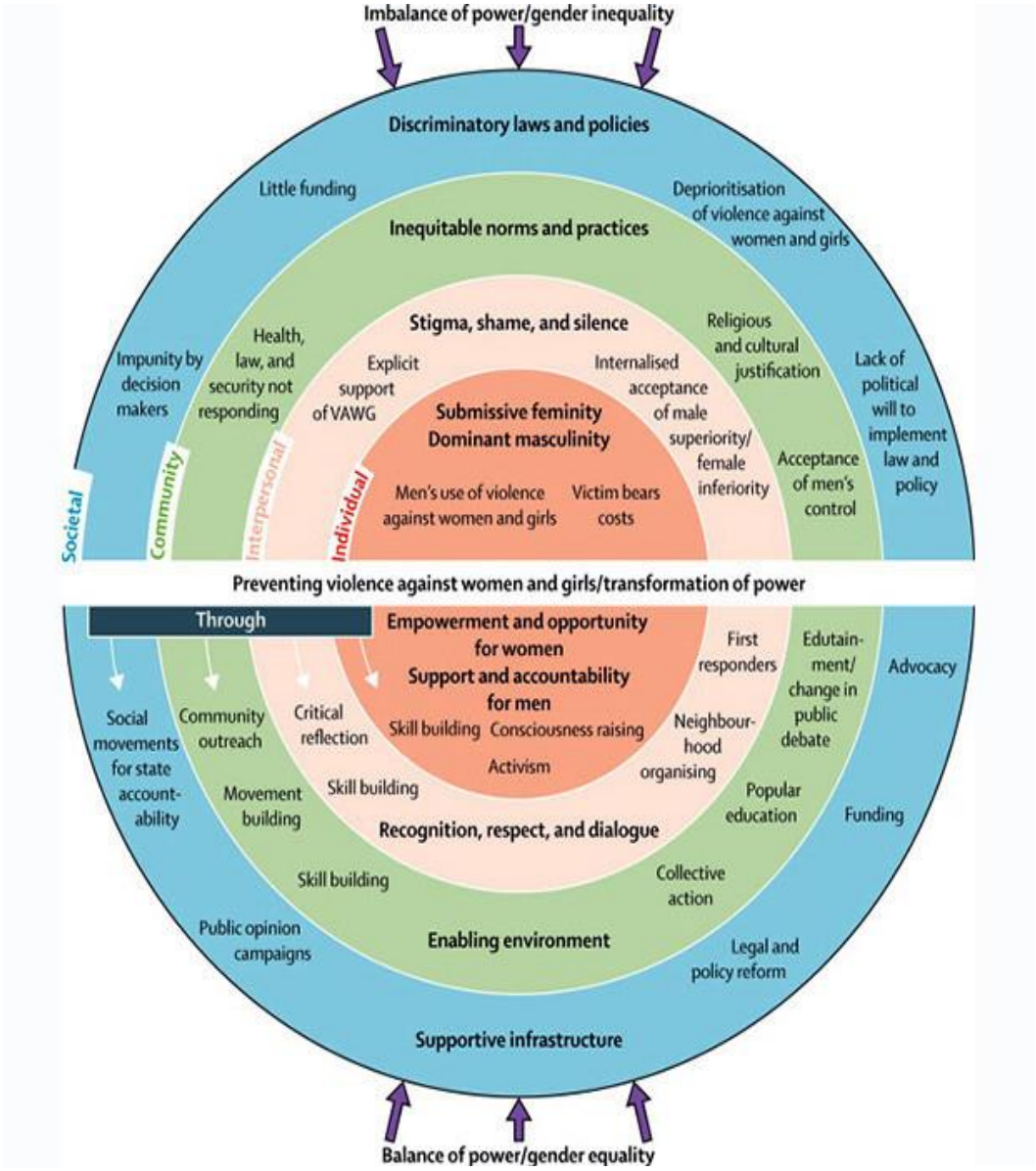


Figure 2.6 Preventing violence against women and girls/transformation of power (Michau et al., 2015, p.1675)

should be informed by what is already known about the drivers and discourses of GBV. Manjoo (in De Lange, 2015) argues for a holistic approach to addressing [GBV] sexual violence and points out the need for a "situated understanding of violence against women" since a "one-size-fits--all" approach does not seem to work. (Shisana et al., 2014 p. xiii) also call for "design and implement[ation of] targeted interventions for these groups, over and above the comprehensive interventions for the population at large". Temmerman (2015, p.38) reveals an interesting gap, namely that interventions have "largely emphasised legal, justice sector, and legislative responses, awareness raising, and, to a limited extent, health-sector response", and have left out an educational response. Michau et al.'s (2015,

p.1675) diagram (Figure 2.6) encapsulates the necessity of intervention at different levels of the ecosystem.

Jewkes et al. (2011), drawing on evidence from research, suggest interventions which take into consideration all the layers of the ecosystem. Furthermore, the authors suggest prevention should build on gender equity (at all levels), and on power transformation, and should critically review gender construction. In drawing on these ideas Jewkes et al. (2015, p.1580) point out that "[f]uture interventions should emphasise work with both men and boys and women and girls to change social norms on gender relations, and need to appropriately accommodate the differences between men and women in the design of programmes". Michau et al. (2015, p.1672) believe programmes are needed which point toward preventing

> …violence against women and girls, and emphasises the importance of systematic, sustained programming across the social ecology (i.e. the delicate equilibrium of interacting social, institutional, cultural, and political contexts of people's lives) to transform gender-power inequalities (p.1672).

Moletsane (2012) points out that two decades have passed since the demise of apartheid but that rural communities are still plagued by seemingly insurmountable challenges, despite many intervention strategies (Moletsane, 2012). She (2012) suggests that schools in rural areas are assets that can be harnessed in developing responses that address social challenges. Systematic responses to real challenges can bring about real transformation in rural areas (Balfour et al., 2008).

2.10.1 Intervention programmes

A range of interventions and campaigns exist in South Africa and many include the involvement of youth, such as the *One-in-Nine project*, *The Girls' Education Movement* (GEM), *Isolbantwana*, *Soul City*, *Soul Buddyz*. Other successful intervention programmes include: *People Organizing against Women Abuse* (POWA), *Litha Labantu*, *Gender Links*, *Rape Crises Cape Town*, and a help-seeking website, www.rape.co.za (UNICEF, 2009; Bennett, 2011). Interventions with a more deliberate focus on GBV include *One Man Can*, *Brothers for Life*, and *Stepping Stones* (Jewkes et al., 2006) as well as South Africa's 16 day activist campaign to stop violence against women, have certainly raised awareness of GBV through the help of the media. Some successes have been noted, for example The *Skhokho Supporting Success* programme which endeavours to end IPV among youth through skills-building workshops aimed at gender transformative interventions (UNAIDS,

2014). The Stepping Stones intervention is aimed at reducing GBV in informal settlements contributing to shifts in gender power practices (Shai & Sikweyiya, 2015). AMANDLA EduFootball (Mathews, Jamieson, Lake & Smith, 2014) is a peer youth recreational approach to uplift and support youth in building camaraderie and to focus on positive ways to prevent risky sexual behaviour. The youth learn football as an empowerment approach in the hope that it can change lives (Mathews et al., 2014). Other participatory intervention programmes include *DramAIDE* which aims to address GBV and HIV and AIDS through role play (Morrell et al., 2009). *Stepping Stones* (Jewkes, 2011b) also include a youth role play component aimed at HIV prevention intervention and addressing daily challenges in their lives. The *Soft Cover Project* (Stuart, 2010) is an HIV intervention programme that integrates art and popular culture through bookmaking, prose, poetry, and making images.

The importance of such interventions and prevention programmes are clear from the account of a 14 year-old girl who participated in the GEM programme:

> … my aunt arranged for me to be married to a complete stranger, a 43-year-old man living in a village 100 kilometers away. One day after school this man came to get me from school and told me to come with him; that he was my husband; and my aunt made all the arrangements. I try to tell him that I must go and get my things, because I was thinking it would give me time to run away, but he said no and forced me into the car. I was afraid and knew I had my rights. They taught me in GEM to speak out. Before GEM I would have been afraid and ashamed to tell what happened to me, but now I know it is not my fault, and I have my rights (UNICEF, 2014, p. 18)

While it seems that there are several intervention programmes to address GBV and related issues in SA, Moletsane (2012) notes the importance of such programmes including the cultural contexts in which the youth find themselves in their communities. Pattman and Chege's (2003) concern that most intervention programmes do not focus on the perceptions, conceptualisations, engagement, or needs of the youth, confirms the missing element of contextualising the programmes in the context of the youth. Frizell, Jwili and Nene (2013) therefore argue for the creation of participatory spaces in which youth can interrogate, construct, and reflect on their social realities, and in so doing inform the nature of the intervention programmes. Youth should contribute to developing programmes that allow them to challenge harmful social norms (Russell, Cupp, Jewkes, Gevers, Mathews, LeFleur-Bellerose & Small, 2014), and also indicate what could be done.

It is clear that innovative youth strategies are needed that focus on "[p]rimary prevention – stopping the violence before it starts – [as it] remains the most effective strategy available to us in addressing the epidemic of SIPV (sexual intimate partner violence) in South Africa" (Shai & Sikweyiya, 2015, p. 38). Considering the linkages between violence and GBV (WHO, 2013a), it is important to target the youth in prevention programming for future change (ISS, 2015). De Lange and Stuart (2008) reiterate that youth are tired of the same old messages and that innovative youth intervention strategies are needed, which according to Hoosen and Collins (2004), should take a multi-dimensional perspective on individuals, society, and specifically culture. It is imperative that youth intervention and prevention programmes include youth's needs and interests for lasting social development. Jewkes (2011b) points out the importance of including youth in addressing society's social issues. Successful prevention and intervention programmes could therefore prevent youth from repeating harmful social normatives (Gevers et al., 2013). There is thus a need to democratise intervention, especially for youth who are seen to be on the margins of society (Mitchell, 2008), and to assist them in identifying community challenges and ways to address them (Moletsane, 2012).

2.10.2 Intervention in school

The South African Schools Act of 1996 prohibits all forms of violence in schools (South African Council for Educators [SACE], 2011). Laws and policies designed for schools aim to ensure gender equality and human rights. Several interventions – framed by the policy – enable a range of programmes, some offered after school by external stakeholders, some during and after school such as peer education programmes, and also during school such as the work done in Life Orientation lessons.

According to de Lange and Mitchell (2014) teachers are key role players in combating social ills, but receive little support in their professional development. The teacher participants in De Lange and Mitchell's study (2014) were overwhelmed by the challenges of working in a department of education that does not provide the best environment in which to teach, where there are constant changes in curriculum, and where many demands are made from within the school and from the community around it. They felt they did not receive enough professional development to be able to address GBV. Furthermore De Lange and Mitchell (2014) indicate that many recommendations have been made around women teachers, sexuality, and rural

conditions through recent research initiatives, but these have not found their way into policy or curricula.

The most common type of school-based initiative seeks to raise awareness and bring about behaviour change through the curriculum, usually in Life Orientation. Life Orientation is a compulsory subject in all grades, and GBV is integrated in the learning outcomes of the units of personal well-being, citizenship, and education (DoE, 2011). The Life Orientation curriculum aims at the holistic development of the learner and the development of self within the society through beneficial social interaction with a focus on rights and responsibilities and therefore the redress of social issues such as GBV (DoE, 2011). The Life Orientation curriculum should be presented in a participatory way. In South Africa a training manual for teachers entitled "Opening our Eyes: Addressing gender-based violence in South African schools" (DoE, 2001) was developed and has been introduced to address the very high levels of gender violence in schools. It aims to highlight gender inequality and possibilities for curriculum change and whole school strategies to address GBV through interactive workshops (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). A more recent toolkit developed by external stakeholders is the *Good School Toolkit: Systematic Approach to Preventing Violence Against Children in Schools*, which offers an interesting model of drawing on education, a whole school approach, and a health programme. The *Good School Toolkit* is positioned as "the best framework in which to bring about systemic change" (De Lange, 2015, p.109).

According to Leach and Humphreys (2007) interventions around gender violence in schools are a relatively recent area of research and few initiatives have been implemented. Despite policy commitment to addressing GBV with the inclusion of programmes since 2005 there is still concern over the wide-scale implementation of SRGBV interventions due to a lack of necessary advisory and technical support (Leach et al., 2012). There is little available information about the impact of current interventions (Leach & Humphreys, 2007) as "…initiatives meant to bring about social change in these areas, including those concerned with teacher education and curriculum implementation, have not addressed the systemic challenges" (Balfour et al., 2008, p. 99). Considering the challenges of rurality many learners and their teachers in most rural contexts require intervention. Therefore, Moletsane (2012) believes research in rural schools might ask how to "identify and utilise the strengths

and resources available in their communities to triumph over the challenges they face" (p. 5).

Since it is rural teachers, parents, and learners who face the enormity of social crises, it is important to turn the gaze on appropriate peer learner interventions (Moletsane, 2012). In the next section I consider peer education as a possible intervention strategy that can be adopted in schools.

2.10.3 Peer education as intervention

UNAIDS (2011) talks of focused interventions with "strategic planning, programme management and capacity-building for community-based … innovation" (UNAIDS, 2011, p.33). Peer education is such an intervention. UNAIDS (1999) defines peer education as a process and a tool for peers to participate in organised activities in order to acquire new knowledge. According to UNICEF (2003) peer educators are about the same age or slightly older than the members of the group. They may work alongside an adult facilitator to run educationally-based activities, and often take the lead in organising and implementing intervention activities. In these roles peer educators together with the group can help raise awareness, provide accurate information, and help their classmates to develop skills which can change behaviour. Peer education can take the following forms: leading informal discussions; making video and drama presentations; having one-on-one time talking with fellow students; handing out condoms, leaflets, and brochures; and offering counselling, support, and referral to services (DoE, 2010).

UNICEF (2003) believes the process of peer education can be a lifesaving learning opportunity as youth themselves have the responsibility to educate for prevention. Furthermore peer education is based on the reality that people make changes due to the opinions and actions of their peers. They thus serve as role models for change and communicate with one another according to a common or shared culture. In short, peer education can be an effective method for changing attitudes and establishing healthy norms and behaviour (UNICEF, 2003).

Two successful prevention programmes with peer education components are *Stepping Stones* (Jewkes et al., 2012) and *Men as Partners* (WHO, 2005). Both of these are revered (UNAIDS, 2011; WHO, 2005) as successful training programmes geared towards addressing social issues regarding gender, HIV, and relationship skills within communities. *Stepping Stones* has been described as a life-skills training

package in uncovering human behaviour and how to influence and change harmful behaviour. The programme was developed between 1993 and 1995 in responding to vulnerability of a diverse rural community in Uganda, comprising Protestants, Catholics, and others all living together. Men, women, and youth discussed, reflected, and shared in the decision-making regarding sexual behaviour in a patriarchal society with generally repressive attitudes towards youth (Jewkes, 2013). The programme successfully transferred to other settings, specifically in South Africa to change harmful social norms (Jewkes et al., 2012) with the focus on developing, training, and educating youth to be peer leaders. The goals included youth achieving peer educator status to disseminate knowledge, referring others to counselling and information services, role-modelling positive behaviour, implementing gender-based violence and AIDS awareness campaigns, and ultimately uplifting the community and empowering youth. Peer education was seen as key in the *Good School Toolkit: Systematic Approach to Preventing Violence Against Children in School*. It highlights the importance of including social role players such as youth because external theory or prevention programmes offer little change if the ones affected by the violence are not involved in the planning thereof.

However, peer engagement programmes can only be successful if they are participatory (UNICEF, 2003). Adamchak (2007) believes there is a gap for community-based peer engagement programmes in sub-Saharan Africa which draw on school-going youth and use participatory approaches. This Morrell et al. (2009) believe is because youth peer engagement has a positive influence and safe behaviour modelling; transformation happens as peers look for approval from one another. This method of changing harmful social actions can modify behaviour on an individual level and in turn be transferred to schools, families, and communities (Morrell et al., 2009). UNICEF (2003) cautions that peer education should be complemented by other strategies for prevention education such as skills-based education led by competent adults. A competent adult coordinator improves the quality and general flow of peer education programmes.

2.10.4 Youth participation as intervention

Innovative participatory approaches seem to improve the effectiveness of intervention programmes designed to address risky behaviour or social issues in the community (De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012). Youth in the adolescent phase have a natural inclination to be with peers who play an important role in their lives (Gouws,

2015a). Intervention programmes aimed at youth should therefore be based on the use of peers as peer influence is important in youth decision-making (UNICEF, 2009). Gouws (2015a) identifies another important aspect, namely that of youth's natural inclination towards technology and the new social landscape that allows spaces to guide and support one another through engagement.

This generation is often referred to as Generation Y, the Millennial Generation, or the Millenium kids (Gouws, 2015a) who use digital technologies for communication, entertainment, and learning. According to Gouws (2015a) teens prefer socialising on cellular phones rather than face-to-face, enjoy communicating from anywhere, and appreciate being able to be in contact with their families. It is interesting to note that the majority (71%) of youth participants confirmed that connecting with their friends was the most significant feature of new media.

This natural inclination towards digital participation coupled with the difficulties to speak out about sensitive issues is what convinced Mitchell and De Lange (2013) to view the use of digital technology in participatory research with youth as an effective strategy for intervention. Herein lies multiple opportunities to express their ideas on social problems. MacDonald et al. (2011) confirm this by saying:

> In taking a participatory approach, researchers adopt the position that participants are subjective, contextual, self-determining and dynamic. Researchers obtain participant perspectives, describe, and interpret data with a primary focus on research in the context of social change (e.g. the enhancement of knowledge to promote action (p. 1128).

Knowledge alone cannot change behaviour (UNICEF, 2009) but including youth in policy making, the development of campaigns, and programmes can be empowering and can mobilise social change (UNICEF, 2003). In fact De Lange et al. (2007, p. 41) believe, "building solidarities and alliances among youth may be the best hope" in addressing social issues. De Lange and Geldenhuys (2012) highlight how in identifying social problems - through participation - their participants were also able to identify solutions to the problems, positioning both individuals and the community as agents of change. The central challenge is to develop mechanisms for programmes - based on what is known to work - whilst further developing new intervention strategies (Jewkes, 2012).

What does not work in youth participation according to Chandra-Mouli, Lane, and Wong (2015) is a lack of substantial effort through coordinated and complementary approaches. The authors note that adolescent sexual and reproductive health (ASRH) interventions present challenges in this field: firstly many adolescents are not reached in youth interventions, many ineffective interventions are still being implemented, interventions that have proved to be effective are delivered ineffectively, there are often unqualified facilitators in youth intervention programmes, and interventions are delivered in a fragmented fashion (often a low dosage for a short time). It is suggested that less focus be placed on single behaviours, and more consideration be given to the co-occurrence of harmful behaviours, measures for assessing the efficacy of preventive interventions, and identifying optimal means for dissemination and diffusion. To establish effective intervention programmes it is necessary to address the gaps in knowledge, scale up what works, eliminate the waste of financial resources on programmes that do not work, halt the ineffective application of those that work, and find the best and most promising practices in prevention science and adolescent health.

2.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have provided an overview of GBV with a focus on GBV in South Africa and its youth. I have identified women and girls as disproportionately affected by GBV, and validated why this population group is most affected and infected by HIV and AIDS. I underscored this point by highlighting women's vulnerability in the light of economic inequalities, and the link between GBV and patriarchy in society. At the end of the chapter I made reference to peer engagement as a potentially successful form of intervention, but highlighted the need for youth to be included in a participatory manner in programmes designed for social change.

CHAPTER 3
PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPATORY CULTURES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a theoretical exposition of GBV. In this chapter I explain participation and the relevant theories that inform the chosen framework for this study which has enabled me to make meaning of how youth participants in the study use social media and peer engagement to address GBV in their community. The framework draws on ideas around participation and participatory research, participation and community, participation and youth culture, and participatory cultures. These have informed the conceptualisation of the study and helped in the formulation of my research questions, the methodology, the process, and the analyses of the data. Creswell (2009) posits that theories provide tentative solutions to a problem and therefore offer significant value in conceptualising and framing a study.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first section I consider emergent theories on participation to check for similarities and to gain a deeper understanding of participation. In the second section I consider participation in the community; seeing the community as actor and beneficiary of change. I link this to youth as actors who are often marginalised, and highlight the importance of youth participation by arguing their fundamental human rights to participate (UN General Assembly, 1989), the consequences of their exclusion, and possible challenges. I investigate youth as knowledge producers and the possibilities of youth cultures in participation. Finally, this exposition provides the clarity needed to examine participatory cultures as a promising 'new' theory in which to frame my study. I make mention of the access versus participation gap and how these constructs along with evidence from recent studies which have successfully applied participatory cultures, collectively provide a solid theoretical frame for this study.

3.2 PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPANT

The Oxford Dictionary's (Participation, n.d) basic definition of participation is: "[t]he action of taking part in something". In this study the "something" refers to participating in research. Participation within participatory research refers to participants taking part from a bottom-up approach (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2013). This according to Eversole (2012, p.30), "…is ultimately … that ('what'?) we-as-

professionals believe that they-as-communities have something to contribute to the process of social change". This does not work. In this instance the community is positioned as "community as actor" (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2013, p.50), where often marginalised or forgotten community members are the people who act for the benefit of their community.

A participant according to the Oxford Dictionary (Participant, n.d), is: "a person who takes part in something". In this study "person" refers to the rural school youth participants who are seen as experts of their own lives (Wang & Burris, 1996). Through the research process they create multiple perspectives regarding their realities in ways that are known as "doing" research (Cohen et al. 2007). It is through this participatory process that they develop the knowledge and capacity to act collaboratively towards the social change they want to see for themselves and for their communities (Wang & Burris, 1996; Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Attention in this study is focused on participatory research *with* the participants and not *about* or *on* them (Willis, 2007).

3.3 THE EMERGING THEORIES OF PARTICIPATION

Up until the 1960s hierarchical societies disguised forms of manipulation as 'participation' (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Minkler, 2004; Hollan, Renold, Ross & Hillman, 2010). This led Arnstein (1969) to reflect on the meaning of citizen participation and to design a ladder of participation which sparked an endless number of models and conceptual representations of levels, different forms, typologies, and degrees of participation. For the purpose of this research I provide a brief overview of a few of these models in chronological order to illustrate the thinking around participation in participatory research.

3.3.1 The ladder of citizen participation

In the ladder of citizen participation Arnstein shows participant power at any given time in the process of participation (Arnstein, 1969). Citizen participation is a strategy which enables the powerless to join in the determination of how knowledge is shared, and which can induce significant social reform when

ARNSTEIN'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION

8. Citizen control (have-nots obtain majority of decision-making)
7. Delegated power
6. Partnership (negotiate decisions)
5. Placation (a few represent the group)
4. Consultation (the have-nots only voice their ideas)
3. Informing
2. Therapy ('cure' or 'educate' have-nots)
1. Manipulation

Figure 3.1 Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969)

participants acquire real power to affect social change. Participation starts from non-participation (1 and 2), to tokenism (3-5), to citizen power (6-8).

The eight steps of the ladder represent the ways in which power can be redistributed in the research process (Arnstein, 1969).

3.3.2 The ladder of youth participation

Inspired by Arnstein's ladder of participation, Hart (1992) developed a ladder of participation for youth and suggested that there are limitations in Arnstein's (1969) ladder. Hart recognised that youth participation could be useful alongside adults in a process of shared decision-making.

Hart clarifies how power and participation play themselves out on different levels of youth participation in projects. This ladder is useful in guiding participatory research as the rungs of the ladder show the possibility of increasing authentic youth participation (Hart, 1992).

THE LADDER OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

8. Youth-initiated, shared decision with adults
7. Youth-initiated and directed
6. Adult-initiated, shared decisions with youth
5. Youth consulted
4. Youth informed
3. Tokenism
2. Decoration
1. Manipulation

Figure 3.2 Hart's ladder of youth participation (Hart, 1992)

Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994) proposed a ladder of citizen power which focused on community member participation, and Wilcox (1994) developed a five rung ladder to show levels of interconnected community participation: information, consultation, deciding together, acting together, and supporting individual community initiatives.

At this point researchers theorised that power is not necessarily transferred in a participative process, but that the process itself has value and is empowering (Wilcox, 1994).

3.3.3 Pretty's typology of participation

Pretty's (1995) typology of participation focuses on community engagement through a participatory process. Of Pretty's seven types of participation the last two forms for community development are noteworthy in relation to

PRETTY'S TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

7. Self-mobilization
6. Interactive participation
5. Functional participation
4. Participation for material incentives
3. Participation through consultation
2. Passive participation
1. Manipulative participation

Figure 3.3 Pretty's typology of participation (Pretty, 1995)

participatory research.

Interactive participation joins together analysis and action, the formation of new local groups, and the strengthening of existing ones. It includes interlinked methods to create multiple perspectives, and structured learning processes for participants. The participants form a group or network that takes control over decision-making. The ultimate aim is self-mobilisation, where people take the initiative independently and take their own collective actions to challenge existing power - which is the final goal of participatory research.

3.3.4 White's typology of participation

White (1996) condensed the typology of the participation to different forms and functions.

WHITE'S TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

1. Nominal participation
2. Instrumental participation
3. Representative participation
4. Transformative participation

Figure 3.4 White's typology of Participation (White, 1996)

Social actors at grass root levels have less power and their participation is nominal; they are merely included in the process. Instrumental participation focuses on using community members' skills in order to achieve desired outcomes. Representative participation includes the participants' voices to help structure interventions that will suit their lives and which have the possibility of generating sustainable change. Lastly transformative participation results in empowerment and the changing of structures which marginalise and exclude people.

3.4.5 Treseder's degrees of participation

In 1997 Treseder created a model to show 'degrees of participation' drawing on Hart's (1992) ladder of youth participation. He too stepped away from ladder rungs and dismissed the hierarchy in the process of participation. His model focusses solely on the processes empowering youth to fully participate.

DEGREES OF PARTICIPATION

5. Child-initiated and directed
4. Child-initiated shared decision making with adults
3. Adult-initiated shared decisions with children
2. Consulted and informed
1. Assigned but informed

Figure 3.5 Degrees of participation (Treseder, 1997)

Scaffolding on this is Hodgson's (1995) model which highlights five conditions that must be met if youth participation and empowerment is to be achieved, namely they need (i) to have access to those in power, (ii) to be able to access relevant information, (iii) to be in control of making real choices, (iv) to have the support from

a trusted independent, and (v) to have the means of appeal or complaint if anything goes wrong.

In 2002 UNICEF too, considered the role of youth within communities and re-visited Hart's ladder with the aim of meaningful participation of youth specifically at community levels. UNICEF (2002) included developing youth's capabilities, and providing opportunities as well as supportive environments to ensure effective participation (UNICEF, 2002).

Jans and De Backer (2002) introduced the triangle of youth participation in 2002. It is a simple model which posits that youth will be actively involved if there is a dynamic balance between youth, the challenge, and the capacity to address the challenge for community development (Jans & De Backer, 2002). In the same year Francis and Lorenzo (2002) supplemented the idea of youth capacity by suggesting that youth should be policy makers, designers, researchers, and importantly critical reflectors in society.

3.3.6 Models of online participation

Models for online participation emerged and researchers started developing and implementing these around participatory research. In 2006 Wenmoth and Mayfield respectively designed online participatory models around interactive participation, collective intelligence, and high engagement. Fogg and Eckles' (2007) developed an online participation behaviour chain which covers the online process from site visitation, learning about, deciding to try it, getting started, creating value and content, involving others, to staying active and loyal. Kudva and Driskell (2009) developed a framework of participation which presents online participation as a spatial practice aimed to shift focus from participatory online projects to participatory online programmes. Davies (2009) introduced a matrix of online participation - expanding on Hart's work on youth participation – which has a structured long-term approach. According to him social networks with built-in structured forms of participation have a role to play in the engagement of youth. Davies (2009) adds that online social networks enhance engagement opportunities and encourages networks with other young people and supportive adults. In 2010, Benoff and Li produced a ladder of online participation which indicated the forms of

LADDER OF ONLINE PARTICIPATION

7. Creators
6. Conversationalists
5. Critics
4. Collectors
3. Joiners
2. Spectators
1. Inactives

Figure 3.6 Ladder of online participation (Benoff & Li, 2010)

participation with regard to social networking as well as the overlap of being actively involved in different levels at the same time.

3.3.7 Supporting equal participation

The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), a participatory girls scout development programme, designed a useful toolkit with practical steps to consider when planning and conducting participatory projects, and to evaluate levels of youth participation. The primary focus is on different levels of youth participation through coaching, mentoring and networking, and includes idea participation, knowledge participation, decision-making participation, action participation and evaluation participation.

SUPPORTING EQUAL PARTICIPATION

1) Coaching - develop skills and knowledge
2) Mentoring - Improve personal development
3) Networking - develop, support, maintain

Figure 3.7 Supporting equal participation (WAGGGS, 2012)

These levels of youth involvement are aimed at achieving changes in youths' lives for social advancement through involvement, responsibility, access, being included, expressing views, listening to others, and working together for solutions or courses of action (WAGGGS, 2012). Through their model of supporting equal participation, they provide steps for collaborative knowledge production and possible peer earning.

3.4 ONLINE PARTICIPATION

3.4.1 Digital literacy skills necessary for participation online

Eshet-Alkalai (2004) developed an integrated model of skills to include in digital literacy. These skills ought to develop literacy alongside digital technologies and include:

- Photo-visual literacy as a means of learning or making meaning of visual material.
- Reproduction literacy as a skill of creative duplication with new possibilities to create art, and to reproduce and edit texts with visual and audio pieces. It means new meaning making as well as new interpretations of text and art.
- Branching literacy which incorporates hypermedia and gathering bits of relevant information whilst navigating through multiple knowledge domains.

- Informatic literacy which is the skill of questioning gathered information. It requires the ability to look smartly for information, filtering it and identifying false, irrelevant, or biased information. It is the ability to be information literate critical thinkers who question information.

- Socio or emotional literacy which happens through knowledge sharing and discussions. It is the safety skills of caution to survive in a digital world. It involves participating in knowledge or learning communities, information sharing, and collaborative learning through knowledge, and emotion sharing which requires critical and analytical as well as sociological and emotional skills.

Digital literacy is necessary for effective online participation as well as the development of online communities (Buckingham, 2012).

3.4.2 Social media ecology for an online community

Kietzmann, Hermkens, MacCarthy and Silvestre (2011) believe that to understand why social media promotes collaborative community one needs to look at the seven building blocks of social media ecology. Any web-based technology which incorporates user-generated content in a communication landscape includes the following components (Kietzmann et al., 2011, pp. 241-251):

- Identity - the extent to which users reveal themselves, their privacy, and controls and tools for user or self-promotion.

- Conversation - the extent to which users communicate with each other.

- Sharing - the extent to which users exchange, distribute, receive, manage, and control content.

- Presence - extent to which users know if others are available, create and manage the reality, intimacy, and immediacy of the context.

- Relationships - extent to which users relate to each other and manage a network of relationships.

- Reputation - the extent to which users know the social standing of others, and contexts.

- Groups - the extent to which users are ordered or form communities, the rules, and the protocols.

These seven building blocks in social media ecology enable the establishment of a collaborative online community and should form a part of digital literacy for online community building.

3.5 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Garcia-Moreno et al. (2015) highlight the fact that community interventions are needed through the participation of all community actors to prevent and intervene in GBV. Community refers to people who either share common spaces or ground, or online communities who share online participatory spaces (Andrews, Numan, & Meadows, 2013); "community – [is] a group of people with a shared identity or interest that has the capacity to act or express itself as a collective. A community may be territorial, organizational, or a community of interest" (Government of Canada, 2013, n.p.). The meaning of community in participatory research is complex and many theorists in this field of research insightfully explain community as flexible and changeable over time. In an age of global digital communications, the birth of multiple online communities is seen as part of the variables of community which are not bound by geography but through interaction (Andrews et al., 2013).

A key feature of community is the interaction of community members, and through participatory research, online and local community members can bring about social change. Participatory research with the use of social media allows for community interactive participation in local (geographical) communities as well as in an online community (Cornwall, 2008). Research which advances community with a strong focus on avoiding a patronising approach of research *on* participants, but rather research *with* participants aimed at social change, should include community participation (Balfour et al., 2008). This is based on the premise that online and local community members know a great deal about their situations and can sustain social changes which they themselves initiate (Israel, Parker, Row, Salvatore, Minkler, López, Halstead, 2005). This could mean that online and local community participation, through participatory research, can address social injustices and bring about sustainable social change (Mitchell, 2008; Eversole, 2012).

Community participation can be effective in bringing about social change for a number of reasons. Communities have different needs, problems, beliefs, practices, assets, and resources, and the involvement of community members in addressing social problems helps to ensure that strategies are appropriate for and acceptable to community members. Community participation promotes shared responsibility between service providers, community members, and youth members. Communities can work together to advocate for better programs, services, and policies. They can furthermore support new change structures and norms through collective buy-in which can increase awareness and accountability for social situations that need attention (Cheetham, 2002).

The effectiveness of sustainable community participation depends on the participation of all community members, especially the inclusion of marginalised members such as youth (De Lange, 2008; Hollan et al., 2010). With that in mind this research was designed to include the voices of those who are often marginalised (Mitchell, 2008; Cornwall, 2008; Aasgaard, Borg & Karlsson, 2012; Andrews et al., 2013). The aim of including youth in participatory research is to enable sustainable capacity-building through resources, power sharing and the research process, and to witness possible social change (Minkler, 2004). In the next section I will further elaborate on the importance of youth in this study.

3.6 YOUTH PARTICIPATION

There are 1.8 billion young people in the world who should be able to participate as agents for social change in their communities (Cornwall, 2008; Aasgaard et al., 2012; UNICEF, 2014). Youth participation in society implies involvement, taking and sharing responsibility, being included, expressing views and listening to others, and working together for a solution or course of action as knowledgeable agents of social change (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006). Various UNICEF reports put forward the principles of youth participation which include voluntary participation, flexibility, adequate time, clear communication, reviewing systems to continuously improve the process of involving youth, recognising their contributing input and skills (as well as developing their skills), and having fun (UNICEF, 2001, 2014). In essence youth participation does not just mean to be involved; it means having a voice and being heard (Cornwall, 2008; Mitchell, 2008). The aim of youth participation is to have youth voices heard about local life of the community, to find solutions to local

problems or challenges, and to take part in different forms of participation (Balfour et al., 2008; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). Through participation youth can also strengthen their capabilities and develop attributes and skills that will positively influence their own lives and the lives of others.

Researchers are of the opinion that youth offer an entry point into the communities they come from. They suggest that youth need to be engaged in methodologies which enable them to voice their views and to act as agents of social change (De Lange et al., 2003; Kudva & Driskell, 2009; Hollan et al., 2011; Virgi, 2011; Sonn, Grossman & Utoma, 2013). This is because youth are most knowledgeable not only of their own lives, but have first-hand knowledge of their communities and social realities (Clark & Statham, 2005).

Youth participation is vital in developing communities; through participation youth gain life skills, confidence, knowledge about human rights, democracy, citizenship, take responsibility for their own actions, and equip themselves for their future roles in society (as parents, civic leaders, employers, workers, or politicians) (UNICEF, 2014). Furthermore participation inspires new ideas and creates opportunities for youth to develop innovative solutions to social problems (WAGGGS, 2012).

However, despite recommendations that youth be involved in the design of health interventions (Israel, Schulz, Parker & Becker, 1998), they are often neglected in participatory research aimed at social change (Cornwall, 2008). It is therefore necessary to appreciate their ideas, decisions, and goals, and importantly provide them with the opportunity to reflect on solutions to community problems (Cornwall, 2008). Youth participation invites researchers to think and ask questions about participation and youth cultures in its various forms, and about the possibility to generate new movements inclusive of youth participation (WAGGGS, 2012).

3.7 YOUTH CULTURE

It seems appropriate to frame youth participation within youth culture, explained as: “the activities, music, fashions etc. that are popular with young people” (Youth culture, n.d.). The origins of youth culture are hard to pinpoint as it most probably existed throughout time and throughout different cultures. Nevertheless it has been a topic of research and consideration in the 20th century specifically around the post-world war period (Epstein, 1998; Hodkinson & Bennett, 2012). It is in the 20th

century that youth culture developed as a prominent feature in society due to the consumer boom and compulsory schooling (Epstein, 1998; Gauntlett, 2008, Hodkinson & Bennett, 2012). Youth sub-cultures were formed in opposition to adult culture, formed around collective identity regardless of class, race, or gender (Sweetman, 2004; Orton-Johnson, 2013), and influenced by mass media (Gauntlett, 2008; Berlin Media Professional School, 2013).

Today youth culture primarily manifests itself through new media specifically in online communities: "[t]hese youth or media cultures do not form around such factors as fashion or music anymore but around different topics or special interests" (Berlin Media Profession School, 2013, n.p). Contemporary youth culture is influenced through new media via texting, gaming, and participating in online spaces which are not only forms of communication, but according to Buckingham and Willatt (2006) new modes of youth sub-culture or cyber-cultures. Online participation became popular and in 2009, 93% of American teens were using the internet (Pew Internet Research Center, 2009). According to the Pew Internet and American Life Projects: *Teenage Life Online* (Lenhart, Madden, Rankin, Macgill & Smith, 2007), *Teens and Technology* (Lenhart et al., 2007), and *Teens and Social Media* (Lenhart et al., 2007), not only did 93% of American teens use the internet, 64% created new media content (between the ages of 12-17), 33% created their own web pages, 26% remixed content they found online, 55% of online teens had a personal profile on social networking sites like Facebook, and 14% of teens had posted videos on these sites. The popularity of a culture of online participation has continued to increase.

The MacArthur Foundation initiated a media and learning initiative in 2006 in order to determine how youth culture is changing through participating in new social media. They determined that youth thrive in this environment due to the stimulation in an environment rich with multi-tasking and multiple stimuli (Jenkins et al., 2006). The appealing factors include visual images, video, text, and the combination of these through personal creation, in a virtual online world. It is through the participation and the creation of new media that youth culture influences new meanings and new representations of youth's everyday life experiences (Buckingham & Willatt, 2006).

3.8 YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN DIGITAL SPACES

Youth cultures and new media do not present itself without challenges. Over the decades Dewey (1939), Erikson (1968), and Postman (1982) have been concerned

with the identity of youth, the disappearance of childhood, and freedom and youth culture. In fact Erikson's (1969) work, "Identity: youth and crises" made him an influential theorist on youth development crises - one of which is youth's struggle to develop individuality and identity (1968). Today youth are forming and reconstructing individuality and identity through the use of new media. I wonder what Erikson's take would be on the influential role of new media and the crisis of identity development. Considering the notion of preserving childhood (Postman, 1982), it is understandable that parents and teachers refer to participation in new media as a form deviance. Pascarella points out that it is not only participation in new media that sends alarm bells ringing, but intellectual rights acts, such as the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998, that criminalises some forms of peer-to-peer digital information sharing (Pascarella, 2009).

Most schools only teach new media, but do not integrate it into curricula due to many factors including no or limited access to technologies, the incompetence of many teachers, and the possible breakdown of power barriers between adults and youth (Jenkins, 2012). Despite endless possibilities for classroom teaching and benefits of integrating the use of new media into teaching, it is most often presented as add-on courses at university level (Pascarella, 2009). Many schools and teachers are scared to allow students to use "social networking sites for fear of youth deviance" (Pascarella, 2009, p. 73).

While many might embrace youth digital participation, it would seem more likely that adults will pass judgment on the need to interact virtually (Pascarella, 2009). Age is also of little consequence in the digital world and the construct of youth and identity is certainly up for review in this world. In fact youth might be adults in terms of their vast self-taught knowledge on virtual games and virtual spaces (Hodkinson & Bennett, 2012), and their curiosity and impulsive natures can make them difficult to control (Dewey, 1939; Erikson, 1968; Postman, 1982). This begs the question at what point youth culture in new media becomes deviance or democracy, and how beneficial participatory cultures can be constructed (Knobel, 2005; Jenkins et al., 2006; Pascarella, 2009).

In order for youth to apply effectively digital democracy as opposed to digital deviancy, Knobel (2005) suggests a pedagogy for participating in new media; a pedagogy where youth culture challenges traditional power roles (Durham, 2000). A

pedagogy for technology citizenship, according to Buckingham (2003; 2013), includes instructing and teaching the use of new media. This can include spaces such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to name a few. In order to build pedagogy or integrate new media as teaching tools there needs to be a skills integration that builds upon existing traditional literacy and analytical skills taught in classrooms (Pascarella, 2009).

Knobel (2005) suggests that a pedagogy of new media literacies hinges on peer culture. Youth not only have a natural ability and desire to work with new media but also have access to peer cultures with the inherent potential of peer learning through social media engagement (Buckingham & Willatt, 2006; Jenkins et al., 2006). About this form of peer culture Jenkins et al. (2006) write:

> [a] growing body of scholarship suggests potential benefits of these forms of participatory culture, including opportunities for peer-to-peer learning, a changed attitude towards intellectual property, the diversification of cultural expression, the development of skills valued in the modern workplace, and more empowered conception of citizenship (p.3).

This coincides with Lenhart et al.'s (2007) views on peer culture and participation in new media data:

> [p]osting images are often accompanied with a virtual conversation and feedback from peers… [t]eens use their new found skills and build more layers of online communication on top of existing multimedia. Teens enjoy texting and instant messaging and social networking sites through contact with friends (p. v).

Youth need access to new media – which is not often available to youth who are less fortunate (Pew Internet Research Centre, 2013). This means youth who do not have access to digital technologies are on the other side of the digital divide and forfeit democratic privileges of participating in new media and accessing youth peer culture (Buckingham & Willatt, 2006).

Drawing on the relevant literature, I use a condensed explanation of the digital divide as separating those who have access to digital technology from those who do not, as well as those who have access to the knowledge of participating in new media using new technologies and those who do not (Buckingham & Willatt, 2006; Knobel, 2005; Lenhart et al., 2007; Jenkins et al., 2006; Pew Internet Research Centre, 2009). Governments and researchers worldwide have made many attempts to find ways of

bridging the gap for those without access (Badran, 2013; Zickuhr, 2013). This is also the case in South Africa (DoE, 2004; DoE, 2007).

Recently the Department of Education introduced the *Wired for Life* campaign as a jumpstart to integrate digital technology in classrooms, and over 300 public schools in Gauteng (including township schools) received tablets for their matric students in the quest for wired classrooms with access to new media to allow for youth participation. This can be a good start in the quest to bridge not only the digital divide but the gap in digital competency (Bendile, 2015).

However more than a decade ago Harper (2005) noted that the web was no longer a "novel ingredient…it is intrinsic and constant… [as] new technologies sparked an age of inexpensive, effortless…access" (p.30). Keeping that in mind, 70% of Americans enjoyed high speed broadband at home in 2013 (Smith, 2013). In contrast, in South Africa only 10,9% of South Africans had access to the internet at home in 2014, with a big discrepancy between metro (17,8%), urban (9,7%), and rural areas (2,4%) (My broadband, 2015). I mention these statistics so that more attention can be paid to acquiring the knowledge necessary to participate in new media. In fact the digital divide, like poverty, is unevenly distributed and experienced, but we cannot afford to withhold the pedagogy needed to instruct learners on how to use new media. Without opportunities to gain knowledge and experience in participating in new media, the access gap will expand which could mean a great opportunity is lost to hear youth voices (Cornwall, 2008; Mitchell, 2008).

In my review of the literature on youth and peer culture and participation in digital spaces (Driskell, 2002; Osgerby, 2004; Knobel, 2005; Buckingham & Willatt, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2007; Gauntlett, 2008; Mitchell, 2008; Hodkinson & Bennett, 2012; Badran; 2013; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013; Smith, 2013) I found little (if any) evidence of a pedagogy which informs or frames research design and practice in this regard. The digital participatory work of Mitchell and De Lange (2013, p.9) though, indicated that the "…best… work with young people in an age of AIDS …needs to be framed as a pedagogical project in and of itself".

It was apparent to me that in order to frame this study a strong theoretical focus that would allow for participation and learning to use new media within participatory youth and peer culture with the aim of acquiring social agency, was needed – a theoretical

framework that would inform the research design and also the data analysis. In the next section I explore participatory cultures as a theoretical framework.

3.9 PARTICIPATORY CULTURES

3.9.1 What are participatory cultures?

Henry Jenkins, the director of the Comparative Media Studies Program at Massachusettes Institute of Technology (MIT), coined the term participatory cultures. He refers to participatory cultures as expressive creations shared through participation on a digital platform (Jenkins et al., 2006). Much of Jenkins et al.'s (2006, pp. 3 - 61) work concerns participation. It is therefore necessary for me to consider and explain concepts, constructs, theories, and models of participation (See

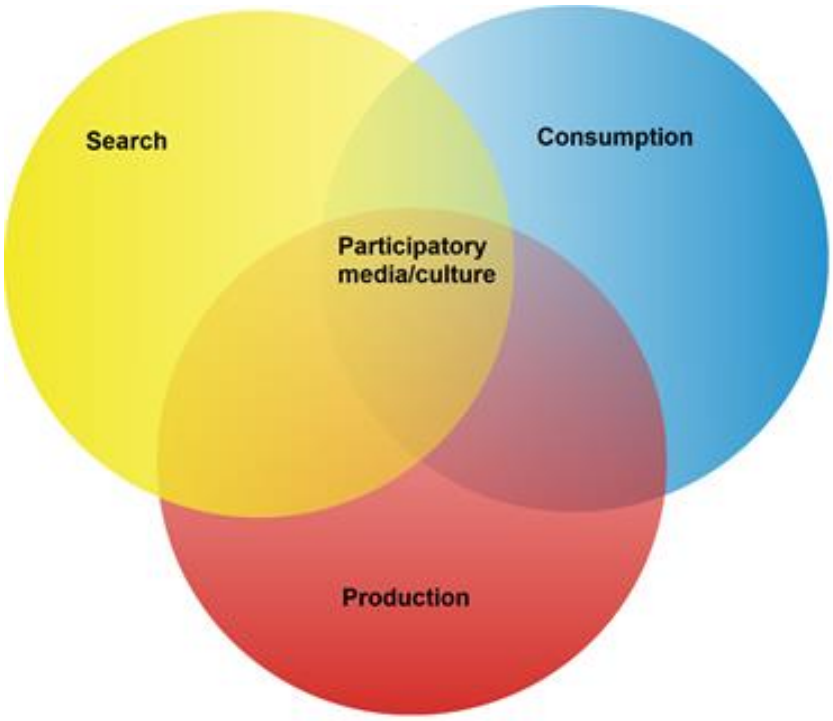


Figure 3.8 Participatory culture and the empowered media prosumer (adapted from Chapman, 2005, n.p.)

3.2 - 3.8).

The above figure highlights participatory cultures as the intersection of searching, consuming, and producing media – new and self-made digital productions. This includes audio, text, images, and videos shared in online communities and passed along to peers. Participatory cultures can result in knowledge sharing, skill development, co-learning with peers, and empowerment in the process (Jenkins et

al., 2006). Jenkins (2006) identifies four main constructs in participatory cultures, namely affiliations, expressions, collaborative problem-solving, and circulations.

3.9.1.1 Affiliations

Having an affiliation is the first construct of Jenkins et al.'s (2006) theory and refers to membership and participation in online communities. Affiliations centre around knowledge construction, skills development through peer-to-peer engagement, and social networking through the use of multiple sources, including music, video, images, text, online databases, and other new media. Through acquiring different skills, various forms of participation can take place (see figure 3.8). Online affiliations shift the focus from individual expression to collective involvement (Jenkins et al., 2006) that require participants to master new social skills (see figure 3.8). In this collective and collaborative process new meanings and knowledge emerge which encompass community-based collaborative learning.

SKILLS ACQUIRED THROUGH PARTICIPATORY CULTURES

1. Play – experimenting for problem-solving
2. Performance – adopting alternative identities for improvisation and discovery
3. Simulation – interpreting and constructing dynamic models of real-world processes
4. Appropriation – meaningfully sampling and remixing media content
5. Multi-tasking – scanning one's environment and shifting focus where needed
6. Distributed cognition – interacting with tools that expand mental capabilities
7. Collective intelligence – pooling knowledge and comparing notes with others
8. Judgment – evaluating reliability and credibility of different sources
9. Transmedia navigation – ability to follow flow of stories and information across multiple modalities
10. Networking – searching, synthesizing, disseminating information
11. Negotiation – traveling across diverse communities, discerning and respecting multiple perspectives, grasping and following alternative forms

Figure 3.9 Skills acquired through participatory cultures (Jenkins et al., 2006).

According to Jenkins et al. (2006):

> In such a world, youths need skills for working within social networks, for pooling knowledge within a collective intelligence, for negotiating across cultural differences that shape the governing assumptions in different communities and for reconciling conflicting bits of data to form a coherent picture of the world around them (p. 32).

In this affiliation participants can increase competence in the skills that allow online communities to operate, in creative expression, and in active participation. Merging social and cultural framings (social networking in cyber communities) enable participants to construct relevant information for specific audiences or communities. Social networking is a social rather than individual skill that includes cultural

competencies on a platform where information is processed through interaction to produce and circulate knowledge. This is achieved through what Jenkins et al. (2006) call *expressions*.

3.9.1.2 Expressions

Another construct of participatory cultures is expressions which are created through appropriation of media content and reworking or remixing it. According to Buckingham (2013) interactive youth learn and engage in shared citizenship on social networks through remixing media content including music, film clips, and images. Participants in the new media landscape are seen as 'hunters' and 'gatherers' of online material which they sample and remix through a process of combining and repurposing media. Digital remixing of media content builds onto existing material, adding new cultural expressions or meaning.

Sampling intelligently requires an analysis of existing material and a fresh perspective on the uses of the material and of its potential meanings. The New Media Consortium (2005) concurs that youth culture includes sorting through a range of different possible modes of expression, determining which is most effective in reaching their audience, and communicating their message by grasping which technique works best to convey the information. They add that youth thrive and prefer interpreting meaning in sound, music, still and moving images, and interactive components.

Acquiring this design literacy is a necessity in the modern era. Design literacy entails new cultural productions through remixing borrowed work which enables producers to, for example, reflect on their own lives from a certain critical distance and to work through issues without facing stigma. The original works act as probes in their own imaginations, to overcome some of the anxiety felt when staring at blank computer screens. Furthermore they create shared narratives and acritical responses to each other's work (Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013).

Ultimately expressions encourage research and analyses, dissection, transformation, sampling, and remixing of existing materials into new cultural expressions. It is important for youth to develop multiple modes of expressions as tools to critically reflect on their lives, their experiences, and feelings. This process creates a space for collaborative problem-solving (Jenkins et al., 2006; Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013).

3.9.1.3 Collaborative problem-solving

Collaborative problem-solving in participatory cultures means working together in a collective process in order to complete problem-solving tasks. Through online affiliations and remixed expressions, participants develop new capacities for collective problem-solving. Collaborative problem-solving through social networking is based on the premise that everyone knows something, but nobody knows everything, and what any one person knows can be tapped into by the group. This process of sharing information to solve problems is seen as an exercise in team work. Through their affiliation and expressions, participants confront their social problems in a collective effort, which as individuals they might have been unable to do. It is through this process of collaborative problem-solving that youth can truly contribute to addressing social problems. Although youth acquire the skills on how to solve problems on their own, they also learn how to expand their intellectual capacity by working together on a problem within a social community (Jenkins et al., 2006; Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013).

3.9.1.4 Circulations

Circulations refer to the sharing or transferral of new digital competencies and expressions for the benefit of members of the social community. Buckingham (2003) explains that youth affiliations, expressions, and collective problem-solving feed into social circulation which can benefit communities. Participants join together information from multiple sources to make meaningful choices about the best ways to express their synthesised ideas with the intention of circulating this work for the greater good of the community. Social platforms such as Facebook often rely on knowledge sharing or an analyses of collective behaviour, and include narratives (how stories are communicated), rhetoric (digitally expressing ideas), and logic. Jenkins et al. (2006) believe the value of circulations depends on the generation of digital information and analyses of the social and psychological factors that shape collective behaviour.

Circulations through Facebook, for example, can serve as an archival process which can be reflected on or re-purposed at a later stage. Material archived on Facebook enables users to extract and supply material of their choice for specific purposes and for the possible benefit of the local community. Facebook allows for endless circulation and connection to virtual channels which according to Buckingham (2009) allows for networked activism or participatory forms of activism. Through reflections

and re-purposing circulated materials, marginalised community members could establish possible social agency (Jenkins et al., 2006).

3.10 PARTICIPATORY CULTURES, SOCIAL RESEARCH AND THE WAY FORWARD IN THIS STUDY

As mentioned earlier, a strong focus of Jenkins et al.'s (2006) work is appropriately teaching media literacy in the 21st century to bridge the participation gap because the access gap is growing smaller as a result of the affordance of new technology. Jenkins and Carpentier (2013) highlighted the emerging affordances of new media and the significance of this on new youth culture in the participatory process. The authors iterate the urgency of finding ways to organise, structure, and support youth's participatory processes to successfully equip them for the digital future. Buckingham (2013) applied participatory cultures in an academic setting to boost the performance of under-achievers and his success was used to underscore the urgency of integrating digital literacy into curriculum development. Zuckerman's (in Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013) work interestingly suggests that youth around the world have developed inherent capabilities to navigate through digital media and networks and thus need only guidance on appropriation when participating in these practices.

The theoretical framework provides a lens through which to view youth engagement as critical in community representation through making their voices heard as co-producers of knowledge and co-learners along with their peers (Visser, 2007). The benefits are not only peer-to-peer learning and changing attitudes towards cultural expressions, but also the development of skills valued in society, namely empowered digital citizenship. Jenkins et al. (2006) prefer to call this process the interconnectedness of technologies and cultural communities, and participatory cultures a means to understand the concerns that exist in communities.

The concept of community interconnectedness has spurred many social science researchers to design arts-based research interventions aimed at social change. For example, Durose, Beebeejaun, Rees, Richardson and Richardson (2011) designed a project based on the co-production of ideas with youth as knowledgeable community members, to address the relevance gap and make research with youth interconnected, culturally diverse, and participatory. The authors concluded that this type of research is the future of social science research to explore youths' contributions to social change in their communities. Similarly De Lange et al.'s

(2011) research contributes to the understanding of community interconnectedness through arts-based participatory methods which enabled youth to develop preventative resources for community problems in everyday experiences. Stuart (2011) too, with her research on participatory arts-based approaches, iterated that destructive social patterns can indeed be changed in rural communities. She argues that youth are knowledge producers and suggests the need to broaden this into sustainable progress towards youth and community members as knowledge users. In fact arts-based research methods have become so popular that over the last few years participatory research methods have been published in many books including: *The handbook of participatory video* (Milne et al., 2012); Mitchell's (2011) *Doing visual Research*; De Lange, Mitchell, and Stuart's (2007) *Putting people in the picture: Visual methodologies for social change,* and Theron, Mitchell, Smith and Stuart's (2011) *Picturing Research: Drawing as visual methodology*; all of which apply visual participatory methods to address community-based social problems.

These visual arts-based methods combined with new technologies and new media are the foundation for using participatory cultures in social science research. Using a participatory cultures framework for social research can be a turning point for engaging youth in critical research aimed at social change (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). Most of the research published about participatory cultures incorporates some form of social media especially in the areas of media literacy, communication studies, information science, and library science (Pascarella, 2009). Most of these studies involve university settings with participants over 18yrs. The studies are grounded on Web 2.0 technologies such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter (to name a few). Open forum discussions have been tested for their efficacy in achieving learning goals for both students and lecturers outside the classroom (Golder, Wilkinson & Huberman, n.d.; Lego Muñoz & Towner, 2009; Pascarella, 2009; Singh & Walsh, 2009). All of this research highlights the usefulness of social media in the education sector and strongly suggests a more integrated approach in including Web 2.0 technologies. Pascarella successfully used blogging as a libratory practice to generate creative learning spaces and transform teaching and learning for critical self-engagement (2009). Singh and Walsh (2012) started a project by building what they call a "HIVe" which is "digital technologies … leveraged, positioned and practiced towards community-based and led HIV prevention as a solution in a digital era", aimed at digital community-based interventions (Sing & Walsh, 2012, p. 5).

According to Singh and Walsh there are a number of community-based projects using digital platforms of which the most significant seems to be the use of Facebook (2012). The Desmond Tutu project is not only famous for their mobile testing units, but the project explores the use of information and communication technologies to mobilise participation in communities (Manak, 2009). Mitchell, Pascarella, De Lange, and Stuart (2010) worked with rural girls and studied how blogging could provide them with spaces to make their voices heard. Mitchell and De Lange (2013) recently included the use of *cellphilms* in their study with rural teachers to make the research highly participatory and playful as part of an emancipatory process of freeing the viewpoints of their participants. Authors pinpoint participants' easy access to cell phones and their competencies in working with this new technology. All these research pieces have their foundation in critical intervention, where participants analyse their society with the aim of social change. According to Mitchell and De Lange (2013) using digital technology in research with youth and perhaps using social media such as Facebook, remain a new source of intervention research. Labacher (2011) particularises this point by saying that effective use of social media with youth in the context of GBV and AIDS remains to be seen.

In order to apply Facebook as a social medium platform for intervention with which to engage youth, I follow the four constructs of Jenkins et al.'s participatory cultures.

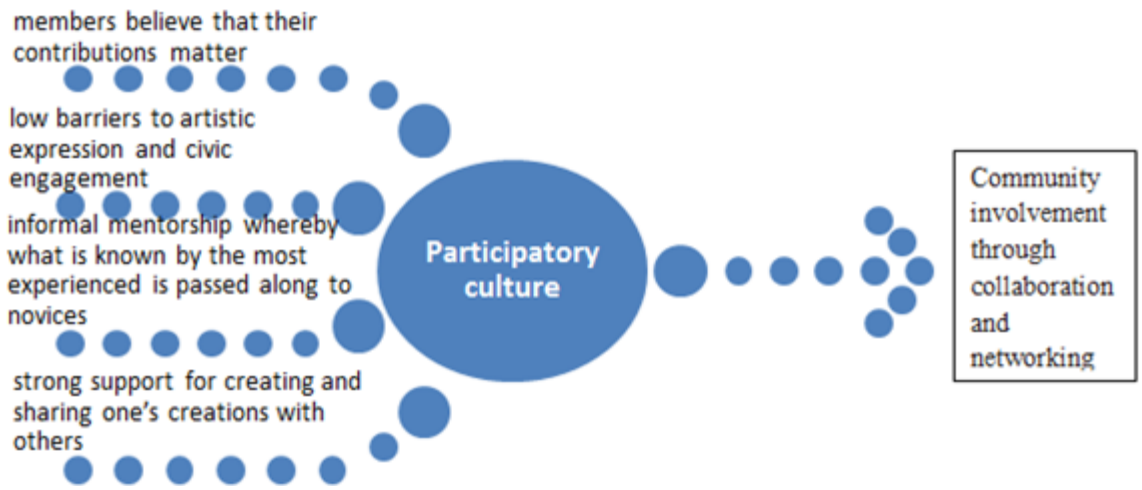


Figure 3.10 Participatory culture (Jenkins et al. 2006 in What is digital writing, n.d., n.p.)

Figure 3.10 distils the essence of participatory cultures.

Participatory culture is informed by community, and the emerging theories mentioned in 3.4 confirm the need to identify ways in which communities can participate in social change. I utilise Jenkins' (2012b) framework of 'participatory cultures civic practices' to frame the process of participation for this study. I have however retitled the heading from 'participatory culture civic practices' to 'participatory culture community practices', and replaced the diagram headings of 'create cluster', with 'inform cluster', 'connect cluster' and 'organise/mobilise cluster', to include the four constructs of participation namely, create affiliations, informed expressions, collaborative problem-solving, and circulation through connections to fit in with the

Figure 3.11 Participatory culture community practices (adapted from Jenkins, 2012b, n.p.)

notion of community participation.

Jenkins' figure on participatory culture illustrates the flow of community practice through participation. Affiliation allows for the building of communities in which stories can be shared through self-made media as informed expressions which allow sharing and learning from each other through circulating in and ultimately beyond the

group, and can be seen as a method for collaborative problem-solving in the process of organising and mobilising social change.

3.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provided evidence of the relevance of participation by theoretically framing the study in participatory cultures. I widened this theoretical exposition by investigating emergent theories on participation to establish links between participatory theories and emerging community needs. This enabled me to link participatory research theories with the notion of communities as actors and beneficiaries of change, and with the pivotal role youth play as members of their communities. Considering youth culture, youth have inherent abilities to co-produce new knowledge with their peers for the benefit of their communities. This exposition provided me with a foundation to closely examine participatory cultures as a promising emerging theory in which to frame this study. I acknowledge the need to pay more attention to the participation gap. Ultimately the theory informed the conceptualisation of the study and helped to formulate my research questions, the methodology, the process, and the analyses of the data, all of which will be further discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2 I pointed out that in KwaZulu-Natal 38% of the population in rural communities is infected with HIV (UNAIDS, 2008; 2011). I indicated that GBV is one of the exacerbating factors that not only amounts to but seems to outstrip other reasons for the rapid spread of new HIV infections (One in Nine Campaign, 2012; Shadow Report, 2010). I mentioned the rape statistics which indicate that one in every two women in South Africa will experience rape or attempted rape in her lifetime (Rape Survivor Journey, 2010). I highlighted that young people and specifically young girls are most at risk considering that most new infections occur in girls and young women between 14 and 25 years (UNAIDS, 2011). Although I have pointed out that participatory peer engagement through social media can be a practicable intervention strategy, the reality is that very little is done to make youth a central part of intervention strategies (National Strategic Plan, 2011). The literature seems barren on youths' perceptions of and ideas on how to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS exacerbated by social conditions such as GBV. Literature is also scarce on using peer engagement through social media as intervention (Pascarella, 2009; Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Buckingham, 2013). For this reason I proposed turning to youth in whom the infection rate is the highest, to be engaged in making their voices heard, and also to display agency by putting forward their solutions to GBV through peer engagement via social media. Ultimately, I wanted the participants to be central in the study and through participation express and reflect agency in addressing GBV in their community. By doing so, participants could explore the use of social media, in a participatory cultures framework, to possibly take responsibility for their own health and safety through their own agency, and simultaneously provide input in how to address GBV in their community (Mitchell & De Lange, 2010).

This chapter presents the research objectives, research questions, research design, paradigm, methodology (including data generation methods and analysis), how I ensured the trustworthiness of the findings, as well as the ethical considerations of the study.

4.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

As stated in Chapter 1 (see 1.2), and the introduction of this chapter, the primary aim of the study is:

- To explore how rural school youth might engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community.

The secondary aims are to explore:

- Rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community.
- How rural school youth might use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV.
- How rural school youth can engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary research question is formulated as follows:

- How might rural school youth engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community?

The following secondary questions are formulated to help answer the primary research question:

- What are rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community?
- How might rural school youth use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV?
- How can rural school youth engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework?

4.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

I present the operational fieldwork map in which I consider both the research objective and my consulted theory (Trafford & Leshem, 2008) in order show my research design. According to Cohen et al. (2007, p.78), the research design should illustrate the "fitness for purpose" and determine what the research aims to achieve, and which methodology and methods would be appropriate to use. Considering the research objectives I decided to make use of a qualitative research approach within

a critical paradigm, using visual participatory methodologies. Making the research participatory was intended to provide participants with an opportunity to explore GBV, and also to generate solutions to the problem with the goal of enabling youth agency in the community.

4.4.1 Qualitative research

This study is qualitative as the aim of the research involves exploring a social phenomenon and enables the researcher to build a complex, holistic, and detailed account of the participants' expressions and views of a particular phenomenon within a particular context and setting (Henning et al., 2004). Contextualisation is important as it enables research sensitivity and a thorough understanding of the setting and situation, culture and context of the participants' lives (Straus & Corbin, 1994). Qualitative research allows for valuable representations of participants' social worlds to try to understand their social realities through their own socially constructed meanings of phenomena in their world, in conjunction with the researcher (Davis & Klopper, 2003).

For such reasons Creswell (2013) points out that objectivity and neutrality in qualitative research are out of the question and instead of trying to achieve these, interpretations of both participants and researchers should be put forward as integral parts of the research process. This is also pointed out by Eisner (1992) who believes that objectivity in educational research is a cherished ideal. As researcher I too am immersed in the research process although the focus is not on me, but on the participants' views, perceptions, meanings, and interpretations in a relationship in which one attempts to minimise inequality (Henning et al., 2004). In a qualitative study the participants thus provide the direction and the researcher provides the structure and order for the study to be conducted (Creswell, 2009).

Qualitative research also allows for multiple interpretations (Cohen et al., 2007) depending on the purpose of the study. It allows for interactivity among the participants in face-to-face participatory methods of data generation (Clarke, 2000) and enables spaces for participation in and through the participants' activities (Cohen et al., 2007). This qualitative approach allowed me to closely assess the results gleaned from my participants before comparing them to other findings (Aluko, 2006).

Choosing qualitative research allowed me to zoom in on the detail, "exchanging the telescope for the microscope [in] social science [research]" (Henning et al., 2004, p. 8), thus, generating a "thick description" of the phenomenon under study (Henning et al., 2004). As such, thick descriptions capture the characteristics of the phenomenon, provide complex explanations, depth, complexity, and richness where meaning and context are of importance (Geertz, 1977). It was the high quality of research and quality of analysis which Henning et al. (2004) talk about, which I pursued. This form of research with participants provided them the opportunity to take critical perspectives of their world, in particular the phenomenon of GBV, and for these reasons the research is positioned in a critical paradigm.

4.4.2 Critical paradigm

Before explaining the critical paradigm itself, I briefly refer to the philosophical assumptions underlying research and the paradigms in which research is located. Guba and Lincoln (1994), whom I draw on for this discussion, describe the nature of research in terms of its philosophical assumptions related to ontology, epistemology, and methodology, providing the necessary concepts to explain different research paradigms and the individual's place in research. They point out that ontology refers to the beliefs about the nature of reality, that epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge and the beliefs about the preferred relationships between the researcher and who or what is researched in order to access or acquire knowledge, and that methodology refers to the approaches, principles, and ideas underpinning the collecting of information about the world we live in. While the research question informs the research approach and choice of paradigm, the philosophical assumptions of the paradigm inform the choice of methodology and methods.

For the choice of a critical paradigm, I turned to Paulo Freire who advocates for social science research which is rooted in hope and action towards a power shift for those marginalised in society (Freire & Freire, 1994) in re-creating their world:

> Hope is an ontological need. Hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings and become a distortion of that ontological need. When it becomes a program, hopelessness paralyses us, immobilises us. We succumb to fatalism and then it becomes impossible to muster the strength we absolutely need for a fierce struggle that will re-create the world (p.8).

This kind of social science research rooted in hope and action would mean that research could open up new possibilities for collective knowledge sharing and for re-

creating our worlds (Freire & Freire, 1994). Inevitably lived experiences, power negotiations, and knowledge all play a role in our sense of understanding reality and the capacity to create agency (Freire, 1970). In this study, I assumed that there is GBV in the rural community and that peer engagement in a participatory cultures framework could enable the participants' agency in addressing GBV. This assumption informed my research question which in turn informed the choice of a critical paradigm.

A critical paradigm positions participants as able to analyse and critique their own society with the intention of bringing about social change. The ontological assumption is that the participants' reality has been created through culture and history which is socially "reproduced by people" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007, p. 62). The groups in power dictate social realities and critical researchers assume that marginalised people in society can deconstruct harmful social aspects (Taylor & Medina, 2013). The epistemological assumption in critical research is that knowledge is socially constructed and influenced by power relations within society (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). A critical theorist assumes that multiple realities exist and devises means or ways for participants to represent these realities. The researcher seeks validation of the assumed reality through the knowledge produced by the participants who are assumed to be familiar with the occurrence of the phenomenon. In critical research there is thus not one truth, but multiple truths as to be expected (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

This paradigm provides the participants with liberty and choice in contributing to changing counter-productive social structures, systems, and behaviours in their community. The literature emphasises that the focus on critical research shifts more to the interpretation of significance than discovering generalisability (Henning et al., 2004). A critical paradigm allows for critical examination of social injustices, spaces for critical awareness raising and reflection, and engagement towards social action with an agenda of social change (Giroux, 2011). The critical paradigm consequently allows for the possibility of change through reflecting on and deconstructing harmful social phenomena with the understanding that the world is changeable (Henning et al., 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical research creates an environment for participants in which to evaluate their own needs and interests towards social agency for social change (Bourdieu, 1989). Promoting the critical consciousness of

participants allows for the attainment of new knowledge and possible empowerment as participants critique oppressive structures and social inequalities (Cohen et al., 2007).

By choosing to work with rural school youth this research is furthermore positioned in critical educational research (Cohen et al., 2007), since the participants explore their lived realities. The research therefore include space to reflect inequalities and GBV at school, as well as ways to utilise the school as a space for social change (Cohen et al., 2007).

In order to conduct research within a critical paradigm to bring about social change, and to address social injustices it is important to apply appropriate research methodologies. The participants are seen as social actors who reflect on their lived realities of GBV in their community, and who find ways to address these through applied methods (Cohen et al., 2007). The methods used in critical research are vital in achieving emancipation from oppressive ideologies and to bring about social change. As researcher my role was to create spaces for participant engagement and for this reason I made use of a participatory research design (De Lange, Olivier & Wood, 2008).

4.4.3 Participatory research

I start with a simple definition of participatory research as,

> "[r]esearch that includes the active involvement of those who are the subject of the research. Participatory research is usually action-oriented, where those involved in the research process collaborate to define the research project, collect and analyze the data, produce a final product and act on the results" (Government of Canada, 2013, n.p.).

Participatory research seems to be an umbrella approach containing many concepts and constructs. After reviewing the work of several theorists such as Israel et al. (2005), Bergold and Thomas (2012), Cornwall and Jewkes (1995), Mitchell (2008), and Norvak (2010), I define participatory research as the engagement of marginalised community members (the participants) taking action through a collaborative research process (with the researcher) in knowledge production. It is designed for capacity-building in the sense of democratising research and enabling equity within a safe space.

4.4.3.1 Participatory research as methodology

An important aspect of participatory research is the participation of marginalised people; those who are on the margins of power and have little opportunity to voice their ideas and concerns (Cornwall, 2008; De Beer & Swanepoel, 2013). More often than not these people are excluded from interventions intended for the benefit of the communities they live in (Israel et al., 2005). True to the aim of participatory research marginalised members make their voices heard through integrating their local knowledge and through taking action with the buy-in of and for the mutual benefit of all community members (Wilson & Wilde, 2003).

4.4.3.1.1 Knowledge production

The notion of knowledge production is challenged in participatory research in terms of how, by whom, and for whom the knowledge is generated. Critical participatory research is interested in "knowledge for action" as opposed to "knowledge for understanding" with an, "…emphasis…on…locally defined priorities and local perspectives" (Cornwall, 2008, p.1666). Knowledge production in participatory research does not focus on the product but rather the process; knowledge is generated through participatory methods by the participants (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Israel et al., 1998) who are experts of their own lives (Clark & Statham, 2005). Collective knowledge is co-produced between the research participants, and facilitated by the researcher.

4.4.3.1.2 Co-production of knowledge

The co-production of knowledge in participatory research is a process of engagement and knowledge sharing (co-learning) through collaborative action that democratises the research process and enables empowerment (Cornwall, 2008; Durose et al., 2011). It would seem that community members as participants partner with the researcher (through the chosen research methods) in a guided process to produce, use, and share knowledge (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). A key strength is that research partners learn from one another in an equitable way (Israel et al., 1998; Cornwall, 2008). Participatory research thus enables the collaborative co-production of knowledge for the purposes of mutual learning and can possibly result in transformation of the participants through the research and learning processes which in and of themselves could be argued as being empowering (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Although empowerment in research is contested, in participatory research, it

is argued that the co-production of knowledge is key to unlocking the location or degree of power (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). In this way the creation of collective knowledge can address social inequalities and the engagement process could enable empowerment (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Israel et al., 1998). In order to co-produce knowledge mention needs to be made of collaboration in the research process.

4.4.3.1.3 Collaboration

Collaboration in participatory research means that the researcher and the participants work together towards taking action for social change (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). I mentioned the importance of engaging marginalised community members in the co-production of knowledge but it is through the collaboration (teamwork) of research partners that the co-production of knowledge is possible (O' Fallon, Tyson & Dearry, 2000; Mitchell, 2008). The concept of collaboration in participatory research points towards the research process as participant-driven with the potential of benefitting both the participant and the community. As a result of collective partnering (in a collaborative process) mutual benefits can accrue in the interest of social change (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). Possible benefits can include sustainable community capacity-building (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2013).

4.4.3.1.4 Sustainable community capacity-building

Collaborative knowledge production with marginalised community members develops the possibility of sustainable capacity-building in communities. To explain this I draw on the Civic Renewal Unit (2003) and UNESCO's education department document on capacity building (2006). Sustainable capacity-building it seems, has a democratic agenda that aims to increase marginalised community members' abilities to perform core responsibilities, define and achieve objectives, and solve specific problems in the community. Applying this to my research, it is the process by which people in their own communities are enabled to provide answers/solutions to the community's social problems (Hacker, Tendulkar, Rideout, Bhuiya, Trinh-Shevrin, Savage, Grullon, Strelnick, Leung & DiGirolamo, 2012). In due course participation aimed at sustainable capacity-building serves a democratic agenda (Mitchell, 2008) for transformation of communities towards equity.

4.4.3.1.5 Equity

Sustainable capacity-building in participatory research calls for equity; equity between researcher and participants and equity among participants. Being engaged in the co-production of knowledge and co-learning for sustainable capacity-building brings about the possibility of equity. Participation and co-learning also resonate with Freire's (1970) notion of mutuality between researchers and participants, and among participants themselves, engaged with and learning from each other. Pain and Francis (2003) stress that equality between participants and researcher and between participants themselves are crucial for effective social change and empowerment. To apply this in my research I approached the notion of equity as research partners sharing expertise, trust, open communication, and power within a safe space (Hogan & Flather, 1993). I continue to discuss the role of the researcher and the participant in participatory research.

4.4.3.2 The researcher and the participant in participatory research

Key components of participatory research lie in the approach of the researcher, the research process, and the role of the participants. According to Cornwall and Jewkes (1995, p. 1668), "the key element of participatory research lies not in the methods but in the attitudes of researchers which in turn determine how, by and for whom research is conceptualized and conducted". The researcher fulfils the role of learner, facilitator, and catalyst in the research, and designs the research process (Minkler, 2004). The participants are the main actors who represent their realities, who own and act on information, who discuss, analyse and reflect on their experiences (De Beer & Swanepoel, 2013). I understand this to mean that the participants must develop in different ways - both on a personal and on cognitive levels (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). This differs from *classical* research (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995) since in participatory research, roles are not static but change throughout and provide perspective on the process of collaborative co-production of knowledge. The roles in participatory research can result in a democratic approach towards exploring participants' lived realities if it includes negotiation and reflection (Minkler, 2004).

4.4.3.3 Reflection in participatory research

Reflection in participatory research places importance on participants' critical perspectives of their lived realities as well as the knowledge production process. This involves self-reflexivity, reflexivity in terms of the community they live in, as well as reflection on the research process (Pain & Francis, 2003). Aasgaard et al. (2012)

believe that the researcher is the reflective instrument in participatory research as, "[t]he researcher needs to facilitate a dialogue that opens up established assumptions and interpretations to question the validity of claims to 'truth' that facilitate a critical reflexivity among the participants" (2012, p.1).

Participatory research therefore requires a communicative space as well as a reflective space for the collaborative co-production of knowledge. Cohen et al. (2007) distinguish between personal and epistemological reflexivity. On a personal level reflexivity includes the personal experiences that shape the phenomena under study, and epistemological reflexivity is based on the research design, research question(s), methodology, methods, and method of analysis in the research process. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) points out that reflections on personal issues, on their own, can be used as a source of knowledge while Bourdieu argues that sociological self-reflection (1989) which focuses on social conditions, is useful in making meaning of lived realities.

Reflections, for the benefit of this study, are constructed in innovative ways that identify and respond to social problems (Sonn, Grossman & Utomo, 2013) with a commitment to social change (Aasgaard, et al., 2012). They comprise a process that involves making plans for action, action for reflection, reflection for analysis, and further action. It would seem then than reflection is a continuum; a democratic component of participatory research and has emancipatory qualities that can promote social agency (Cornwall & Jekwes, 1995; Aasgaard et al., 2013).

4.4.4.4 Participatory research and agency

Critical reflective practices in participatory research contribute to agency and the possibility for social change (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006; Hollan et al., 2010). Although the Oxford dictionary (Agency, n.d) defines agency as: "action or intervention producing a particular effect", in participatory research the meaning of action or intervention is further expanded as the combination of enabling co-production of knowledge plus critical reflection that can potentially affect social change (Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2007). I agree with Cargo and Mercer that agency in participatory research has the potential for closing research gaps in addressing social problems by potentially enabling participants to be actors of change (2008). Hollan and Renold's *The (Extra)ordinary Lives Project*, highlights this form of agency which emphasises participants as owners of their own knowledge who are propelled

to empower themselves to take action (in Hollan et al., 2010). To participate as actors for social change, youth participants thrive in environments of visualisation or visual modes of participatory research (Mitchell, 2008) to "reveal much that is masked by verbal communication" (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, p.1671). I now provide a brief overview of the visual methods used in participatory research (see 4.5.1).

4.4.4.5 Visual participatory research and methods

Participatory research is often designed around visual and arts-based methods intended to represent lived social realities and to aid knowledge production aimed at social change. Cornwall and Jewkes (1995, p.1668) ask: "[i]f all research entails participation, what makes research participatory?" Answering their own question they continue that it lies "…in innovative adaptations of methods drawn from conventional research and their use in new contexts, new ways, often by and with, local people [and it]…sets in motion a process of affirmation of local people as knowledgeable actors." Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and Taylor and Medina (2013) talk of 'representations', as they argue that no researcher can truly look into the minds of others so the best we can hope for is participant representations. Representations according to them reflect postmodern thinking, and visual methods are forms of communication that represent participants' lived realities.

Visual representations, I further debate can be used for reflection, action, and analyses, and a tool to use in peer engagement (see 4.6.6). Visual methods are often innovative and many successful research projects have yielded positive results through the application of methods such as photo-voice, performance arts (dance, gesture), participatory video, collage making, drawing, digital drawing, digital storytelling, blogging, and cellphilms (Moletsane, De Lange, Mitchell, Stuart, Buthelezi & Taylor, 2007; Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2007; Mitchell, 2008; Stuart, 2010; Virgi, 2011; MacDonald, Gagnon, Mitchell, Di Meglio, Rennick, & Cox, 2011; Milne, Mitchell & De Lange, 2012; Gubrium & Harper, 2013; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). Pattman and Chege (2003) rightly claim that the varieties of visual participatory methods are endless and evolving. These methods can enable meaningful or new representations of current social challenges (Mitchell, 2008). Researchers can gain new insights through these alternative modes of inquiry and modes of representation and create a space that enables the voices or messages of participants who might otherwise linguistically lack the capacity for representation, to be heard (Virgi, 2011). As argued, engaging in such methods can enhance

participants' strengths through the acquisition of new knowledge and skills in the process of confronting their perceived problems. Ultimately visual methods are a point of departure for participants to further represent their co-produced knowledge to other members of society and thus create spaces for agency and empowerment (Bergold, 2007).

The use of participatory research up to this point was argued as viable because of its inclusion of marginalised population groups in the co-production of knowledge. It provides a space for collaboration with the possibility of capacity-building and equity in research. This means that there are specific roles for the researcher and the participants, particularly in the use of visual methods. Having said that, the focal point of participatory research is to challenge the notion of power in research - which I link to participatory research with its potential to enable participants to act as agents of change.

4.4.4.5 Power shift through participatory research

Participatory research methodology deliberately challenges the notion of who holds the power through continuous reflection which minimises power imbalances in the process of research for social change (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Participatory research is underpinned by Freire's goal for political action as argued in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). A power shift in this research is explained in terms of the participation in the construction and sharing of knowledge. Power is: "the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events" (Power, n.d). Foucault (1982) claims that defining power is not as important as understanding how power works. According to him power is dependent on culture, place, and time; and that it is present in every sphere of social life. Power is thus deeply rooted in social relations. Resistance brings a power shift, but Foucault (1982) does not provide much thought on changing power through social agency. However, this thinking influenced Freire's (1970) opinion that people are social actors and should participate in the transformation of their world. Giddens (1986) adds that in order for people to be agentic and empowered, power sharing is needed. Since the 1960s theorists have recognised that power and participation are closely linked and can have many layers in terms of who has the power and who participates in power sharing (Arnstein, 1969; Hart, Jones & Bains, 1997).

Giroux (2010) indicates that critical consciousness, freedom, and empowerment are only obtainable through constructive action with the intention of bringing about social transformation and emancipation. Constructive action is possible through acquisition of knowledge (Giroux, 2010). Foucault (1982) makes reference to the construction of knowledge and the necessity to exercise power. He dreamed of power and knowledge reaching every individual, their actions, and their everyday lives. Knowledge and power involve processes such as unlearning, relearning, reflect-ing, and evaluating (Foucault, 1982; Kincheloe, 2008). Power and knowledge are inseparable and it is through collective learning that society can pass on knowledge and critically reflect on processes for social change (Giroux, 2011). In participatory research, theorists realised that co-production of knowledge is critical in understanding and addressing power structures in society (Israel et al., 1998; Cornwall, 2008). This means the focus is on the location of power in the various stages of the research process (Cornwall, 2008). Unlocking power through participatory research can possibly empower marginalised groups to take action for transformation, shifting power balances, and producing new forms of knowledge which can be transferred to other members of society (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Bergold & Thomas, 2012). This process towards power-sharing positions participatory research as democratic and a striving for equality between researcher and the participant, and the research process (Freire, 1970; Novak, 2010). In this study I explore GBV through participatory research and I too believe that the research engagement process can enable participants to discover their own agency.

4.4.4.6 Challenges of and guidelines for participatory research

Participatory research - as with other research approaches - does not claim to be without challenges or pitfalls. As a research methodology it has been contested as biased, impressionistic, and unreliable or ‘soft’ (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995), however in relation to this study, I make mention of three areas: the researcher as facilitator, the narrow involvement of the participants, and lastly the degrees of participation in participatory research.

4.4.4.6.1 Researcher as facilitator

As mentioned before, it is the researcher’s role as facilitator to create a space for participation: “in which people can be ‘empowered’ to engage in a process through which they can identify and confront their problems” (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995,

p.1669). In the field of participation however, mutual learning might not always be achieved throughout the research process (Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2007). For this reason I did not design my research around community-based participatory research (CBPR). I concur that it was not possible, for the purposes of this research, to truly participate and co-produce knowledge with community members at all levels of the research, all the time (Israel et al., 1998; Minkler, 2004; Horowitz, Robinson & Seifer, 2009; Aasgaard et al., 2013).

I decided to collaborate with the participants to facilitate the co-production of knowledge through participation, action, and reflection. Considering the aim of the study, I, as researcher, had to take full responsibility in facilitating the process (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, Aasgaard et al., 2013). This means that participation was at times 'shallow', and at some points I was in control and delegated, but only as part of a process geared towards transferring power for 'deep' participation in the process and ownership thereof by the participants. As researcher I acknowledge that my biases, prejudices, and beliefs could have been interwoven with the research.

4.4.4.6.2 'Narrow' inclusion of participants in participatory research

Including participants in participatory research is not necessarily without challenges: "[t]ruism as it is, it is often far from obvious that most participatory processes do not and literally cannot involve 'everyone'" (Cornwall, 2008, p. 267). Farrington, Bebbington, Wellard, and Lewis (1993) talk of 'narrow' (few people) to 'wide' (many people) inclusion of participants in participatory research. Many studies reflect a narrow inclusion of participants which means that the benefits often only apply to a select few. In this study participant inclusion ranges from narrow (5 participants) to slightly wider (10 participants). I approached the research design in such a way as to be empowering through the inclusion of 5 more participants through a process of peer engagement. I intended this to improve the quality of the research and strengthen the involvement of a 'wider' set of community members.

The Life Orientation educators purposively selected five Grade 9 learners (3 boys and 2 girls) who could possibly provide rich data due to their willingness to participate and share their experiences. These rural school youth are resident in rural Vulindlela and have either heard, seen, or experienced GBV in their community. Each participant selected a peer, also in Grade 9, for engagement around GBV;

these peers were also treated as knowledgeable actors who are capable of informing social change.

4.4.4.6.3 Degrees of participation

Degrees of power and participation may vary at different stages in the research process and in the communities where participants' reside (Van der Riet & Boetigger, 2007; Cornwall, 2008). I faced the reality that community members might not really want to participate or as Stone (1992) reflects, community participation might be more significant to outsiders than to the community itself. Barriers to participation include misrepresentation, narrow representation, time-consuming activities, and considerable efforts to include truly marginalised groups (Minkler, 2004). When community members participate with a researcher it requires mutual engagement in knowledge production (Bergold & Thomas, 2012), with greater or less participation and power at different stages of the process. As researcher I designed the research process, selected the participants, and determined the degrees of participation throughout the research process.

4.5 VISUAL PARTICIPATORY METHODOLOGY

Considering the fact that the research is positioned in a critical paradigm with the aim of social redress, the research methodology had to enable participation in ways that challenge social injustices (Cohen et al., 2007). Visual participatory research seemed to be appropriate, as participants do not merely act or react, but have voices and a say in guiding the study (Henning et al., 2004) which foregrounds participation, involvement, collaboration, and engagement from both researcher and participants (Creswell, 2013). According to De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart and Buthelezi (2006) visual research methodology can bring about social change as it is engaging, fun, creative, and can generate new knowledge and enable social emancipation through empowerment (De Lange et al., 2006, De Lange, 2012). This was ideally suited to the purposes of this research. Through the research methodology, the participants could share knowledge, co-learn, engage in self-reflection, and share power (Cornwall, 2008).

Visual participatory methodology can be defined as a collaborative research approach involving everybody as partners in a process with the aim of combining knowledge with action for sustainable social change (Israel et al., 2005; Minkler,

2004; Andrews et al., 2013). Visual participatory inquiry gained prominence and holds promise because "[t]he increasing visual world we live in and the advances in technology have provided support and opportunities for pushing the boundaries even more" (Butler-Kisber, 2010, p.4). Visual participatory methodology originated in the 1970s when many social science researchers started using it to understand human activity in social contexts (Butler-Kisber, 2010). This form of research methodology became more prominent and accessible in the 1980s and opened the doors to storied participatory approaches of research with the focus on the *how* instead of the *what* (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Mitchell (2008) introduced and led numerous visual participatory methodology projects in educational research in South Africa and argues that this type of research can "address educational research in South Africa at a time when questions of the social responsibility of the academic researcher … are critical" (p.365). De Lange et al. (2011) note that in the last three decades changes in social science research aimed at social change have progressed towards visual approaches and methods to help develop new insight in social behaviour.

Visual participatory methodology engages participants' minds, bodies, and emotions, via visual means throughout the research process. The *how* of the research is experimentation with artful processes which aim at evoking effective responses and igniting social action and change. Visual participatory methodology helps reveal how the knowledge is produced and clears pathways to help rethink policy, social practice, and its relations to the world we live in (Mitchell, 2008).

There are a number of good reasons to use visual participatory research methodology. It provides the participants with opportunities to express what they mean in an inclusive manner without relying only on words or one particular research method to illustrate meaning. According to De Lange and Stuart (2008), visual participatory methodologies in themselves are an intervention and a way of taking action to bring about social change and create contexts for prevention. One can elaborate by saying participants become agents for social change through processes of working with the visual (Mitchell, 2006; Schratz & Walker, 1995). It is therefore rightly referred to as the "heart of the social science" (Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006, p.83). Visual participatory methodologies are often used with communities, by communities, and for communities, since they have emancipatory focus with the potential for social change. More social science researchers are engaging in community-based research through visual approaches (De Lange et al., 2007) as

they allow for enablement through participants' own generative abilities which change power balances, ownership of knowledge, and collective knowledge production for the good of communities (De Lange, 2012). Community members thus act for their own benefit and their knowledge is accessed, and matters. Visual participatory research as methodology promotes empowerment and mutual learning because participants present a problem and its proposed solutions, generate the data, provide insights into analysis and the presentation of the findings, while social action is integrated throughout the process. The findings are mutually owned and shared and the emphasis is on the research process. The research process challenges the politics of power (Cohen et al., 2007). It aspires to address power dynamics especially in rural communities where extreme power issues are evident. It aims to maximise the agency of the marginalised, oppressed, and disempowered section of the community by de-emphasising verbal fluency while still allowing articulation, extension, and analysis of local knowledge (Leach & Mitchell, 2006; Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2007).

By using visual participatory methodology I believed new knowledge could be produced regarding youth participants' personal connections to social issues in their community. Through this methodology they could be provoked to tell their own stories and represent them visually (Mitchell, 2008). It would seem as though visual participatory research is a powerful tool for stimulating youth participants' understandings as well as creatively generating perceived solutions to social problems (Walker, 2004).

A trend in visual participatory research is to create productions in which participants generate their own stories to develop deeper layers of data which other methods might fail to do. Telling their stories visually can overcome verbal barriers to express views more directly with less interference or contamination from the researcher (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Mitchell (2008) and De Lange et al. (2007) believe visual methodology should not be limited to one practice or one set of tools but that its value lies is in the diversity and range of different approaches which scaffold this method as a complex mode of inquiry, representation, and dissemination. I discovered the power of visual methodologies for myself when I worked on my Master's degree and explored how participatory video could be used with youth to enable agency (Geldenhuys, 2012).

Many groundbreaking studies point to visual participatory methodologies as significant in contributing to social change. Photo-activist Caroline Wang (1999; Wang & Burris, 1997) developed the idea of using photographs produced by participants to 'see through their eyes' with the goal of transformation and making policy updates. Visual methods such as photo-voice, participatory video, drawing, family album, digital storytelling, and other visual modes of inquiry and representation hold rich possibilities for community- and youth- based research (De Lange et al., 2007; Mitchell, 2008).

4.6 DATA GENERATING METHODS

The data generating methods flowed from the visual participatory methodology and were in line with my research aim, namely to explore how rural school youth might engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community. Each of the secondary research questions related to the primary research question was explored using visual data generating methods. Visual methods are used in many studies in the field of education for example resilience, sexuality, gender, GBV, stigma, HIV and AIDS, and teacher development. It is also used with different participants such as community members, youth, learners, educators, parents, community health workers, department officials, and academics, with a strong focus on social change in rural, urban, and peri-urban contexts (De Lange et al., 2006; Mitchell, 2008; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Stuart, 2010; Theron et al., 2011).

Buckingham is of the opinion that the trend in qualitative research to employ creative visual methods for data generation aims to move beyond the limitations of talk-based methods such as interviews or focus group discussions, via photo-voice, drawing, and participatory video which are becoming increasingly popular. These methods enable participants to express themselves or tell their own stories, allowing researchers to gain access to what people really think and feel (Buckingham, 2009).

This research - framed by participatory cultures - draws on visual methods with digital storytelling as the main method, and includes digital drawing, digital archiving, and photography in the process (see 3.9). I also used focus group discussions to extend the visual data generated, and to enable the participants reflect more deeply about GBV, the process, and agency.

I worked with the participants in three phases, linked to the three secondary research questions, using the data generation methods described below.

4.6.1 Digital drawing

According to Bradford (2002) digital drawing refers to using specific software to make of original art–which is stored on a computer:

> The computer is the most powerful creative tool an artist can possess, and it is well on its way to revolutionizing the making of visual art just as word processors have transformed the way most of us write. Unique among all the various ways of creating art with pixels, digital drawing expands the definition of computer art to include work of the size, look, and level of detail of traditional media (Bradford, 2002, p. 2).

On reflecting whether to use drawing as visual participatory method I was convinced by Theron et al. (2011) statement:

> Drawings are wonderful tools! With shy children, drawings often broke the ice. With boisterous youngsters, drawings regularly stilled them and encouraged them to reflect and gain a different perspective on complex issues in their lives … drawings were a super effective way of encouraging people to express what they were thinking or feeling or longing for, or even what they had experienced (Theron et al., 2011, p.4).

Stuart argues that drawings can "enable their creators to freeze and study their memories" (Theron et al., 2011, p.6). Mitchell adds insight by referring to the "immediacy of drawings and their potential to move audiences" (in Theron et al., 2011, p.2). In essence, drawings stimulate communication and can critically depict the lived realities regardless of the participants' linguistic abilities (Population Council, 2011).

I used what is known as "draw-and-talk" (Theron et al., 2011, p.19) to generate multi-layered data around the participants' understandings of GBV in their community. Theron et al. (2011) make a compelling argument for using drawing but point out that participants should also explain their drawings. Drawing accompanied by discussion opens up collaborative meaning making (See also, Mitchell & Weber,1999; Mitchell & Umurungi, 2007; Van Laren, 2007).

Drawing digitally – using MS Paint - meant that the participants had access to a variety of colours and shades of colours, the option to instantly undo a mistake, resize or crop their drawings, and the opportunity to add or manipulate the drawings

through adding in shapes, speech bubbles, and different brush strokes or paint techniques. The captions of the drawings plus text explanations were done in MSWord, and audio-recorded using Sound Recorder on a computer. The drawings were done digitally so that the participants could save the drawings and use them in the digital storytelling phase. The digital drawings could thus be further re-mixed or re-purposed where needed (see 4.7.1.2).

4.6.2 Digital archive-inspired storytelling

A digital archive houses data/artefacts/documents as well as visual materials such as photographs and videos, digitally on the internet. The material is digitised and metadata - descriptive information regarding the artefact (Mnisi, 2010) – is added. According to Labrador and Chilton (2009) digital archives are postmodern versions of modern museums as memory places. A postmodernist approach to a digital archive means that the creators of the artefacts and the public have access to and are able to interact with the information in the archive (Huvila, 2008). Huvila (2009) and Shilton and Srinivasan (2008) note that a participatory digital archive is a relatively new concept, and aims to prevent as much as possible - in the case of marginalised populations - any distortion of their cultural histories. A digital participatory archive thus allows marginalised groups to engage with their communities' work; the archive holds a more accurate picture of the community since it is not an archive *about* but rather *of* the community, in the service of the community (Huvila, 2008; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2008).

The data used in this study is stored in a digital archive that contains a collection of photos, drawings, and videos (with metadata), produced by community members in an earlier project (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Balfour, Wedekind, Pillay & Buthelezi, 2010). The digital archive on HIV and AIDS - consisting of data created by teachers, learners, community health workers, and parents from the same rural community as the participants – contains subjective interpretations of HIV and AIDS and related issues prevalent in the participants' real life context. This means that it holds ontological data which is believable because the people created it and because of the circumstances in which it was created (Huvila, 2008). Participants from Mnisi's (2010) study, for example, participated in the archiving and saw it as a tool to break the silence, a way to share feelings, and a way to encourage talk around HIV and AIDS and related issues. Her work contributes to understanding how archiving can be used as a tool for social change in the community. The material is

unique and can become a source for reinterpretation, re-mixing, and re-analysis. The original data is thus given new life and meaning when compared to other sources with historical significance (Corti & Thompson, 2004). Researchers are able to use digital archives and re-use the data. The advantage for the participants to explore the existing digital archive and to download the material with its metadata meant opportunities to re-interpret the data in new ways.

The aim of using a digital archive in my study was for youth participants to access and use the material to explore GBV in the community from which the data for the digital archive emanated. The participants had time to scan through the archive on their own and click on all the links, images, and videos and to think about what meanings they convey about GBV in their community. The focus was on 'utilising' archived material related to GBV for the intention of re-mixing archival material for the proposed research (Huvila, 2008; Labrador & Chilton, 2009; Mnisi, 2010). They had the opportunity to download relevant material that they thought could help to tell their stories of GBV (see 4.7.1.3).

4.6.3 Digital storytelling

Digital storytelling is a technology communication tool through which people can tell and share their stories and through which they can engage and educate community members (Robin, 2008). Digital stories often have a specific topic or intent but are short and to the point. They are narratives of experiences that often have an emotional impact, told through the synthesis of images, video, music, or recordings (Gubrium, 2009). Digital storytelling can also be viewed as a tool for indigenous knowledge production and sharing (Willox, Harper & Edge, 2012). Gubrium, Krause and Jernigan (2014) have focused on digital storytelling in public health research, practice and intervention, as well as for strategic communication purposes. Video and photography have been used for decades to draw on stories of underserved and marginalised communities to record social inequalities (Lambert, 2013), and provide participants with a different platform for making meaning.

Participatory research methods such as digital storytelling is full of promise and potential enablement (Ohler, 2007; Barrett 2011) through the production of self-tailored information to use in exercising agency (possibly effecting social change) as seen with the powerful digital stories from Sonke Gender Justice (n.d.) (See

http://wwwgenderjustice.rg.za/digital-story/). Mnisi (2014) notes that the existing literature on digital storytelling says little about the promise of the production of these stories to empower individuals or to create conditions for social change (Kajder, 2006; Ohler, 2007). Pithouse (2007) however acknowledges narration as powerful in enabling talking about sensitive topics such as GBV. Roberto and Carlyle (2008) argue that the use of computers and internet strengthen social interventions and Gubrium (2009, p.186) states: "[t]he process of digital storytelling may be linked to the growth of the spoken word as a reflexive mechanism for literacy". Digital storytelling is thus becoming more popular as it conveys the participants' individually tailored messages with a strong focus on well-being (Kajder, 2006; Ohler, 2007). Consulting Gubrium and Harper's (2013) work on participatory visual research has persuaded me that digital stories can open new doors for understanding what GBV is, and offer solutions for GBV in the community. In this study the focus was on producing digital stories which include solutions to GBV, and utilising these stories in peer engagement using social media as a platform.

The digital story which the participants made required Windows Movie Maker software, Sound Recorder, Internet Explorer, and a digital camera. The participants had to identify a topic (based on GBV seen, heard, or experienced in their community) and produce a story of a few minutes long accompanied with images and a narration. They started with a script which they typed using MS Word. They recorded their stories on Sound Recorder. They then assembled media to support the storyline in the scripts. They could either use photographs which they took themselves, images from the digital archive or found in the public domain - in this case Google images, and their digital drawings. They produced the digital stories through the applications found on Movie Maker, adding title slides and credits (Ohler, 2007) (see 4.7.2.1).

4.6.4 Group discussion

A group discussion is an efficient way to gather people with common experiences or similarities together to discuss specific topics for a specific goal. It is usually held in a comfortable space and could consist of 6-10 people accompanied by a skilled facilitator, with the aim of producing a rich discussion where everyone has the opportunity to talk and participate, share, and listen. Furthermore a group discussion is designed to stimulate engagement, exploration, and elaboration of a particular topic (Niewenhuis, 2007). The facilitator prompts and guides the discussion to

generate different ideas and opinions and works around a set of predetermined questions to create free flowing discussions. The comments from participants stimulate and influence thinking, and participants often change their opinions after having heard the thoughts of their peers (Niewenhuis, 2007).

I chose group discussion as a means to complement the visual participatory work. Although the participants responded after generating each visual artefact, as well as to each other's digital stories on Facebook, I also wanted to hear their thoughts on the process and probed them about the effectiveness of using social media as a means to engage around a sensitive topic such as GBV. Through group discussions the participants and their peers had the opportunity to critically reflect, explain and clarify their experiences of the peer engagement, what they had learnt, how they thought they might have benefitted from the process, and how the process itself might have enabled agency in the fight against GBV (Niewenhuis, 2007).

4.6.5 Critical reflection

Critical reflection is a reasoning process and also a data generation method that allows participants to voice their thoughts and opinions. Considering that the research methodology is located in a critical research paradigm, it was fitting for participants to reflect on the data generation process. To critically reflect is to "reflect-on-action", "reflect-in-action", and "reflect-for-action" (Reflective Practice, 2007, p.1). Critical reflection is an important part of the design process and method as it provides a guide for future and further action and assists in making meaning from the data (Reflective Practice, 2007).

Social platforms such as Facebook, as mentioned, have not only changed the way in which people, media, and communities communicate, but also allow space for critical reflection (Jenkins, 2013). According to Bart (2011) reflection ironically opens up more unanswered questions, which however adds depth and breadth to the research process.

I chose critical reflection so that the participants as well as their peers could describe, analyse, and express their realities in artistic form (digital stories), written form (on Facebook), or oral form (group discussion). Critical reflection was an important part of this research process as it the extended the critical thinking of the participants. They reflected in group discussions at the end of the data generation phases, in their toolkits, or on Facebook. (see 4.7.3.2). Considering the research

methods used I will now explain the research procedure to indicate how I used all the methods in the process.

4.7 RESEARCH PROCESS

For the purpose of the data generation I made a step by step instruction booklet (referred to as the 'toolkit' from here on), (see Appendix E, pp. 285-322) for each participant. This served as a guideline for the data generation process and allowed the participants to have a manual to refer to. The participants could also write down important information like passwords and usernames for their email and Facebook accounts, as well as their brainstorming ideas and reflections. The toolkit only served as a guideline to facilitate the data generation process and was by no means developed to test the efficacy thereof.

I developed the toolkit and piloted it with a grade 9 learner residing in a nearby township where I live and who had similar digital exposure as I anticipated my participants to have. From the piloting I for example adjusted the time each phase would more or less take, as well as simplified the explanations and use of language in the toolkit. The piloting of the toolkit also enabled me to see whether what I had planned to do was indeed achievable and whether the participant could acquire the digital skills in case he did not have them.

The data was generated by the five participants and their five peers, right in the heart of their rural community. The five participants joined me at the guesthouse near their rural school; where we generated most of the data over several full day sessions: 24-26 June, 1-3 July and the 8-10 July 2013. The last phase of the data generation took place at school in a classroom on a Saturday later in July 2013, and involved the five peers. This intense fieldwork enabled opportunity for the participants and I to work together and to collaboratively explore the complex issue of GBV, trying out digital tools and spaces in the process.

4.7.1 Phase one: Youth generating understandings of GBV in their community

This phase was aimed at generating data in response to the following secondary research question: What are rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community?

4.7.1.1 Getting started

4.7.1.1.1 Opening a Facebook account

In phase one, Getting Started, the participants were guided step-by-step on how to open their own e-mail and Facebook accounts, each working on a project laptop. (see 5.3.1.1 and Appendix E, pp. 285-322). I demonstrated the basic functions of the keyboard and laptop and assisted them where needed. They were excited to work on the laptops and managed to navigate their way around starting their laptops and opening programmes with ease. Only one participant mentioned that he had previously worked on a laptop, but all the participants embraced the opportunity with enthusiasm and effortlessly followed my instructions. We started the research on day one with coffee and cookies and an ice breaker during which they had to reveal which animals they would want to be and why. I then took a few minutes to explain the motivation and the objectives of the study, namely to explore their understanding of GBV, the ways they might use social media to address GBV, and how they could engage other peers to facilitate their agency. Thereafter we went to the garden (at the guest house where we conducted the research) and had fun taking photos for the participants' Facebook profiles.

In order to have a Facebook account one must provide an e-mail address for the creation of such an account. For this reason the research process started off on Internet Explorer where participants were guided to Google and thereafter to Gmail in order to open their e-mail accounts. Opening an e-mail account is straightforward and all we needed to do was follow a series of steps. I asked each participant to bring a cellphone as one needs a code, sent via sms, to activate an e-mail account. Luckily they all had cellphones which did not seem to be a problem. I assisted the participants in creating their e-mail addresses (usernames) as well as passwords and they wrote them in their toolkits for safe keeping. At the end of the session they collected each other's e-mail addresses and were soon sending and receiving messages to and from each other.

Once the participants had created e-mail addresses, I debriefed them on the ethical considerations when using Facebook. I explained that for the purposes of this research they would only be inviting each other as Facebook friends. I also reminded them that they were participants in a research project and that whatever they posted would be used for the research - encouraging them to take their posts seriously.

Thereafter I guided the participants step-by-step in opening their Facebook accounts. I assisted them in creating usernames and passwords which they also wrote in their toolkits. The participants then chose profile pictures for their account from the photos taken earlier that day (I saved the photos in the course of the proceedings in a folder on their laptops) and uploaded them onto their profiles. They were shown how to invite each other as Facebook friends, whereafter they sent and received messages to and from each other in order to familiarise themselves with the participatory culture of Facebook.

As part of the process we needed a collective Facebook profile that belonged to the group on which I wanted to post our work. I prompted the participants to think of a name for this collective profile, keeping in mind the focus of the study. They each considered an appropriate name, jotted it down in their toolkit, and shared it with the group. The group then collectively decided on a name for the Facebook profile page, namely "Strugglers fighting GBV for all". I used this name as the password for their collective Facebook page and used my name "Mart-Mari Geldenhuys" to open the Facebook page (Facebook recognised that "Strugglers fighting GBV for all" is not a person's name and I was guided to open a Facebook page in a different setting; cautious of the strict privacy settings I wanted to uphold, I decided to be safe and listed the group profile under my own name).

4.7.1.1.2 Chatting about use of digital technologies and GBV

We then moved to "chatting" on Facebook. I posted questions on the group's profile and each, through their own profiles, answered the questions in the "comment" box. The first set of questions was in relation to their existing experiences of working on and with digital technologies. With the second set of questions I probed their existing knowledge of GBV by asking about their understanding of GBV, family violence, community violence, and sexual violence. I posted different forms of GBV and asked the participants to comment by saying either yes or no, whether they believed it to be GBV or not. I then posted a web link on GBV and guided them to read and explore the web page. I facilitated a Google search on what GBV and VAWG is, and left them to explore different web pages. I expected them to copy and paste appropriate web pages on our group's Facebook page, but none of them did. I think this might have been because they did not fully understand my request, or that it I made the task of finding out about GBV and then sharing newly found knowledge, too

laborious for a first attempt at searching information. At the end of this part of the work I asked them, on Facebook, if they had prior knowledge of GBV and whether they had learnt anything new. At this point in the research process I encountered my first hurdle as the answers that some participants were typing were at times difficult to understand or they did not respond to the question, while other participants did not answer all the questions. Most noticeably was the participants' poor spelling and difficulty in articulating or expressing themselves in English (even though they were given the choice of typing in isiZulu). While I wanted them to understand how Facebook works and simultaneously explore their understanding of GBV, their difficulty in expressing themselves in conventional writing underscored the importance of using visual methods instead of writing, to ensure that their thoughts on GBV are not silenced.

4.7.1.1.3 Group discussion and reflection

This session took up a whole day and at the end of the session I engaged the participants in a focus group discussion to reflect on what they had accomplished. I asked them whether they preferred writing about GBV on Facebook or talking about it. We also referred back to the types of GBV they mentioned on Facebook to ensure clarity in their understanding. The reflection session took about 30 minutes, was video recorded, and the transcribed. The participants also had the choice to reflect on the different stages of the research process in their toolkits which was less structured, and they did so when they had time or felt there was something they wished to write down and share with me.

4.7.1.2 Digital drawing

With the initial exploratory work around GBV completed, I wanted to deepen my and the participants' understanding of their perceptions of GBV in their rural community via the use of digital drawing. (see 5.3.1.2 and Appendix E, pp. 285-322). I therefore guided them to MSPaint the next day and showed them how to make their own folders in My Documents and save their work as "Drawing GBV". I also reminded them to continuously save their work using Ctrl s. I then demonstrated how to use MSPaint by clicking on different tools in the programme; showing them how they work and how to apply them. I showed them how to erase and edit using undo (Ctrl z). The participants produced a digital drawing to the following prompt: "Draw how you understand GBV in your community and provide a heading or caption." At this

stage I assisted participants as needed, often reminding them where to click to find the icons they needed and how to undo mistakes I also demonstrated to each how to add a caption or heading to their drawings, whereafter they had to do it on their own.

Once the digital drawings were completed and saved, I asked them to explain the meaning of their drawings. First they had to write the explanations down in their toolkits, then type in MSWord, and save them in their folders. Once this was done I guided them to Sound Recorder (built-in recording software) and demonstrated how to record and save their recordings. This was followed by a familiarisation of Windows Live Movie Maker where I demonstrated to the participants how to attach both their digital drawings and sound recordings to the basic digital productions about their understandings of GBV. On completion, we saved their work and I showed them how to publish their digital productions in order to post them onto Facebook (publishing allows the work to be saved into a video format that cannot be edited).

I then guided the participants back to Facebook and showed them how to upload their digital drawings onto their profile pages. We spent some time viewing each other's digital productions on Facebook. I asked the participants to reflect on their digital drawings via questions which I posted on Facebook. I for example asked them whether they enjoyed looking at each other's drawings and which drawing reminded them most of the GBV seen or heard of in their community. Lastly I asked whether any one of the drawings reminded them of any other incident of GBV which they still wanted to share. They were all proud of their digital drawings although some found it hard and others preferred drawing on laptop as opposed to the conventional way. Drawing on a laptop in MS Paint I believe is far more time consuming and although there are features to enhance and speed up the process, drawing with a touch pad was a new experience for the participants. Having said this they were all proud of their work and saw the value and potential of drawing digitally.

Each participant had access to a laptop throughout the research process, saved their work in their own folders on the laptop, and used the same laptop each time. This session took up another whole day and we ended off with a 30 minute focus group discussion during which the participants reflected on the process thus far. I gave them a choice of reflecting on Facebook or in the focus group discussion. They all

preferred typing on Facebook seemingly finding it more exciting and also more comfortable. The session was video recorded and transcribed.

4.7.1.3 Exploring and downloading from a digital archive

Another way of exploring their understanding of GBV in their community was to scan the existing digital archive which contained visual artefacts made by community members (see 5.3.1.2), and to download material from the digital archive that in some way, according to them, could help them to tell their stories of GBV in their community (see Appendix E, pp. 287-324). I started by explaining what a digital archive is and then referred to the content of the archive, providing them with details about the production of the material in the archive itself. The participants were then guided to open the digital archive website through Internet Explorer. For ethical reasons the archive could only be accessed with a username and password and I typed these onto the laptops before we proceeded. Once they accessed the webpage I gave the participants some time to explore the archive by clicking on the different links to images, drawings, photos, and videos. I demonstrated how to save material from the archive into folders on their laptops. Once I was satisfied that everyone understood what to do, I presented them with the following: "Select and download material from the archive that could, in some way, depict GBV in your community. Add these images to Windows Live Movie Maker along with a story (seen, heard or experienced) about GBV in your community". The participants could choose any image or images to tell a story representing GBV in the community, as long as the images from the archive supported the story they wanted to tell.

In order to work with the prompt, the participants first had to choose and download all the images that could help them or inspire a story on GBV which they had seen, heard of, or experienced in their community. The images were saved in PDF format in the archive and I assisted each participant to re-convert the images to JPEG (with the appropriate software) for later use in their archive-inspired stories of GBV in their community.

The participants wrote down the stories inspired by the archive images in their toolkits. I sat with each participant as they read and explained their story to me and guided them by asking clarifying or probing questions. Before they typed their stories in MSWord I showed each participant how to do a spellcheck which resulted in a noticeable improvement in their spelling. They then typed their stories and

saved them into their folders. At this point they were ready to read and record their stories using Sound Recorder and saving them into their folders.

Having found some images in the digital archive which helped them think deeper about GBV in their community, and after typing the story in MSWord and recording the story through Sound Recorder, they had to upload the images as well as the recorded story into Movie Maker to produce archive-inspired digital stories on GBV in their community. I demonstrated how to upload their digital drawings onto Movie Maker, and how to move around multiple images on the MM storyboard in order to "tell their story" and "stretch" them to match the length of their audio recorded GBV story. As soon as they were satisfied with their productions, they published and saved their archive-inspired digital stories. They were competent at completing this task and managed to follow my instructions. It was a time consuming process, especially downloading material with a slow Internet connection. However, they were patient and eager throughout and they were proud to see their images and stories unfold on the laptop screens.

This session took up another whole day and at the end of the session the participants posted their archive-inspired digital stories on GBV in their community onto their Facebook profiles. We viewed their stories on Facebook and the participants reflected on each other's stories through the following questions I posted on Facebook: "When you close your eyes and think back to the participants' archive-inspired GBV stories, which one of these stays in your mind, which of these GBV stories mentioned happens most in your community, and have you seen or heard a similar story?" The participants typed their answers in the comment box. The session was video recorded and transcribed.

4.7.2 Phase two: Youth using social media within a participatory cultures framework to address GBV

This phase was aimed at generating data for the secondary research question, namely "How might rural school youth use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV?"

4.7.2.1 Digital Storytelling

Having been introduced to the concept of GBV and exploring their thinking about it, having produced some photographs and a digital drawing, and having selected some

images from the digital archive and created a digital archive-inspired story, the participants were ready to assemble and expand their digital stories.

In this phase each produced a digital story which focused on some aspect of GBV in their community, along with a suggested solution to the problem, and a message on how Facebook could be used to address GBV (see 5.3.2.1 and Appendix E, pp. 288-324). I explained that they would have to re-use their own drawings, images from the archive, and other relevant materials such as the photographs they took in the 'getting started' phase along or new images found on the internet, and would have to re-mix these materials to digitally tell their stories. The participants could then either continue working with their digital archive-inspired stories on GBV in the community or they could create different stories. All of them decided to continue with their archive-inspired stories.

The process started with the participants' first prompt: "Close your eyes and think of your story you have written on GBV in your community. What images do you require to add to your story? We will do an Internet search for pictures that can help you 'tell' your story (or any other story) on GBV in your community". I guided the participants to Google images and we started searching and downloading material. I also took time to show each participant, individually, how to save and name images according to URL addresses for incorporation into the credits slide at the end of their digital stories. Initially I intended to guide the participants step-by-step as a group in finding photos for their stories and solutions, and how to use Facebook. However, there was an unanticipated problem with the signal and the speed of the multi-user wi-fi modem we shared, causing searching for material simultaneously to be a slow and frustrating process. I therefore adjusted my plan and rotated the participants on the Internet, writing in their toolkits, typing their digital stories on MSWord, and taking and staging more photographs for the stories. The participants decided that they wanted to take more photographs and so we made time to do that. I sat with each participant and guided them through copying and pasting the existing stories. Each of the five further developed these archive-inspired stories to complete the new design brief. This facilitated their thinking about solutions to the problem and how to use Facebook to address GBV. At this point of the data generation it was quite a juggle as the participants were all busy with individual journeys of completing the task. I had to stay focused as multi-tasking facilitator; either posing clarifying

questions to guide the flow and coherence of their stories, downloading photos into a folder, assisting with technical problems, or searching for images to illustrate their ideas. Some participants struggled more than others and coupled with the low Internet signal this caused time delays which provided space for the more proficient participants to assist and help others.

As soon as all the participants had finished finding the images they required, wrote and typed their stories and solutions, plus how to use Facebook to address the problem, they recorded their stories using Sound Recorder and saved them in their folders. Initially I wanted the participants to make three separate recordings: one for the story on GBV, the other for their solution(s), and the last for their ideas on how to use Facebook to contribute to address GBV. However all of the participants chose to make only one recording combining all three pieces. They expressed their frustration later for choosing this method, because when they made a mistake they had to delete the whole recording and start afresh again. This sometimes required a few attempts.

When all the preparation components were ready the participants were guided onto Movie Maker with the following prompt: “Use the web images, images from the digital archive, your digital drawing, the photos you took, and your voice recordings and re-mix them into a ‘digital story’ that depicts and represents your understanding, solutions and how to use Facebook to contribute to addressing the GBV problem”. I reminded them how to add their material to Movie Maker’s story board and how to move images around and stretch or shorten images to the length of their voice recording. I also demonstrated how to use some of the animations that accompany Movie Maker, for example some visual effects. I then guided participants in making a title and a credits slide, and how to acknowledge the web sites from which we drew materials. At the end of this process the participants added subtitles to each slide. I explained that their digital stories would be clearer if people could read the subtitles and hear the words at the same time. In order to add the subtitles, I taught them how to pause and play their work and how to copy and paste from MSWord documents onto the appropriate corresponding slides. This was time consuming and required a lot of help from me. As soon as the participants were done and satisfied with their digital stories, we published them on the group’s Facebook page and saved them in their folders, under the titles of their digital stories.

This session took place over three days and the participants worked individually on their own laptops, but helped each other along the way especially when I was busy assisting someone else. We concluded the session with a group reflection on the research process thus far. The session was video recorded and transcribed.

4.7.2.2 Publishing and engaging on Facebook

In the next part of this phase, the participants published and engaged with each other's digital stories on Facebook (see 5.3.2.2 and Appendix E, pp. 287-324).

Each participant's digital story was published on the collective Facebook profile. Considering the signal, the speed of the internet connection, as well as the file size of their digital stories, it was nearly impossible to view their digital stories on Facebook. I then downloaded a programme that could resize their stories into a smaller format which enabled the participants to post smaller versions onto Facebook. With each digital story I posted reflective questions which the participants were expected to answer after viewing each other's digital stories: "When you close your eyes what is it that you remember from this movie [digital story]?" "What is your opinion about the solution?" "Do you think the solution on using Facebook to address GBV can work?" and "What would you add to this story"?

Publishing and posting their digital drawings, their archive-inspired GBV stories, as well as their digital stories on the collective Facebook profile, and engaging with each other's digital productions through reflective questions, prepared them to think along the lines of using Facebook as a tool to engage their friends in their digital productions in an attempt to address GBV.

This session took about 4 hours. The session was video recorded and transcribed.

4.7.3 Phase three: Youth engaging with peers through social media within a participatory cultures framework to facilitate youth agency

This phase aimed at generating data for the following secondary research question: "How might rural school youth engaging peers with the use of social media within a participatory cultures framework facilitate youth agency?"

4.7.3.1 Designing and engaging a peer

In this part of this phase the participants designed engagement with a peer; they engaged the peer in their digital drawings, stories inspired by the digital archive, and digital stories on Facebook, in a one-on-one session about addressing GBV (see

5.3.3.1 and Appendix E, pp. 287-324). We recapped the process thus far, responding to questions about the production of their digital stories, and about further use of digital stories. We also revisited the GBV they mentioned, their solutions, and how they thought Facebook could be used to contribute to addressing GBV. As we recapped their thoughts, I wrote their examples of GBV down on sticky notes and got the participants to re-arrange their examples of GBV from least harmful to most harmful forms, in their opinion (although De Lange (2015) refers to Rashida Manjoo who mentions that one should not place forms of GBV in a hierarchical order) this exercise was intended for them to consolidate what they had produced**.** We did the same with their solutions; writing all their solutions on sticky notes before re-arranging them from least likely to most likely to succeed. We repeated the exercise once more for their ideas on how to use Facebook to contribute to addressing GBV, and the participants re-arranged the sticky notes from least effective to most effective ways in which to incorporate Facebook. This exercise was originally not part of the research design, but I thought it a meaningful process not only to remind the participants of what they had done so far, but also for them to think critically about the knowledge they had produced. Furthermore, it served as a springboard to think about designing engagement strategies with their peers.

Still in our focus group discussion, we then proceeded to plan for the peer engagement session. I explained to the participants what peer engagement was before proceeding to talk about the value and importance thereof. I explained that in this form of one-on-one engagement their peers can learn from them and together they can begin changing harmful social norms which contribute to GBV. The participants' first prompt was designed around thinking of questions they could ask their peers which would get them to engage with the digital productions posted onto the collective Facebook profile. I asked: "What open-ended questions could you ask peers that will allow them to engage with your digital stories on Facebook as an approach to address GBV in your community?" I explained that these questions had to be open-ended so their peers could express their own views on ways that can help address GBV. Each participant worked individually and wrote down four questions in their toolkit. Once completed each participant read their questions aloud, and as facilitator I made notes of all their questions – grouping similar questions together. I noticed that many of the participants had similar questions. I

then read the questions back to them and the participants voted by a show of hands which questions should be used in their peer engagements. Once we had chosen the four most appropriate questions, we revised them a bit, and then the participants wrote them down in their toolkits. Their four questions were: (i) “From all the solutions you have seen or heard which one do you think will work the best?”; (ii) “If you had to make a GBV movie and solution what would your story be about? And what would be your solution?”; (iii) “Mention all the GBV you saw in the movies [digital stories]. Which one happens the most?”; and (iv) “What GBV have you seen or heard of in the community that was not shown in the videos [digital stories]? Please tell me the story”. This was a time consuming process and here too, I had to raise the issue of ethics with them (see 4.10).

We then discussed “how can you use your digital stories (and other digital productions) on Facebook and your group’s questions to design an engagement with your friend that is aimed at addressing GBV in your community?” The participants individually wrote down a series of steps they thought would be best suited to a peer engagement meeting, after which each participant read their ideas and steps aloud to the group. As facilitator I made notes of all the steps and grouped similar steps together. Once again the participants had very similar ideas and through a show of hands we voted on the best series of steps which they thought would be suited to engage their peers in the engagement meetings. Together we refined the ideas and the participants were then supposed to write down the steps in their toolkits, but at that point – to save time - I typed up the steps. This part of the session took half a day and was video recorded and transcribed.

The engagement the participants designed, chose, and followed is the following:

What we will be doing today

- ✓ **Step 1**

Switch on your Laptop and go to sound recorder, make sure you click: “Start Recording” before you start your meeting.

- ✓ **Step 2**

Explain that you participated in a research project during the winter school break and talk about what you did. E.g. that you opened an email and Facebook account, you made a digital drawing about gender-based violence, you looked at photographs of gender-based violence - made by learners, teachers and health care workers in your community - in the digital archive, you used these photographs as inspiration to tell your own story around gender-based violence. You then thought of a solution to this problem as well as how to use Facebook to address the problem before finding more images on the Internet to make your final digital story.

- ✓ **Step 3**

Look at the digital productions, starting with the digital drawings, then the stories from the images from the digital archive, and then the final digital stories.

- ✓ **Step 4**

Share the background of the digital stories, how you produced them, the difficulties of the process, and what you have learnt.

- ✓ **Step 5**

On the “Mart-Mari Geldenhuys” Facebook page you will find the 4 questions (see figure 5.21). Ask you participant to click on it and answer these – discuss their answers with them to get an understanding of what they mean.

- ✓ **Step 6**

Remember to end your sound recording before you finish your session and save it in your folder as “peer meeting”.

Step 7

Offer your fellow the provided refreshments. Thank them before saying goodbye.

In the first week after the winter holidays, after school, the participants met me in a classroom at school - as arranged – along with the peers they invited from Grade 9. I had set up each participant's laptop at different points in the classroom so that they could have a bit of privacy when engaging with their peer. The peers handed in their assent and consent forms to me (Appendices F & G) before proceeding. I would have liked to start the day with everyone present but this was not the case. The three boy participants were on time along with two peers (Mandla's peer did not arrive which compelled him to run to a friend's house to find another peer). Both the girl participants along with their two peers were two hours late for the meeting. On arrival they were very apologetic and explained that they first had to finish their chores at home before they were allowed to come. When I asked the boys whether they had any chores, they confirmed that it was only girls who had to do chores. I made a mental note of this example of inequality experienced by girls, particularly in a rural area. Since each participant conducted their own meeting with a peer, it did not matter that they were late as it only meant the meetings ended a little later in the afternoon than intended.

The participants all set forth in engaging their friends according to their design plan and managed to complete the engagements. The participants had difficulty with the Internet signal and speed and therefore we decided to watch all the digital productions offline as a group, but engage with the critical questions online. I enjoyed observing the process and watching my participants bloom as they took the lead in carefully and patiently showing, explaining, and helping their peers. Often they had to take extra time in showing their friends how to type or guide and explain to the peers what to do. Each of the peer engagements seemed to be successfully conducted, each participant seemed to have followed all the steps in the peer engagement design, and the peers all responded through engaging with their open-ended questions and digital productions on Facebook. The process took the whole afternoon – nearly 5 hours. I video recorded the session. Only one participant, Sipho, remembered to switch on the laptop's recorder to record the session with his peer! In the excitement of the moment it seemed that they all forgot about the recording.

4.7.3.2 Critical reflection

With the work drawing to an end it was necessary to facilitate further reflection. This was done in three parts.

First, during the peer engagement process, the participants engaged their peers in the four questions as per the design brief (see 4.7.3.1). I too asked their peers the following questions posted under each of the participant's digital stories on Facebook, to encourage reflection: "What can be done in society to make sure that people don't suffer like this? (as reflected in the video (digital story)"; "If you were friends with the people/victims 'participant's name' talks about, how could you have helped him or her?"; "What can you do as an individual to make a difference to these issues?"

Second, at the end of this day after packing up our laptops we concluded with a group discussion (see 5.3.3.3). I posed questions to the participants' peers with the aim of having them reflect on the engagement process and the efficacy thereof. It allowed me to explore the peers' opinions on using Facebook to address GBV, what they had learnt, and their thoughts on engaging with digital stories on Facebook in an attempt to address GBV. I asked the peers the following questions: "Please tell me about the meeting with your friend"; "If you were to make a digital story what would your story be about?"; "What according to your opinion is the GBV that happens most in your community?"; "Which solutions to GBV could work the best in your opinion?"; "What have you learnt today?"; "What do you think about using digital stories as a way to talk about GBV?"; and "What did you enjoy most about the process?"

Third, I reflected with my research participants in a group discussion. I explored their thoughts on the meetings they had with their peers, their feelings, and their opinions on whether the meeting around Facebook and their digital productions were fruitful and had made some change towards understanding of GBV in their community. I ultimately explored whether they felt they were able to take action for social change (see 5.3.3.2 and Appendix E, pp. 287-324).

The focus group discussions with the peers and then with the participants took about 45 minutes. Both these sessions were video recorded and transcribed.

The process of data generation yielded several sets of data which had to be analysed.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

Central to qualitative research is not just the type of data produced but the way it is analysed. Analysis according to Swanepoel and De Beer (2013) is based on

description, interpretation, and explanation of data. The research design and methodology in this study required a multi-method approach and so a multi-dimensional analysis was used. The analyses took place at different levels and stages and was therefore layered. The participatory and reflective nature of the study allowed for a first layer of analysis from the participants (both those creating the digital productions and the peers who participated in the engagement) during the explanation of their digital productions, and when they arranged and ranked examples of GBV, solutions, and how Facebook might be used to address GBV. I make field notes and video recorded the data generation, and so captured the participants' first layer of analysis.

A second layer of analysis took place when I drew on all the data sets and transcriptions and used thematic analysis to generate themes (Henning et al., 2004). The data used was generated from the digital drawings, the archive-inspired GBV stories, the participants' digital stories, from publishing and engaging on social media, from designing and engaging peers with their digital productions on Facebook, and from the focus group discussions and reflections. Critical research takes the form of a problem-orientated approach which assumes that there are solutions to problems (Creswell, 2009) which means there is a strong focus on participants' ideas, solutions, and reflections. The second layer of data analysis involved using the raw data and the transcriptions, reducing the transcriptions to coded information, sifting significant from trivial input, identifying significant patterns, and constructing themes from them in a framework for communicating the essence of what the data revealed (Patton, 2002) in response to the secondary research questions.

I started the process through transcribing the recorded data and then checking the transcriptions for completeness and errors. This was a tedious process, but it enabled me to get closer to the data. Thereafter I analysed, condensed, and synthesised (Henning et al., 2004) the data - also referred to as qualitative or open coding. This means the data was divided systematically into smaller and more meaningful units which I then put back together in new ways in order to build theory as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994), Tesch (1990), Smit (2002), and Corbin and Strauss (2007). Open coding means to carefully analyse data, line by line, writing down ideas that come to mind about the transcribed data, and making memos in the margins of the transcripts (Andrews et al., 2013). I examined the

transcriptions piece by piece, and compared the pieces for relationships, similarities, and dissimilarities (Tesch, 1990). Different parts of the data were marked with appropriate labels or codes to identify them for further analysis. I grouped together all the codes that were similar, identified patterns, and created categories. The categories served as labels and I grouped together similar categories to find common threads or themes. These themes contributed to developing an adequate conceptualisation of the data (Tesch, 1990). The goal and benefit of open coding is to build a descriptive and multi-dimensional interpretation from raw data in a systematic process that will ensure validity (Abulad, 2007) whilst, in this study, keeping my research questions and theoretical framework of participatory cultures in mind.

A third layer of the analysis took place through my describing and interpreting the findings through the use of existing literature (Henning et al., 2004). This refers to describing phenomena through seeing how it connects and interconnects (Creswell, 2009) with relevant literature. I therefore recontextualised the findings in other research (Henning et al., 2004) - to contribute to the gap in knowledge that I had identified. Such rich description, I believe, provided a comprehensive in-depth perspective of the participants' meaning making.

I hoped for a modest contribution to knowledge and to not make grand claims of achieved social change; rather a reflection of insights into activism which might bring about inner change and lead to social change.

4.9 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to the trustworthiness of findings in qualitative research as findings that can be trusted and are worth paying attention to. Their model of trustworthiness, with the following criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, is adhered to.

The first criterion of Guba's model pays attention to credibility. Credibility means that the researcher should persuade the audience that the findings represented are accurate descriptions or interpretations of the views or experiences of the participants, and that people who might share similar experiences can validate them as credible. Creswell (2009) explains that credibility aims to "encapsulate the occurrences within the context of the research and deliberates the question of the

fulfilment of the researcher's aim" (Creswell, 2006, p. 204). I ensured credibility by using different visual participatory methods of data generation with the participants in their digital productions; Guba and Lincoln (2005) underscore the fact that no one method can provide an ultimate representation of reality. I applied layered data generation to provide participants with more than one opportunity to inquire into and represent their realities. This enabled me to analyse layers of reflections, meanings, and truths of the participants' lives.

To further ensure credibility I video recorded the data generation sessions, transcribed the data verbatim, and presented the findings in the participants' own words in this thesis. The transcriptions of participants' views and experiences as expressed in their digital productions, their critical reflections on Facebook, and the video-recorded sessions were cross-checked for accuracy, and was useful for ensuring credibility of the data analysis (William, 2006). Although a critical paradigm assumes that there are multiple truths and that data is open to different types of interpretation, I nonetheless strived for crystallisation (Creswell, 2006; 2013) of the information. This was supported by my use of different visual participatory methods, through first and second layers of analysis, and an open coding of the data to formulate codes, categories, and themes before cross-checking my own findings with the existing literature - a process that strengthens reliability (Olivier, Wood & De Lange, 2009).

Transferability, the second criterion of Guba's (1985) model, asks whether the data can be applied or transferred beyond the study, and in what ways the findings can be generalised to other settings. The findings in this qualitative research were generated from a small number of participants and are context-specific; I therefore acknowledge that I cannot generalise my findings. In order to make the study transferable, I described the research process and context in depth, with "thick" descriptions, so that in the event of someone consulting my work they will be able to transfer the findings based on their judgment in relation to the context of their study (William, 2006).

Dependability, the third criterion of Guba's (1985) model, is concerned with whether the findings would be consistent if a study was repeated. Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the close ties between credibility and dependability - if there is credibility then dependability usually follows. Through providing a thick description of the research

process, I believe other researchers can determine whether the research process was dependable and thoroughly described for it to be repeated. I ensured that the research process was well structured and documented to reassure other researchers that rigorous research procedures were followed (Shenton, 2004).

The fourth criterion, confirmability, refers to the degree to which others could confirm the results as being objective. Confirmability strives for a freedom from bias in either the research procedure or the results (Poggenpoel, 1998). However bias cannot be avoided in research by a person about people's experiences. I therefore positioned myself as a researcher who acknowledges her own biases and explained the intent and goal of the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I strived for neutrality throughout as I tried to be reflexive and aware of my own pre-conceived ideas. Ultimately confirmability refers to the extent to which others can confirm the results of a study. To ensure confirmability I thoroughly re-checked my own data and findings, and had my promoter – as independent coder - check the data and analysis for consistency (William, 2006).

4.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research with other human beings, especially if it examines sensitive social phenomena such as GBV, might create difficult situations, which I tried to approach in a sensitive way. I strived to do 'least harm' and 'most good' (Mitchell, 2011) in this visual participatory research. This entailed ethical responsibility in the treatment of my participants and to the discipline of science, and to be honest and accurate in the research, analysis, and representation of the findings (Strydom, 2011; Trafford & Leshem, 2008).

In order to pursue the research I obtained permission from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University Ethics Committee (Appendix A), the Department of Education (Appendix B), the principal of the school (Appendix C) and the Department of Health (Appendix D). The following ethical principles were borne in mind continuously throughout the research process: avoidance of harm and deception, informed consent and assent, privacy and confidentiality. I worked as a competent researcher, qualified and equipped, and with the necessary supervision. If the participants had experienced any form of discomfort, I would have referred them to the school's counsellor for support. I reported correctly on the analysis of the

data and the results of study, with due recognition to relevant sources (Strydom, 2011).

Human beings are complex to study and it is therefore necessary to acknowledge the rights of the participants. I ensured that participation in my research was voluntary, and that I received assent from the learner participants and consent from their parents (Trochim, 2006). I adhered to the ethical guidelines (particularly ensuring anonymity as best I could) which were outlined in the participants' assent and parent consent forms (see Appendix F & G). The data will be used for research purposes and publications and no link can be made from the findings to participants since pseudonyms (Henning et al., 2004) were used. Although Facebook is a social network, access to the Facebook profiles was restricted to my and the participants' use. The participants were also debriefed on the ethical considerations and sensitivities when working with social media. I assured them of their privacy and protection and fully explained what would happen with their information in terms of the research goals, the process, and the outcomes.

Conducting critical research implies considerate ethical transparency. The ethical transparency of visual participatory research remains problematic (Mitchell, 2008) with regards to who owns the visual data which the participants produce; whether these may be accessed in future by other researchers and their participants; as well as consideration around the data generation process (Gubrium, Hill & Flicker, 2014). With new visual methods come new dilemmas and understanding of ethical considerations, research orientations, confidentiality, and anonymity (De Lange, 2012; Cox, Drew, Guillemin, Howell, Warr & Waycott, 2014). However, one of the fundamental tenets of new social media is its basis in Web 2.0 technologies, which transforms publishing into connected active conversations. Using Facebook falls into the closed media ethics, thus their work is not open for everyone to view, but restricted to a relatively small group of people. Nonetheless research within this field can open up future possibilities as there has been an appeal for new media ethics to include the widest possible range of voices. The possibilities of more participation and more voices aim at empowerment, especially if people on the other side of the digital divide have access to interactions with peers with the intention of critiquing and modifying unjust social situations (Holderness, 2006; Strydom, 2011).

I received feedback from the participants at the end of each data generation day in the form of critical reflections. I looked at the work of Karlsson (2001) and visual research ethics and ensured that the process was reflective and engaging, and that it centred around benefit for the participants, the researcher, and the community, the purpose of which was to do good, in fact more good than possible harm. Furthermore I ensured that the images which the participants used did not cause any form of harm to the community or community members. I also kept in mind that viewing images of GBV on the internet, or in the digital archive, might be traumatic for viewers and that showing the digital stories which focus on GBV might also be traumatic for peers who view it. Researchers like Guerin and Hallas (2007) point out although we argue for the power of the visual we have to bear in mind the possible haunting effect of visual materials which can cause trauma. I therefore carefully looked out for any signs of trauma so that I could intervene and redirect the participants or their peers for counselling.

4.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I pointed out the dilemma of GBV as one of the key drivers of HIV in South Africa and the need for youth-led interventions for possible community change. The main research aim was to explore how youth might educate peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing gender-based violence in their community. This chapter presented the research design I used in order to achieve this aim. I explained why I chose to use a qualitative research approach within a critical paradigm, and why I used visual participatory research as methodology. The array of visual data generating methods I used, namely digital drawing, digital archiving, digital storytelling, publishing and participating on a social network site, group discussion, peer engagement, and critical reflection, were explained. The thick description of the data generation and analysis process – to answer the three secondary research questions – was applied to ensure the trustworthiness of an ethically conducted study.

This chapter also shows the intricacies, challenges and opportunities of doing participatory research with school youth and I recognise that this constitutes exploratory work in a rural context where rural youth struggled and succeeded to a certain extent in crossing the digital divide via digital technologies, new media, and

social media. While the process had shortcomings, the rural school youth indeed showed how they can engage in addressing GBV in their community.

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH RESULTS

"I think they will make a change 'cause we heard our peers, they will go back home and kind of get excited and tell … I've learnt today something I never knew" (Participant)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I represent the results from the research process. The results are drawn from the participants' digital work, the transcriptions, and my field notes, to answer the following research question: How might rural school youth engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community?

I offer the results in three phases, each of which represents the findings to my secondary research questions. The results are also presented in the sequence in which the data was generated, to enable the reader to get a sense of the fieldwork.

I use the following abbreviations to indicate the origin of the data:

Mfana (male participant)	Mf
Mfana's male peer	Peer Mf
Thobeka (female participant)	Th
Thobeka's female peer	Peer Th
Hlengiwe (female participant)	Hl
Hlengiwe's female peer	Peer Hl
Sipho (male participant)	Si
Sipho's male peer	Peer Si
Mandla (male participant)	Ma
Mandla's male peer	Peer Ma
Transcriptions	T + page number (e.g. T. 23)
Digital drawings	DD
Digital archive-inspired story	DAS
Digital story	DS
Facebook posting	Facebook engagement

I begin by providing an overview of who the participants are (each participant paired up with one peer on the last day and will only be referred to as peer/s).

5.2 THE PARTICIPANTS

The five Grade 9 participants (two girls and three boys) offered different perspectives on the issue under research. In order to have some understanding of who the participants are, I provide brief descriptions drawn from my field notes.

5.2.1 Mfana

> *Mfana tries very hard … he is eager to learn and … in many instances takes the leadership role. (Fieldnotes, p. 4)*

Mfana, a 16 year old boy, lives with his family (father, mother, and brothers, including his sister and her children). He shows strong leadership skills and the other participants listen to him; he certainly is the group leader. He displays empathy towards the other group members and helps when needed. His English language and communication skills make it difficult for him to contribute elaborately in English. He however excels when it comes to the technological aspects of data generation. Working digitally excites Mfana and his written reflections indicate his enjoyment, learning, and progress. He was an optimistic participant, eager to learn throughout the study, and this enthusiasm was carried through to his peer engaging session in which it seemed as though they were actively sharing and learning from each other.

Notes from the field (p.4):

> *He battles a little to put pen to paper but he makes up for it by being extremely competent on the computer, eager to learn and to explore and to try to correct his own mistakes. He … shows … willingness to eagerly help his peers and his social skills are of such a manner that he is easy to get along with.*

5.2.2 Thobeka

> *"Thobeka is good with words and stories." (Fieldnotes, p. 5)*

Thobeka, a 14 year old girl, lives with both her parents. She is quiet and works diligently. She is thoughtful and handles the other participants with patience and responsiveness. She learns quickly and takes time and care to produce creative work of good quality. She makes a conscious effort to give of her best and offers assistance to the other participants. She is appreciative of everything she learns and her written reflections indicate that she enjoyed the whole process. Throughout the process she was reflective and offered insightful views on GBV, the making of digital

productions, and the benefits of these for her community. Thobeka displayed this same gentle and patient temperament towards her peers and their engagement looked relaxed.

Notes from the field (p. 5)

> *"… a clever girl, she has a beautiful personality … is polite and eager to learn and has a creative side to her that I hope becomes more evident as the research proceeds."*

5.2.3 Hlengiwe

"Hlengiwe has a lot of life experience." (Fieldnotes, p. 4).

Hlengiwe, a 16 year old girl, has lost both her parents and lives with extended family members. She is delightful and easily established relationships with the other participants and myself. She eagerly shared her stories and is very imaginative, as reflected in her love for singing, dancing, and staging photos. She has a good understanding of and eloquent ability in speaking English, but is less proficient in writing English as is reflected in her responses on Facebook and her written reflections. Her limited English proficiency resulted in many of the reflection sessions being done on camera and Facebook or just on camera. Hlengiwe is very perceptive and often contributed valuable data representing GBV in her community. Hlengiwe and her peer, who is also very fluent in English, were often deep in conversation around the digital stories and her peer's reflections too, were invaluable and insightful.

Notes from the field (p.4)

> *"She has a pleasant and friendly disposition about her and enjoys singing and being a girl. She is making the best of her current situation. … although she has forgotten her [consent] forms ... She was very apologetic when she told me … she feared that she might not participate anymore. Although she was very slow on the laptop, she made up for it … and came up with a brilliant name for our group's Facebook profile. She often delivers insightful ideas."*

5.2.4 Sipho

"Sipho is best at interpreting instructions." (Fieldnotes, p. 7)

Sipho, a 14 year old boy, is shy and serious. He lives with his mother, father, and one brother and has high aspirations for his future. He is competent and fast on the

computer and delivers good work – as seen in the digital story and the way in which he presented his solutions. He displayed dedication and commitment in producing his digital productions and his story reflects passion. Although he is reserved, in the digital productions his voice was clear and confident; it seems as if he used the digital spaces and expressions to mask his shyness and express his views and solutions on GBV. Considering the fact that Sipho is introverted, I was thoroughly impressed with his leadership role and serious manner in guiding his peer through the engagement session.

Notes from the field (p.7)

> *"… he is a little shy and more reserved, but a bright spark who took to the computer like a fish to water. He has confirmed that he has worked on a computer before and has jumped into the activities and answered the ice-breakers."*

5.2.5 Mandla

> *"Mandla is the quickest to get things done." (Fieldnotes, p. 4)*

Mandla, aged 13, is the smallest member of the group. He lives with his mother, father, and older siblings. He is quick to learn and quiet in the group, but a joker outside of it. He seems to be bullied at school and his digital productions reflect that. He is helpful and assisted the other group members with their digital work. He particularly enjoyed using the video camera yet chose not to be filmed himself. Mandla is cautious at times. However, working with the digital technology created spaces for him to be more expressive and to display his talents - as is noticeable in his digital drawing. In Mandla's reflections I noticed a development from being unsure initially, to taking ownership of his digital productions and utilising these to engage his peer on GBV.

Notes from the field (p.4)

> *Mandla although quiet and reserved… not much of a talker, I can tell he is very … focused by the speed with which he completes his tasks and the enthusiasm he displays … helping his friends. In a way this is exactly why I chose this form of methodology to enable quiet and shy children to make their voices heard – he eagerly talks on Facebook but not so much in front of the camera.*

5.2.6 The peers

The five participants each invited a friend - as peer – to share their productions and learning around GBV. The five peers (two girls and three boys) were also in Grade 9. Their ages ranged from 13 to 16 years.

5.3 RESULTS

5.3.1 Phase 1: Rural school youth's understanding of GBV in their community

In the first phase of the research, responding to the first secondary research question, "What are youths' understandings of GBV within their community?", the participants expressed their understanding of GBV in their community by generating digital drawings using MS Paint and creating photo stories inspired by a digital archive. Each method enabled engagement with and reflection on the topic, in this instance GBV in their rural community (See figure 5.16 and 5.17).

Reflections from my field notes

My participants eagerly joined me every morning and worked hard and sometimes longer than was expected of them. On the first two days I had four eager participants, and amongst themselves they soon organised a fifth participant for me by day 3.

5.3.1.1 Youth's understandings of GBV in their community through digital drawing

The participants were prompted to make digital drawings with captions (using MS paint) to depict their understanding of GBV in their community. They typed a caption for each of their drawings, which they audio recorded and added to their drawings in Movie Maker, presented below, unedited. Five drawings were produced.

5.3.1.1.1 Mfana's digital drawing

This man he tack the car of my dad than after that we call the police 'and my dad sad If you steeling you going to jail or to dairy' that why the police hit him like a dog the police this man is a gangster this man It was four man and run are way and police sad we going to punish you they run are way

Figure 5.1 Mfana's digital drawing and caption

(Mfana's heading is unaltered; he struck through his own caption in the production process).

5.3.1.1.2 Thobeka's digital drawing

This drawing is about a teacher which is abusing a child with corporal punishment because the child did not done the homework correctly. Than when the child was asking for a permission slip to her for going outside she refuse because she was thinking that the child will go to the police station and she already know that she will be arrested than the child wasn't even learning happy like the other children do during the teaching time; because of the pains in the

Figure 5.2 Thobeka's digital drawing and caption.

5.3.1.1.3 Hlengiwe's digital drawing

My drawing is about corporal violence aver war in the wold in schools and in homes it is cutie painful to see that the children of the wold ding detain like a Bache of pompoms. Late use tray to do sam ting about this mischief make the children be happy for ones this wold could do biter in the future remember they are the future.

One in a 100 of schools think that it is the way duet it is not we say Stop corporal violence.

5.3.1.1 *Stop the hart.*

Figure 5.3 Hlengiwe's digital drawing and caption.

Figure 5.4 Sipho;s digital drawing.

The drawing is about a man who is abusing a woman. The women cannot do anything because the man is strong and the woman is weak and she cannot fight because she is beaten up and she cannot do anything. Abusing is a wrong thing to do because people get hurt. The man who have beaten the girl will end-up in jail for

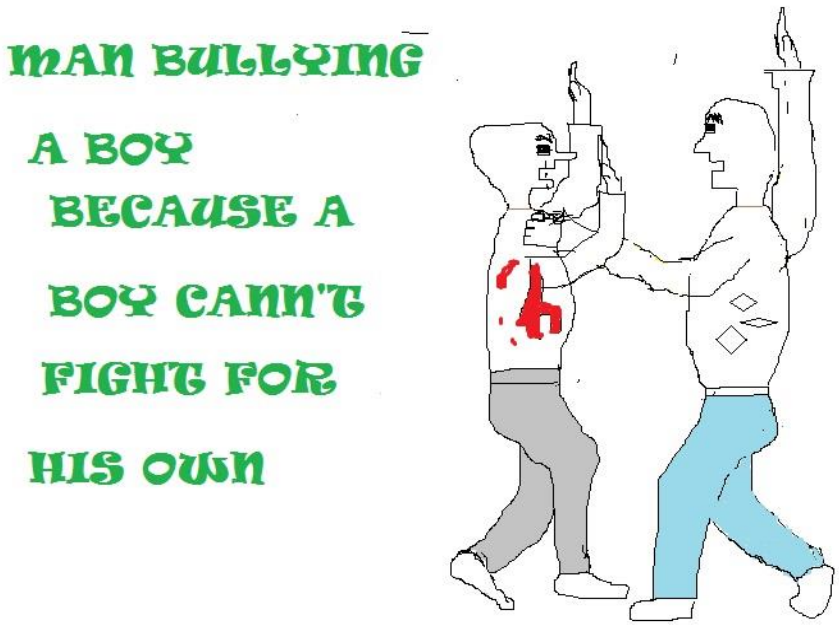


Figure 5.5 Mandla's digital drawing and caption.

5.3.1.1.5 Mandla's digital drawing

5.3.1.1.6 Summary of participants' digital drawings

The five participant drawings show violence against both women and men, and girls and boys who were unable to defend themselves. It was interesting to note that their [illegible] nd the police. Considering the need to work ethically, I had encouraged them not to mention any names of the perpetrators of GBV, but only to talk about the issue.

In the focus group discussion at the end of the day, the participants indicated that the digital drawings around corporal punishment were most relevant to them. They also indicated that they had enjoyed the process of producing digital drawings and

> *This drawing is about bullying because some people bully other because they are older than them and some they do bully because they are stronger than them as we can see in the picture that the old one is bullying the smaller one because he know that he won't do nothing. what I notice is that he want to rob him by taking his money and pinch him and leave him just like that.*

although it was challenging at times they felt that there is value in drawing digitally as there are more possibilities for its use.

5.3.1.2 Rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community through digital archive-inspired stories

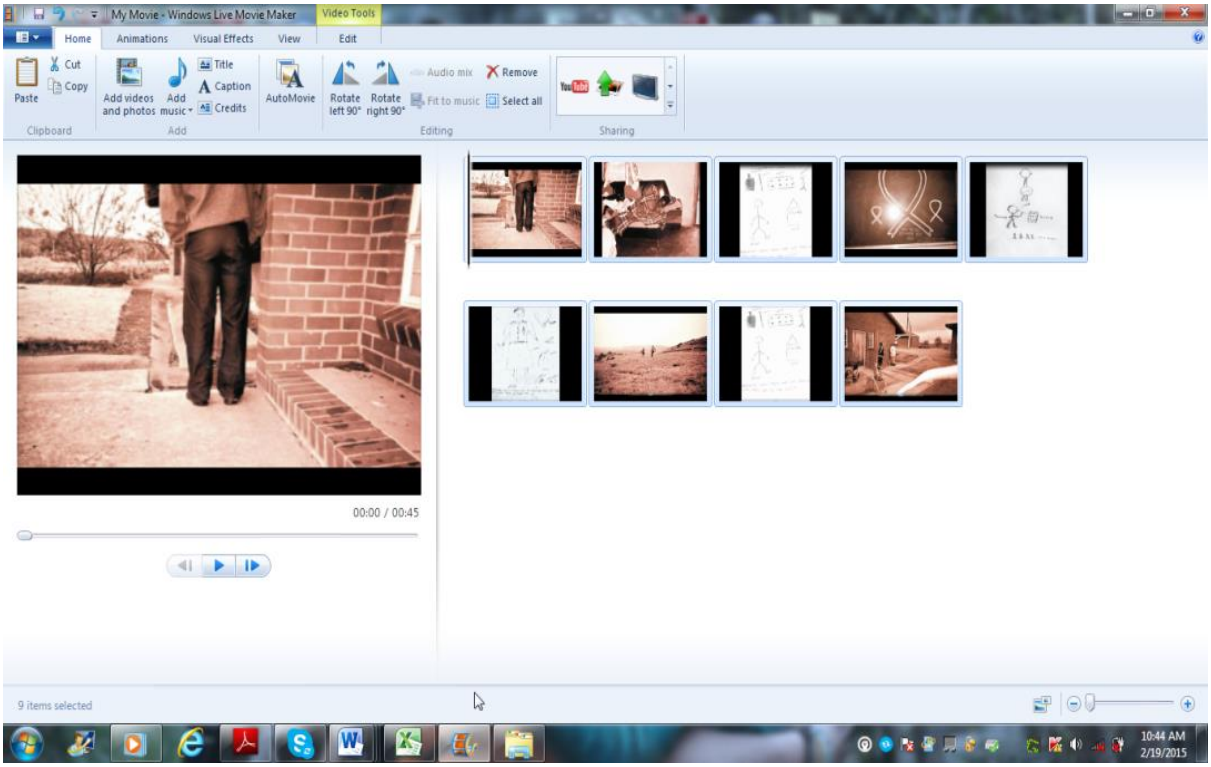
Each participant created a digital archive-inspired story on GBV in their community using selected images from the archive. Seeing that they created the stories on Moviemaker, I represent a slice of the stories as a screenshot of images they selected, and then describe their stories. Participants typed captions for each of their stories (on MS Word), which they audio recorded and added to their story in Movie- Maker. I offer a screenshot of the five stories unedited (Note the stories do not have titles as I did not want to overwhelm the participants with too many technicalities at this point). The screenshots provide a visual of what the process looks like on screen. Gubrium et al. (2014) use an intertextual transcript format which provides an integrated representation of digital stories - capturing what is said, heard, seen, and felt.

REFLECTIONS FROM MY FIELD NOTES

As facilitator I helped each individual, either by opening, downloading, clicking, guiding, saving, reading and making meaning of their work and probing where necessary. The participants all enjoyed the process and were proud of the work fellow community members made. They all thought the archive was a good idea.

5.3.1.2.1 Mfana's story

Using nine images - both drawings and photographs with captions - from the digital archive, Mfana created a story (see Figure 5.6), using a storyboard which highlighted different harmful behaviours in the community such as rape, murder, inequality, corporal punishment, substance abuse, and sexual harassment. Mfana indicated the need for safe communities and responsible community members.



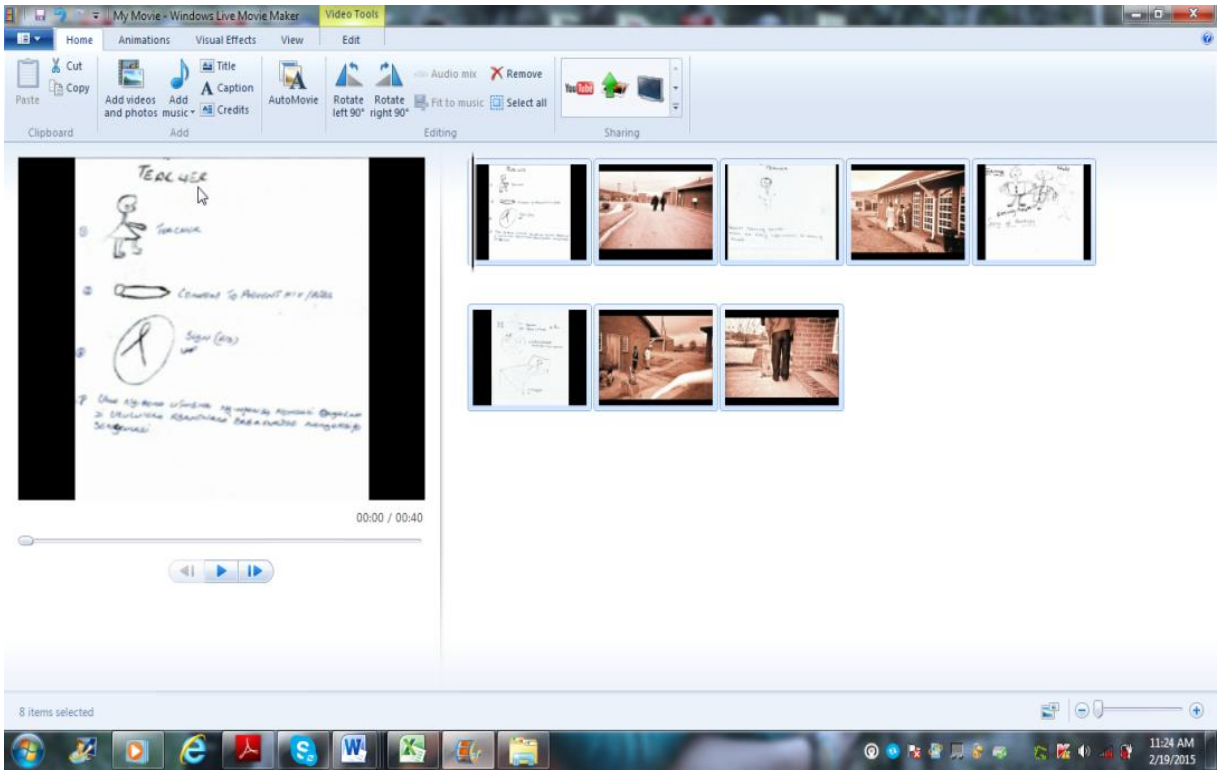
In my community I don't want someone to kill people … and rape woman I don't like it in my community. In the community we are the same people except man and woman and I don't like people who abuse woman and children and people who kill people IN my community. I want happy people and happy woman and children IN my community I want the good teacher not the teacher who abuse our children and the children who drink and smoke. In the school. The sexual abuse, Is same like people touching woman without permission and you don't hit the girl because she don't LOVE you this is a gender-based violence.

In my school last year I was 15 years old and I was have a good respect MY name god back and I was don't want to fight at school because and my teach she want to making in the class my teacher she like me because I have a respect and my someone who want to decry [destroy] my life and this man who want to decry my life at this man sad god back am a going to hit than after that I said I am going to tell the teacher what are you saying to me my teacher this man why are you going to hit him my teacher sad with this you going to be In treble.

Figure 5.6 Mfana's digital archive-inspired story and caption.

5.3.1.2.2 Thobeka's story

Using eight images from the digital archive, Thobeka created a story (see Figure 5.7) which focused on the vulnerability of AIDS orphans in connection with incest, rape, and child abuse and indicated that a swift and efficient justice system is required for retribution. She made mention of domestic violence and the threat of violence with the use of weapons such as knives.

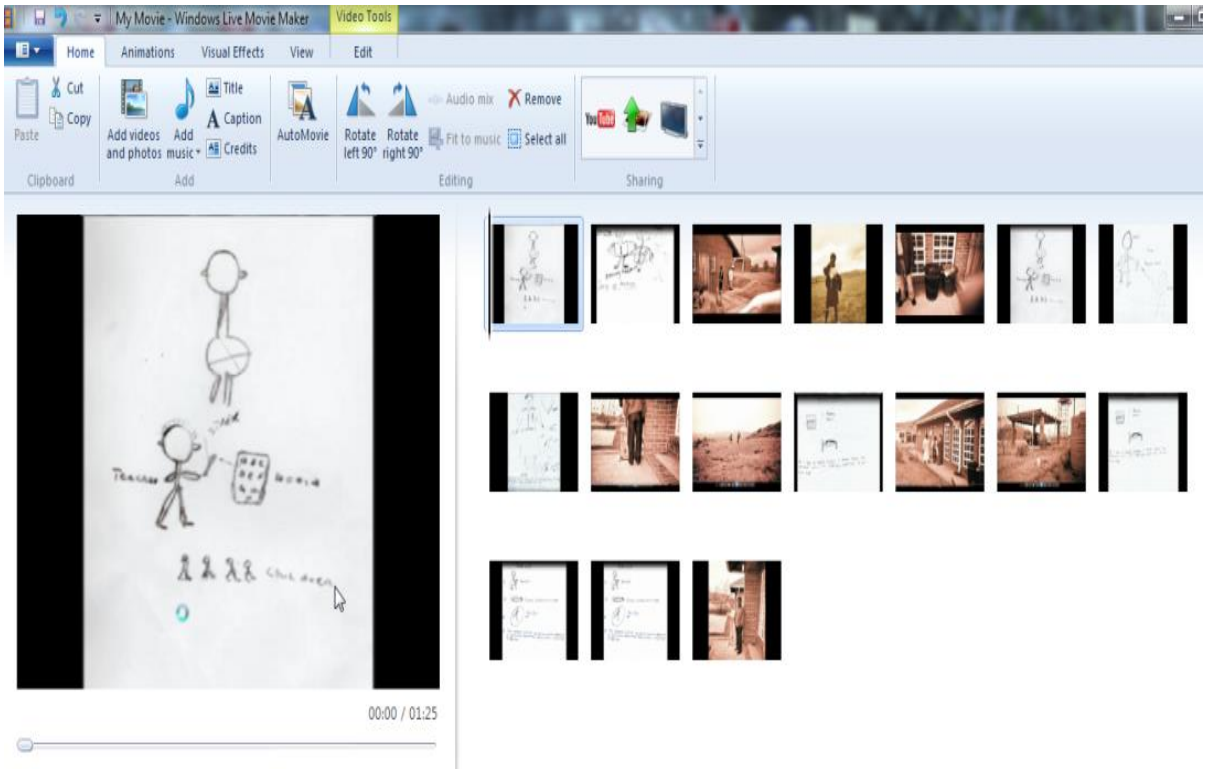


When I was in Grade 5 I was learning with a child and she had lost her parents when she was 7 years old and her uncle chose to take her with him to his house. Then when he had a fight with his wife; then his wife chose to leave him with this child he then start abusing this child because he was frustrated that his wife had left him and he decided to take that frustration to this child; and he abuse a child with sexual abuse by forcing a child to have sex with him; when the child was crying; screaming and trying to refuse he just take his knife out and he scared the child by promising to kill her; he undressed the child and rape her then he ran away, the child called the police they just quickly come and look for him in the first day; second day and they found him in the third day hiding in his father in Durban and he get arrested for 25 years.

Figure 5.7 Thobeka's digital archive-inspired story and caption.

5.3.1.2.3 Hlengiwe's story

Using 17 images from the digital archive, Hlengiwe's story (see Figure 5.8) focused on homophobia in the community and the spiritual beliefs that *justify* prejudice against homosexual community members. Hlengiwe suggests that education can help persuade community members that their views and actions are harmful.

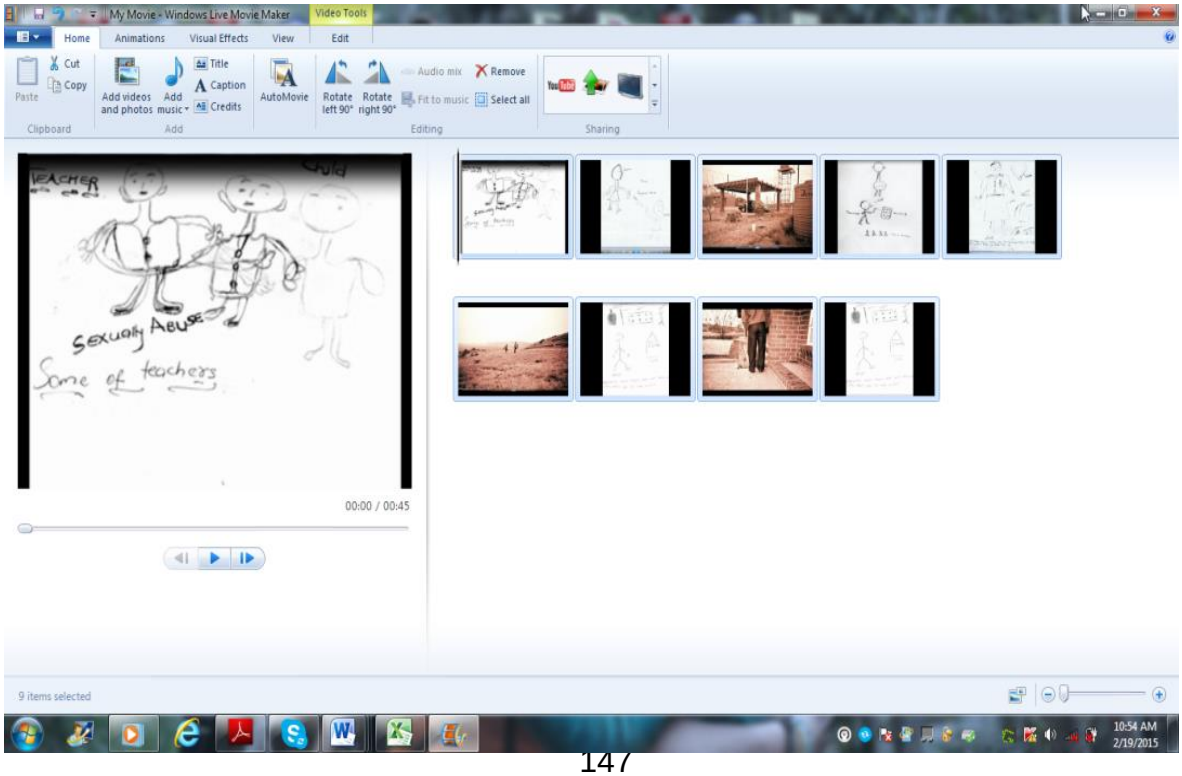


In my community gay or lesbian often not taken lightly because of their gender and the say that the ancestors do not agree with the fact that gay; lesbians or homosexual if you are girl and or god made you feel like a boy they would want to change you change the way they would want or like you to be like by telling you that you going to be cursed and then if you try to change and end up ruining your life and also if you are a gay and god made you feel like a girl they trey change you by saying to you that a man mast have a wife if you choose to do what they say you end up braking a girls heart. if you do not agree they hit you or call you names like the wH [whore] word or a mama's boy this is name of the boy he was Mpumelelo he was gay and a girl was Nokwanda he was gay or she was a lesbian. I do not approve of this it is wrong (the community is not right, because they are treating them bad and they are hurting their feelings and their rights) to do such a thing to a person god doesn't like that. We can educate our elders so they know more that it is not a sin, we can educate with own knowledge if you are gay or lesbian there is a part of you that is more boy or more girl, part God and part science and the elders do not quite understand that. Telling the elders, printing the paper, trying to find a way, easier way to show them because some believe by sesexing [re-sexing].

Figure 5.8 Hlengiwe's digital archive-inspired story and caption.

5.3.1.2.4 Sipho's story

Using nine of the digital archive images, Sipho's story (see Figure 5.9) reminds the viewer of children's vulnerability through abduction, rape, intimidation, and violence.

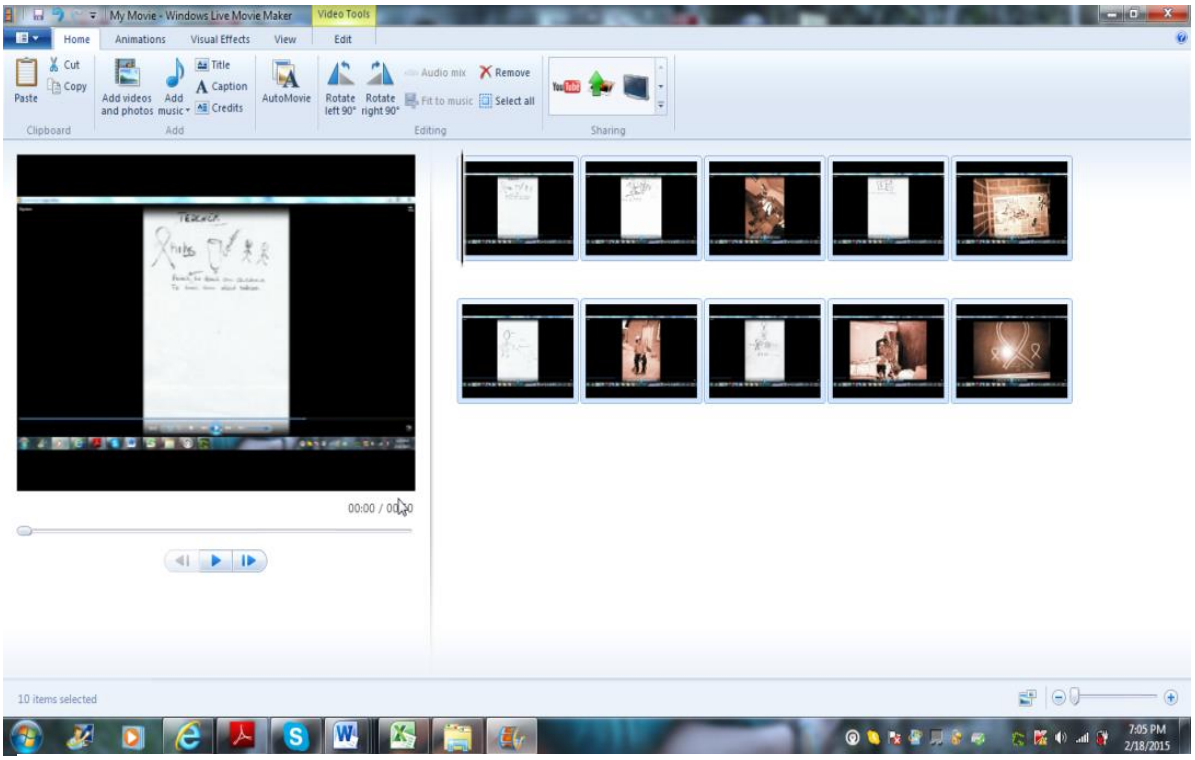


One day there was a boy whose name was Prince he was living with his mother; father and his little brother whose name was jack. He likes to play soccer in the road with his friends. One day prince was playing with his friends they played and they didn't notice that it was getting dark and there was a scary car that was going slow and prince and his friend ignore the car the car stopped in front of the children and there were three men that got out off the car and they grabbed Prince and his friend and they took them in to the car and rape prince's friends that are girls. They threaten the children that they mustn't tell anyone or they will kill them.

Figure 5.9 Sipho's digital archive-inspired story and caption.

5.3.1.2.5 Mandla's story

Using 10 images from the digital archive, Mandla's story (see Figure 5.10) depicts the stark reality of bullying. Bullying is often accompanied with intimidation and



One day there was a boy who's name was Sipho and he was clever and when a teacher ask a question he was the only one who can answer that question and one day when he was on his way at home the group of boys took him and went in the Forrest and punched him and they said: "you must keep quiet in class like the others or we will kill you" and the boy got nothing to do but to close his mouth and when teacher ask questions in class, Sipho had to be quiet and one day the teacher find that some group of boys are bullying Sipho and Sipho's

Figure 5.10 Mandla's digital archive-inspired story and caption.

violence and leaves the victims in emotional turmoil and often with feelings of helplessness.

5.3.1.2.6 Summary of participants' digital archive-inspired stories

By using the images from the digital archive participants created stories around instances of GBV heard, seen, or experienced in their communities. These stories represent different forms of GBV including murder, corporal punishment, rape, sexual abuse and harassment, incest, child abuse, abduction, domestic violence, intimidation, and bullying. The stories furthermore portray harmful social phenomena and issues such as substance abuse, inequality, homophobia, and the use of weapons for threatening and intimidating victims. In response to GBV perpetration and harmful social norms, the participants indicated a need for swift justice and educating communities around prejudice, safety, and responsibility. After viewing each other's digital archive-inspired stories, the participants reflected that they had mostly seen, heard, or experienced bullying in their community.

5.3.2 Phase 2: Rural school youth' use of social media within a participatory cultures framework to address GBV

In response to the second secondary research question, namely how rural school youth might use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV, the participants generated digital stories around GBV in their community. They used Windows Live Movie Maker and also engaged with each other's digital stories on Facebook. Each method enabled the participants to offer examples of and solutions to the problem, in this instance GBV in their rural community. I offer their work unedited.

5.3.2.1 Youth address GBV in their digital stories

Drawing on their earlier work, namely the digital drawings and stories created around the digital archive images, the participants created revised stories which cover three aspects: one, a story about GBV; two, a solution to the problem; and three, how Facebook can be used to address the problem. I offer the title of the digital story, a screenshot of the storyboard on Moviemaker, and the unedited text of the five digital stories.

5.3.2.1.1 Mfana's digital story: Woman abuse

Mfana begins his digital story (see Figure 5.11) with aspirations for a peaceful and gender equal community in a community of sober habits. His production focuses on intimate partner violence (IPV) between a girl and a boy. Mfana believes he can be supportive to the victim by taking her to the police and the social worker for assistance. Furthermore he wants to ensure that the seriousness of IPV gets covered in the media so that higher government officials can put pressure on the police for justice against perpetrators. Mfana's digital story highlights that Facebook can be a platform where government officials and community members can read, view, and work together on solutions to GBV in the community. A community meeting that showcases the digital productions which are shared on Facebook, can be a feasible entry point to collectively solve GBV. He used 43 images and narrated the story in his own voice reading from his typed notes (as presented below).The story was 3 minutes and 35 seconds long.

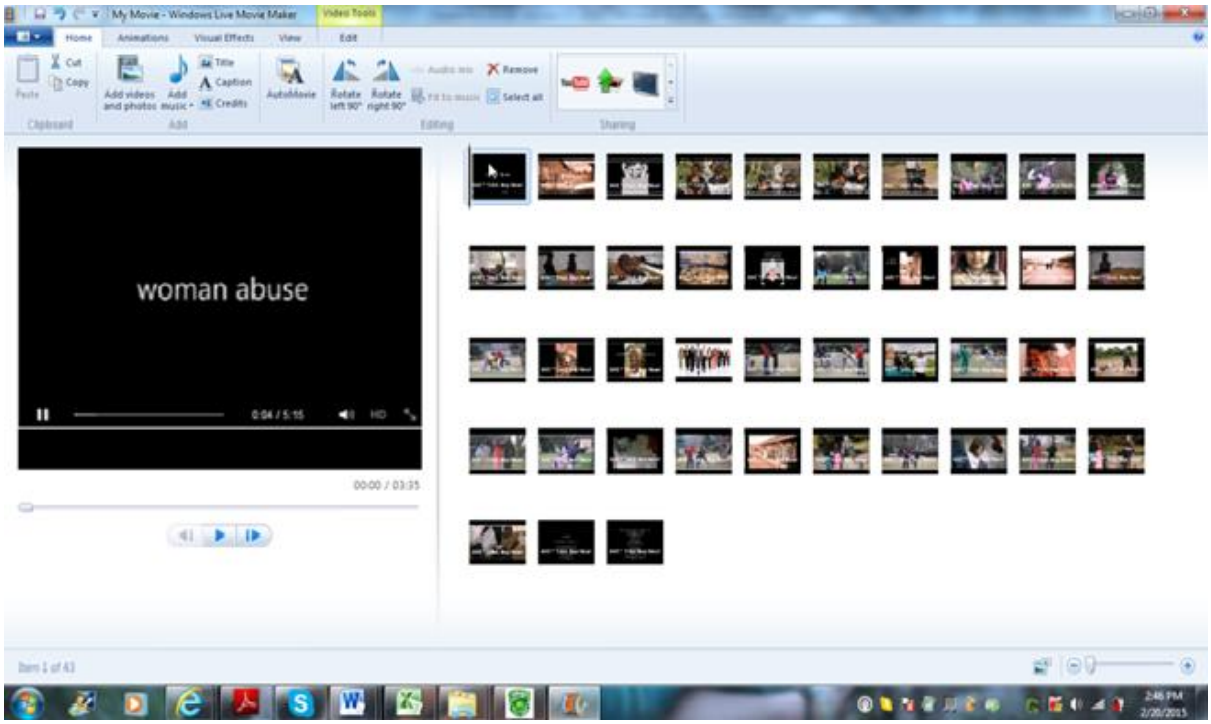


Figure 5.11 Mfana's storyboard.

The story

In my community I don't want someone to kill people and rape woman I don't like it in my community. In the community we are the same people except man and woman and I don't like people who abuse woman and children and people who kill people IN my community. I want happy people and happy woman and children IN my community. I want the good teacher not the gi teacher who abuse our children and the children who drink and smoke. In

the school. The sexual abuse, Is same like people touching woman without permission and you don't hit the girl because she don't LOVE you this is a gender-based violence.

To touch without the permission It's about girl and boy. The boy he loves girl, but the girl she don't love the boy. and then after that the boy he love still loves this girl. This boy ask the girl "why are you don't want to play with me". the girl said "back off" the boy said "what are you saying to me." Then after that he the boy going to hit the girl. This hit the on the face and in her stomach everywhere on her body. this is gender-based violence this girl she is going to the police station and then after that the police call this boy the police ask this man "why do you hit woman like this" . This man said. Why she don't want to play with me .and same like gangsters to touch the girl without a permission "

What I can do

In my opinion In my community the woman that are abuse I like to take this woman to the police station. AND another opinion In my community I like to take the woman abused to social worker maybe the social work they to help the woman and this woman they going check the HIV. THE police they going take one of those who abuse and ask him ''do you know who is this gangsters who abuse you'' Woman sad YES. The police sad don't worry we going to found this GANGSTERS .The police sad we going to work hard about this woman now on we found this gangsters ON my own about gender-based violence abuse woman In my school I have to fight with mouth with someone who abuse woman. IN my school I have to go in front of prays nthandazo, assembly, and then I am going to start to tell the children of the school to stop drinking and abusing the women. The news can help us if I put the story in the news, everybody loves the news if you explain yourself or story on tv or in newspaper. And the bad guy in the community he abused the women she came to the police the police said we can find the gangster and then the police said to the women can go to the social worker and put it all in the news so that everybody even the government can see and so they tell the police you must find these gangsters.

How I can use Facebook

Maybe on my own I used the Facebook to Help those woman that are abused in my community AND I will use Facebook to show the government what's happening on my community. I want to show the government something's about woman abuse. In the Facebook. In my own I going to put the woman pictures that are rape on the Facebook I want to show the government on the Facebook what are going to do the woman abuse like this.

And I want to show the people in my community the gangsters and woman abuse on Facebook, the pictures and my work that I have made. I will send my work, the videos, photos and the pictures of the abusing girls, and the picture of the woman that are abuse. And we make a meeting to this gangsters and woman that are abuse and we make a decision how we can stop the woman abuse and gangster. IN my opinion we want to use the police and soldier to stop the gangsters and to stop abuse woman and children.

I will call the meeting on maswazini, this is a place on […] school where assembly is, and I show them the parents, the police and soldiers, on the tent [community meetings are often in tents] and I'm going to call parent and the police and this soldier and school children and show all the people in the tent this photos and videos.

5.3.2.1.2 Thobeka's Digital Story: Sexual/HIV and emotional abuse solution

The digital story (see Figure 5.12) which Thobeka produced focused on vulnerable youth orphaned by AIDS. She portrays a young girl who is suffering emotionally after being taken in by her uncle who rapes and abuses her, and infects her with HIV. Thobeka shows personal and service support to the victim and feels that the problem

(family violence and sexual abuse) needs to be addressed by publicising the issue (not the individual's story). This could be done on Facebook which could serve as an awareness raising platform, and also by publishing the digital productions in printed form and publically displaying them. She points out that Facebook can also be a platform for intervention. Thobeka used 44 images and narrated the story in her own voice from her typed notes (as presented below). The story was 3 minutes and 40 seconds long.

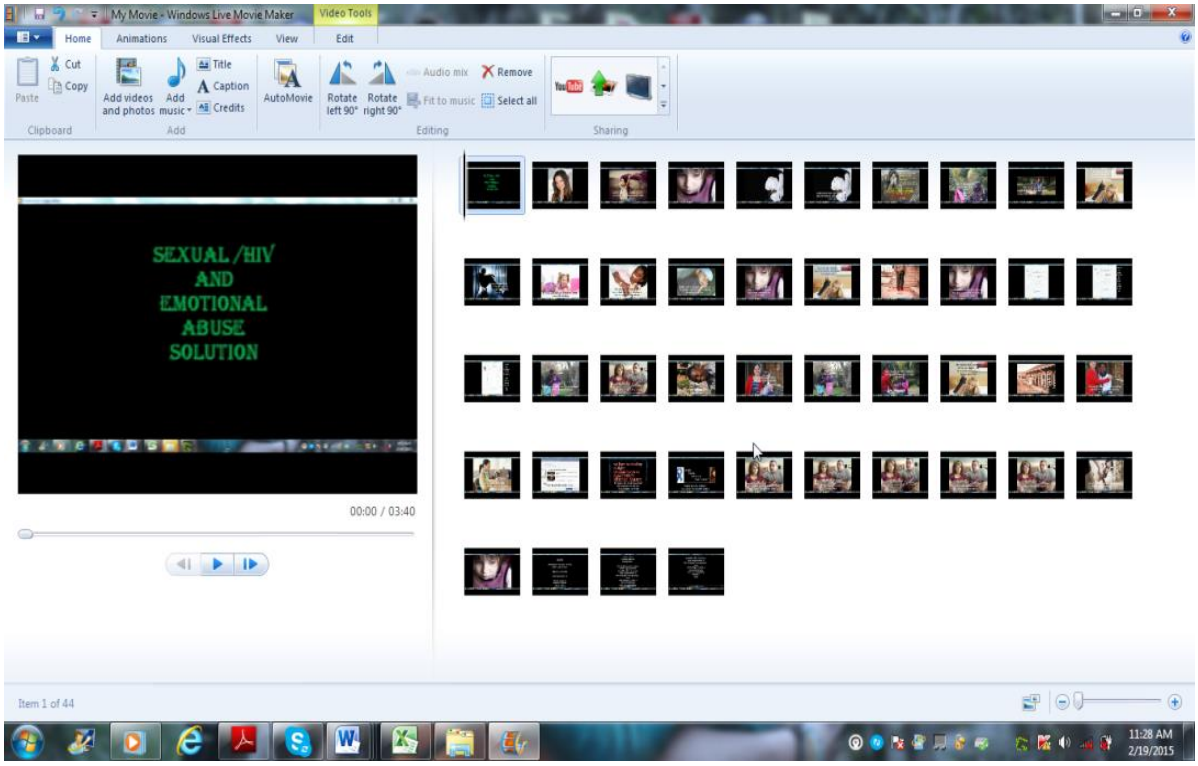


Figure 5.12 Thobeka's storyboard.

The Story

When I was in Grade 5 I was learning with a child and she had lost her parents when she was 7 years old and her uncle chose to take her with him to his house. Then when he had a fight with his wife; then his wife chose to leave him with this child he then start abusing this child because he was …; frustrated that his wife had left him and he decided to take that frustration to this child ; and he and abuse a child with sexual abuse by forcing a child to have sex with him ;when the child was crying; screaming and trying to refuse he just take his knife out he scared the child by promising to kill her; he undressed the child and rape her then he ran away, the child called the police they just quickly come and look for him in the first day; second day and they found him in the third day hiding in his father in Durban; he get arrested for 25 years. And the child was being taken by the social worker in order to keep her safer.

Then when she was a little bit older she got sick and the social worker had took her to the clinic so that she will have a blood test and her results was saying that she is HIV positive ;from which is something that confuse her a lots. It even caused her to have stress; and being confused to her studies. When she was alone in her room she start thinking that where

did she get infected from and at last she remembered that her uncle her uncle who raped her was HIV positive and it where she got being affected too. Than she was even being infected with emotional abuse by the time when she kept thinking about the thing that is a confusing thing to her heart and mind.

What I can do

By my own thinking on finding the solution to this problem; I can call my friend and tell her that she need to try ways in which she can take out all those bad feelings to her mind; and I will tell my parents her story so that they can understand that why did I take her to stay with me at home and so that they can treat her the same way I am treated .I will make sure that I constantly keeping her happy; and I will also call from child line to help her then the person who rape her will be soon kept in jail because we are going to tell our councillor her story so that he can talk to the police and ask our community to have a meeting with him the councillor so that they can discuss what they must do to the perpetrator in order to keep the child safe.

How I can use Facebook

Problem: Family violence (girl was taken in by family members when her parents died), he was sexually abused, this lead to HIV infection, lead to emotional abuse

Solution: Take her in home, safe, the meeting with councillor, involve community and police and deal with the perpetrator.

The thing I can do to address this on Facebook. I will play Facebook and see how many people I can invite and tell them the problem; my solution and send posters that will be showing my problem on Facebook. Then I will also make big posters that I will paste the picture of the famous person and paste them at the [halls, school gates; road poles that are nearby the buses stop and I will also send those posters to other places by posting them to the post offices as well as post collection boxes.]

The other thing that I think it would help if I am doing it, is to invite the people who are close to the perpetrator or invite him too; onto Facebook and show them the work I've done, from which is the posters on sexual abuse, the internet pictures, that I made and send them. Then when I had talked to him or to that person I will also tell them that how bad is to abuse a person with sexual abuse. And if my parents did not allow me to take with me her the girl, at home I will tell her to play Facebook and show her those pictures and posters I have made and shown him and I will also tell her that her problem will be soon be solved because he had also learn through to his mistakes by the work I show him on Facebook.

5.3.2.1.2 Hlengiwe's Digital Story: Gay violence

Hlengiwe produced a digital story (see Figure 5.13) based on homophobia in their rural community. She highlighted that certain religious beliefs held by some community members cause prejudice against homosexuals and that their actions cause further harm. She suggests community education as a solution to homophobia – using digital stories and engaging community members with these on Facebook as a collaborative way of involving them in addressing homophobia. Hlengiwe used 43 images and narrated the story in her own voice from her typed notes (as presented below). The story was 3 minutes and 35 seconds long.

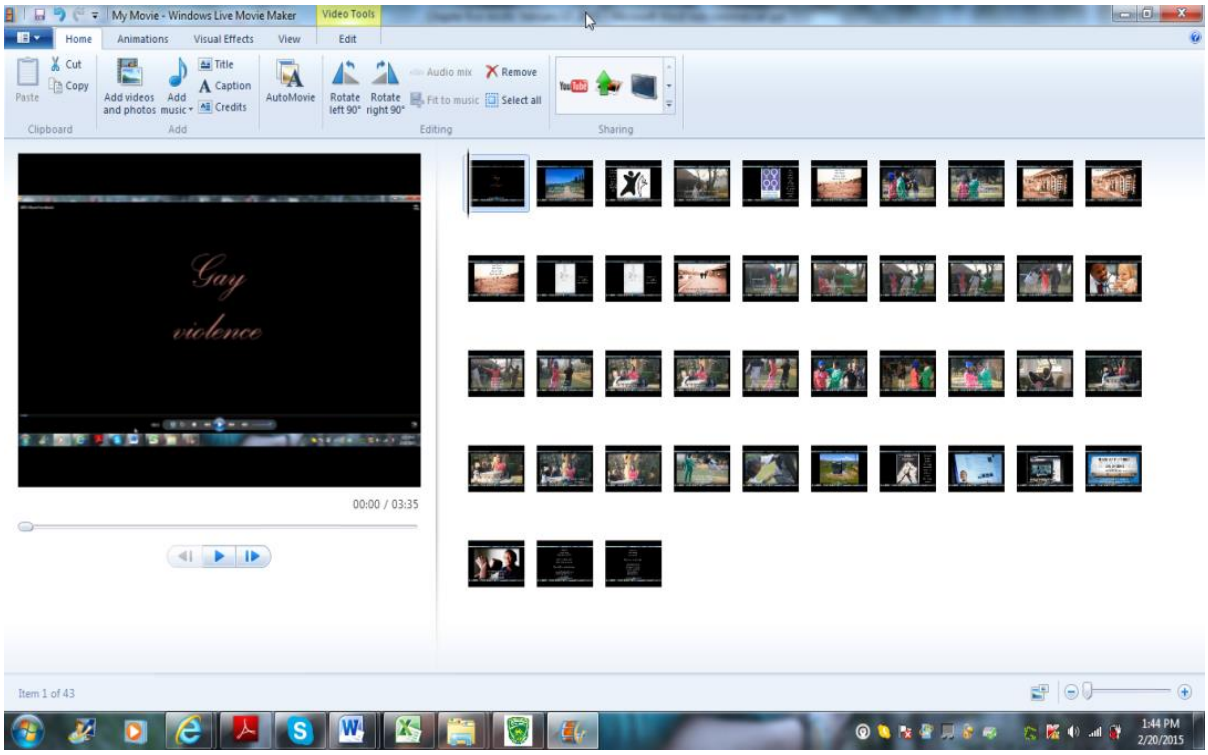


Figure 5.13 Hlengiwe's storyboard.

The story

In my community gay or lesbian often not taken lightly because of their gender and the say that the ancestors do not agree with the fact that gay ;lesbians or homosexual if you are girl and or god made you feel like a boy they would want to change you change the way they would want or like you to be like by telling you that you going to be cursed and then if you try to change and end up ruining your life and also if you are a gay and god made you feel like a girl they trey change you by saying to you that a man mast have a wife if you choose to do what they say you end up braking a girls heart. We can educate our elders.

What I can do

I will make the community understand that they are not bad for the world and get the people on my side, to make the community see that wrong do doings to hurt and hate gays .

Get a doctor and get her, them to show the community how do gays become gay, in a scientific way and show them that they do not make themself to be gay. Make billboards words explains everything from how to accept .it is not easy but it is do able.

I am going to tell my family to respect gay people and also with my friends have them to tell their parents and in school to respect gay people. I will tell the learner's and use my talent and make a song about gay people to treat them as normal people.

How I can use Facebook

I think that it is easy to tell people about gay people but easier to make or get my friends to make a movie [digital story] about gay people and put it on facebook. Then Invite people tell them to look at the movie . I will invite people to register on facebook and like them by making friends with them And then tell them about my movie. I will invite people in my community or anywhere in the wold by going on Facebook. I will get the community members on Facebook by finding people who have facebook in may community and show them my movie and tell them to show others.

5.3.2.1.3 Sipho's Digital Story: Sexual abuse

Sipho's digital story (see Figure 5.14) sketches rural communities as unsafe spaces for children. A boy and his friends are abducted by strangers and the girls are raped. The children were also threatened to remain silent about the act of violence. As a solution Sipho suggests that community members, the police, and the judicial system should be more vigilant in ensuring children's safety. He suggested communicating on Facebook using the digital stories regarding GBV towards finding a solution. Like Thobeka, he too suggests printing digital productions and posting them in public places. Sipho used 45 images and narrated the story in his own voice from his typed notes (as presented below). The story was 2 minutes and 55 seconds long.

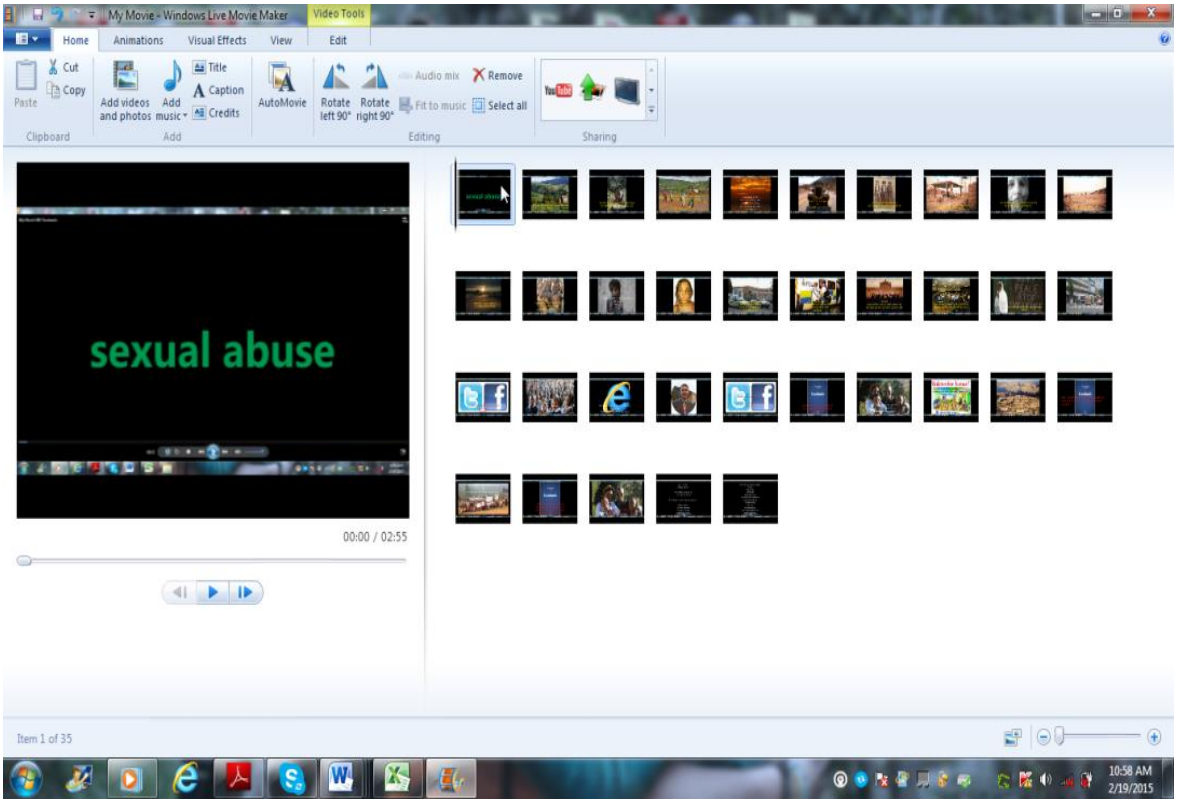


Figure 5.14 Sipho's storyboard.

The Story

One day there was a boy whose name was Prince he was living with his mother; father and his little brother whose name was jack. He likes to play soccer in the road with his friends.

One day prince was playing with his friends they played and they didn't notice that it was getting dark and there was a scary car that was going slow and prince and his friend ignore the car .the car stopped in front of the children and there were three men that got out off the car and they grabbed prince and his friend and they took them in to the car and rape prince's friends that are girls. They threaten the children that they mustn't tell anyone or they will kill them.

What I can do

I think that children must stop playing when it is getting dark especially in winter because in winter at 5:00 pm it is starting to get dark. There are some parents who send their children to go to the shop at night and that is wrong. People who had been raped should open a case at the police station or they should go to the home affairs and they will have to get their job done .the police have to investigate and find those people who are rapist and arrest them for raping innocent people. The court must not give the rapist a bail because if the court gives the rapist a bail the rapist will still rape other innocent girls. The community must make a meeting so that they can try and solve the problem.

I can make posters and put the posters on stores, on taxes, on buses and on schools. I can e-mail it; I can put it on Facebook, twitter, internet and put the posters on post office. I can send messages and I can put the movie to internet. I can even call up a community meeting and show them my movie and I can tell principal that I want the learners to watch the movie.

How I can use Facebook

I can put the movie on Facebook and talk to people on Facebook and tell people about gender-based violence. I can tell my neighbour and make posters, that I will put on stores, the posters will tell them that they have to go to their Facebook, that can convince people that they have to look at their Facebook and I have to tell or explain to the people on Facebook how important is gender-based violence and we have to make the difference in the community and strike for peace in our community. I can address the sexual abuse on Facebook by showing people my movie of sexual abuse and it up to them if they change or not.

5.3.2.1.5 Mandla's digital story: Bullying

Mandla produced a digital story (see Figure 5.15) around bullying. A boy was bullied for being smart and was attacked and threatened by other boys. Mandla's solution displayed avoidance of being bullied by changing how he responded to questions in class. He also suggested public campaigning and lobbying around bullying and how this can be achieved with the use of Facebook, digital stories, and other forms of visual media for collaborative learning. Mandla used 22 images, and narrated the story in his own voice from his typed notes (as presented below). The story was 1 minute and 50 seconds long.

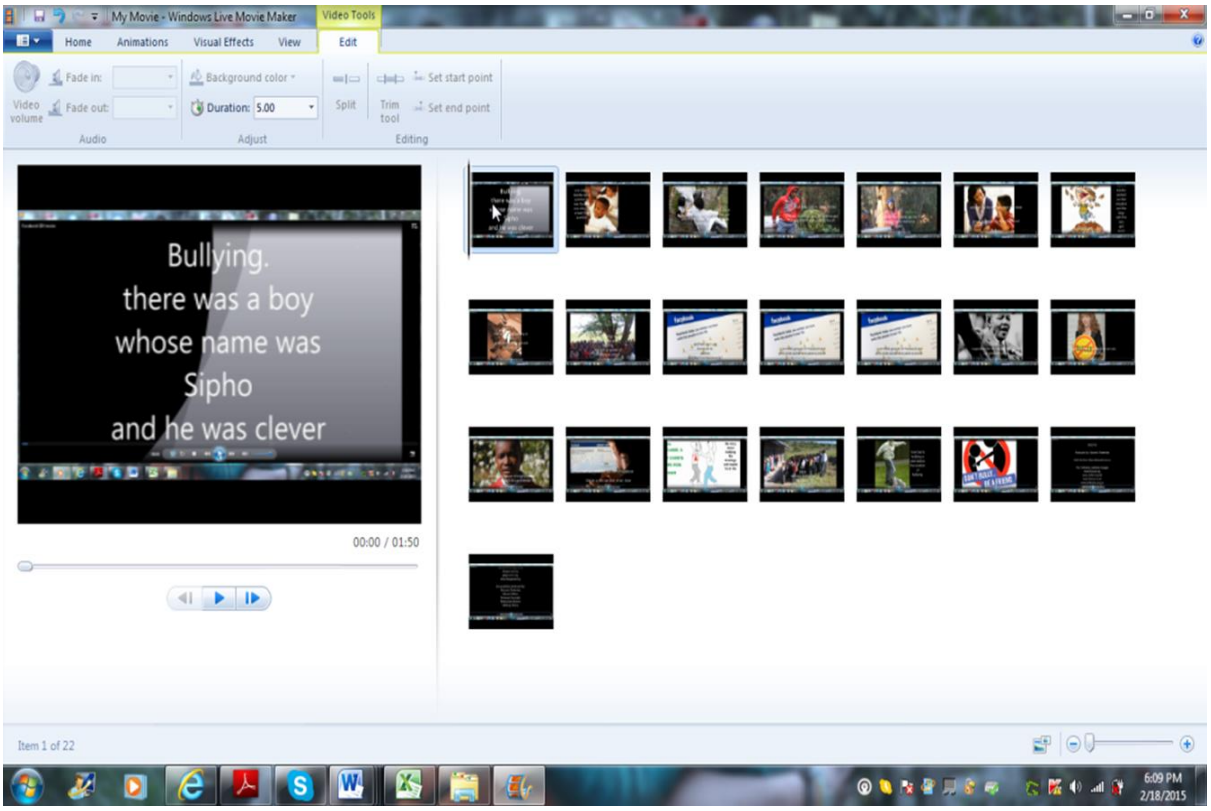


Figure 5.15 Mandla's storyboard.

The story

One day there was a boy who's name was Sipho and he was clever and when a teacher ask a question he was the only one who can answer that question and one day when he was on his way at home the group of boys took him and went in the Forrest and punched him and they said: " you must keep quiet in class like the others or we will kill you "and the boy got nothing to do but to close his mouth and when teacher ask questions in class, Sipho had to be quiet and one day the teacher find that some group of boys are bullying Sipho and Sipho's teacher worked on that situation and the boy's safety. The boy gets saved.

What I can do

The solution: I was going to do as they wish but when we are write exam paper or class test They can't tell me what to do and they can't tell me what I can write and I Know that in the end of the year I'm going to pass that class or I can run. When I meet them on the way. Maybe I can set a meeting and tell my community about bullying that bullying is very Bad and tell them that we can fight against bully or I can poste picture that show's bullying in tuck shops and on school or can advising them to fight against gender-based violence.

How I can use Facebook

Keep quiet, avoid, have meetings, put up posters of bullying at school

Facebook: I can invite people on Facebook and poste some poster and paste a picture of respected man like Nelson Mandela or our president Jacob Zuma to attract them so that they can see that this is a Big issue and maybe that can change everyone who is a member of South African country or I can Invite he or her on Facebook so that he or she can look what I have done, the story about bullying the drawings, and maybe he or she can get a message so that she the teacher can learn children the learners in class how bad is bullying is and what is the solution of bully.

5.3.2.1.6 Summary of participants' digital stories

The participants expressed GBV in their community as IPV, incest, homophobia, abduction, rape, and bullying. In many of their digital stories youth were positioned as vulnerable and targets of GBV, while in their solutions they positioned themselves and the community as agentic; using Facebook as to promote awareness, intervention, prevention, education, and as a public campaigning platform. The participants wished to offer victims of GBV support and to help them access community support systems. They felt that Facebook can alert community members to GBV in the community and felt that broadcasting their digital stories can offer a form of intervention. Their digital stories on Facebook can also be used as an education tool to engage others with the issue of GBV, and as a resource to rehabilitate perpetrators. The participants felt that all community members should be vigilant in ensuring community safety, and that Facebook could provide the space for engagement and public petitioning through which community members can collectively address GBV.

5.3.2.2 Youth publishing and engaging with digital stories on Facebook

The participants viewed each other's digital stories on Facebook and engaged around the stories and solutions by answering four reflective questions (See 4.7.2.2). To show the engagement process, I offer a sample of the screenshots from the comments made by the participants on Facebook, and give a brief summary of their

Figure 5.16 A sample of the participants engaging with digital stories on Facebook.

comments based on the four questions. These comments elicited further discussion.

5.3.2.2.1 Engaging with Mfana's digital story, 'Woman Abuse'

After viewing Mfana's digital story, the participants remembered the abused woman, and the man hitting the woman even though she said that he should leave her alone, and the abuse from gangsters. Thobeka thought it was the best of all the stories, Sipho reflected that gangsters should stop doing violence, and Mfana added that gangsters should stop stealing cars. Some of the participants thought that a community meeting, counselling, and the gangsters being caught by the police could be added to the story. Most however agreed that posting the digital story on Facebook as a means to raise awareness of the problem, is a good solution.

5.3.2.2.2 Engaging with Thobeka's digital story, 'Sexual/HIV and emotional abuse solution'

After viewing Thobeka's story most participants remembered the incest, the sexual misconduct, as well as the fact that she discovered she was infected with HIV. They considered her solutions to be sound and Sipho indicated that Facebook can be part of the solution as it is a platform open for communication around the topic. Some believed they would add counselling sessions for the girl and Hlengiwe felt a happy ending, where the girl has made a success of her life, could be added to the digital story. Sipho however felt that he would have added that the girl's future was ruined.

5.3.2.2.3 Engaging with Hlengiwe's digital story, 'Gay violence'

After viewing Hlengiwe's digital story the participants remembered the victimisation of homosexual people and society's homophobia and ill treatment of them. They felt that her solutions were good and that Facebook too could help with this problem in society. Some participants felt they would add messages of stopping homophobia, homophobic violence, and being more tolerant and accepting of gay people.

5.3.2.2.4 Engaging with Sipho's digital story, 'Sexual Abuse'

From Sipho's digital story participants remembered the gang rape and the fact that the victims were threatened not to tell the police. They also remembered the boy named Prince and that he and his friends loved playing soccer. Thobeka felt his ideas were extensive and that his solutions were the best. Others too indicated that his solutions were good and that communicating on Facebook was a sound idea.

Some believed they would add the parents' side to the story and a picture of a man abusing a woman.

5.3.2.2.5 Engaging with Mandla's digital story, 'Bullying'

The group remembered the boy who was afraid to raise his hand in class because he was clever and scared of being bullied for it. The group thought that telling the principal, showing the digital story in the school to raise awareness, and reporting the bullying were good ideas to add to the story. Hlengiwe did not agree with his solution of silence and avoidance but suggested that talking and telling the relevant people about the problem would a better solution so that the problem could be dealt with. Others felt his solution was good and that as Thobeka indicated, Facebook could help as it is an "easy way to spread to o[th]ers".

5.3.2.2.6 Summary of participants' engagement on Facebook

The participants engaged with each other's digital stories. They recalled elements from all the stories that had seemingly made an impact on them. They were also able to offer opinions on each other's digital stories. They managed to reflect whether the solutions were feasible, and offered ideas about what to add to the stories to benefit the digital productions.

5.3.3 Phase 3: Rural school youth engaging peers through social media within a participatory cultures framework to facilitate youth agency

In response to the third secondary research question, namely how rural school youth might engage their peers in the use of social media in a participatory cultures framework to facilitate youth agency, the participants designed a session around their digital productions posted on Facebook.

5.3.3.1 Enabling agency through guiding peers through a set of questions to facilitate reflection

The selected peers further reflected on the digital stories with the participants' four engaging questions. Here I include a sample of screenshots (See 4.7.3.2), of peers answering reflection questions based on the stories.

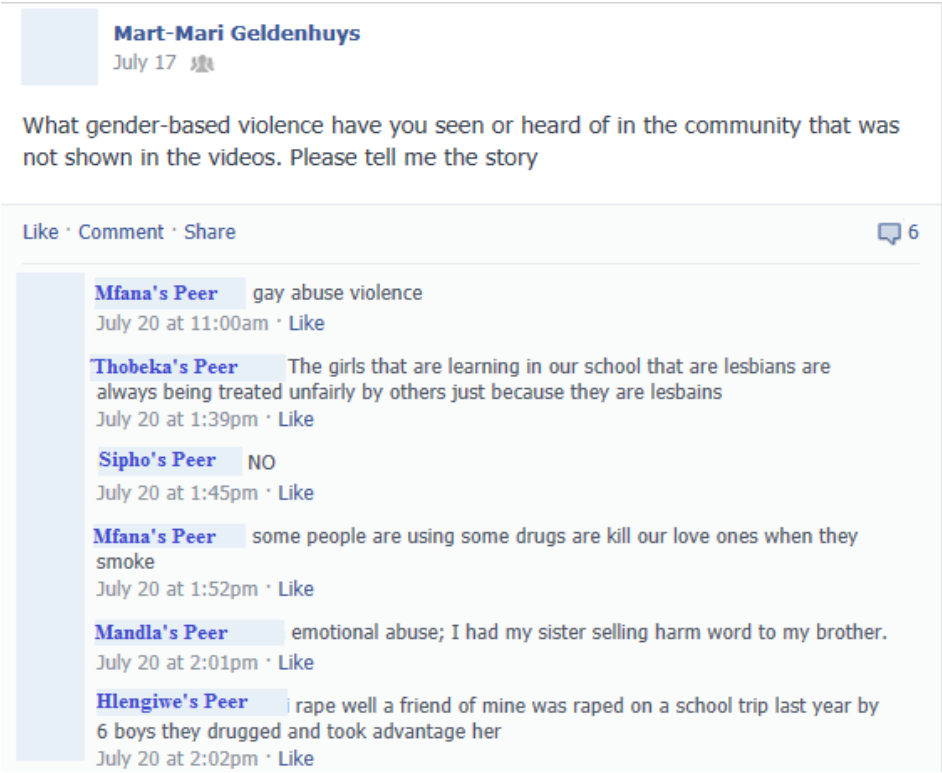


Figure 5.17 A sample of participants engaging peers on Facebook.

5.3.3.1.1Summary of engagement and peers reflecting on Facebook around the digital stories

The peers offered their opinions and identified the solutions to GBV which they thought would work the best. They offered ideas on what topics they would choose to make their own digital stories, and were able to add instances of GBV they themselves had witnessed, heard of, or experienced. Hlengiwe's peer, for example, felt that rape was the most common form of GBV in her community and mentioned an example of gang rape that she had heard about. The peers also mentioned the importance of support, both personal and community support to victims of GBV. The peers highlighted the importance of communication between different community members. To stop the silence around GBV, they felt that broadcasting occurrences of GBV plus solutions on Facebook, can be a form of community agency.

5.3.3.2 Critically reflecting on digital productions on Facebook to address GBV

The participants and peers reflected in a circle on the whole process of Facebook engagement via the digital productions which reflected GBV found in their community, and solutions. I present the participants' and peers' words verbatim from the data transcriptions.

5.3.3.2.1 Peers reflecting on the process of engaging around digital stories on Facebook to address GBV

5.3.3.2.1.1 Peers reflecting on the day

Me…I learn about gender violence, and I know now how to treat people as human being. (Peer Mf)

Well today I learnt about different types of abuse and the solutions to those abuse and I also learnt how to help the people who are victims of different abuse and how to raise awareness about those different types of abuse and the solution to that. (Peer Hl)

Today I learn about many different types of abuse and solution of abuse. (Peer Si)

Today I learn about many stories of abuse and I know how treat men that are rape a child. (Peer Th)

5.3.3.2.1.2 Peers reflecting on the digital stories they would have made

Some people are using some drugs like Wunga and they use it like cocaine…when they think to use some drugs they think only one thing they think to rape our children and our grandmothers and then they kill them. (Peer Mf)

Ja and bullying is not very good because if you bully someone it is a very big problem. (Peer Mf)

Physical abuse. (Peer Ma)

It happens in most cases at home … sometimes it's between the parents or maybe your aunt or uncle, just because he or she is older than you…adult and child, ja if a person thinks he or she is older than you then they kind of like take advantage in so many ways that, maybe if for example if I get left at home with my older sister she will tell me, 'you wash the dishes , you go do this, you go do this', and sometimes if you ask, 'why' he or she will say, 'I am older than you', I get to tell you what to do and it's kind of like…that's why I say, 'everyone need to treat each other 50/50 (laughs). If your old you must respect a child and a child also need to respect the elders.(Peer, Hl)

Emotional abuse. (Peer, Si)

Sexual abuse…its Thobeka's story. (Peer, Th)

5.3.3.2.1.3 Peers reflecting on which type of GBV happens the most

Child abuse. (Peer, Mf)

Bullying. (Peer, Ma)

Rape. (Peer,Th)

Emotional abuse. (Peer, Si)

In most cases it is emotional and physical abuse, because if I…if I have a child and I abuse the child emotionally and sometimes physically … if the child goes to school he wants to take the anger out and ends up bullying … sometimes it can go further…maybe do burglary or anything just to get the anger out. If it doesn't stop it is going to continue for generations and if your child also have children he is also going to want to do the same thing…and it can go on and go on. (Peer, Hl)

5.3.3.2.1.4 Peers reflecting on the solutions they think could work best

I also think educating men, like and telling them, and maybe telling them how they are the victims. (Peer, Hl)

Going to the police. (Peer, Mf)

Got to tell the parents. (Peer Ma)

To tell the people to call the meetings so when we have called the meetings and we educate them by telling them what what, and the thing that we will do again once a man do this we are going kill them you see … ja it is harsh. (Peer Hl)

If you have been discriminated then you … he is not going to think about doing it … so it can help. (Peer, Th)

I put on internet…Facebook. (Peer, Si)

5.3.3.2.1.5 Peers reflecting on what they have learnt

I learn about abuse, rape…ja, I learn abuse and rape, corporal punishment and that's bad. (Peer, Th)

I learn bullying abuse, because when old boys abusing young boys they know that the young boys can't do anything … that's why big boys bully small boys they know they can't say anything because they are scared of them because they are older. (Peer, Mf)

I learn about rape and bullying. (Peer, Ma)

I learn about GBV (Peer, Mf)

5.3.3.2.1.6 Peers reflecting on digital stories as a form of engagement around GBV

It is a good way. (Peer, Ma)

It is a good way because they [digital stories] show other young girls so that they can be respect and go anytime in their home so that on the street you can find a rape girl… (Peer, Mf)

In my opinion I think it's good and people can also be educated online or even on Facebook about these things but there is an issue that for those people who do not have access to the internet or to the Facebook and maybe if this digital films and movies can be taken to them and maybe they can also get educated. (Peer, Hl)

It is ja it's a good way (Peer Th)

5.3.3.2.1.7 Peers reflecting on what they enjoyed most about the day

It was my first time touching the laptop. (Peer Mf)

Going on the internet and see. (Peer, Hl)

Laptop. (Peer, Si)

Laptop. (Peer, Ma)

5.3.3.2.2 Participants reflecting on the process of engaging peers with their digital productions on Facebook to address GBV

5.3.3.2.2.1 Participants reflecting on meetings with their peers

It was good yes because if I ask something he answers me if I say press this he do it. (Mf)

It was great because if I tell him to click on enter he click on enter and he don't tell me what to do I'm the one who tell him and we work together, it was nice. (Ma)

Ok mine was great too, because when I was telling her to do she does and I think she just made me feel like a teacher in the real world (laughter and agreeing noises) ja it was nice. (Th)

Mine started wobbly, because the one I picked stood me up… the one I chose … was a little stubborn, he don't want to type cause he is afraid of his spelling [he is] in my grade and then arrive Cindy and she … knew the laptop, she knew where to type, sometimes I had to step in and save the day she was easy and very clever she has a small spelling problem but she kind of went through with it. (Hl)

… benefitted 'cause like me when I first learn about gender-based violence I just thought of sexual abuse … and I had to tell her there is sexual and there is intimidation it was like 'wow! 'intimidation?', 'how?', and I had to like explain it to her, 'wow I never notice' 'cause on her story she said, it kind of happens to her a lot. (Hl)

I seen it was very very easy to her 'cause she even click on I didn't even tell her. I told her once and everything she was doing she was doing by herself. (Th, T.98)

5.3.3.2.2.2 Reflecting on whether their peers benefitted from the experience

Yes she did improve by the time when we stayed together the stories that she shared with me ja! (Th)

Ja I think he benefitted. (Mf)

Yes he told me a story about his sister and auntie, eish, it was difficult. (Mf)

Yes because I told him something and he understand it, what I told him. (Si)

Yes, he learnt a lot … he … share a story with us you show him your story and he writes his story he wrote by himself (Ma)

5.3.3.2.2.3 Participants reflecting on what they have learnt

Sexual abuse is a big problem. (Si)

…gangsters are bad and a big problem in my community. (Mf)

…is the different types of abuse … and the solution of those abuse 'cause some of it happens in my community so now I have learnt the solution. (Th)

I think every single type of GBV that I have learnt … I have taken that into my own knowledge now I know that even if somebody is intimidating I can tell them, 'hey you are doing a serious thing that can cause the biggest problem … if you hit someone, intimidate someone, he or she can suffer gender abuse'…that is something that I will take home with me. (Hl)

5.3.3.2.2.4 Participants reflecting on whether they think Facebook can make a change

I think that by the time the person play they are going to play and see what are GBV what kind of GBV and see they get an explanation, the types of GBV, they can learn more. (Th, T.102)

Maybe I know now how to get on Facebook I can maybe if someone close to me had Facebook I can [say]: 'can go here and here for me', and like show him and go to like the websites that we have learnt about incest and rape and bullying like tell them that: 'this pictures I have shown today I have learnt the big word that is GBV that is kind of a serious thing in this world we don't even notice get the knowledge and try to understand his own and tell them you should go and teach someone who doesn't have Facebook. (Hl, T.102)

5.3.3.2.2.5 Reflecting on how they think their digital stories on Facebook can contribute towards making a difference about GBV in their community

I think they will make a change cause as we heard our peers they will go back home and kind of get excited and tell their mothers or sisters of friends like, 'I've learnt today something that I never knew maybe their mothers could pass it on to them…and maybe if their neighbour has the same problem or their child has the same problem they will kind of address them. (Hl)

… she is going to her parents, neighbours and relatives so the news can spread to everyone and they can see that ok, what is wrong, what is good, what is bad. (Th)

…at the school show the teachers and teachers show others… (Mf)

We can make a change if we show it to the school at assembly. (Si)

Mine can make a change 'cause every day I go back at home I tell my mother what I have learnt maybe we can tell the neighbours what we learn and what is the solution, maybe everyone can change GBV in my community. (Ma)

5.3.3.2.3 Summary of peer engagement with social media to address GBV

In their reflections, the peers indicated that they learnt much about GBV. They felt communication as well as community support is important to address GBV. They indicated that Facebook can be a tool used for education. Engaging with digital technology is what they enjoyed most about the peer engagement session.

The participants also enjoyed engaging their peers in their digital productions on Facebook. It made them feel like teachers, or the ones with power, who were in a position to share their knowledge, skills, and experiences. According to them, the peers benefitted because they learnt from the participants. The participants felt that Facebook can make a change as it can be a platform where you gain information through participating. Furthermore community members can share information with one another and pass or circulate information via Facebook. Circulating information such as digital stories through Facebook can reach the target audience (the community) and can contribute to making social changes around problems such as GBV.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented the data generated in three phases to explore how youth might engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community. The three data phases were a continuous developmental process since the data generation process was just as important as the data generated.

The prolonged and intense research process provided ample time for the participants to think deeply about and discuss GBV and how to address it. For rural

school children from beyond the digital divide they seemed to demonstrate their ability to learn how to access and use digital technologies to produce visual artefacts in the mentioned data sets. This was not without challenges as I have pointed out in the previous chapter. Although I had piloted the toolkit with one participant, piloting it with a group of participants might have been more useful. My very structured approach – with step by step instructions in the toolkit – enabled the participants and myself to proceed carefully, yet it was flexible enough to allow for adjustments. The discussions which ensued during and after each data generation process enabled the participants to further explore the potential of using Facebook within the school and community.

CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

"No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed … The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption." (Freire, 1970, p. 54).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter five I presented the results (the data sets) in the order of the data generation phases. In this chapter I discuss the findings of rural youth's understandings of GBV, how they use social media to address GBV within a participatory cultures framework, and engage their peers facilitating youth agency. The findings, responding to the three secondary research questions, collectively answer the primary research question, namely "How might rural school youth engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community?" This I also re-contextualise in the existing literature (Poggenpoel, 1998).

6.2 FINDINGS

The findings are discussed under three broad themes, in response to the three secondary research questions, to answer the primary research question. These three themes are presented with sub-themes and categories inductively derived from coding the transcriptions of all the data from the different phases of the data generation (see Figure 6.1).

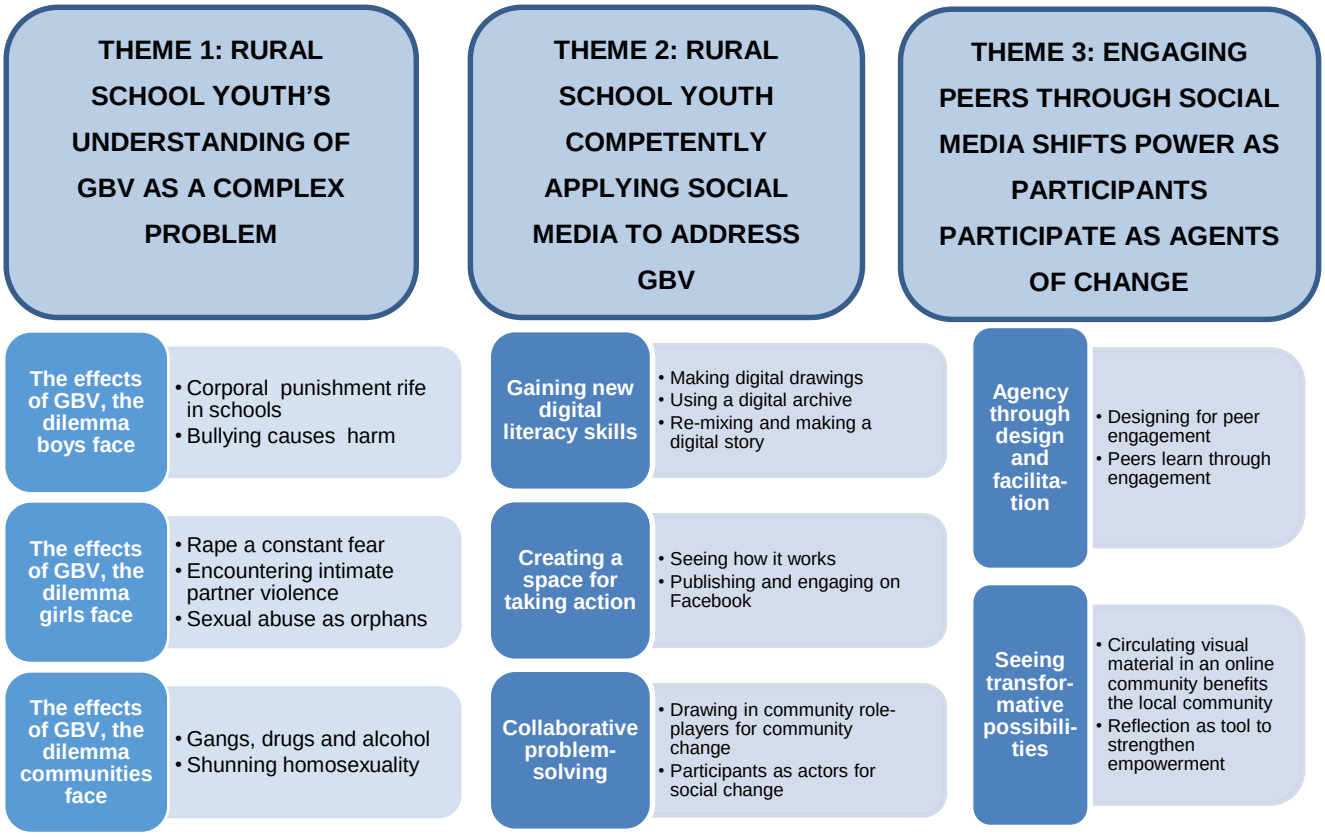


Figure 6.1 Themes, sub-themes and categories.

6.2.1 THEME 1: YOUTH'S UNDERSTANDING OF GBV AS A COMPLEX PROBLEM

In this theme three sub-themes became clear, namely the effects of GBV, the dilemma which boys face, the dilemma which girls face, and the dilemma which the community faces, pointing to how boys and girls understood GBV from their own experiences, and also from within the context of what they had seen or heard in their rural community (See 2.6).

The participants viewed GBV as an everyday phenomenon which affects girls and boys differently, exacerbated by certain social activities and societal views. It would seem that corporal punishment and bullying endanger the safety of boys, cause them harm, constitute an unconducive learning environment, and are gateways for intimidation and possible violence. Girls on the other hand fear rape; rape from an intimate partner or someone in the family or from strangers in the street, and being sexually abused by a family member when orphaned. GBV is exacerbated by certain societal phenomena such as gangs, drug and alcohol use, harmful and prejudiced

community beliefs, and prejudice towards homosexual people which further escalates the problem of GBV in the community.

6.2.1.1 The effects of GBV, the dilemma boys face

- **Corporal punishment is rife in schools**
- **Bullying causes harm**

The sub-theme, the effects of GBV and the dilemma which boys face, is supported by two categories. They are: corporal punishment which is rife in schools, and the harmful effects of bullying.

6.2.1.1.1 Corporal punishment is rife in school

In their understanding of GBV the participants indicated that corporal punishment is still rife in some schools and that boys are subjected to this form of physical punishment more so than girls. The participants indicated that teachers who use corporal punishment know it is illegal to do so, but still continue to use it as a method of discipline, oftentimes meting out punishment incommensurate with the deed. The participants are of the opinion that corporal punishment causes physical harm and that it detracts from creating a classroom atmosphere conducive to learning. This is evident from the following statements:

> *"Teachers are continuous beating us at school… . " (Peer Mf, T. 88)*

> *"… a teacher which is abusing a child with corporal punishment because the child did not done the homework correctly." (Th, T. 18, DD)*

> *"… the child wasn't even learning happy … because of the pains in the bums." (Th, T. 18, DD)*

> *"One in a 100 of schools think that it is the way [to do it] it is not, we say stop corporal violence… " (Hl, T. 19, DD)*

The South African Constitution Act 108 (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) clearly states no one is allowed to be physically punished, while the South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) as well as the Corporal Punishment Act (1997), rightfully abolished the use of physical violence in any educational institution in South Africa. Corporal punishment however, is still a problem in South African

schools, particularly in rural and poor communities (Morrell, 1994; Morrell, 2001; Morrell et al., 2009; Ward, Gould, Kelly & Mauff, 2015). Corporal punishment to inflict pain and humiliate the learner is often used for minor misconduct (Epstein, 2001). There are indications that violent acts disguised as discipline are carried into violent acts in the community (Morrell et al., 2009). This viewpoint resonates with Foucault's (1977) view, as expressed in his work 'Discipline', that physical punishment is directly linked to unjust or uneven power distribution, excused as discipline.

Used in school, corporal punishment is often linked to power, and as teacher dominance over learners. Corporal punishment is still active particularly in rural schools, and according to the General Household Survey (South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC], 2014), 2,2 million children were subjected to corporal punishment in 2012. The reason why many teachers use it points to a failure of applying or incorporating alternative discipline measures; many educators (and parents) still believe corporal punishment is the most effective form of discipline especially in large classes and in societies where learners are already exposed to this form of punishment at home (Morrell, 2001).

Epstein and Johnson (1998) point out that school helps to shape individual and group identities, especially around gender construction. Morrell argues that corporal punishment can play a role in forming particular masculinities: "[c]orporal punishment has long been the most common form of punishment in South African schools. Its widespread use undoubtedly influenced constructions of masculinity" (Morrell, 2001, p.140). According to Morrell (2001) corporal punishment serves as a model to male youth of being tough and to girls to know their place. Participants in Morrell's study (2001) feared some of their male teachers; they generally saw male teachers as stricter, more severe in disciplining, less tolerant, and less reasonable than female teachers. The male youth indicated that men and boys were harder, harsher, and tougher than women and girls, and that they should be willing to inflict, receive, and endure pain. In Morrell's earlier work (1994; 2001) and also in Morrell et al. (2009), it is pointed out that pain infliction from authority figures in formal institutions promotes violent masculinities. It can therefore be argued that corporal punishment as a form of school violence makes violence in certain forms acceptable as hegemonic violent masculinities (Morrell, 2001). Although corporal punishment is inflicted on boys and

girls, it is the influence on the construction of masculinities that are of value in understanding possible root causes for violent behavior by men and boys in society.

The construction of gender however, is fluid and can be transformed; the removal of corporal punishment from school can thus be an effective and necessary change to contribute to the eradication of violent masculinities (Morrell, 2001). In their article 'Spare the rod and save the child' Ward et al. (2015) argue that harsh, cold, and embarrassing forms of punishment can lead to external disorders such as aggression, and internal disorders including anxiety and depression. For more responsible alternative forms of masculinity to emerge, it is crucial that schools find alternative measures to nurture disciplined learners Morrell et al., 2009), and that there is committed and intensive involvement of community and institutional role players (SAHRC, 2014). Therefore, as Morrell already argued in 2001, "[t]he illegalization of physical punishment may affect gender relations in school positively by permitting the emergence of consultative forms of discipline and gentler masculinities" (Morrell, 2001, p.155).

6.2.1.1.2 Bullying causes harm

Bullying is often a forerunner of violent masculinities and is another social ill that is widespread among youth; in this study it emerged as a dilemma, particularly for boys. The participants showed the complexities of bullying in their understanding of GBV. They referred to older and stronger boys bullying younger and weaker boys, being bullied for having money, and also for being clever and responsive in class. Although both boys and girls were bullied, the participants clearly identified boys as the violent perpetrators of bullying. Bullying, according to these participants, were manifested in threats to harm (even to kill) if a victim disclosed the bullying, and positioned victims as 'helpless' or 'voiceless', as is evident from the following texts:

> *"… some people bully other because they are older than them and some they do bully because they are stronger than them… ." (Ma, T. 21, DD)*
>
> *"The old one is bullying the smaller one because he know that he won't do nothing." (Ma, T. 21, DD)*
>
> *"He want to rob him by taking his money and pinch him and leave him just like that ... . " (Ma, T. 21, DD)*

"Sipho … was clever… he was the only one who can answer that question … the group of boys took him and went into the Forrest and punched him and they said: 'you must keep quiet in class like the others or we will kill you' … " (Ma, T. 26, DAS)

"… and the boy got nothing to do but to close his mouth and when the teacher ask questions in class, Sipho had to be quiet… " (Ma, T. 26, DAS)

"They threaten the children that they mustn't tell anyone or they will kill them … ." (Si, T. 35, DS)

"I have also been bullied. Talk to that person. Tell the teacher and parents that their children are victims. Maybe the bullies are suffering at home and taking it out on the victims so maybe they all need help the victims and the bullies… " (Peer Hl, Mf DS, Facebook engagement)

Bullying is an age-old phenomenon, an aggressive (physical) or indirect (threat, rumour, or act of social exclusion) act, and an attempt to humiliate or victimise a person (Olweus, 1999). South African youth, including rural youth, are exposed to bullying from one or sometimes more than one perpetrator, as either victims or bully-victims (bullies who themselves are bullied) (Liang, Fisher & Lombard, 2007). As a form of GBV, bullying is intentional, actual, or threatened violence against someone who has less power, with the likelihood of its resulting in injury or psychological harm (Bender & Emslie, 2010). The threat of violence is seen as a risk factor for the well-being of youth, constitutes health-compromising behaviour, and can take place in the family, peer group, school, or other social setting and the broader community, indicating that any form of actual or perceived violence directly leads to vulnerability for victims (Bender & Emslie, 2010).

Seedat, Nvami, Njenga, Vythlingum, and Stein (2004) link GBV to bullying; they concluded in a study in South Africa that South African youth are most probably experiencing higher rates of bullying due to elevated rates of GBV in their communities. Perpetrators of bullying, victims, and bully-victims are found in higher numbers among boys especially at the start of secondary school (Olweus, 1999). For example, in Liang et al.'s (2007) study of secondary school-aged learners, over a third of their participants were involved in bullying, with most of the victims being Grade 8 boys and the perpetrators older boys in the school. Such high rates could

lead to many South Africans perceiving bullying, threats of violence, and violence as part of life (Pelser, 2008), and the ubiquity of bullying leading to normalisation and acceptance. Where victims perceive bullying as normal and something they have to accept, low level reporting is also a consequence (Bender & Emslie, 2010).

Farrington (1995) makes a link between bullying at school and a tendency towards aggressive behaviour which can escalate into domestic or other forms of GBV in adulthood. Liang et al. (2007) found that bullies displayed higher rates of fighting and violent tendencies and were also prone to risk taking, smoking, vandalism, and substance abuse. Olweus argues that bullying has far-reaching effects for both perpetrators and victims that can realise into adulthood and can be directly linked to violence (1999). This could be due to the fact that victims and bully-victims suffer adversely and some experience severe psychological effects or tend to have noticeably lower self-esteem (Olweus, 1999). In Liang et al.'s (2007) study, victims and bully-victims displayed higher tendencies of anti-social or introverted behaviours, emotional problems such as anxiety, and most noticeably a tendency towards suicidal thoughts and behaviour. Even victims or bully-victims might resort to violence as a defence mechanism, become aggressive, act out, and develop disturbed personalities (Liang et al., 2007). In the context of South Africa's violent social climate, one can consider bullying a factor that might propel youth towards a life filled with violence (Seedat et al., 2004).

Considering the context of corporal punishment and bullying, schools, communities, and institutional role players need to be engaged in efforts to establish more responsible alternative forms of discipline (SAHRC, 2014) to combat unequal power distribution and the construction of violent masculinities. In a society where violence is rife, the participants highlighted the fact that GBV is a complex gendered problem. In the next section I explore the dilemma which girls face in the community.

6.2.1.2 The effects of GBV, the dilemma girls face

- **Rape a constant fear**
- **Encountering intimate partner violence**
- **Sexual abuse as orphans**

The sub-theme, namely the effects of GBV and the dilemma which girls face, is supported by three categories. They are: rape as a constant fear, encountering intimate partner violence, and sexual abuse experienced by orphans.

6.2.1.2.1 Rape a constant fear

The fear of being raped is evident in the participants' lives since they position rape as an everyday phenomenon in intimate relationships (also see the next category), in the family, and in the community – enacted by a stranger, or by someone known to the person. The pervasiveness of rape is framed here as a women and girls' problem since they are most often the victims of sexual abuse. The following comments highlight some of the participants' views on the prevalence of rape:

> *"… rape, woman, emotional, physical and many more well the one that happened the most is rape… " (Peer Hl, T. 91, Peer reflection)*
>
> *"… 'cause usually we see rape… " (Hl, T. 20)*

Rape is evident in relationships:

> *"… rape between a girlfriend and boyfriend… " (Hl, T. 20)*
>
> *"It can be your boyfriends and it can be someone in your family and it can be your neighbour… " (Peer Hl, T. 90)*

Rape can happen among peers:

> *"... rape, well a friend of mine was raped on a school trip last year by 6 boys … they drugged and took advantage of her." (Peer Hl, Facebook engagement)*

Rape happens in the family:

> *"… someone you know, like uncle, father … in the family… " (Peer Hl, T. 90, peer reflection on rape)*

Rape can happen in the streets or be perpetrated by strangers:

> *"The rape that she kind of gets in the streets, let's talk about it in the street… " (Hl, T.20)*
>
> *"… they grabbed prince and his friend and they took them in to the car and rape prince's friends that are girls. … " (Si, T. 25-26, DAS)*
>
> *"… some of them like to raping grandmother and kills our family members and they like house breaking… " (Peer Mf, T. 90)*

The participants' fear of rape as a daily constant is supported by earlier studies with youth in this community (De Lange, 2008; Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith & Chrisholm, 2008; De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012). This type of sexual violence is often linked to power; a way for men to exert power over women by forcing them into submission and regulating their behaviour (Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Moletsane et al., 2007).

Wood and Jewkes note: “[p]ower relations between men and women take multiple forms, but in South Africa they are commonly manifested as and imposed through sexual violence and assault” (1997, p.42). Rape as a gender practice of power is witnessed in male dominant cultures that allow and tolerate rape as a trademark of masculinity (Jewkes, 2013).

Jewkes et al. (2006) points out that in a patriarchal society women and young girls are often vulnerable and potential victims of rape. Men are expected to control women and rape as punishment is not only a way to enforce such control, but also a way to self-communicate masculinity and powerfulness. In such societies men carry a high status and make it difficult for women and girls to refuse sex out of respect for men. Although communities may vociferously despise rape, the evidence suggests that perpetrators are often protected which highlights inadequate community responses to rape (Jewkes et al, 2006). The gender power hierarchy and the way girls or children are socialised into social norms legitimise the exercise of gendered sexual power (Jewkes et al., 2010). Many young girls feel helpless or scared and feel forced into sex; according to WHO (2005) most young girls’ first sexual experience is forced. Many girls lack enough sexual knowledge and their innocence prevents them from understanding the full extent of the sexual violation. In fact some perpetrators admitted to raping girls because they believed that the girls would keep quiet (Jewkes et al., 2010).

It is evident that societal gender hierarchy positions women and girls in a place of unequal power which makes their resistance to rape so complex (Wood & Jewkes, 1997). A concern is that in some communities it is believed that a boyfriend does not rape his partner, nor that a husband rapes his wife, even when the sex is coerced. In such instances the paid bride wealth inherently makes the wife the husband’s property (Moletsane, 2012). Perceptions such as these make it hard for victims to seek treatment or help and often accept this form of GBV as inevitable (Jewkes et al., 2010). And since rape is highly stigmatised, women often describe forced sex as “not rape” to avoid the “defilement of having been raped” (Jewkes et al., 2010, p. 23). This is often accompanied by contradictory and confusing feelings in the victims, as a female victim in a study by Jewkes and Wood (1997) remarked: “I fell in love with him because he beat me up”.

This study highlights a discourse of being compelled, in terms such as: “he made me”, “he forced himself onto me”, or “he forced me to love him” (pp. 42-43). This is because some men believe they have to resort to physical violence and rape to prove or illustrate their love and so the divisions between love, rape, sex, and violence become blurred (Wood & Jewkes, 1997). Considering the thin lines between sexual assault and love, the next category deals with intimate partner violence (IPV).

6.2.1.2.2 Encountering intimate partner violence

Understanding GBV in terms of rape, where intimacy is missing, also pushed the participants to think about IPV in relation to their relationships, and seeing this as women and girls’ vulnerability at the hands of the men and boys. The girls pointed out that they are subjected to male violence when they reject male attention, affections, and sexual proposals. Upon rejection of their affections there is a reaction of revenge from men and boys who resort to violence. Women and girls might then give in to unwanted advances because they are scared. This seems to be common phenomenon according to participants, and is palpable from the following:

> *“The boy he loves the girl, but the girl she don’t love the boy [anymore]. And then after that the boy he love still loves this girl. This boy ask the girl ‘why…don’t want to play with me’. The girls said ‘back off’ the boy said ‘what are you saying to me?’ Then after that he the boy going to hit the girl. This [boy] hit [her] … on the face and in her stomach everywhere on her body. This is gender-based violence… . ” (Mf, T. 34, DS)*

> *“… and you don’t hit the girl because she don’t love you this is a gender-based .violence. … “ (Mf, T. 34, DS)*

Evidence indicates (Prinsloo, 2006; Dastille, 2008) that girls are not spared from demonstrations of sexual prowess by male partners whom they know. There is an alarming prevalence of sexual coercion from peers (Prinsloo, 2006) and The South African Human Rights Commission (2001) indicates that it poses a threat to girls, in a context where, according to Bhana (2007), girls are not viewed as equal but as vessels to please male sexual desires. IPV further burdens girls with emotional trauma (that can last a lifetime), poor self-esteem or self-respect, unwanted pregnancies, poor work performance, and/or negative long-term health problems. IPV, as a form of GBV, is often visible, but inadequate responses to this sexual

misdemeanour contribute to its concealment (South African Human Rights Commission, 2010).

IPV in youth relationships is also linked to gender stereotyping, where masculinity and manhood is homogenised and male youth are positioned using their bodies as tools to show coercive power, to intimidate, to instil fear, to enforce desires, and to inflict pain – from inappropriate touching through to rape (Jewkes et al., 2012). Jewkes et al. (2015) refer to this as a violent configuration of masculinity. A stereotyped femininity in contrast limits girls' agency, as they are often expected to be passive, obedient, respectful, and conservative and in these culturally constructed femininities, girls are vulnerable. They can however use their bodies to enhance their own agency. For example, in Jewkes and Morrell's (2012) study the girls admitted to experiencing a sense of control through sexually teasing boys. Unfortunately this control and limited form of power is thwarted once they enter into relationship with boys, as men want to control their partners, and the girls confessed that once they were in relationships they had to submit to the men and take up the role of acquiescent femininities (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

It is clear from Jewkes and Morrell's (2012) study that girls want to have sexual agency in a modern femininity, and desire sexual power with no judgement (due to conservative gender normatives), respect, and non-violence or what the authors call a "feminist challenge to patriarchy" (p.1729). When it comes to intimacy, girls find agency in multiple and dynamic femininities including flirting, partner selection, and managing multiple boyfriends. The modern girl enjoys playing the field, enjoys sexual freedom, and being in control of her choice over partner/s (Kader, 2013). However, gendered sexual empowerment places girls at risk; since they do not want to be sexual victims they become fellow players, placing them at even more risk or in danger of being subjected to violence. This is because sex is bound up in gender politics where sexual power belongs to men (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). For example, women have contradictory agency. They have partner choice, but are not expected to initiate relationships; they are expected to act in ways that invite proposals. Women take time and care before committing since a hasty decision can make them look desperate or easy, and having too many relationships might lead to a bad reputation; a woman is also expected to choose well and avoid violent men. These considerations are her responsibility as she is expected to protect her reputation (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

Having a boyfriend provides status, confidence, self-worth, and the envy of other girls, and this could be seen as a reason why girls stay in abusive relationships. Young girls could have sex with their partners to keep them happy, even though they might not be ready, or provide sex because they are scared that their partners might hurt them if they do not (Jina, Jewkes, Hoffman, Dunkle, Nduna & Shai, 2012), as the following quotations show:

> *"Ja … 'cause some girls, their boyfriends are kind of important to them and like what I am going to do if he leaves me? And they kind of end up doing it [sex] even if they don't want to… " (Peer Hl, T. 92)*

> *"… the kind of boyfriend that take things to another level you have to explain like, 'listen I am in school I want things to go like this' and he wants to go on another level beyond what you like … if you say, 'no' he can get violent… " (Peer Hl, T. 91).*

Due to gender constructions boys and girls have different views of sex, for example, for boys having sex is seen as an accomplishment and for girls it is seen as a sign of love and commitment (Jewkes, 2013). Having a partner is indeed a form of prestige and a self-worth indicator that you are desired (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). When adolescent boys display their manhood through sexual victimisation (Wolfe, 1999), the hegemonic masculinities and the desire to control and dominate their partner either physically, sexually or psychologically (Bhana, 2012), is possible. According to Jewkes et al. (2010) threats and fear-provoking body language are common amongst adolescent boys in attempts to control their girlfriends. There are many reasons why girls stay in abusive relationships.

According to Downey and Feldman, "[t]he desire to achieve acceptance and to avoid rejection is widely acknowledged to be a central human motive" (1996, p.1327). There could also be desperation for intimacy that stems from childhood (Bhana & Anderson, 2007); insecurities which stem from a desperate need for love and acceptance can cause rejection sensitivity (Downey & Feldman, 1996). Social learning theory (Bandura, 1971) points to the role of observational learning – learning from adult role modelling - which means that young girls might witness certain types of relationships at home which they accept as correct and copy. Confusion of what is expected in a relationship is formed, since they might internalise that pushing, hitting, and threats are signs of love (Jewkes et al., 2010).

However abusive sexual relationships, according to my participants, do not only exist between partners, but sexual mistreatment of children who are orphaned is another serious dilemma which girls face.

6.2.1.2.3 Sexual abuse as orphans

The participants, in exploring their understanding of GBV, highlighted the vulnerability of children who are orphaned and whose family living arrangements have been disrupted, leaving them vulnerable to GBV. They spoke about the sexual abuse of girls by family members, and how orphaned girls are vulnerable to incest. Men who come into a disrupted family arrangement - the mother's new boyfriend, the stepdad, dad, or uncle – might be the perpetrators, often with the family knowing about it but not accepting responsibility for stopping it. The participants also referred to cultural values which can exacerbate abuse, such as the respect children are expected to give adults and older people in the community. The caring for HIV orphaned children can cause strain within a family circle, the child can be sexually abused, and the abuse can spread HIV infection. The following is offered as evidence of this:

> *"I was learning with a child and had lost her parents when she was 7 years old and her uncle chose to take her with him to his house… he had a fight with his wife; then his wife chose to leave him with this child he then start abusing this child … by forcing a child to have sex with him … he undressed the child and rape her… when she was a little bit older she got sick … her results was saying that she is HIV positive … It even cause her to have stress … her uncle who raped her was HIV positive and it [is] where she got being infected too. Than she was even being infected with emotional abuse … family violence she was sexually abused, this lead to HIV infection, lead to emotional abuse… . " (Th, T. 31 - 32, DS)*

> *"… [sexual violence from] someone you trust it may happen that [one of] your parents are just dead and your father have died and your mother came with her new boyfriend… " (Th, T. 91)*
>
> *"If a person … is older than you then they kind of like take advantage in so many ways [sexually] … and sometimes if you ask; 'why?' her or she will say, 'I am older than you, I get to tell you what to do'… ." (Peer Hl, T. 87)*

There is a link between orphaned children, sexual abuse by family members, and lifelong emotional trauma. In 2002 it was predicted that there would be 2.5 to 3 million AIDS orphans in South Africa by 2012 (Desmond & Gow, 2002; Coombe, 2002). In 2015 UNICEF confirmed that South Africa's orphan epidemic consists of more than 3,7 million children. The impact of AIDS-related deaths is severe on children, and "AIDS orphans are arguably the most vulnerable children in our society, struggling not only to survive, but to do so within the context of open discrimination" (Desmond & Gow, 2002, p. 11).

There are few things that impact so severely on a child as the loss of one or both parents (Desmond & Gow, 2002). The majority of orphaned children live in poverty and neglect as they are taken in by family members and might not receive the care and love they need (Meyer, 2011; UNICEF, 2015). Due to the lack of sufficient support they are often absorbed into relative or family households which can cause socio-economic impacts and burdens (Clarfelt, 2014; Meyer, 2011). Orphaned children are sometimes expected to provide extra income, free labour, are treated like property or servants, or kept out of school (Kistner, Fox & Parker, 2004). These children suffer unfortunate deprivation due to lack of parental care and are often malnourished, unloved, unprotected, live in crowded conditions, and face fights, harassment, and abuse, including sexual abuse (Meyer, 2011). In a patriarchal society young girls already have limited control over their sexuality. When taken into care by family members this can expose them to sexual abuse and HIV infection (Kistner et al., 2004). According to Desmond and Gow (2002) 15-18 year-old orphaned girls are most at risk and vulnerable to HIV infection through sexual contact and psychological and social abuse from immediate family members. Such girls face psychological trauma through the secrets they keep; victims often keep quiet for economic reasons, fear of further abuse, prejudice, and stigma.

There is evidence that GBV is a dilemma for both boys and girls in society, but the participants also framed their understanding of GBV as a dilemma in the context of their community.

6.2.1.3 The effects of GBV, the dilemma in the community

- **Gangs, drugs and alcohol intensify GBV**
- **Shunning homosexuality**

The sub-theme, namely the effects of GBV, the dilemma in the community, is supported by two categories. They are: gangs, drugs and alcohol which intensify GBV, and the shunning of homosexuality.

6.2.1.3.1 Gangs, drugs and alcohol intensify GBV

It is interesting to note that the participants indicated a link between social problems in the community - such as drinking, drug use, and gangsterism – and the intensification of GBV. They pointed out that being intoxicated or high on drugs can result in GBV, that substance abuse and violence go together, that it is a common occurrence in gangs, and prevalent in the participants' community. Gang members are often the perpetrators and operate in groups, leaving community members vulnerable, as is noticeable from the following statements:

> *"… like gangsters to touch the girls without a permission … " (Mf, T. 29, DS)*
>
> *"… do you know who is this gangsters who abuse you [?]" Women sa[i]d YES. The police sa[i]d don't worry we going to found this GANGSTERS." (Mf, T. 29, DS)*
>
> *"Some people are using drugs like Wunga and they use it like cocaine … when they think to use some drugs they think only one thing they think to rape our children and our grandmothers and then they kill them." (Peer Mf, T. 86)*
>
> *"One day when he was on his way home the group of boys took him and went in the Forrest and punched him. " (Ma, T. 26, DAS)*
>
> *"… drinking and abusing the women … " (Mf, T. 29, DS).*
>
> *"… the car stopped in front of the children and there were three men that got out off the car … and they took them into the car… " (Si, T. 35, DS)*

Drugs and alcohol abuse in general is a social concern in many communities, and seems to be a grave pandemic among the youth of South Africa, contributing to GBV (Morojele et al., 2012). According to SACE (2011), the number of youth using psychoactive substances is increasing since it is easily and widely available in all communities. The most used psychotropic substances among youth are alcohol, tobacco, and cannabis, and there are concerns that it seems acceptable to use substances which trigger anti-social behaviours (Morojele et al., 2012). SACE (2011) and Morojele et al. (2012) confirm that peer pressure is the most consistent predictor

of adolescent substance abuse. It usually starts off with recreational drugs, slowly leading to deviant behaviour such as economic crimes or drug soliciting.

Understanding the dynamics of adolescent South African gangs is beyond the scope of this study; nonetheless gangs exacerbate the victimisation of girls, an aspect of GBV. Gang members often seek trophy or showpiece girlfriends whom they *own* - regard as property - preventing the girls from having other relationships (Vetten, 2000). Girls could also be confined to certain territories as they fear gang rape from men in other areas (Vetten, 2000). A common feature among gangs is to encourage one another to perform misdemeanours (Vetten, 2000; Morojele et al., 2012). Strong evidence suggest that delinquent boys and young men join gangs and are more likely to be sexually violent to conform under peer pressure (Jewkes, 2013). These acts of sexual violence include abuse, exploitation, assault, and rape of girls. Dastille's (2008) study, for example, revealed high rates of sexual harassment and violation among adolescent youth, who mostly perpetrate violations in a group or in front of peers for peer support or approval and often under the influence of alcohol. Perpetrators of gang rape in Jewkes et al.'s (2010) study admitted raping girls mostly under 15 for fun and games, or as a punitive measure for suspected or actual infidelity or rejection of affection. Violent societies consumed by gangsterism, alcohol, and drugs, also have little tolerance for people who do not conform to gender expectations such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) people.

6.2.1.3.2 Shunning homosexuality

The participants spoke of the community's prejudice against homosexuals, but did not speak about their own prejudices, portraying themselves unprejudiced. It was clear that LGBT individuals in their community are subjected to discrimination and GBV. The participants pointed out that younger and older members in the community hold different opinions on homosexuality, with older community members more likely to reject a person for being homosexual, whereas young people are more inclusive and accepting. There are also religious tensions and scapegoating around homosexuality; homophobic people justify their viewpoints with the belief that there is spiritual 'rejection' of homosexuality by the ancestors. The participants pointed out that when homosexual people try to deny their identities and conform to gender stereotyping, they get hurt in the process. It is interesting that the participants are quite aware of identity issues. For example, they observed that when someone in the

community wants to ‘change’ homosexuals, it hurts the homosexuals in the process, as is apparent from the following views:

> *“In my community gay or lesbian often not taken lightly because of their gender … ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“… the[y] say that the ancestors do not agree with the fact that gay; lesbians or homosexuals… ” (HI, T. 33. DS)*
>
> *“… if you are a girl and or god made you feel like boy they would want to change you change the way they would want or like [you] to be… ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“… like by telling you that you going to be cursed… ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“… then if you try to change and end up ruining your life… ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“… and also if you are gay and god made you feel like a girls they trey change you by saying to you that a man mast have a wife… ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“If you choose to do what they say you end up braking a gir[ls] heart… ” (HI, T. 33, DS)*
>
> *“If you do not agree they hit you or call you names like the wh [whore] word or mama’s boy… ” (HI, T. 24, DAS)*
>
> *“If they love each other nothing would happened what is we need to respect their own gender only… ” (Peer HI, HI DS, Facebook engagement).*

South Africa stands apart from all other African countries in the construction of a Constitution which is against the discrimination on the grounds of gender or sexual orientation (Reddy, Sandfort & Rispel, 2009). Despite these sound human rights “homophobic victimisation is an endemic part of the South African landscape” (Nel & Judge, 2008, p. 23). Prejudice is rife, and is often a community issue where victims of homophobia (hostility towards homosexuals) are not seen as equals, are discriminated against, and thus cannot live out their sexuality but have to hide and conceal it (Lane, Mogale, Struthers, McIntyre & Kegeles, 2008). LGBT individuals face gender stigma and homophobia especially in rural areas and townships (Theron & Bezuidenhout, 1995).

Homophobia can manifest itself in many different forms such as hate speech; “…homophobic speech is often shaped by so-called religious and cultural narratives:

‘Homosexuality is unAfrican’ taken to its logical conclusion, may be used to ‘justify’ a hate crime or to position ‘homosexuality [as] a sin’ “(Nel & Judge, 2008, p. 23). Community beliefs in ancestral views reinforce gender discrimination based on sexual orientation and create collective buy-in from whole communities. This enforces invisibility and silencing of LGBT individuals, aggravated through endorsed hate crimes, hostility, failure to act, and failure to offer support to victims. Community beliefs can trigger other forms of homophobia including physical assault, and emotional and sexual violence including rape (Lane et al., 2008). Examples of hostile acts towards LGBT individuals range from verbal abuse, threats, being chased, and spat on, to more violent sexual attacks including rape (Theron & Bezuidenhout, 1995). These acts are motivated by prejudice and according to Nel and Judge (2008) South Africa has disconcertingly high rates of homophobic discriminatory attacks. Homophobic crimes are acts of targeted gender discrimination and an everyday reality in many communities.

African women from lower socio-economic settings form the largest percentage of victims who suffer under LGBT discrimination and are the most vulnerable to gender-based crimes. In fact African women are at disproportionately high risk for discrimination (Lane et al., 2008). According to Graham and Kiguwa (2004) African lesbian women are twice as likely to experience gender-based crimes, particularly ‘corrective’ rape. An extremely high prevalence rate of rape, assault, and abuse mostly from family members, neighbours, or acquaintances, is cause for concern. This is because African lesbian women challenge patriarchal gender norms (Graham & Kiguwa, 2004). A relationship has been reported between gender identity, vulnerability to victimisation, depression, self-harm, and suicidal tendencies (Lane et al., 2008). Prejudice is therefore another concern because unequal treatment leads to discrimination and stigma, physical assault, and emotional and sexual violence, including rape (Lane et al., 2008).

Having presented how the participants view gender-based violence, the following categories represent an analysis of how youth might use social media to address GBV, drawing on their digital productions and their engagements with it on Facebook.

6.2.2 THEME 2: RURAL SCHOOL YOUTH COMPETENTLY APPLYING SOCIAL MEDIA TO ADDRESS GBV

Under this theme three sub-themes emerged, namely gaining new digital literacy skills, creating space for taking action, and collaborative problem-solving, pointing to how acquiring new digital literacy skills can be used in spaces for taking action to solve problems together (See 3.5 Online participation).

Through acquiring digital literacy skills such as digital drawing, re-purposing material from a digital archive, and digital storytelling, the participants expressed their understandings of GBV. They simultaneously expressed solutions to address this social problem through the use of social media, in the belief that community role-players should participate in addressing GBV, and took it upon themselves to act as knowledgeable social actors for the benefit of the local community. The participants worked hard to master the new digital literacy skills, the first of which was to learn how to draw digitally which enabled them to simultaneously think more about GBV and to deepen their understanding of the problem.

Working with the digital archive enabled them to draw from it to create stories of GBV and creatively express their understandings as well as solutions to the problem, and how Facebook could be used to help address GBV. Through re-mixing and re-producing materials, the participants could reflect on their understanding of GBV, and also make contributions to addressing GBV with the help of social media. They further expanded their digital literacy skills by engaging with each other's productions on social media. The participants saw for themselves how the Internet and social media works through acts of searching, expressing, publishing, and engaging. The space on Facebook enabled them to envisage how community members could collectively contribute to addressing GBV alongside the participants - who were already knowledgeable social actors for community change. This collective effort can be seen as a way to engage in collaborative problem-solving.

6.2.2.1 Gaining new digital literacy skills

- **Making digital drawings**
- **Using a digital archive**
- **Re-mixing and making a digital story**

The sub-theme, gaining new digital literacy skills, is supported by three categories. They are: making digital drawings, using a digital archive, and re-mixing and creating digital stories.

6.2.2.1.1 Making digital drawings

The youth from this rural area worked hard - albeit slowly - to learn how to master the digital literacy skills which simultaneously enabled them to think about GBV and deepen their understanding thereof (See section 5.3.1.1 for a summative description of the digital drawings of GBV). They used digital drawings to express their ideas, and it seems that expressing themselves through the drawings generated a flow of thought. They were captivated by the digital drawings they themselves had made and which were pleasing to look at. The drawings had specific, strong, and clear intent and served the purpose of highlighting what needs to change. They seemed to see the value of explaining what they meant through the images and acknowledged that different messages could be drawn from the same image by those who see it. Their digital drawings also contributed to a sharing and appreciation of each other's ideas through their affiliation in the online community (see 5.3.2.2) as the following illustrates:

> *"... is that they [the pictures] got a good message, which can learn you a lot, which can shows you what is the meaning … " (Ma, T. 43)*
>
> *"... if you go to that page … you can't stop looking … the pictures and maybe it will change every way that they see like from every angle ... " (Hl, T. 43)*
>
> *"… when I am making the story then the picture will show exactly what I am saying … " (Th, T. 55)*

The drawings positioned the participants as producers of tangible representations of their lived realities, as Mitchell (2011) point out. It started a process of participation since the participants did not think drawing was for little children, but were eager to learn the digital skills to master digital drawing. Along with the mastery came a proud feeling of accomplishment (Wands, 2006). The digital drawings had a strong emotional component and the "complex messages" (Theron et al., 2011, p. 5) which the participants - for whom English is a second language - wanted to communicate, were easier to express. They pictured GBV which might have been difficult to express in words only (Van Laren, 2007). Meaning was extracted from what they

drew, the topics they chose, and what they said it represented (Mitchell, 2011) about GBV, as shown in theme one.

6.2.2.1.2 Using a digital archive

The participants explored visual images made by members from their community and contained in the digital archive. They browsed the digital archive material representing GBV found in their community. This engagement with the digital archive extended their understanding of the power of visual tools as they downloaded relevant photographs to use in their digital stories to express their own understanding of GBV (see 5.3.1.2). They acknowledged the depth in the photographs and the accompanying captions and how the images tell emotive stories that can be interpreted and used in many different ways. The participants' thoughts were as follows:

> *"They [the images in the archive] are valuable and they had a message that's beyond words that explains itself by the picture you can see the picture and you … can get every single emotion that the picture has and you can kind of tell that that this, these people had the passion to make this wonderful work. " (Hl, p. 42)*
>
> *"They were great even their photos are great and you can even see you can have a message… ." (Th, T. 42)*
>
> *"… 'cause every picture tells a story. " (Hl, T. 42)*
>
> *"… 'cause, maybe someone that can just look at the picture and says, 'ag it's just a picture' if you look within behind the picture and if you look what the picture is saying ja you can get quite a story that can blow minds… " (Hl, T. 42).*

The archived images also sparked ideas for the participants to take their own photos for their digital stories. They saw how they could be directors and actors in taking and staging photos – as they saw in the archive – which assisted them in making their own representations of how they see GBV in the community.

> *"… 'cause with the photos you can stage … so that you can tell me more that I need to know without even writing it down and I can just be the director like, 'pose like this, pose like that'… " (Hl, T. 58)*

"… because by the time you are posing and while you are taking the photos ja those things it is just like you are acting you are making the movie we'll come with our opinions… " (Th, T. 60)

The process of exploring and using the digital archive material inspired the participants' own emotive interpretations of the images and captions in the archived material, as Huvila (2008) also points out. The digital archive thus enabled more and meaningful representations of GBV and the marginalised community's sharing of their experiences with a wider public and created opportunities to extend understanding. In short, the digital archive was repurposed by my participants.

The richness archive material provide is found in both its simplicity and complexity of conveying messages (Shilton & Srivasana, 2008). The digital archive holds community ontology (Huvila, 2008) and the process of access and utilising the material is what Huvila (2008) calls "radical user orientation" (p.1). This means the archive is oriented towards its users and allowed the participants to benefit from accessing its contents. For this reason Shilton and Srinivasan (2008) also suggest participation around instead of within an archive. This is based on the premise that: "… together … participants are more knowledgeable about archival material than archivists alone" (Huvila, 2008, p.19).

The advantages of using the digital archive was an opportunity to interpret visual data from the community in new and emotive ways, and an opportunity to remix the material for further use.

6.2.2.1.3 Re-mixing and making a digital story

The participants made their own digital stories on GBV with the material they put together from their digital drawings, emotive interpretations from the digital archive, taking and staging photos, as well as from downloading relevant images from the Internet. Their storyboard of the digital stories represented their understanding of GBV, their solutions to the problem, and how using Facebook could help to address the problem (see 5.3.2.1). Through this process of remixing, re-producing, and creating digital stories, the participants could reflect on and revise or deepen their own understanding of GBV and contribute their insights, meanings, and solutions. The participants commented as follows:

"… a picture … I can get many pictures, those pictures can give my ideas… " (Ma, T. 60).

"My opinion is to get the pictures for my story so that if I see something the pictures show that, what I mean… " (Ma, T. 54)

"… when you are staging your own pictures you can use your own pictures for your own story, so it is your story, your pictures… " (Hl, T. 60)

"… I can make many movies [digital stories] with actors… " (Si, T. 103)

Remixing visual material through digital storytelling allowed for artistic expression (Jenkins et al., 2006), in a way that encouraged productions which interpreted and reflected their memories, what they had experienced, heard, or seen. Overwhelming, sensitive, and hard to express problems were concretised through digital storytelling, as Kincheloe (2005) also found. Through re-mixing, the participants re-ordered and re-contextualised pre-existing and new visual material with text and sound (Burgess, 2006). They expressed their views in an interactive and dynamic way with their own as well as remixed visual material, creating what Jenkins et al. (2006) refer to as convergence through participatory cultures. From here the participants successfully shared and engaged with each other's digital stories on Facebook.

6.2.2.2 Creating space for taking action

- **Seeing how it works**
- **Publishing and engaging on Facebook**

The sub-theme, creating space for taking action, is supported by two categories. They are: seeing how it works, and publishing and engaging on Facebook.

6.2.2.2.1 Seeing how it works

In order for the participants to take action to address GBV using social media - familiar to most youths - it was necessary for them to grapple with digital tools and to see how they work. For many participants it was their first time working with digital hardware, software, and social media (in their deep rural area they seem to be beyond the digital divide) but they successfully generated their own email accounts and Facebook profile pages (see 4.7.1.1). More than digital skills and competencies,

seeing how it all worked required involvement, thinking, reading, and responding and therefore participation, engagement, and reflection. The participants expressed their satisfaction with having worked on laptops and learning how to use digital technology (many participants said that it was their favourite part of the research experience), as the following comments reflect:

"… it was my first time touching a laptop…" (Peer Mf, T. 88)

"… because when I am on the internet I can research a picture of boys bullying, I can get many pictures, those pictures can give me ideas... " (Ma, T. 60)

"… yes it's beautiful already if you want to put some colour you click there... " (Ma, T. 27)

"… so I got to learn very much, somehow that stands out for me as a great day…" (Hl, T. 14).

"… because we can even go and search for it, if that is the word to say… " (Th, T. 12).

It often seemed too challenging to work with digital technology, but the participants persevered with a positive attitude and helped each other along the way, as is evident from the following video transcription:

"… every lesson is tough, when you first learn how to do it is a little bit tougher if you carry on trying and trying it could get a little bit easier, no-one ever said learning is easy… " (Hl, T. 45)

"Guys, what is the kind of abuse or what do we call when a teacher is abusing the child. … How do you call that? " (Th, T. 27)

"... why didn't I even thought of that?.... 'cause you didn't think of it... " (Hl, T. 60)

"I have never learnt this ... and uh it was my first day to know … " (Ma, T. 14)

They drew on their existing skills when working with the digital components. Although they developed a new language and digital technology skills such as typing, spell check, and sound recording in a very short space of time, in order to produce visual material to share on Facebook, it was not easy. The participants were confronted with many technical challenges, especially the sound recordings, and at times felt discouraged:

"If you are trying so hard to get everything right and you get a mistake … and I can't carry on because I'm going to do another mistake and then it just kind of get discouraged... " (Hl, T. 39)

"If I made a mistake or if I made a slight problem I can even if I accidently press that one and that one it plays and everyone is watching hearing me make that certain mistake... " (Hl, T. 39)

"… recording because I couldn't say everything in one time those notes I couldn't say it… " (Ma, T. 55)

There is a common view that today's youth are naturally digitally wired (Stoerger 2009). Bennett, Maton & Kervin (2008) make the argument that the generation as a whole cannot be viewed as digitally equipped, as it is not a generational matter but an exposure matter. Even if youth have access to digital technology it does not necessarily mean that they are savvy in operating and utilising it. The skills they acquire in formal education do not necessarily equip them with the skillsets they need to participate in the digital world (Bennett, 2012). It is however true that youth are naturally drawn to challenging, fun, and useful technology, and acquire the skills they need for digital participation through informal learning. Buckingham (2007), Jenkins et al. (2006), Bennett et al. (2008) and Eshet-Alkalai (2004) recommend that formal education should include these skillsets to prepare youth for digital futures. The skillsets should include technical, cognitive and social skills to perform and solve problems in the digital environment. Theorists therefore endorse that digital literacy should be developed in the classroom (Buckingham, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2006; Bennett et al., 2008; Eshet-Alkalai, 2004).

Digital literacy is more than an ability to use software or digital devices; it refers to the ability to utilise a range of complex, cognitive, social, and emotional skills to function effectively in a digital world. In fact digital literacy incorporates many skills including, reading, producing digital productions like digital drawings, re-producing and re-mixing existing digital material into new meaningful material, evaluating quality and validity of information, and having an understanding of cyber safety and rules (see 3.4.8)(Eshet-Alkalai, 2004; Jenkins et al., 2006).

All these digital literacy skills are vital for youth to publish and engage in meaningful ways on Facebook.

6.2.2.2.2 Publishing and engaging on Facebook

Publishing and engaging on Facebook served as a safe space to learn from each other as the participants shared their digital productions on GBV. It also enabled the participants to express, view, share, and comment on each other's understanding of GBV as portrayed in the stories. The participants freely communicated around this sensitive issue and were able to remember important aspects of each other's productions, highlighting the power of visual media. The engagement on Facebook also enabled a consolidation, plus an extension and reflection on their knowledge as is evident from the following statements:

> *"… about sexual abuse between the uncle and the child… "; "… I remembered the uncle who abused the child… " (Th, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"It is wrong to be raped by people who you trust like family… " (Th, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"… the gay victims were discriminated… " (Hl, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"I remember gays treated differently because of their gender… "; "… that gay were not treated like they were not people… " (Hl, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"I remember a raped girl who was raped by three older men… "; "… the part where the girls were told if they tell on they will be killed… "; "… the man said if you tell the police am going to kill you… " (Si, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"… stop violence… "; "… When the child was afraid to raise his hand when the teacher ask questions… "; "… that there was a boy who was bullied by big boys because he was clever… "; "… I remember boys bullying Sipho… " (Ma, DS, Facebook engagement)*
>
> *"I remember when the girl said she doesn't love the boy… "; "… I remember the abuse women… "; "… a boy hit the girls because the girl said back off… "; "… movie was about gangster… " (Mf, DS, Facebook engagement)*

The participants moreover engaged critically with each other's productions suggesting elements for revision, and pointing out components which they thought could be added, while others thought the stories were good enough just as they were:

"I think I would [add] that the girl has made a success and she is happy… " (Th, Ds, Facebook engagement)

"I would add that the girl's future will be ruined… " (Th, DS, Facebook engagement)

"… nothing… "; "… to stop gay beating… "; "… as a man you can't abuse another man… "; "… to stop disrespecting the gays… "; "… people should accept gays… " (Hl, DS, Facebook engagement)

"… nothing perhaps show the parent's side of the story… "; "… stop abusing women… "; "…I would add a picture of a man abusing a girl… " (Si, DS, Facebook engagement)

"… show in the school to stop violence… "; "… I would add that the boy who was bullied must report it. " (Ma, DS, Facebook engagement)

"… the gangsters must stop abusing people… "; "… I'll add the gangsters stop stealing cars… " (Mf, DS, Facebook engagement)

According to Mitchell (2011) a digital production serves as an awareness-raising and dissemination tool which demands attention and provides an entry point for online social engagement. The digital productions - representing the participants' social realities – contributed to building a pliable online community (Mitchell, 2008; Jenkins et al., 2006). Facebook not only provide a platform for members to publish their work, but they feel that their contributions matter because the issues they present are important, and there is a degree of social connection since they critically comment on each other's work. This last point simply corroborates the significance of identity in participation and ownership in communities where public engagement takes place (Jenkins, 2004; Jenkins et al., 2006).

The digital productions created and published on Facebook put some distance between the expressions themselves and the participants' immediate identities. This allowed for spaces of distance and overview - which is necessary when the work is sensitive (Mak, 2011). Jenkins (2004) adds that this space of online expression can be seen as contribution to social identity since the participants perform and contribute (each according to their own ability) collectively in an online community. Buckingham (2008) also suggests that online identities can be far different to a person's offline identity, and iterates that social media can contribute greatly to

identity formation. In the early 90s Giddens (1991) referred to this as the changing nature of identity which can be influenced through self-reflection and projection. Buckingham (2008) also argues that digital technology allows for individualisation which is a driving force in identity formation.

This implies that youth can benefit from being digitally wired and competent to engage in participatory culture. Social connectedness is valuable when working together towards addressing social problems in communities, as the participants point out in the next section.

6.2.2.3 Collaborative problem-solving

- **Drawing in community role-players for community change**
- **Participants as actors for social change**

The sub-theme, collaborative problem-solving, is supported by two categories. They are: drawing in community role-players for community change and participants can be actors for social change through social media.

6.2.2.3.1 Drawing in community role-players for community change

Collaborative problem-solving with the help of their community members was seen as essential to combat GBV. The participants indicated that all community members should participate for the sake of their own safety and for the wellbeing of the community. They are aware of community support figures including the police, social workers, teachers, the principal, councillors, and other authority figures. The participants felt that the school was the first and most meaningful place to involve other youth, educators, the principal, and community members such as parents. They underscored the need to approach the adults in a respectful manner and suggested that they should establish good rapport with parents and educators to enable solutions to GBV (earlier on they spoke of how respect was actually working against youth being able to resist GBV). They have a desire for these "authority" figures to lead by example, to consider their responsibilities according to their roles, and to not abuse their power and harm their learners or children, as is clear from the following:

> *"… to make the meeting at assembly school… " (Mf, T. 66)*

"… IN my school I have to go in front of prays nthandazo, assembly, and then I am going to start to tell the children of the school to stop drinking and abusing the women… " (Mf, T. 29, DS)

"I said we need to combine as school learners and ask the teachers politely to stop corporal punishment and ask the reason why they do this… " (Th, T. 72).

"I want the good teacher not the teacher who abuse our children and the children who drink and smoke in the school…. " (Mf, T. 22, DAS).

"… make the children be happy for ones this would do biter [better] in the future remember they are the future… " (Hl, T. 19, DD).

"…one day the teacher find that some group of boys are bullying Sipho and Sipho's teacher worked on that situation and the boy's safety." (Ma, T. 26, DAS).

"… and I … don't want to fight at school because … I am going to tell the teacher… my teacher sad with this you going to be in [trouble]… " (Mf, T. 23, DAS)

"… my solution was that parents … don't have to send their children to go to the shop at night… " (Si, T. 65)

"In different homes the parents at home can talk to their children. Parent don't talk to us about different things and who you are a victim, parents are to harsh and without understanding you sometimes feel afraid they won't understand what you are going through. Attend therapy session, talk to other who have been there, that can help… " (Hl, DS, Facebook engagement)

The participants showed great respect for and reliance on the police and seemed to have faith in their ability to protect the community. They also saw the importance of reporting instances of GBV and protecting victims of GBV with the help of police who are expected to fight crime on behalf of the community. The need for social justice from the judicial system and from law enforcement agencies seem idealised as a way to address GBV, often suggesting harsh punishment that does not necessarily fit the crime. They wanted perpetrators to suffer for committing crimes and showed little empathy towards the perpetrators. This apparent over reliance on authority/police/ law enforcers to mete out punishment and in that way address GBV,

seems to miss the point – raised earlier in terms of corporal punishment – namely that punishment on its own will not stop GBV, as it does not address the underlying root causes and structural problems in the community. In a sense they are condoning violence without considering how to disrupt this process.

In an attempt to unsettle this over-reliance on authority I encouraged them to think of solutions which they, as youth members of their community, could implement. The following quotations support the above:

> *"… call the police … if you steeling you going to jail … the police hit him like a dog the police this man is a gangster … and the police sad we going to punish you they run … [a]way… " (Mf, T. 16, DD).*
>
> *"… when the child was asking for a permission slip to her for going outside she refuse because she was thinking that the child will go to the police station and she [teacher] already know that she will be arrested… " (Mf, T. 18, DD).*
>
> *"… she is going to the police to the police station and then after that the police call this boy the police ask this man "why do you hit woman like this"… " (Mf, T. 29, DS).*
>
> *"The police sad don't worry we going to find this GANGSTERS… " (Mf, T. 29, DS).*
>
> *"The man who have beaten the girl will end up in jail for many years… " (Si, T. 20, DD).*
>
> *"People who had been raped should open a case at the police station or they should go to the home affairs and they will have to get their job done… " (Si, T. 35, DS).*
>
> *"The police will have to investigate and find those people who are rapist and arrest them for raping innocent people. The court must not give the rapist a bail the rapist will still rape other innocent girls… " (Si, T. 35, DS).*
>
> *"… the child called the police they just quickly come and look for him in the first day; second day and they found him in the third day hiding in his father in Durban and he got arrested for 25 years… " (Th, T. 23, DAS)*
>
> *"… government who vote with the people who want to help the women abuse to vote someone to help with women abuse… " (Mf, T. 72).*

The participants indicated how they themselves and other persons and structures in the community can address GBV in various ways, going beyond mere punishment:

> *"… she came to the police … said we can find the gangster and the police said we can find the gangster and then the police said to the women can go to the social worker… " (Mf, T. 29, DS)*
>
> *"… and put it all in the news so that everybody even the government can see and so they tell the police you must find these gangsters… " (Mf, T. 29, DS)*
>
> *"… child line, because there is a woman that I know that can assist me… " (Th, T. 66)*
>
> *"Mine is to tell more and teach the learners 'cause they are the ones who are going to pass on the life 'cause they are the ones who are the next generation… " (Hl, T. 72)*
>
> *"Yes, but it is not work, because if you are the teacher you teach to stop violence, I am not listening to you if you don't give me the violence again… " (Mf, T. 72).*

The participants also felt a need for community engagement as part of the solution to GBV. They suggested that community meetings can be held in a physical location but then made the leap to social media seeing the potential of community meetings to morph into a space such as an affiliated Facebook platform. In this way community involvement can be extended to include members who are not only affiliated but have the same goals or aspirations to address GBV. The participants indicated that Facebook can connect the community and that everyone can have the opportunity to share their views, feelings, thoughts, and expressions online:

> *"… make a meeting … make a meeting in my community… at Mazazini Hall [assembly hall at school]… " (Ma, T. 65).*
>
> *"I think we can even call a meeting on the hall and do you can get people to watch them [the digital stories]… " (Si, T. 44).*
>
> *"I will invite people in my community or anywhere in the world by going on Facebook… " (Hl, T. 34, DS).*

The participants indicated that social change is possible through joint effort to change the community's harmful attitudes which fuel GBV. For effective change to happen they felt that the whole community should display collective disapproval of

GBV. They believed that by watching, participating, or engaging with the visual material they had created and published on Facebook, most community members could be reached and become sufficiently informed for social change to happen. Community members – in the family, the school, and the broader community - have different talents and different member roles can be collectively applied to fight social ills such as GBV. This is illustrated in the following statements:

> *"… in my own understanding is that my community can benefit by looking at these pictures because they can see that ok, what I am doing is wrong this, what kind of abuse I'm doing is wrong this is everyone can see that oh I'm doing now gender-based violence, when I'm doing this. They can even learn their mistakes, because others can do things without knowing what are they doing and what…they are now going to learn their mistakes… " (Th, T. 44)*
>
> *"We can go to make our community to watch this it will be perfect if we can start from school, tell our school to watch it and we are going to ask our principal whether he will be able to call the meeting … with the community to watch this movie… " (Th, T. 44)*
>
> *"I think we can as school, draw these pictures [digital drawings] and paste it on, on tuckshops so that everyone can see them… " (Th, T. 44)*

.

> *"I think we would start with the closest people like family first call a family meeting to tell them or if you can show them… " (Hl, T. 44)*
>
> *"… inviting friends over if you can show them a movie [digital story] … then afterwards you can take it to school, see wherever it goes, even if you have the power… " (Hl, T. 44).*
>
> *"… I will call the meeting on Maswazini…and I will show them the parents, the police and soldiers, on the tent and I'm going to call the parent and the police and this soldier and school children and show all the people in the tent this photos and videos… " (Mf, T. 30, DS).*
>
> *"… show the community … Make billboards words explains everything… " (Hl, T. 34, DS).*
>
> *"… I will also make big posters that I will paste them at the halls, school gates; road poles … buses stop… " (Th, T. 32, DS).*

"… I will tell the learner's and use my talent and make a song about gay people to treat them as normal… " (Hl, T. 34, DS)

Earlier on I referred to the role social media has on the construction of collective identity. Here I discuss community "culture and tradition as a basis for individuals and groups to construct and perform their identities" (Moletsane, 2012, p. 193), and the role social media can play in enabling community members – in this instance in a rural area - to respond to GBV by adjusting that which is harmful and no longer helpful. When looking at UNESCO's (2002) definition of culture as collective, spiritual, emotional, lifestyle, ways of living together, values, traditions and beliefs, which are learned and shared and collectively make up group identity, it seems that social media can enable a space where identity and culture can be revisited to include new rules and rituals beneficial to the community, in response to Moletsane's (2012) calls for restorative culture or collaborative cultural interventions.

I mentioned that the participants were aware of the existence of platforms such as Facebook as some community members were logging into this site through their phones or laptops. However, none of the participants had experienced working on these sites; in the rural area in which they reside it was still not a common phenomenon to engage on Facebook.

Social media such as Facebook can be a platform for community members to achieve collaborative objectives through community partnerships and participation and can be a pathway for effective community problem-solving and improvements (Lasker & Weiss, 2003). This is largely because Facebook is an accessible platform which allows for input from all community members (Kommers, 2011). Wang (2009) believes that collaboration is an essential component in any community and according to Kommers (2011) collaborative sharing for a community's benefit is an attempt to solve real-world community problems collectively. All community members must be in a position to have a say and give input as all members share the responsibility to help and assist one another. Jenkins et al. (2006) refers to this collective agency in the process of working together towards a shared goal and common interests for the benefit of the community. In essence participatory culture enables the construction of a collective or community identity that could be beneficial for restorative culture or collaborative cultural interventions (Moletsane, 2012) such as collaborative problem-solving. For rural youth this form of unity within the

community can shift unequal power as participatory cultures imply equal power and mutual respect from all members through engagement.

It is however the individual interactions, i.e. producing the material, seeking information, and asking questions (Wang, 2009) which collectively add up to solving social problems. Facebook provides a space for multiple-user interaction, joint responsibility, and for community members to work together to define, share, and communicate problems. According to Kritzmann et al. (2011) social media ecology - through its seven foundational blocks - defines the benefits of using social media for community problem-solving. These are: identity, conversation, sharing, presence, relationships, reputation, and groups (see 3.5.2 for a detailed explanation of the social media ecology) (Kritzmann et al., 2011).

Through successful participation and engagement on social media the participants in this study can indeed be seen as actors towards social change.

6.2.2.3.2 Participants as actors for social change

The participants positioned themselves as knowledgeable local actors who can present their ideas - through their digital stories - to other members of their community on social media. Facebook, as the chosen platform in this study, provided a space for a collective and shared voice, with like-minded youth working towards the same cause, namely addressing GBV. While Facebook was used to publish and highlight the different types of GBV they knew of or had heard about, as well as solutions to the problem, they also saw the potential of Facebook for being a platform to help, counsel, and support victims of GBV in a safe space. One participant indicated that Facebook could even be an intervention platform to assist the perpetrators as a rehabilitation strategy. They also saw Facebook as an activist platform to protest against GBV and to ask for accountability from community role-players and perpetrators. According to them its accessibility (even in rural areas) also opened up the possibility of higher authorities or institutions such as legislative departments to witness and view the lived realities of GBV in rural areas. The participants displayed confidence in doing activist work on Facebook as is shown below:

> *"I want to show the people in my community the gangsters and women abuse on Facebook, the pictures and my work that I have made. I will send my work*

the videos, photos and the pictures of the abusing girls, and the picture of the woman that are abuse… " (Mf, T. 30, DS)

"I used the Facebook to Help those women that are abused in my community… " (Mf, T. 30, DS)

"I will tell her [victim] to play Facebook and show her those pictures and posters I have made … I will also tell her that her problem will soon be solved because he [perpetrator] had also learn through his mistakes by work I show him on Facebook… " (Th, T. 32, DS)

"I can address sexual abuse on Facebook by showing people my movie [digital story] of sexual abuse and it up to them if they change or not… " (Si, T. 36, DS)

"… use Facebook to show the government what's happening on my community … going to put the women pictures that are rape on the Facebook … I want to show the government on the Facebook what are [you] going to do the woman abuse like this [?]… " (Mf, T. 30, DS)

Youth become knowledge producers as they create cultural expressions with digital technologies and communicate these through a participatory culture such as Facebook (Buckingham, 2009). In this instance the participants' participatory arts-based digital productions brought forth their voices in relation to GBV in their community. Thus, concurring with Balfour et al. (2008, p.101) rural youths' digital productions are "transformative, capable of changing behaviour and affecting the motivation of teachers, community workers and learners." It is through their creative productions that youth's critical thinking and agency around the problems and solutions to GBV and their lived realities were stimulated. When work is this deeply engaging it becomes the point where youth become knowledge producers as opposed to knowledge consumers as they express their views through (re)-constructions from their own perspectives and lived experiences, which in itself constitutes critical agency (Stuart, 2010). Their work and deep engagement around GBV provided the space to think critically especially around the process of their contribution through their work (Pattman, 2006).

Their creative productions and displays of critical thinking can be seen as social activism. Bennett (2012) talks of personalised politics in which individuals' expressive personal actions form part of a collective action of identity politics or new

social movements through which individuals are mobilised. Social activism lies in challenging harmful socially-entrenched norms; it disrupts identity and familiarity and is therefore often resisted (Stuart, 2010). However through creative digital productions and critical engagement it is possible to transform negative social realities. Stuart (2010) concludes her research with rural youth and pre-service teachers who used arts-based methodologies including collage and image theatre as follows:

> "There is one outcome in such interaction of which our YAKP [youth as knowledge producers] has made us certain. Despite the challenges to be found in rural schools, this is transformative to the … participants. It calls into question just how we should change our pedagogies and hearts to best serve the needs of rural communities (p. 63)

The following theme presents the findings of how youth use social media in a participatory cultures framework to engage their peers around the issue of GBV through social media.

6.2.3 THEME 3: ENGAGING PEERS THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA SHIFTS POWER AS PARTICIPANTS PARTICIPATE AS AGENTS OF CHANGE

In this theme two sub-themes became clear, namely agency through design and facilitation, and seeing transformative possibilities (See 3.6 Youth Participation).

In preparing for the peer engagement - designing a participatory peer engagement session aimed at social change - the rural youth participants were enabled to assume their own agency. It gave them confidence and affirmed that their contributions towards addressing GBV matter. Both the participants and their peers learnt new skills and gained knowledge throughout the process; a valuable commodity in addressing or tackling social problems. The process also enabled them to see how circulating their visual material in an online community for the benefit of the local community opens up further possibilities for transformation through reflection as a tool to strengthen empowerment.

6.2.3.1 Agency through design and facilitation

- **Designing for peer engagement**
- **Spaces to learn through Facebook**

The sub-theme, agency through design and facilitation, is supported by two categories, namely designing for peer engagement, and spaces to learn through Facebook.

6.2.3.1.1 Designing for peer engagement

The participants were successful in designing peer engagement sessions with relevant activities. Their design focused on engaging peers in a digital youth-led session that drew on their visual material uploaded on Facebook (see 4.7.3). They led the informal engagement on Facebook with their peers through a series of participatory steps (see 5.3.3). They enjoyed sharing their knowledge and skills - feeling like teachers - which made them feel important and seemed to strengthen their agency, as is evident from the following:

> *"I can teach my friend and convince him that he have to understand what gender-based violence… " (Si, T. 78)*
>
> *"… and my solution, I could maybe try and teach the people my community… " (Hl, T. 65)*
>
> *"In my opinion I think it's good and people can also be educated online on Facebook about these things … ." (Peer Hl, T. 96, peer reflection)*

While the value of peer engagement is somewhat contested in certain circles, it can lead to collaborative processes where participants share knowledge that is important to them (Wang, 2009). The participants in this study collaboratively shared their digital stories through Facebook and co-operatively taught and learnt from their peers, emphasising a social learning process as put forward in Vygotsky's (1978) notion of sociocultural peer learning. In theory youth are far more interested to learn from peers than adults about topics that are relevant to them (MacArthur Foundation, 2008). The Positive Peer Group programme, for example, concluded that through peer engagement the following benefits accrue: effective growth, enhanced skills, personal responsibility, increased social skills, bonding with the community, and a positive identification and association with peers (Mcloughlin, 2009) emerge.

Pattman (2006) argues that participatory peer engagement is a pedagogic approach that enables participants to manage their social realities. Peer engagement is useful in changing pedagogy to be more in line with what youth want (Stuart, 2010). When such pedagogy, according to The MacArthur Foundation (2008), relies on online

spaces such as Facebook and other networks, it allows for extension of real-life friendships and interactions with peers. This form of pedagogy enables the development of technical and media literacy skills, sharing digital creations and reciprocated feedback, freedom and autonomy (through self-direction and exploration), as well as expressing individual and community identity - elements not necessarily experienced in class (Jenkins, 2008). The authors of the report "Living and learning with new media: summary of findings from the digital youth project" believe youth should have:

> [o]pportunities to publicize and distribute their work to online audiences and to gain new forms of visibility and reputation, … [i]n both friendship-driven and interest-driven online activity, youth create and navigate new forms of expression and rules for social behaviour (MacArthur Foundation, 2008, p. 1) .

Mcloughlin (2012) view peer engagement as peer coaching which they consider useful for problem-solving in communities. According to Mcloughlin (2009) long lasting social change is possible through collective buy-in from peers, and when peers work together to make meaningful contributions for the benefit of their community. Their friendships and meaningful teaching or engagement tasks promote individual accountability and positive interdependence for making social change happen. This form of pedagogy and teaching is youth-centred, created and socially dictated, and provides new spaces to learn.

6.2.3.1.2 Peers learn through engagement

The peer-engagement session led to the peers engaging with new knowledge around GBV through the participants. This engagement with GBV and finding solutions through working with visual material on Facebook, created spaces for informal learning. Both the participants and peers supported and assisted each other and shared stories, experiences, and solutions. The peers highlighted that they had learnt new information from the engagement throughout the research process:

> *"I learn about abuse, rape … corporal punishment and that's bad…" (Peer Hl, T. 95)*
>
> *"… I learn about gender violence and I know now hoe [how] to treat people as human being… " (Peer Mf, T. 85)*
>
> *"… today I learn about many different types of abuse and solutions of abuse… " (Peer Ma, T. 85)*

"… I learn about many stories of abuse and … how to treat men that … rape a child… " (Peer HI, T.85)

Digital cultures often entail informal teaching and learning through social media and means youth are creators, educators, and prosumers of information (Jenkins, 2012). Youth who share and participate online are referred to as the Y generation, Millennials (see 4.5.3) (Strauss & Howe, 2000). Buckingham (2003; 2010) does not care what you call them, but points out that these youths are naturally drawn to informal knowledge sharing through online media. The participants in my study were simultaneously learners and teachers; they learnt through trial and error, exploration, experimentation, play, and collaboration. Through this revolutionary learning style, drawing on multiple intelligences, the participants could develop autonomy and authority based on playful, creative, participant-centred, inquisitive, sceptical, analytical, and self-directed learning and achievement (Buckingham, 2007).

Informal learning takes place through interpersonal communication, often outside of classroom learning, including an extensive range of cognitive activities such as remembering, reading, auditing, hypothesising, testing, predicting, and strategic planning (Buckingham, 2010). Creating, sharing, and interacting through collaborative community work online can be seen as edutainment which means socially engaging in learning through hands-on creative productions and questions of what we know and apply around styles of learning (Buckingham, 2007). It is through these forms of informal learning that the participants saw transformative possibilities of the work they were doing in the study.

To channel the possibilities of this form of informal learning, Buckingham (2009) and Jenkins (2008) suggest the incorporation of media literacy in education. This according to Jenkins (2008) will guide and instruct youth in their participation and enable a networked culture of sustained participation of media users. Accessing media users through media literacy not only expands participation, but can spark change, according to Jenkins (2008), because users learn how to build communities around shared interests operating in contemporary social networks that develop and enhance social skills and cultural competencies aimed at collective action through self-produced and shared media.

Considering new media as spaces to learn and holding possibilities for social change, one can argue that any attempt at transformation is pointless without proper

media literacy education. Within the spaces to learn participants need to be instructed on how to use social media - Jenkins (2008) talks of connected learning - and finding ways to ensure that youth acquire the skills needed for meaningful participation. Buckingham (2013) insists that the question is not whether we should include media literacy in the classroom, but how it should be included since there is a common misconception that media/technology can "teach itself" (Buckingham, 2013, p.10). Through connected learning Facebook becomes a tool that stimulates dialogue and sharing, which create spaces for possibilities of transformation.

6.2.3.2 Seeing transformative possibilities

- **Circulating visual material in an online community benefits the local community**
- **Reflection as tool to shift power**

The sub-theme, seeing transformative possibilities, is supported by two categories. They are: circulating visual material in an online community to benefit the local community, and empowerment through reflecting on the process of using social media to address GBV.

6.2.3.2.1 Circulating visual material in an online community benefits the local community

Facebook allowed for trying out and sharing (or circulating) the participants' digital productions with online friends or fellow community members. This for them triggered the idea that their work – the circulated material – opened up possibilities for them not only being beneficiaries of change but also actors of change, able to make a difference in their local community. They thought of extending the online community and using Facebook as a tool for advocacy to encourage the community to speak out against GBV, but also as a tool to raise awareness of the harm GBV does to individuals as well as the whole community. This youth-led and from-the-ground-up approach (UNESCO, 2014) is seen as a way to contribute to building a resilient community. Facebook can therefore be a platform for a collective effort of individual users to help solve problems in the community:

> *"I will play Facebook and see how many people I can invite and tell them the problem; my solutions and send posters [images] that will be showing my problem on Facebook. " (Th, T. 32, DS)*

"The other thing that I think it would help if I am doing it, is to invite the people who are close to the perpetrator or invite him too; onto Facebook and show them the work I've done…[digital story] on sexual abuse, the internet pictures, that I made and send it to them. Then when I had talked to him or to that person I will also tell them that how bad is to abuse a person with sexual abuse… " (Th, T. 32, DS)

"The posters will tell them that they have to look at their Facebook and I have to tell or explain to the people on Facebook how important is gender-based violence and we have to make a difference in the community and strike for peace in our community… " (Si, T. 36, DS)

"... look at a way to tell him that he will understand and in your way he sees, ok if I say it like this he will have a much better understanding... " (Hl, T. 11)

"… it is to show it to people so they can change… " (Si, T. 49)

The circulation of the work on Facebook allowed the participants spaces to address sensitive topics such as GBV even when they might have been shy. This sharing, participating, and engaging in a space out there puts distance between a participant and the issue of GBV and reduces to some extent, the fear of expressing ideas, while it enables spaces to reach the local and global community.

"Oh it's good, it's been impressive, Facebook, to chat ... you don't see me, I don't see you, but we're are still chatting… " (Mf, T. 13)

"... it is easy when it is on the laptop and when you are making it you are talking to people, you'll be shy if you [talk face-to-face] ... " (Si, T. 41).

"… for me just to be able not to see myself … but hear myself…I would like to hear myself, it's quite private I think and I want to try new things like private things… " (Hl, T. 26 – reflecting on making a sound recording).

In essence Facebook is a digital archive where all circulated material whether it be digital drawings, digital stories, remixes, or any other expression, becomes a lasting artefact. For further use in research for social change, Facebook is a rich collection of digital material. The material is constantly created in a particular space and time, deliberately for a specific audience, to be used, shared, and enjoyed, with spaces for commentary or input (Mitchell, 2011) and what Jenkins refers to as a circulation of culture (2008). Active engagement with the material is a way of getting into the inner

world of the community over a period of time (Mitchell, 2011) and what Jenkins (2008) refers to as implicit participation through data mining. Facebook is an example of a Web 2.0 technology and according to Huvila (2008) it will, as a digital archive, allow for greater participation, a diversity of viewpoints, arguments, counter arguments, and ultimately transparency. This is because the technology involved allows participants to use Facebook as an archival record (of material) with metadata (participant comments) stored as a conversation and an arena for engagement and participation, as well as a representation of reality at a certain point in time.

6.2.3.2.2 Reflection as tool to shift power

The participants' reflections on their work on Facebook opened up the possibility for looking at themselves and their work, and strengthening their own sense of empowerment. The reflections enabled them to realise the value of Facebook as a tool in their own hands and a platform that can be a communicative, visual, and easily accessible to talk about GBV in their community. They also noted the level of participation it evoked and the enjoyment they all experienced in learning new skills and knowledge. This process boosted their self-confidence with the participants no longer feeling ignorant, but informed and able to speak up. Considering that they live in a rural area and that the digital divide is a reality, this work and peer engagement was an empowering experience. The participants and the peers they worked with had an opportunity to make their voices heard on Facebook, which made them feel proud, confident, worthy; emerging digital natives and agents of change. Thus the participants, often marginalised, were in charge of articulating ways to solve their own problems.

The participants came to see Facebook as a useful tool to help generate a solution to GBV and also to circulate the solution to others so that this harmful social problem can be addressed together:

> *"The Facebook can help… " (Reflection on Th, Ds); (Hl, DS); (Si, DS)*
>
> *"Facebook can help by putting the movie and talking to people… " (Reflection on Th, DS)*
>
> *"… it [Facebook] would work because it is the easiest way to spread to others… " (Reflection on Ma, DS)*

The participants' reflections indicate their intent of using their digital stories on social media for social action. They felt that establishing connections with people (from anywhere both locally and globally) on social media, makes it easier to communicate messages of activism. They experienced the power of sharing their digital stories through simply talking about social problems. This highlights the participants' empowerment and agency acquired through using newly acquired skills to address GBV:

> *"I can invite he or her on Facebook so that he or she can look what I have done, the story about bullying the drawings, and maybe he or she can get a message … " (Ma, T. 38, DS)*
>
> *"… [digital stories] I can e-mail it; I can put it on Facebook, twitter, internet … I can send messages and put the movie [digital story] to internet … call up a meeting and show them my movie and I can tell principal that I want the learners to watch the movie… " (Si, T. 36, DS)*
>
> *"I think that it is easy to tell people … but easier to make or get my friends to make a movie [digital story] … and put it on Facebook. Then Invite people tell them to look at the movie. I will invite people to register on Facebook and like them by making friends with them and then tell them about my movie [digital story]…" (Hl, T. 34, DS)*
>
> *"I will invite people in my community or anywhere in the world by going on Facebook. I will get the community members on Facebook by finding people who have Facebook in [my] community and show them my movie and tell them to show others… " (Hl, T. 34, DS)*

Participatory reflection (reflecting on the research process, sharing reflections with the group, and reflecting on reflections (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995)) deepened their understanding of the complexities of GBV and how to resolve it at community level. The Facebook work resulted in a constant flow of critical reflection through questions and answers which created spaces for deeper thinking. This form of critical engagement allowed the participants and peers to realise their own agency through discovering their capabilities. They wanted their voices - stories and solutions - to be heard, read, and seen by their fellow community members. Such participatory work on Facebook breaks hierarchical barriers as there is space for respect and equality between online and possible real-world community members.

Their reflections revealed what they saw as the power of action through collective participation:

> *"… we can just teach them and address this thing and address the solutions of the gender-based violence so that they can all understand that gender-based violence is not something that … cannot be solved… " (Th, T. 74).*
>
> *"… you learn something from another person that even you have to concentrate … putting the answer in words … look at away to tell him that he will understand and in your way he see, ok if I say it like this he will have a much better understanding… " (Hl, T. 11)*
>
> *"We are working, we are a group of people who work together in order to get a solution from this gender-based violence… " (Th, T. 8).*

The participants also came to reflect on their own agency and indicated that they have the confidence to voice their messages to help victims. They specified that their new skills enable them to support victims which can be empowering in finding answers which provide hope.

> *"… and also … tell them the hardship and the pain of the victims … get to their emotional level and explain to them how, what kind of pain and misery those of rape go through and maybe then can come again to actually stop… " (Peer Hl, T. 94)*
>
> *"… I think every single type of GBV that I have learnt I have taken that into my own knowledge now I know that even if somebody is intimidating I can tell them, 'hey you are doing serious thing that can cause the biggest problem that you never know that if you hit someone, intimidate someone, he or she can suffer gender abuse because of you!' that is something that I will take home with me…" (Hl, T. 102)*
>
> *"This is that makes me happy, because there is something that I don't know, but I will know… " (Ma, T. 14).*

Foucault (1980) foresaw the possible power shifts through social relationships accompanied with participatory action from marginalised community members which Gaventa and Cornwall (2006) also believe can reconfigure power relations and enhance agency. As Shai and Sikweyiya note:

> A participatory approach allows participants to engage in critical reflection and dialogue about their own experiences, ideas and beliefs, as well as those of others in

> their communities. This approach facilitates personal transformation and integration of new knowledge and skills into their daily lives and their identities (2015, p. 38).

Participating is a form of "capacity-communication-power" (Deacon, 2005, p. 73). Mitchell et al. (2010) believe the goal of social action is to reach an audience through multiple social tools. Participation with self-made digital productions on Facebook allowed the participants' to develop self-directed ownership, engagement, self-confidence, and empowerment (Buckingham, 2010). This highlights the dynamics of power shifting in a participatory project, which Jenkins (2008) and Jenkins and Carpentier (2013) refer to as a democracy in user-generated content.

People participating in power sharing through community collaboration is part of democratic citizenship (Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013). It is a democratic form of power sharing as it incorporates diversity or a range of perspectives and can provide power to those who have previously been excluded from power (Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013). Buckingham (2009) suggests that youth are rarely seen as political agents or are invited to engage in community problem-solving; they are excluded from participation towards change on individual and community levels, but he adds that (2013):

> Young people are often seen to be in the vanguard of a new form of politics, facilitated and promoted through the use of these new digital tools and services – and for some, this will help to overcome the democratic deficit of modern societies (p. 11).

Activism through social media serves as a platform for community learning through civic engagement and political participation, channelling participation towards social change. Jenkins (2012) also points out the cultural accuracy of group messages which collectively represent issues of concern and can be passed on to many to educate and inspire action in response to community problems. Importantly Jenkins (2012) iterates that new media provide spaces which take young people seriously as political agents of change and can mobilise and encourage them to link power and action.

Participatory democracy through digital media leads to connected learning and the participation process leads to a power shift, a process Jenkins (2008) calls convergence culture. In this convergence culture there is space for sustained and critical reflection due to the participatory possibilities and shared engagement which allows for collective and individual agency, which according to Hay and Couldry

(2011) is empowering. Jenkins (2012) believes that participation in popular media such as Facebook makes activism easier and less intimidating through fun and accessible ways to take action. Empowerment is acquired through the skills obtained to create digital productions and through the methods of disseminating or circulating the material. Thus it is through the process of production, participation, and engagement that participants become agents of social change.

Buckingham (2010) points out that cyber-youth create digital narratives (when they have digital literacy) which encourage reflection, elevates their confidence levels, and empowers them as agents of social change. Facebook is seen as a catalyst which concentrates reflection on GBV, and provides spaces for engagement around sensitive topics without intimidation (Jenkins et al., 2006). Facebook allows for marginalised community members not only to participate but also to reflect on harmful social norms (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). It is through the process of participation and reflection that a power shift takes place as marginalised community members have a safe space to voice their experiences, ideas, and ideals in an online community aimed at social change (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2006). Through a process of continuous participation and reflection, the membership in an online community also creates spaces for sustainable capacity building for the wellbeing of everyone in the community (Van der Riet & Boettinger, 2013). This reflection means people are enabled to provide answers/solutions to the social problems within their own communities, in this instance GBV.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The three themes discussed in this chapter were derived from the three phases of the data generation. The themes explored the three secondary research questions, which collectively answer the main question, namely ‘How might rural school youth engage peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community?’ The findings highlight the potential of youth to use social media as a tool for intervention amongst themselves and within a community. Their understanding of GBV revealed insider knowledge of what happens in their community, and their solutions pointed to the importance of everyone breaking the silence about GBV. The study shows that youth can engage their peers through the use of social media in a participatory cultures framework and

shift power to contribute to addressing GBV in their community thereby facilitating their agency for possible social change.

In the next chapter I draw the thesis to a close by offering a synthesis of the study and the contribution it made in response to the research question.

CHAPTER 7

SYNTHESIS, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study set out to explore how rural school youth might engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community. The study is qualitative in nature, located in a critical paradigm, and uses visual participatory research as methodology, with digital storytelling as the key method of data generation. Using participatory cultures as theoretical framework enabled me, the researcher, to make meaning of the findings. This final chapter focuses on drawing the study to a close by offering a synthesis of the findings in response to the three secondary research questions, which collectively answer the primary research question. The chapter offers conclusions and implications of the findings. Doctoral work aims to make a knowledge contribution to the field, and in this chapter I put forward a theoretical contribution towards explaining how rural school youth engage their peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to address GBV in their community, as well as a methodological contribution on the use of social media in visual participatory research which enables youth agency. The chapter concludes with limitations of the study as well as recommendations for further research.

7.2 SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section I synthesise the findings in response to each secondary research question which collectively answer the primary research question.

Each secondary research question, is taken up as a theme, the three themes being: rural school youth's understanding of GBV as a complex problem, rural school youth competently applying social media to address GBV, and rural school youth engaging peers through social media to shift power and become agents of change. For each theme I first offer a brief synthesis of the findings, and then draw a conclusion from which I put forward relevant implications for the rural school youth, the school, and the rural community.

7.2.1 Theme 1: Rural school youth's understanding of GBV as a complex problem

The rural school youth's understanding of GBV is presented in terms of a dilemma for boys, girls, and the community.

7.2.1.1 The effects of GBV, the dilemma boys face

Schools which should be safe learning spaces are often spaces where violence is perpetrated showing up power imbalances; vertically between teachers and learners, and horizontally between learners and learners. In their understanding of GBV the participants saw corporal punishment and bullying as a form of GBV that is experienced mostly by boys. Although the use of corporal punishment has been abolished it is raised as a problem for boys in their rural school. The participants indicated that teachers know it is illegal yet use corporal punishment - often incommensurate with the wrongdoing - which is not only painful but also humiliating. While corporal punishment is acknowledged as causing harm to the person it also decreases the possibility of a conducive learning environment.

What is important though is its link to aggressive behaviour, such as bullying. This includes bullying where older and stronger boys bully younger and weaker boys for having money, for being clever and responsive in class - and threatening to harm (even kill) if the victim discloses the bullying. The participants seem unaware of the link between corporal punishment and bullying and the formation and performance of violent masculinities. The participants did not disclose anything about boys being on the receiving end of sexual violence, as they seem to be of the opinion that boys are the perpetrators. The silence linked to the stigma of men being sexually violated can also cause great suffering and can possibly account for some omissions of the violations experienced in GBV. According to the participants, GBV, in particular sexual violence, is experienced by women and girls at the hands of men.

7.2.1.2 The effects of GBV, the dilemma girls face

At home, school, or in the community girls should be safe from harm including sexual violation. It would appear, however, that for these participants power over women and girls manifests through sexual violence. In their understanding of GBV the participants immediately pointed to the sexual violence experienced by girls. The school girls fear rape: from an intimate partner, from a peer, from a family member, and from strangers in the street. It was also pointed out that girls are subjected to

male revenge violence when they reject male attention, affections, and sexual propositions, compelling them to give in to unwanted advances because they are scared. Children are vulnerable to GBV when orphaned or with changing family dynamics, with girls being subjected to sexual abuse, even incest, and therefore possible HIV infection. The participants interestingly also referred to cultural values that exacerbate abuse, such as the respect children need to give adults and older people in the community, which could create opportunities for abuse by adults. In a rural community, structured along the lines of patriarchy, male dominance is often performed through violent masculinities and vulnerable femininities.

7.2.1.3 The effects of GBV, the dilemma in the community

GBV in rural communities seems to be exacerbated by social issues and harmful social norms. The rural school children acknowledged the influence of social problems such as drinking, drug use, and gangs, as well as harmful societal beliefs, as contextual factors that exacerbate GBV. They highlighted the possibility of youth being involved in prevailing social issues in the community and subscribing to harmful social norms because of poor role models, unless interventions are made. The participants pointed out that the whole community lives in fear and is vulnerable to violence, in this instance GBV.

While the community was painted as being held ransom to violence, community members themselves were complicit in a different kind of violence, namely discriminating against LGBTs. It seems that these rural school youth ascribe homophobic views to a rejection of homosexuality by the ancestors, pointing out that older community members are more likely to reject a person for being homosexual, while younger people are more inclusive and accepting. Sensitivity towards the harm done when homosexual people try to deny their sexuality in trying to conform to community norms, shows that some thought has been given to the problem.

These three sub-themes led me to conclude that rural school children understand GBV in terms of what it means for boys, what it means for girls, and how it plays out in the community context. I conclude that GBV affects girls and boys differently and produces an unconducive learning environment as well as gateways for further intimidation and possible violence in the community. GBV happens in a community context where social issues and harmful social norms create fertile ground for GBV. It would seem that in a patriarchal society – where inequalities and imbalances of

power exist – the violent masculinities and vulnerable femininities make it challenging to eradicate GBV. From the findings it is clear that youth are indeed experts of their own lives and have first-hand knowledge of the social realities in their communities. The social norms and practices which are harmful and contribute to disrupted social ecologies can however change when rural school youth's understanding of the complexities thereof is encouraged and deepened, enabling them to take action.

7.2.2 Theme 2: Rural school youth competently applying social media to address GBV

The rural school youth gained new digital literacy skills through using social media, which created a space for taking action, and enabled them to approach problem-solving around GBV in a collaborative way.

7.2.2.1 Gaining new digital literacy skills

The participants enthusiastically set about mastering new digital literacy skills – which for many meant a first engagement with digital hardware, software, and social media. Through producing digital expressions of their lived realities they acquired digital literacy skills for participation and engagement, simultaneously reflecting on GBV and deepening their understanding thereof. Through a process of convergence, the participants could express themselves in a dynamic and interactive way. Learning to produce digital drawings created with clear intentions, served the purpose of highlighting GBV issues which needed to be addressed. The drawings were seen as a stimulus for more discussions about GBV. Learning to use the digital archive and exploring the material in the archive opened up opportunities for a localised or contextualised understanding of GBV as expressed by some community members. This engagement with the archive also extended their understanding of the power of visual media as they downloaded relevant photographs to use in their digital stories. The depth and breadth of GBV that the archive material provided was helpful in looking into their community, but also looking at what they as members of the community could change. The third digital literacy skill they learnt was to create a digital story which would allow them to express their understandings of GBV, as well as their solutions to the identified problem, and to use it on Facebook as a tool to open up dialogue. Through the skills of remixing, re-producing, and creating the digital stories, the participants could reflect on, revise, and represent their own understanding of GBV and contribute their insights, meanings, and solutions.

7.2.2.2 Generating space for taking action

Seeing how it all works meant grappling with technology (and simultaneously with GBV information) and communicating their stories via social media, creating a space for taking action. Participation in an online community provides a level of engagement that is conducive for taking action; a free flow of communication allowing thinking, reading, and responding which means all members have equal opportunities to participate in taking action. Digital participation provides opportunities for informal learning through acquiring digital skillsets, and applying these to solve problems and utilising the digital environment to engage and learn from one another. The participants freely communicated around the sensitive issue of GBV and were able to remember important aspects of each other's productions, highlighting the power of visual media. The engagement on Facebook possibly enabled consolidation, extension, and reflection of their knowledge. This process points towards the space for contribution, as the space on Facebook could enable social connections for the participants who have participated as knowledgeable social actors for community change. The digital environment thus served as a space to take action through a collective contribution to collaborative problem-solving.

7.2.2.3 Collaborative problem-solving

The participants saw that they as individuals could make a difference, but that there is more power if they address GBV collectively. They indicated that all community members should participate for the sake of their own safety and for the wellbeing of the community. The participants are aware of the existence of community support figures, namely the police, social workers, teachers, the principal, councillors, and other authority figures. They however felt that the school was the most meaningful place in which to involve other youth, educators, the principal, and community members such as parents. The participants saw the need for collective agency through community meetings as part of the solution to GBV. Their suggestion that community meetings could be held via an affiliated Facebook platform was an internalisation that community involvement can be extended to include members who are not only affiliated but have the same goals or aspirations about making contributions to addressing GBV. The participants came to understand that Facebook as social medium connects the community and that everyone could have the opportunity to share their views, feelings, thoughts, and expressions online. For

them it was clear that social change is possible through joint effort to change harmful attitudes which fuel GBV.

For effective change to happen they indicated that the whole community should also display collective disapproval of GBV. They indicated that by watching, participating, or engaging with the visual material they had created and published on Facebook, many community members might be reached and might become more informed to make social change happen. In a rural area access to the internet and to Facebook is limited (although Facebook might be accessed through using a cellphone) and is clearly a stumbling block in the way. They desired engagement to solve social problems and wanted their visual work to be viewed – both online and offline - and engaged with, in order to raise awareness and bring about change in the process of finding solutions to GBV.

These three sub-themes led me to conclude that the rural school youth, although said to be beyond the digital divide, made the connection between the use of social media as a communication platform and the need to address GBV in the community as a collective. Although they were frustrated at times and considering their different levels of digital literacy, they worked enthusiastically and in a short space of time made significant progress, attempting complex new digital literacy skills. This showed that they have the potential to engage and learn from one another through digital exposure. The exposure to and acquisition of digital literacy skills can enable them to position themselves as strong, competent actors who could work collaboratively in a safe space to address and solve the problem GBV in the community. Participatory engagement of marginalised community members means taking action through a bottom-up approach and can be seen as an example of democratising research and intervention.

7.2.3 Theme 3: Engaging peers through social media shifts power as participants participate as agents of change

The rural school youth demonstrated agency through designing and facilitating peer engagements. Their participation in contributing to solving a community dilemma highlighted transformative possibilities of shifting power to marginalised community members for participation in social change.

7.2.3.1 Agency through design and facilitation

The participants showed confidence in designing and facilitating a peer engagement session as they shared their knowledge and skills - like teachers - which made them feel important and which seemed to strengthen their sense of agency. This engagement aimed to address GBV through peer learning. Planning and designing a simple but powerful peer engagement session led to the peers and participants gaining new knowledge as they assisted each other and shared their stories, experiences, and solutions through relevant discussion around the visual materials which they uploaded on Facebook. This allowed for trying out and sharing (or circulating) the participants' digital productions with online friends who belong to the online community. The circulated material meant that the peers were prosumers, which means creators and users of the circulated material. This for them triggered the idea that their work – the circulated material – opened up possibilities of being not only beneficiaries of change but also actors of change, and able to make a difference in their local community. From our discussions they came to realise the possibility of extending the online community and using Facebook as a tool for advocacy to encourage the community to speak out against GBV, and also as a tool to raise awareness of the harm GBV does to individuals as well as the whole community.

7.2.3.2 Seeing transformative possibilities

This engaging, sharing, and participating happened through circulating their visual material, engaging with it, and then reflecting on the process. The engagement with the visual work on Facebook put distance between the participants and the issue of GBV and reduced, to some extent, the fear of expressing ideas about a sensitive topic. The reflection enabled them to realise the value of Facebook as a tool in their own hands and as a platform that can be an easily accessible communication tool to talk about GBV in their community. They also noted the levels of participation it evoked and the enjoyment they all experienced in the process which seemed to boost their sense of agency. They indicated that they no longer felt ignorant, but informed and able to speak up.

Considering that the participants live in a rural area and that the digital divide is a reality, this work and form of peer engagement seemed to point towards an empowering experience for the participants. They and the peers they engaged had an opportunity to make their voices heard on Facebook which made them feel

worthy –emerging digital natives – and agents of change. Thus the participants, often marginalised, were in charge of articulating ways to solve their problems. The process of critical reflection pointed towards their intentions of using their digital stories on social media for social action, and for creating spaces for deeper and collective thinking. They saw that connecting with people on social media could make it easier to communicate messages of activism. On Facebook their productions become lasting artefacts which can be circulated at any time and for different purposes. The participants considered the power of sharing their digital stories, as against simply talking about social problems. This highlights their capabilities of empowerment and agency to address social problems.

The two sub-themes led me to conclude that given rural youth's capability of designing and implementing strategies to positively influence their peers, their participation in youth cultures seems plausible. Participatory cultures can possibly strengthen an exchange of knowledge, further skills development or be tools in co-learning with their peers which in itself can be an empowering process. Enabling access to an online space to engage peers around a difficult and sensitive topic opens up opportunities for looking differently at taking action to address GBV, and also for seeing the transformative potential of reflecting with the community in a way that shifts power to the youth and the community. Such participatory work breaks down hierarchical barriers as there is space for respect and equality between online and possible real-world community members.

In answering the main research question, I conclude that participatory cultures enable rural school youth to explore GBV, along with their peers, and that their expressions allow them to break the silence which in itself is agentic and can bring about possible social change.

7.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

In this section I offer implications - drawn from the findings - for rural school youth, the school and the community, bearing in mind participatory cultures as framework.

7.3.1 For rural school youth

It is evident that in a society where violence is rife, GBV manifests as a complex problem reinforced by inequalities and uneven power distribution, and clearly that it affects youth. Understanding the construction of gender as fluid and as being able to

be transformed, requires strategies to sensitise people to harmful social norms. This could contribute to changing harmful gender norms and shifting power inequalities (Morrell, 2001). Reconstructing harmful gender norms can be attained if there is a commitment by all, including youth, to eradicating what the participants believe are violent masculinities and vulnerable femininities, whether encountered at home or in school with a ripple effect into the broader community.

Youth, as we have seen, are knowledgeable about their lived realities, and when they are in a space where they can explore issues pertaining to gender and GBV, they are capable of being agents of change. It is therefore important to engage them on issues of gender and GBV and to enable them to make sound choices about their own safety, and to make their voices heard to bring about change in their community. This could happen face-to-face, online, or via media engagement, but it has to be participatory and in line with youth cultures.

To enable this to happen youth could draw on their digital literacy skills which might need be developed or strengthened, in order to participate in digital spaces such as social media platforms, which the study has shown to be valuable in addressing social ills such as GBV. The skills they acquire at school are not always sufficient to prepare them for the digital world. Therefore youth should be encouraged to take up the opportunities offered in projects such as this one to acquire the necessary skills to prepare them for careers in a digital age. This underscores the point that formal education needs to integrate digital literacy in the classroom and focus on digital skill sets (technical, cognitive, and social skills) that enable problem-solving efficiently to prepare youth for the future.

Youth can be supportive networks for each other and in rural areas where distances are vast the use of social media can enable critical spaces of learning. Through participation they can enable knowledge production about what is known or experienced by rural school youth. They could provide information to inform relevant and contextual policies, whether in schools or in the wider community.

7.3.2 Implications for the school

School, positioned as a site of violence by the participants, but also a site where GBV can be addressed - is a space where learners spend a large portion of their time and where identity formation takes place. It is a space in which to consider how gentler masculinities could be shaped. Although the Department of Education (2004)

provides policy and guidelines for codes of conduct and discipline at schools, it is imperative that the youth are involved in creating policies and guidelines to collaboratively create and negotiate frameworks of conduct that work for their particular contexts. In this way schools can be more than teaching institutions; they can be safe places where learners – both boys and girls - develop holistically.

Schools also need to ensure that they have clear policies and guidelines on gender-based violence, committees who oversee the implementation of the policies, the necessary support structures, and regular programmes to raise awareness and sensitise all stakeholders in school. It is necessary to ensure youths' full participation in this regard and to make their voices heard.

Educators who implement the policies and guidelines should be exposed to participatory in-service professional development - enabling them to deepen their understanding of discipline and the link with GBV. The in-service professional development should include alternative discipline strategies which focus on the holistic development of each child in the school, and should focus on safety, well-being, and gender issues. The Department of Basic Education and the school management team should take responsibility in this regard, but also engage the youth. Pre-service educators should be exposed to the relevant policy landscape, in particular pertaining to codes of conduct, discipline, and gender-based violence. South African higher education institutions should therefore ensure that their programmes engage pre-service teachers with these issues. Gender work also does not seem to be integrated in most undergraduate teacher education programmes, despite the fact that it is of great importance.

At school the life orientation curriculum provides space for educators to teach about self and sexuality and this should be done in a participatory and supportive way. Opportunities to engage with issues of self-love, self-respect, self-esteem, and self-confidence can help youth make more positive life choices and can help with the acceptance of others. The life orientation curriculum can include participatory methods that can build skills, knowledge, and collaboration around addressing harmful social behaviours. Addressing GBV is however not only the life orientation teacher's concern, but every teacher's concern. Innovative reflective and participatory programmes such as *Soul City* and *Stepping Stones* which focus on the

development of life skills for participants to identify risky behaviour and finding ways to address them, could be implemented in school.

Considering the encompassing possibilities of digital participation, digital literacy should not be an isolated subject, but could be integrated into the whole curriculum. However, in order to accomplish this, learners need the devices that will allow digital engagement. The Department of Education's recent "Wired for Life" initiative towards integrated application of digital technology in the classroom, where over 300 schools in Gauteng received tablets for their matric students in the quest for paperless classrooms (Bendile, 2015), is a move in the right direction. Tablets are relatively inexpensive portable devices that can wirelessly connect to the internet and can easily move with learners from one classroom to another and can be used to read e-books, search for information, send and receive e-mails, and can connect with social media. Learners could use it to organise and store important information, Skype, and view digital productions such as digital stories. Although the potential of this initiative is abundant, I anticipate many and varied challenges when introducing First World technology into classrooms, especially in rural settings.

Digital competencies can be developed from a young age through creating spaces for participation using social media at school or at home. School has always been an institution to filter, manage, and disseminate new information. Digital literacy in classrooms could move beyond access and skills development to incorporate participatory cultures through using social media in a re-mix culture. It could also address media ethics to ensure appropriate and safe use of social media. This however, requires a systematic approach from the Department of Education, ensuring the educators have the necessary expertise to implement digital literacy.

Participatory cultures could be introduced across the curriculum in varying ways and in increments. Teaching dynamics can indeed shift power to the learners as they apply digital skills in order to solve real-world problems in the classroom with the teacher as facilitator. In this way sensitive social issues can be discussed in new and perhaps less intimidating ways - implementing new forms of sex education. Youth are often silenced at home and even at school; however acquiring digital literacy knowledge and skills accompanied with participation in participatory cultures, their silence can not only be broken, but their voices can possibly filter throughout to the entire community.

At school appropriate forms of new media can be initiated, constructed, facilitated, guided, and managed by youth for youth with the aim of addressing important issues in their lives. Transparency in their agency could be achieved through the inclusion of school members such as educators, family members such as parents, and siblings in their efforts. Youth deviancy needs to be less of a concern; instead positive use of digital and social media could encourage ongoing community collaboration through online spaces.

A shift in power towards agency was indicated through a process of critical reflection of their own experiences and beliefs, as well as those of their peers. The fact that youth can reflect on their social realities, offer ideas, make decisions, and reflect on solutions to community problems implies that as researchers and in schools we need look at reflective participation and youth culture in its various forms as an entry point to engaging youth appropriately.

The findings imply that in order to address the disruption of social ecology, the social media ecology of an online community can indeed benefit local communities through youth participation in community interventions and participatory sustainable capacity-building through power sharing. Youth participation implies taking and sharing responsibilities, being included, expressing views, listening, and working together in a reflective process for a solution or a course of action as knowledgeable agents of change. These characteristics can be invaluable in critical research with youth in school or larger communities aimed at social change, and could be utilised by research institutions as well as research projects from relevant government departments and non-government organisations.

7.3.3 Implications for the community

While the work done in and out of school is important, it has to be complemented within the ecology of the rural community. It is necessary that community structures are all on board to prioritise the safety of youth – both boys and girls - and to encourage communication around gender issues with the aim of eradicating GBV through teaching, awareness raising, and social support strategies. Communication on various social levels can disrupt inappropriate behaviour and create a culture of zero tolerance.

A rural community is headed up by an inkosi (chief) and it is therefore necessary that he leads or supports any initiative to address GBV, ensuring that it takes into

consideration and works within the parameters of the culture of the local people. It is important to engage all community members in efforts to re-construct harmful practices. This implies interrogating cultural norms of masculinity and femininity and the consequences of harmful social practices. A cultural change needs to be a collective negotiated effort and can start with the individual in the family, the school, and the community. Countering a top-down approach should be a bottom-up approach led by community members, including youth, ensuring that all initiatives are culturally sensitive.

As alluded to above, all structures in the community, such as health workers and nurses at the clinic, social workers, and the police should be as engaged as the school in working towards optimal social development. In this particular community a 'one stop centre' has been brought into existence to integrate various programmes and stakeholders to address the same issues. Teachers (such as Life Orientation teachers), peer educators, health workers, and non-government organisations can initiate community programmes that move beyond raising awareness of GBV, to collaboratively finding solutions.

Youth need to be enabled to be digitally competent in a digital world. The youth of this study - although on the other side of the digital divide – enthusiastically and competently acquired digital literacy skills and used them to their advantage. Youth engagement with digital literacies and participation on social media can be used in school and then introduced to community members by the learners through an invitation process. In this way youth can contribute to new media through their expressions which can be shared and which can enable collaboration with others outside the school for the benefit of the community. This implies that new media and participatory cultures could reach community members who too can participate through a shared platform and be participants for social change. This form of digital democracy suggests a pedagogy of participation that allows new spaces of engagement and a power shift as all community members can equally participate. I do however, acknowledge the great diversity of technological competencies and epistemological access that exists (Holderness, 2006).

In this study the participants engaged in a collaborative process of knowledge sharing with their peers which implies that social learning can be enabled through peer engagement. Peers have often been noted as exerting both negative and

positive influences on each other. It is the power of positive influence which needs to be harnessed – to influence changes in self, in school, and in the community. Considering the fact that this study highlighted the possibility for peers to take action and engage around sensitive topics on social media, given favourable conditions, youth could be encouraged to take charge of the process. The process implies a possible power shift and participatory action from marginalised community members towards agency as they involve the whole community. However they need the support and interest of all community members to support, assist and participate with them in critical spaces which are of value to youth.

Mitchell, De Lange and Moletsane's (2014) research on using cell phones to make *cellphilms* in order participate with community members is an excellent example of educating communities on accessing new media and projects. Such projects as these can be incorporated into programmes aimed at social development including both youth and older community members. Once community members receive training on utilising their cell phones for social change they can teach each other at home, at work, or in other community structures, and I once again highlight the process of ongoing peer learning and possible agency through this from of participatory engagement.

7.4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

In Chapter 1 I pointed out that there is very little research on rural youth-led intervention programmes drawing on peer engagement and participation through youth culture, in particular using social media in a participatory cultures framework. New media spaces are often presented as deviant; however in this study it positively enabled rural youth to explore intervening in and breaking the silence in order to address GBV. This study therefore made a contribution to knowledge in the area of youth participation in youth-led 'research as intervention' to address GBV, trying out how rural school youth might engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their rural community.

The fact that South Africa is not only plagued by the HIV and AIDS epidemic, but also has alarmingly high prevalence rates of GBV which clearly affects youth, provided the impetus for this study. The study iterates that GBV is not only an individual dilemma, but a complex community dilemma with a pattern of male domination and female vulnerability underscored by a body of available knowledge.

This indicates that GBV is experienced unequally and affects mostly rural women and girls, specifically young girls between the ages of 15 and 24 in sub-Saharan Africa (WHO, 2013a). While much is known about the complexities of GBV, less is known about interventions, and even less about interventions led by youth, especially rural youth (Mitchell & De Lange, 2015). I therefore wanted to understand GBV from the perspectives of rural school youth and also how they saw themselves addressing GBV.

Working with rural youth, particularly around a sensitive topic such as GBV, required that I consider the methodology carefully to ensure that I used methods which would enable their optimal participation. I had previously used visual participatory methods and therefore understood how they worked. I was aware of the fact that we live in a digital society and that abundant access to digital technologies (Buckingham, 2010) position youth as having a natural inclination towards digital media, which they mostly access through social media on their cellular phones. Mitchell and De Lange (2013) had successfully used digital technologies in this underserved community in an attempt to address harmful social practices. Informed by their successes I tried out using social media, in a participatory cultures framework to explore addressing the issue of GBV in the community using youth participatory cultures.

Using digital storytelling enabled the production of personalised stories in which the participants gave new meaning to their lived realities. To them the ecologies of GBV were gendered since GBV affected different participants differently in the home, the school, and in the community. The stories the boys told of corporal punishment at the hands of teachers and bullying at the hands of other boys, present real and lived hardships that could possibly promote violent masculinities and the perpetuation of GBV into adulthood. The stories the girls told of GBV show a pervasive fearfulness; fear of rape from an intimate partner, a peer, a family member, or from strangers in the street, as well as sexual abuse when orphaned. The rural context in which the school youth find themselves seemed to be infused with social challenges such as gangs, drug and alcohol use, and harmful or prejudicial community beliefs. Although their stories might not necessarily provide new insights into GBV, the methodology of engaging the rural school youth in expressing their understanding as well as finding solutions to these problems, elicited stories from within the community and is seen as central to the contribution of a youth-led intervention to address GBV.

These stories drawing on youth voices articulate the ways in which they understand GBV and how they think GBV should be addressed. Youth - often marginalised and not consulted – thus positioned themselves as knowledge producers around finding ways to intervene in GBV, which seemed to have become normalised in society. Highlighted in this study is the process of co-producing knowledge using digital spaces and new media - including myself the researcher, the participants, and their peers - through a process of peer engagement which seems vital in the steps towards sustainable community capacity-building. Agency seemed to have been enabled through various degrees of participation throughout the study, drawing on youth cultures. A significant contribution is made towards the body of knowledge of rural school youth using digital media in addressing GBV in their rural community.

Kommers (2011) suggests that rural schools in particular, in their ICT work, should focus on a social problem and then use participatory youth culture to address it, as a feasible way of enabling community change. Kommers (2011, p. 5) puts it that "cent[ering] the education in rural schools and arranging their curricula around urgent community topics" could prepare youth to contribute to addressing community issues. The peer engagement process, starting with this small group of youth, shows potential for it to filter back into the community, and through an informal learning process young and old can contribute to begin changing GBV in their community.

The chosen visual participatory research methodology and process was critical to the success of using participatory cultures to explore GBV and engage participants and peers through social media to address the problem. I therefore argue that the power of visual participatory methodology could mobilise youth and enable social change that can contribute to preventing social ills such as GBV through new channels of communication using participatory cultures. This I suggest is research as intervention of the future, as it engages youth on a whole new level. This study thus contributes to creating new research infrastructures for the 21st century, where the research in itself contributes to agency and social change.

The visual participatory research methodology provided the participants with an opportunity to express their ideas in a visual and inclusive manner, and provided a way for them to take action. This youth-led, from-the-ground-up approach (UNESCO, 2014) is seen as a way to contribute to building aware and strengthened

communities. The process contributes to equity and breaks down the power barriers usually associated with research. I argue that it is through the process of participation in digital spaces that a power shift can take place. Through participation in participatory cultures youth can gain new knowledge and digital skills as well as contribute to community development by taking responsibility for their actions and equipping themselves for their future roles in society (UNICEF, 2014).

In bringing the theoretical and methodological contribution together, I return to Jenkins et al.'s (2012) 'participatory culture community practices' (see Figure 3.11) and 'participatory culture transforming community practices' (see Figure 7.1). The affiliation on social media enabled a space to build a small community to share stories of GBV. This was possible through their self-made and remixed media and digital stories as informed expressions of the youth. This allowed sharing and learning from one another through circulating their digital productions within the group and ultimately beyond the group. This can be seen as a way of collaborative problem-solving in the process of organising and mobilising social change. Participatory cultures can therefore be transformative as they shift the power to marginalised youth who use youth culture to their advantage in addressing

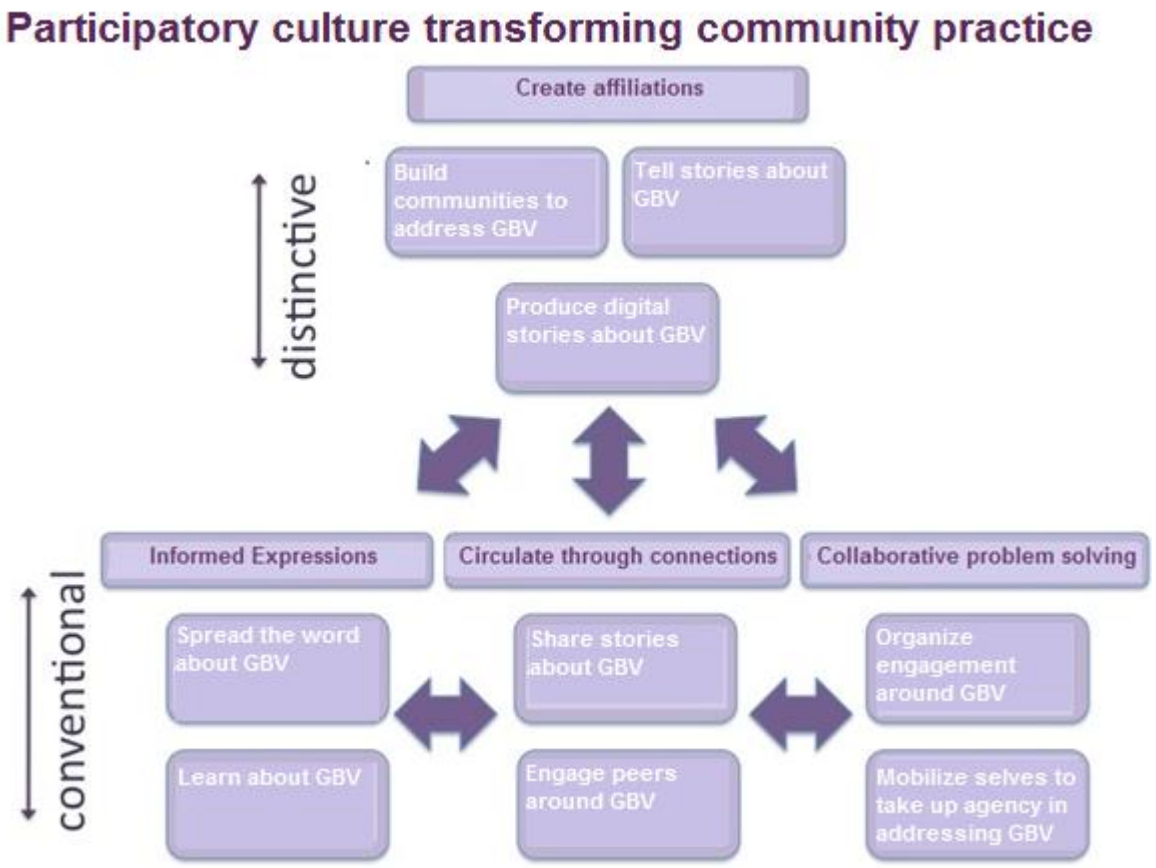


Figure 7.1 Participatory culture transforming community practices (adapted from Jenkins, 2012b, n.p.)

community problems such as GBV.

In answering the question of how rural school youth might engage their peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community, I argue (See Figure 7.1) that youth's participation in community problem-solving can be viewed as a 'participatory culture community practice'. Through their affiliations in new media, youth have the space to build further communities where they can produce and share local and relevant digital stories of GBV. Through informed expressions they can collaboratively engage in a process of circulating their productions to address GBV by mobilising their agency.

Although this was a small study it can be scaled up to work with more youth in solving community problems. For such upscaling one might turn to the potential of cellphone technology, a device readily available and in the hands of youth, also in rural areas, to create, circulate, and work with stories using cellphones. This research also highlights the efficacy of incorporating technology in approaches to teaching and learning through teaching generation Y. Ensuring digital literacy through curriculum integration is therefore argued to be plausible through the participatory culture of this research.

7.5 LIMITATIONS

This qualitative research, located in a critical paradigm and using visual participatory methodology, drew on five participants and five of their peers from the same school in the same rural community (see 1.9 and 5.2). The findings therefore cannot be generalised, but I provided a thick description of the context, the research design and methodology, and the findings, so that other researchers might consider how the findings are applicable to their own contexts and research.

Considering that this study is positioned in a critical paradigm, focused on research as social change through the youth's own participation, engagement, reflection, and agency in taking action, I make no grand claim of the study bringing about social change, but rather point out the possibilities thereof, or small 'movement' towards social change, as pointed out by Kumashiro (2015).

The participants – all isiZulu first language speakers - chose to engage and represent their work in English even though they had the opportunity to produce it in isiZulu since they wanted to be understood by everyone including people who cannot

understand isiZulu. While the use of visual participatory methods opened up the possibility to articulate ideas more easily, using English, their second language, could however have caused the loss of some meanings. I too preferred participants to use English as I do not speak isiZulu.

The participants were not compensated for their time and effort. I am cognisant of the idea that compensation can be seen as a form of bribery and could taint results. However, I valued them and their contributions to the study and secured a lovely venue away from school where we could gather and where lunch and abundant refreshments were provided. I also paid for their transport costs from home or school to the venue and back.

While there are several methods for conducting visual participatory research, I used those which were most suited to the research question and which could expose the rural school youth to digital technologies and new media. This form of data generation is time-consuming and costly, considering the need for digital equipment and access to the Internet. In spite of this the methodology used may indeed have had intended as well as unintended positive outcomes for the participating youth. While we (the participants and I) were focused on understanding and addressing GBV and using digital technologies and new media, the engagement, for example, seemed to be fun and added to their sense of self and a feeling of accomplishment.

Sensitivity is required when I as researcher work with youth - particularly around an issue such as GBV. I constantly reflected on my positioning in terms of power, ethnicity and sex during the research process, trying to remain aware of how this might influence the results of the research.

Working with GBV could cause psychological harm and the topic needs to be approached with caution. I was aware of the potential negative emotional responses that may arise during the data generation, and made sure that I was vigilant in my observation of each participant. While I noticed no visible strain and no one came to speak to me when I invited them to do so, I realise that as researcher one can never be too careful in ensuring that the work does no harm (for example, being victimised for speaking out about GBV), but mostly good.

Research ethics committees are usually concerned about the use of visual methods and about participants' anonymity, especially considering in this case, that the digital

work and images were uploaded onto Facebook. I made sure that the Facebook page was restricted only to our (my and the participants' use) and I took extra precautions to ensure that privacy settings were activated.

In their productions the participants spoke of the community's prejudice against homosexuality, but did not speak about their own prejudices, portraying themselves as unprejudiced. This might be an example of participants providing or creating knowledge which they think is appropriate rather than what they truly think. Using several methods, and discussing GBV over several days, encouraged me to view their work as truthful and possibly showing movement in their thinking.

For many participants it was a first time working with digital hardware, software, and social media (as in their deep rural area they seemed to be beyond the digital divide). This could have made them feel incompetent and could have limited the research process. I however believe that the enthusiasm which they showed in using the digital tools and their swift ability to acquire digital literacies point towards their competence to master these skills and it did not take away from the quality of the knowledge produced.

In the rural area - far from good cellular phone signals - there were at times difficulties in accessing internet connections or having a strong enough signal through the mobile wi-fi modem. I however managed to adjust the research process and rotated the use of the wi-fi modem.

I realise the challenge of doing this type of research in a rural context where there is a lack of First World technology. Although this made it difficult to work with more than the one group I did work with, I believe that the work with the one group enabled me to try out an innovative approach with rural school youth and that it could contribute to knowledge production.

7.6 FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the limited literature available about using participatory cultures with youth, it is recommended that further studies be conducted employing other participatory research methods.

As this was a study done with a small number of rural school youth, a study with school youth from different social settings – such as urban or peri-urban - could provide rich data for comparison.

While I used Facebook, other social media such as WhatsApp might provide new insights into using social media for 'research as social change' purposes. While the study focused on GBV, focusing on other related social problems might yield interesting insights.

Research on integrating digital literacy in the South African classroom should be further explored.

Regarding the sensitive topic of sexuality education, research which draws on youth participatory cultures in the Life Orientation curriculum could provide new insight on ways to teach and learn from youth regarding sexuality.

Digital storytelling as participatory visual research method can be further used in participatory cultures for other areas of concern by social science researchers such as vulnerability, stigma, and possibilities for developing resilience.

The participants indicated their desire to share their digital stories with the broader community. This could be tried out within the community to explore the contributions it could make.

It would be meaningful to explore how such small study could be up-scaled using participatory cultures in working with youth in peer education programmes. Furthermore similar research could be undertaken in different settings.

7.7 REFLECTING ON MYSELF THROUGH THE JOURNEY OF MY RESEARCH

From my understanding of the relevant literature it is clear that rural school youth, in particular girls from KwaZulu-Natal (the province in which the participants and I live), are likely to experience GBV. I wanted to engage with rural youth, both boys and girls, to find ways to address GBV, to develop agency, and to actively participate in their own well-being since I believed that this would benchmark a shift in power through various degrees of their participation.

As the researcher in this study I have new appreciation for rural school youth and the input they can have in solving problems. Their participation and engagement with their peers led me to understand that they are indeed knowledgeable and can make

valuable contributions to solving social problems for social change. Working closely with the participants and seeing their deep sense of commitment gave me a sense of empowerment in my own personal struggles with inequality in society. My research provided me with evidence of possibilities for social change making it easier for me to voice my concerns about inequality.

Effecting change is not easy; it is a process that requires time, patience, and often hardship, but is worth the reward. In this study I found myself in uncomfortable spaces where change could take place within me. The journey became more than a mere quest for a degree as it went deep to the core of my belief system and provided me with a sense of agency through this contribution. That which is important in critical research - a shift in power - and uncovering my own power was life changing and renewed my sense of purpose and perhaps even worth. I no longer fear to be confident to speak up and as a once marginalised woman I have the confidence to question deep-seated prejudices. I perceive the world differently and now look at it through a gender lens. I have re-positioned my outlook as a woman refusing to be silenced by cultural or societal norms. Through writing this thesis, I have accomplished a small personal goal of learning to make my voice heard.

7.8 CONCLUSION

This study responded to the question: How might rural school youth engage peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing GBV in their community? In answering the primary research question, three secondary research questions were responded to, namely:

- What are rural school youth's understandings of GBV in their community?
- How might rural school youth use social media within a participatory cultures framework to engage peers in addressing GBV?
- How can rural school youth engage with their peers via social media to facilitate youth agency in a participatory cultures framework?

It became clear that through what De Lange (2012) refers to as research as intervention, and through a process of authentic youth participation, the participants were able to express their lived realities of GBV through storytelling and to engage their peers using social media in a participatory cultures framework. They used their digital productions on Facebook to facilitate a process of addressing GBV with their peers and in their community which reflects youth agency.

The study brings to the fore the voices of rural youth – not often asked to inform or lead interventions – to express what they believe they could do to contribute to address GBV in their rural community. This was a small study with 10 rural secondary school boys and girls, and their lack of access to digital technology in their rural school community did not hinder them from providing rich data and contributions towards addressing GBV. The process appeared to shift power to the marginalised youth and enable them to acquire digital literacies while simultaneously addressing GBV through their local and relevant stories and solutions. Visual participatory research and digital storytelling in particular, through a participatory cultures framework, can be seen as a tool to re-examine youth's role in addressing GBV in the community and to produce new and authentic knowledge to bring about change. The methodology resonated with existing youth culture in finding ways to include youth as marginalised community members for social change. Through their peer engagement they found appropriate ways to engage peer-to-peer, and to transfer knowledge and skills. Such activism through social media can be used for the benefit of all in the ever-expanding media landscape.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

for tomorrow

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Tel . +27 (0)41 504 2125
Fax. +27 (0)41 504 9383

17 October 2012

Prof Mitchell, Prof Moletsane, Prof Myra and Ms Geldenhuys / Prof De Lange
Education Faculty
NMMU

Dear Prof Mitchell, Prof Moletsane, Prof Myra and Ms Geldenhuys / Prof De Lange

'NOT LEAVING DATA IN THE DARK': PARTICIPATORY ARCHIVING AND VISUAL DATA TO ADDRESS HIV AND AIDS

Your above-entitled application for ethics approval was approved by the Faculty Research, Technology and Innovation Committee of Education (ERTIC) meeting on 6 October 2012.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.

The ethics clearance reference number is **H12-EDU-ERE-033**.

We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Ms J Elliott-Gentry

Secretary: ERTIC

Geldenhuys, M.M. Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth engaging peers through social media (PhD title)

APPENDIX B: PERMISSION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION

education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar Tel: 033 341 8610 Ref.:2/4/8/388

Prof Naydene De Lange
Faculty of education
NMMU
P. O. Box 7700
PORT ELIZABETH
6031

Dear Prof De Lange

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct a pilot and research entitled: **NOT LEAVING DATA IN THE DARK: PARTICIPATORY ARCHIVING AND VISUAL DATA TO ADDRESS HIV AND AIDS,** in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews.
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted.
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.
4. Learners, Educators, Schools and Institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research.
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Heads of Institutions where the intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period from 01 April 2013 to 30 April 2015.
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Head of Department. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation.
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s), please contact Mr. Alwar at the contact numbers below.
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report / dissertation / thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Please address it to The Director-Resources Planning, Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.
10. Please note that your research and interviews will be limited to the following schools and institutions in Kwazulu Natal Department of Education.
    1. Gobindlovu Senior Secondary School
    2. Kuhlekonke Senior Secondary School

Nkosinathi S.P. Sishi, PhD
Head of Department: Education
21 May 2013

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
...dedicated to service and performance
beyond the call of duty
POSTAL: Private Bag X 9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa
PHYSICAL: Office G25, 188 Pietermaritz Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201. Tel. 033 3418610 Fax : 033 341 8612
EMAIL ADDRESS: sibusiso.alwar@kzndoe.gov.za; CALL CENTRE: 0860 596 363;
WEBSITE: www.kzneducation.gov.za

APPENDIX C: PRINCIPAL CONSENT FORM

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmmu.ac.za

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

for tomorrow

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth educating peers through social media

School Principal Consent Form

I give consent for you to approach 10 learners in grade 9 to participate in the research:

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth educating peers through social media

Their names are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

I have read the Project Information Statement explaining the purpose of the research project and understand that:

- The role of the school is voluntary
- I may decide to withdraw the school's participation at any time without penalty
- These 10 learners as mentioned above will be invited to participate and that permission will be sought from them and also from their parents.
- Only learners who provide assent and whose parents consent will participate in the project
- All information obtained will be treated in strictest confidence.
- The learners' names will not be used and individual learners will not be identifiable in any written reports about the study.
- The school will not be identifiable in any written reports about the study.
- Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.
- A report of the findings will be made available to the school.
- I may seek further information on the project from Mart-Mari Geldenhuys on 079 319 8703.

_____ _____

Principal Signature

_____ _____

Date School

Please return to: Mart-Mari Geldenhuys (on collection) or P.O. Box 194, Warner Beach, 4140

APPENDIX D: PERMISSION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

health

Department:
Health
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Health Research & Knowledge Management sub-component
10 – 103 Natalia Building, 330 Langalibalele Street
Private Bag x9051
Pietermaritzburg
3200
Tel.: 033 – 3953189
Fax.: 033 – 394 3782
Email.: hrkm@kznhealth.gov.za
www.kznhealth.gov.za

Reference : HRKM 006/13
Enquiries : Mr X Xaba
Tel : 033 – 395 2805

Dear Prof N. de Lange

Subject: Approval of a Research Proposal

1. The research proposal titled **'Not leaving data in the dark: Participatory archiving and visual data to address HIV and AIDS'** was reviewed by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health.

   The proposal is hereby **approved** for research to be undertaken at Makatini clinic with Community Health Workers working in the Vulindlela area.

2. You are requested to take note of the following:
   a. Make the necessary arrangement with the identified facility before commencing with your research project.
   b. Provide an interim progress report and final report (electronic and hard copies) when your research is complete.

3. Your final report must be posted to **HEALTH RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT, 10-102, PRIVATE BAG X9051, PIETERMARITZBURG, 3200** and e-mail an electronic copy to hrkm@kznhealth.gov.za

For any additional information please contact Mr X. Xaba on 033-395 2805.

Yours Sincerely

Dr E Lutge
Chairperson, Health Research Committee
Date: 25/01/2013 .

uMnyango Wezempilo . Departement van Gesondheid

Fighting Disease, Fighting Poverty, Giving Hope

APPENDIX E: THE PARTICIPANT TOOLKIT

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth engaging peers through social media

TOOLKIT

Visual Participatory Research through Participatory Cultures

Research Process:

1. Opening an Email and Facebook account
2. Talking on Facebook
3. Digital drawing
4. Downloading from a digital archive
5. Digital storytelling
6. A peer educator meeting
7. Critical reflection

A study by: Mart-Mari Geldenhuys

VISUAL PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

PARTICIPANT TOOLKIT

INTRODUCTION

Motivation

Visual participatory research allows you to share your ideas and thoughts through fun picture-based representations. As a young person living in Vulindlela your experiences, opinions as well as solutions are important and might provide new ideas on the fight against gender-based violence in the age of AIDS.

Objective

The main research objective is to explore how you might engage your friends using Facebook to contribute in addressing gender-based violence in your community.

There will be three data generation phases focused on:

- Your understanding of gender-based violence in your community.
- Ways in which you might use Facebook to address gender-based violence.
- How you might engage a friend using your digital productions on Facebook.

Why are you here?

I would like your thoughts, ideas and action in a process aimed at changing things that might hurt you and your community. You will be involved in “doing” research.

Bad things might be happening in your community, and you can help your community by sharing your experiences, opinions and ideas in such a way that it might benefit you and your community and develop new knowledge that can be used in further research. As participant you too might learn and grow as part of this research.

You will be expected to do the following:

- Open an email account
- Open a Facebook account

- Make digital drawings using MS Paint
- Make voice recordings on Windows Sound Recorder
- Download photos from a digital museum (archive)
- Download material from the Internet
- Make digital stories using Windows Movie Maker using all of the above
- Publish these digital stories, along with other participants, on Facebook and make comments on each other's work
- Share your own and other participants' work with a friend and ask her or him questions regarding the work
- At the end of it all you will be asked to share your thoughts on the whole process

Please provide me with the following details:

Your name and surname

_____

Your age and gender

_____

POSE FOR A PHOTO: AN INDIVIDUAL PHOTO AS WELL AS A GROUP PHOTO

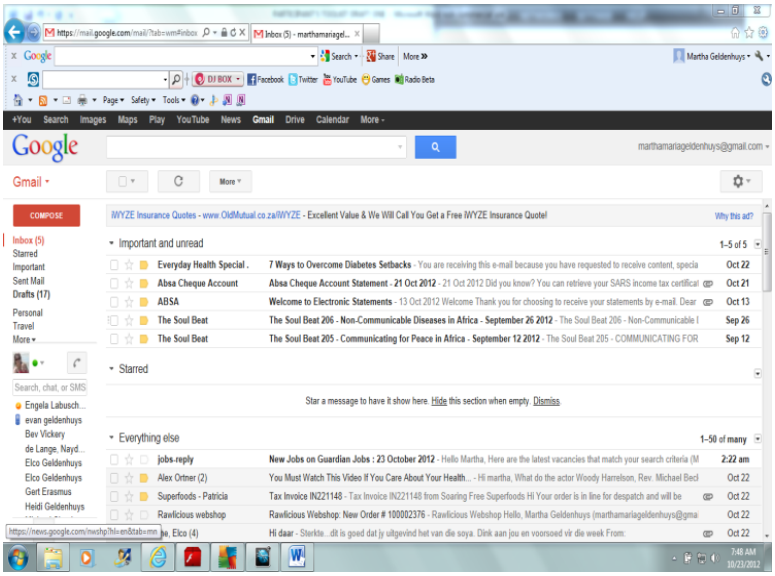
PART ONE

TELL ME ABOUT GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Step 1

OPENING AN EMAIL AND A FACEBOOK ACCOUNT

What is an email?



- Similar to having an address at home, you can have an address on the Internet
- An email is an electronic way of sending and receiving mail
- Digital messages with attachments, such as documents or pictures from your file, can be exchanged over the Internet.
- Email servers accept, forward, deliver and store messages and are instantly transferred from anywhere in the world.

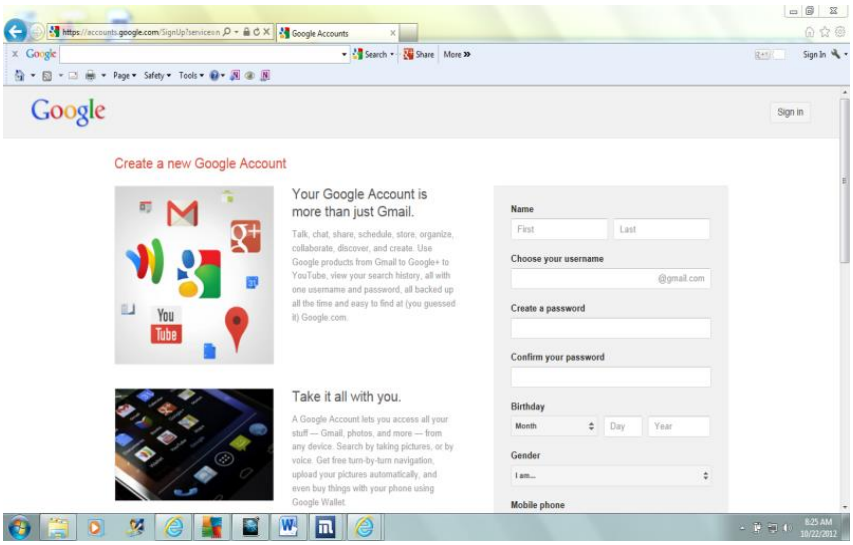
What is a social network site?

- Facebook is classified as a social network site and has over a billion active users.
- In short you create an online profile of yourself.

- This profile consists of your photos and messages.
- You can regularly update your profile by adding to it, you can exchange messages and view your friends' profiles.

Steps to follow to open an email and Facebook account

Opening an email account



1. You cannot have a Facebook profile without an active email address. We will open one on Gmail.
2. Open your Internet explorer and find your way to Google. When there find the Gmail option at the top of the browser screen and click on it.
3. Once it has opened click on "CREATE AN ACCOUNT".
4. Choose your email address and write it here (often your name and surname):

   _____

5. Create a password and keep it safe, write it here:

   _____

6. You must fill in all the required fields including a cellphone number of the cellphone you have here today as well as the active email address.
7. 'Agree' to the Google terms of services and privacy policy and click on "next step". When it asks: "Do you want to use this as you home page?" Click on 'no'.
8. Make a note of the email address and password in this toolkit.
9. Gmail will expect you to verify this account by typing in a code which they will send to your cellphone. Do this now.
10. You can now upload your photo as a profile picture if you wish (I saved your photo in your folder). Click on add profile, navigate to your folder and click on your photo and then on insert. It takes a while for your computer to upload your photo, so be patient.

11. The last step will confirm your new active email account, click on “continue to Gmail” to open your new account.
12. Well done you have successfully opened a new email account.
13. Why don’t you collect the other participants email addresses and try sending them an email? (PS click on “compose”, type their email address in “to”, type in a subject and message and press “send”.

Opening a Facebook account

1. For the purposes of this research we will invite each other as “friends”, but no-one else. We will post well- thought responses to the material we upload. Everything that you post will be considered for research uses, so try and give your best and treat this process seriously as your name is connected to everything you post onto Facebook. I will however protect your privacy when I refer to your work in our research.

2. Using your Internet explorer search for: www.facebook.com.

3. It immediately opens at a “Sign Up” window. Enter your details as well as your new email address and password (you can use the same password as you did for your email address and write it down here).

_____

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4. Facebook will ask you to “Find Friends”, click on “Skip this step” so that we can continue. You will now have to add in profile information. You can type in your high school name, click on save and then continue.

5. After being prompted to “upload a photo”, click on “browse” and navigate your way to your folder and click on “insert” to upload your photo. This will take a short while to upload so be patient. Click on: “save and continue”.

6. In order to proceed on Facebook you have to open another window exploring the Internet to find Google and navigate your way to your email address, typing in your email address as username and your password. An email to verify your new Facebook account has been sent to you, click on the link inside your email to confirm your new Facebook account.

7. The link will navigate you back to Facebook and now the fun begins! You can find and confirm friends, by only inviting the other research participants as well as me (for the purposes of this research we will invite no-one else as friends).

8. Once we are all confirmed friends we can have fun by leaving each other messages and making "comments". This will help you to get to know the ins-and-outs of working in Facebook. Did you notice you may add another cover photo? I have my camera here if you wish to take more photos. Click on "Home" at the top of the page to read other conversations between your friends.

Opening a group Facebook account

I have already opened a Gmail account on behalf of the group and in order to make a group profile page we need consider a name for this page.

Consider that you will share the realities of gender-based violence (seen, heard of, or experienced) in your community on this page, as well as the solutions to these realities, you will also use this page to engage your friend about gender-based violence and the work that you have done.

What do you consider an appropriate name for this profile page? Jot down your ideas (you will have to share your ideas with the rest of us and we will collectively choose the best name).

_____

_____

4. Once the name for the profile page has been established, I will go home and complete the group's Facebook profile. In our next session we will continue by uploading our digital stories onto the group Facebook profile.

Write down the group's Facebook profile page name here:

_____

Comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today's session, what stays in your mind?

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What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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Step 2

LET'S CHAT ON FACEBOOK

Steps to follow when chatting on Facebook

As facilitator I will open the group's Facebook profile. Each participant opens their own profile. I will type the following questions on the group's profile and you should answer the questions through the "comment" box.

Let's chat about your using a computer:

1. Have you ever worked on a computer before?

2. What did you use it for?

3. How many times have you used the computer?

4. Do you have a computer at home?

5. Did you have a Facebook account or email address before today?

6. Do you use the Internet on your cell phone?

Let's chat about gender-based violence and your community:

1. Tell me about your community (the area you live in).

2. In your own words tell me what you understand "gender-based violence" to be

3. What do you think "family violence" is?

4. What do you think "community violence" is?

5. What do you think "sexual violence" is?

6. Which of the following do you think is gender-based violence?

Harassment, intimidation, abuse, assault, rape, corporal punishment, bullying, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, aggressive behaviour, disciplining a women or man for being disobedient.

Post the following URL as a web link: http://www.unfpa.org/gender/violence.htm. Click on this web link and read the information.

Searching on Google to find some more answers:

What is gender violence? Gender-based violence?

What is violence against women and girls?

Did you find any good websites? (Copy and paste the link onto Facebook so we can visit the webpage)

Let's chat some more about gender-based violence on Facebook

Did you know about gender-based violence before today?

What did you learn about gender-based violence?

Without mentioning names of people, have you seen or heard of gender-based violence in your community?

Step 3

DIGITAL DRAWING

What is it?

- Drawings break the ice as you share your experiences
- Your drawings will be based on your understanding of gender-based violence in your community
- You will 'freeze' an idea and then study your memories
- **"Draw-and-talk"** will allow you to first draw your understanding of gender-based violence within your community and thereafter you will explain your drawing.

Making digital drawings

1. Open Microsoft Paint, save the file through CTRL & S, the “My Documents” folder will open, click on “New Folder” and type in your name and surname as the title for your folder. Double click on your folder and type in **“Draw a person”** as the title for your Paint file and click on save.

Prompt 1: “**Draw/Paint a person**. **Provide a heading or caption**”. Try and use all the functions of Paint. Post this picture onto the group’s Facebook profile.

2. Open a new Paint file, click CTRL & S, click on your folder and type in “**Drawing gender-based violence**” and click save. Prompt 2: **“Draw how you understand gender-based violence in your community using MS Paint. Provide a heading or caption.”** Remember to continuously save your work (CTRL & S).

3. You will have to explain the meaning of you drawing. Write down a short paragraph to help you. You will record your drawing’s explanation using Microsoft Sound Recorder.

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4. In your start menu you will find “Sound Recorder”. Click on “start recording” when you are ready to record your message. Speak loud and clearly and close to the computer. When you are done click on “stop recording”. The “My Documents” window will pop up, double click on your folder and name your recording file: “**Drawing description**” and save it inside your folder.

5. Post your drawing on gender-based violence as well as your sound recorded drawing description on Facebook on the group’s Facebook profile.

6. Look at the other drawings and listen to their description on Facebook. Now answer the following questions.

"When you close your eyes, which drawing reminds you the most of gender-based violence you have seen or heard of in your community"

"Do any these drawings remind you of an incident of gender-based violence which you would like to share?"

Comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today's session what stays in your mind?

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What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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Step 4

DOWNLOADING FROM A DIGITAL ARCHIVE

What is it?

- A digital archive is like a museum that **stores** material such as photographs and videos for safekeeping.
- All these photos and videos have descriptions (words) at the bottom called metadata.
- Digital archives are very similar to a museum, except the information inside the archive is available online through the internet.

"Akakwamukeli ukuthi une HIV ukhetha ukumshaya futhi ubona sengathi uyena omthelelile ubona sengathi ukumshaya kuzomenza athule ngoba akafuni abantu bazi. Intombazane izimisele ngokuthi basamukele lesi simo bese bet shela abanye".
He could not accept that he is HIV positive he decided to beat the female to silence her because the girl is willing to reveal their HIV status.

- You will use the archive's photos and pictures in your work by downloading them
- The archive we will use contains material (images and videos) produced by community members in Vulindlela.

Downloading material from the digital archive

1. Open the Internet explorer and type in the following URL: http://disa.ukzn.ac.za.

2. It requires a username and password, which I will type in for you.

3. Once the web page is open click on the different links such as: drawings, photographs and videos, as you explore the digital archive.

4. Prompt: **“Please select and download all the material in the archive that could, in some way, show gender-based in your community”**.

Choose all the pictures that can help you “tell a story”, more is better as you don’t have to use them all later. You download them by clicking on the link and then the image. Click on “file” and “save a copy” and guide the windows panel to your folder in which you save your images and provide each picture with a title before you click save.

5. I will convert your photos to PDF folders to JPEG at a later stage.

6. The images you have collected thus far could form part of a digital story which you will create in Windows Moviemaker in your next session.

Go over all the photos and pictures you have downloaded and think deeply of incidences of gender-based violence you have seen, experienced or heard of in your community. Now use this space below to write a fictitious story based on gender-based violence in your community. You are expected to record this story using Sound Recorder. Write down your ideas here. Use the following prompt: **“Record a story inspired by the images you’ve downloaded to ‘represent gender-based violence in your community’”.** Save this story in your folder and name it: “**gender-based violence story”.**

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7. Listen to the other group members' stories and answer the following questions.

"When you close your eyes and think about all the stories, which one of these stories stays in your mind. Why?"

"Have you experienced, seen or heard of similar stories as the other participants have described? Please share these thoughts"

Comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today's session what stays in your mind?

What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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PART TWO

LET'S FIND WAYS TO USE FACEBOOK TO ADDRESS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Step 5

DIGITAL STORYTELLING

What is it?

- Digital stories combine words with pictures and sound to create a **short movie**.
- A basic digital story involves slides with pictures and a corresponding story or music.
- Digital storytelling is a modern form of age old "storytelling".
- You will use digital storytelling, using digital computer-based technology in re-using and re-mixing pictures from the digital archive (museum).
- You will share your understanding of gender-based violence in your community as well as possible solutions to gender-based violence.

- You will be expected to use your drawings, images from the digital archive, voice recordings (which you made/make in sound Recorder), the Internet, and Windows Moviemaker.

Digital storytelling

Finding images on the web

Open your Internet explorer, go to Google, and click on images. You will use Google images to find pictures for all the following prompts. Prompt: **"Close your eyes and think of your story you have written on gender-based violence in your community. We will now do an internet search for pictures that can help you "tell" that story (or any other story based on gender-based violence in your community).**

***NB**

You are going to save and use pictures from the internet. In order to use these pictures you will have to reference where you have found these pictures. For this reason you need to save the following information with you picture. The person whose photo it is, the title of the photo, the title of the web page, the date you have retrieved it and the address of the web page. I suggest you save this information as the name of your picture, which you can copy and paste at a later stage. Here is an example of what your reference should look like:

Schrader, B. (n.d.). Building families. In *We call it home*. Retrieved June 24, 2012, from http://www.Housing in New Zealand. (I will help you capture all the information with each photo)

Google image search: "**gender-based violence**" look at the pictures. Are there any you wish to use in your digital story? Save them in your folder.

Type in: "**gender-based violence poster**" do you see how one word can make a difference in the images that the internet shows? Find pictures that you wish to use and save them in your folder.

Type in: "African communities". Are there pictures that remind you of your community? Try: "**Vulindlela**" are you surprised to see pictures of your area? Save the pictures you wish to use.

Type in: "**gender-based violence quote**" then "**gender-based violence poem**" and "**gender-based violence slogan**" do you find anything useful to use for your digital story? Download all the pictures you want and save them in your folder.

*Google image search: "**victims of violence**", these images might be useful when showing who gets hurt with gender-based violence. Try, "**perpetrators of gender-based violence**". Do you see any helpful pictures that help you tell your story? Think back to your story (or a new one if you wish), which "**people**" do you want to search for to help you tell your story. Google: girl or man etc.?*

2. Prompt: **"Use the internet to find 2 or more pictures of the 'people' that are involved in gender-based violence in your community that you want to show in your digital story."** Save these in your folder and give each picture a title. You can use some of the ideas above.

Open your Facebook page and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while). Once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: **"How is this person involved in gender-based violence in your community?"**

*Google image search: "**beer bottle**" do you see all the different images? Alcohol is often associated with gender-based violence i.e. people who commit violence based on their power are often under the influence of alcohol. Images of alcohol can be used in your digital (computer) story as one can assume that alcohol is part of the problem. Think back to your story (or a new one if you wish), which objects such as a bottle of beer can help tell **your** story?*

3. Prompt: **"Think of 3 'objects' that could be used to help tell your digital story, based on gender-based violence in your community, and save them in your folder"**.

Open your Facebook page and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while). Once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: "How is this object involved in gender-based violence in your community?"

*Google image search: "**betrayed by gender-based violence**" do you see all the different images? Betrayal is often associated with gender-based violence i.e. people who commit violence based on their power betray the people close to them.*

Using images of "betrayal" can be used in your digital (computer) story. Think back to your story (or a new one if you wish). Which pictures can help tell your story?

4. Prompt: **"Use the internet to find 3 'emotions' (feelings) you associate with gender-based violence and save them in your folder".**

Open your Facebook account and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while) once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: **"How is this emotion (feeling) present in gender-based violence in your community?"**

*Google image search: "**intimate partner violence at home**" do you see all the different images? Often people are who are in a relationship are involved in gender-based violence, this type of violence can happen right inside their home. Think back to your story (or a new one if you wish). Which pictures of certain places can help tell your story?*

5. Prompt: **"Use the internet to find 3 'places' in the community where gender-based violence can take place and save them in your folder."**

Open your Facebook profile and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while) once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: **"How does this place represent somewhere gender-based violence can take place in your community?"**

*Google image search: "**solutions gender-based violence**" do you see all the different pictures that might spark solutions to the gender-based violence shown specifically in your story? Now close your eyes and think hard of the digital (computer) story you wish to make about gender-based violence in your community. Now think of ways in solving that problem (solutions). Then try and find pictures of these "**solutions**".*

6. Prompt: **"Use the internet to find 3 pictures of 'possible solutions' to gender-based violence in your community."**

Open your Facebook page and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while) once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: "**Tell me about the gender-based violence and the solution to that problem with this picture".**

Close your eyes and think carefully of the gender-based violence as well as the solutions you have been thinking about and searching for pictures. Keeping that in mind, now try to think of ways in which you can use Facebook as a way to address (solve) gender-based violence in your community. See if you can find pictures to show how you can use Facebook as a way to address gender-based violence.

7. Prompt: "**Use the internet to find 3 pictures of how you can use Facebook to address gender-based violence in your community."**

Open your Facebook account and post these pictures onto our group's profile (this might take a while) once they are uploaded, I will type in the question: "**How does this picture show how you can use Facebook to solve gender-based violence in your community**?"

In the last part of this session I wish you to take a close look at all the pictures and comments your friends have posted. Read carefully and then answer the following questions truthfully on Facebook.

1. What types of gender-based violence do we not have a picture of?

2. Of all the types of gender-based violence we have seen and talked about today, which gender-based violence do you think is most common in your community?

3. Which solution to gender-based violence do think stands out the most, which one do you think can really work and why?

4. Which proposed way to use Facebook as a means to address gender-based violence do you think can really work. Why?

Using Windows Live Movie Maker as a storyboard to re-mix all your work into a digital story

As part of your digital story you will make voice recordings in which you "tell your/the story".

You will make three different voice recordings or one large voice recording. These will be attached to your digital story and will play when your pictures are showing on the screen. In your first recording you will ***describe and share the specific type of gender-based violence*** *you wish to show with your digital story. In the second recording you will share* ***your thoughts on a solution to gender-based violence****.*

In your last recording you will share ***your ideas on how to use Facebook in an attempt to address gender-based violence.***

Your digital story will thus be illustrating the following three parts:

Gender-based violence in your community
The solution to this problem
How to use Facebook to address gender-based violence in your community

1. Prompt: **"Using Sound Recorder, record a message on the gender-based violence that you are showing in your digital story."** Use the space below to write down your story before you record it.

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2. Prompt: **"Using Sound Recorder, record a message on the solution to gender-based violence that you are showing in your digital story."** Use the space below to write down your solution before you record it.

_____
_____
_____

3. Prompt: **“Using Sound Recorder, record a message on how you can use Facebook to address gender-based violence in your community.”** Use the space below to write down your story before you record it.

_____

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4. **"Re-mix the web images, images from the digital archive, your digital drawing, the photos you took and your voice recordings into a 'digital story' that depicts and represent your understanding and solutions and how to use Facebook to contribute to addressing the problem."** *(These pictures will accompany the sound recordings you have made)* You also have the option to do your story in English or in isiZulu. What is your opinion on this? Which language would you prefer to do your digital story in? Write it in here:

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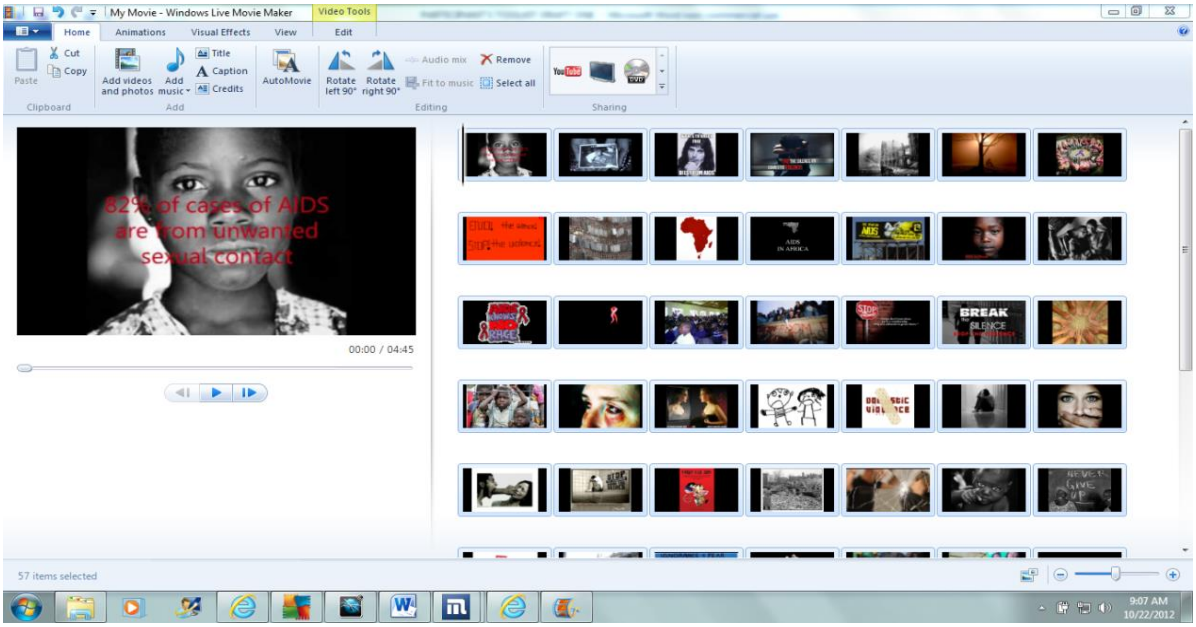

5. Open **Windows Live Movie Maker**, if you cannot find it in the Start menu; search for it on the computer's search engine. Here you will create your own digital story. CTRL & S and save the movie file in your folder. Entitle the movie, the title you wish your digital story to have. At any point if you need to download a

specific image, quote, poem or any text you will be allowed to do so and you may draw additional pictures on Paint. You are allowed to make and use more than one voice recording.

6. Prompt: “Click on ‘add videos and photos’, open your folder CTRL & A (select all) and add all your pictures from your folders onto Movie Maker. You will now have a storyboard such as the one in the picture. Think carefully of your story on gender-based violence as well as your solution and how you can use Facebook to address gender-based violence and carefully rearrange these pictures in that order: the problem (the type of gender-based violence), solution (to gender-based violence, and how to use Facebook as a way to address gender-based violence. (You rearrange the pictures through click and drag).
7. Click on “Title” and type in the name of your movie then click on “credits” and type in your name as the producers of this movie and add all the references to the photos you have used from the internet.
8. Add your three voice recordings, starting with the explanation of gender-based violence (the problem), then your solution and then the recorded message on how to use Facebook to address gender-based violence (If you add it in order the one recording will play automatically after the other). You will have to match the right pictures with the specific voice recording, so you might have to lengthen and shorten some photos through ‘stretching’.
9. You will now add the captions to your movie. Play your movie and pause in every frame to type the words being spoken with that frame. This takes a while and a little practice.
10. Now use the “Animations” and the “Visual effects” to add character to the clips.
11. Once you are satisfied that your digital story is complete. Click on, “File”, “Publish movie” and “add plug in”. Here you will be guided to “publish” your digital story and save this in your folder.
12. At the end of this session we will post our published movies onto the group’s Facebook profile. In the comment box please provide the title of your movie. You will also have the opportunity to comment on your movie by answering the following prompt: “**Explain the gender-based violence, the solution and how will you use Facebook to address this gender-based i.e explain the meaning of your story.**”
13. You will now take the time to view each other’s movies and answer these four questions for each of the movies. I will type the questions in the comment box

underneath each movie and you can reply with your answer in the comment box underneath my question.

When you close your eyes what is that you remember from this movie?

What do you like about this movie?

Do you think this solution to gender-based violence can work? Why?

Do you think this way of using Facebook to address gender-based violence can work? Why?

If I asked you to add something to this digital story, what would it be?

Once you have typed a response press **"Enter"** on your keyboard to post your comment.

14. Now: "Read all the comments underneath the digital stories and add any additional thoughts that you wish to."

Comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today's session what stays in your mind?

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What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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PART THREE

HOW CAN YOU ENGAGE YOUR FRIEND BY USING FACEBOOK AND YOUR DIGITAL STORIES TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Step 6

DESIGINING AN ENGAGEMENT WITH YOUR FRIEND

What is it?

Peer engagement is a process and a tool that includes your fellow classmates to view your digital stories and learn more about gender-based violence through watching your digital stories and making comments.

- If your peers have incorrect knowledge, harmful attitudes, norms and beliefs around gender-based violence you are in a position to change this.
- Peer engagement gives youth the "freedom" to talk about sensitive issues such as gender-based violence without feeling ashamed.

- It can also be more effective in changing attitudes or establishing healthy sexual behaviour that prevents gender-based violence and the spread of HIV.
- You can take the lead through informal discussions in a “one on one” session with one friend (who is not a part of our group). The group’s Facebook profile page along with all the sdigital stories you have all produced will be the ‘place’ where the peer education meeting will take place. The aim of these sessions is to form a way for you to try out taking action against gender-based violence in your community, by sharing your work with your friend.
- In today’s session you will have to think of the way in which you are going to share your work with your friend, using Facebook, in an attempt to address gender-based violence in your community.
- True to the nature of peer engagement, YOU will have to find ways to engage your friends with your with digital stories on Facebook, as you will take the lead with an informal yet active approach.

GROUP DISCUSSION

Using a focus group will help everybody share their ideas, perceptions and opinions. I will ask the questions, but the focus is on the group to design ways in which you can all share your work with your friend on Facebook in an attempt to address gender-based violence in your community.

Designing a peer engagement using Facebook

Designing the meeting with your friend

You can choose one friend with whom you wish to “share” your work and engage with them on our Facebook page. You will need to think of ways in which to share your work and understandings with your friend to see if she or he can benefit from all the work you have done.

1. Prompt: **“What questions could you ask peers that will allow them to engage with your digital stories (movies) and your Facebook page in an approach to address gender-based violence within the community?”** Peers will have to comment on these questions so don’t ask questions that can end with a yes or a no. Peers will have to think and give their opinions in ways that can “solve”

gender-based violence, so think carefully. Write four possible questions in the space provided.

Question 1

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Question 2

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Question 3

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Question 4

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Each person will share their questions with the group. The group must decide on the four best questions to use. Take your time and talk about it as this is a very important step. These four questions will be uploaded onto Facebook to complement the digital stories. Your friend is expected to engage with and answer the questions.

Write the groups' four questions here:

Question 1

_____

_____

Question 2

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_____

Question 3

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_____

Question 4

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_____

Think back to all five digital stories as well as keeping in mind the four group questions that will allow your friend to engage with the movies in an attempt to address gender-based violence in your community.

Prompt: **"How can you use your digital stories, Facebook, and your group's questions to design a meeting with your friend that is aimed to address gender-based violence in your community?"**

Write your ideas here:

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As a group we will decide the plan of action. We will all share our ideas. Let's make the notes in step form.

Step 1

Step 2

Step 3

Step 4

Step 5

Step 6

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Step 7

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Step 8

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Step 9

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Step 10

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(additional steps can be written at the back of this page)

Comment on this session

1. What did you enjoy today?

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_____

2. What did you learn today?

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_____

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3. Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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_____

_____

The meeting with our friends

- With whom do you wish to have this meeting? Why?
- _____

  _____
- The meeting will proceed as detailed in the outline above, which the group has designed and agreed upon.
- At the end of your session I will ask your friend the following questions, typed on the group's Facebook profile page.

What is your opinion on using Facebook?

Do you think it works to talk about gender-based violence on Facebook?

What did you learn today?

What do you think of digital stories as a way to deal with gender-based violence?

Did you enjoy this meeting with your friend? If so why? And if not, why?

Do you in any way feel you as one young person can make a difference around gender-based violence in your community after this meeting?

Comments from your meeting with your friend (This will be done in group form on Facebook)

Write about the meeting with your friend.

When you close your eyes and think back, what stands out the most from your meeting with your friend? Why?

What was your friend's reaction/feelings towards this peer engagement?

Do you think your friend benefitted from this meeting? Why?

Do you feel this engagement has made some change contribution?

You are welcome to read each other's comments and remark or comment on these to further the discussion.

Participants comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today's session what stays in your mind?

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What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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Step 7

CRITICAL REFLECTION

What is it?

- You will have to reflect (express your thoughts) on the data generation process (all the work you have done so far) in a critical manner. To critically reflect is to "reflect-on-action", "reflect-in-action" and "reflect-for-action". This means you have to be honest and explain in detail, the positive aspects and the negative aspects about the whole process.
- Sometimes reflecting opens up more questions, which only adds depth and breadth to the research process.
- This is our last session. I will ask you to log onto the group's Facebook profile page and comment on the prompts below. I will type the prompts on the profile page where you will be expected to critically reflect (provide your thoughts) on the whole process of data generation.

Critical Reflection

Prompt 1

"Briefly explain what happened in your engagement with your friend. Did your engagement go according to your plan (Tell me about your experience)."

Prompt 2

"Do you think using 'digital stories' (your movies) on gender-based violence in your community were useful in your meeting with your friend? Explain."

Prompt 3

"Was there anything about the process that you didn't enjoy and if so how could it be addressed?"

Prompt 4

"Do you, in any way, feel able to 'take action' (do something about the problems in your community) after this experience?" Explain.

Prompt 5

“What did you learn from this experience?”

Prompt 6

“How do you think your digital stories can contribute towards making a difference about gender-based violence in your community?”

Prompt 7

“How do you think Facebook can contribute towards making a difference about gender-based violence in your community?”

Prompt 8

“How can you use everything you have done, experienced or learned in the future?”

Comment on this session

If you close your eyes and think deeply about today’s session what stays in your mind?

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What did you enjoy today?

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What did you learn today?

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Is there any aspect you didn't enjoy and why?

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That concludes the data generation

I want to thank you for your co-operation and willingness to contribute in addressing gender-based violence in your community.

The following space is provided to make any additional comments.

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APPENDIX F: PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmmu.ac.za

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

for tomorrow

Research participant assent form

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth educating peers through social media

Explanation of the Study (What will happen to me in this study?)

I would like you to share your understanding and solutions to gender-based violence in your community with me. By designing a digital story using Windows Movie maker on the computer, I would like you to use images your community members have created, download images from the Internet, make your own drawings in MS Paint as well as voice recordings, after which I would like you to publish this digital story onto Facebook and show one friend from your class what you have done and have them comment on your questions and digital stories on Facebook. At the end I would like you to tell me your thoughts on the whole experience.

Risks or Discomforts of Participating in the Study (Can anything bad happen to me?)

Talking about gender-based violence in your community, might be difficult and painful. Therefore if you wish to be a participant in this study you must tell me if you feel uneasy, hurt or sad, I will make sure that someone can help you.

Benefits of Participating in the Study (Can anything good happen to me?)

By participating in this research you will enhance your own computer skills and express your opinions and contribute to research. You will participate in what is known as ‘research for social change’.

Confidentiality (Will anyone know I am in the study?)

No one will know you participated in this study. When I do refer to your work, I will use a different name from your own. All the information that we publish on Facebook will have restricted access.

Compensation for Participation/Medical Treatment (What happens if I get hurt?)

If at any point you feel uncomfortable, hurt or sad or any feeling that is unpleasant I will let your parents/guardians know and we will get someone to talk to that can help you.

Contact Information (Who can I talk to about the study?)

If you have any questions please contact me, Mart-Mari on 079 319 8703.

Voluntary Participation (What if I do not want to do this?)

If at any point you do not want to participate in this study anymore you can withdraw without getting in trouble.

Do you understand this study and are you willing to participate?

YES	NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

APPENDIX G: PARENT CONSENT FORM

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmmu.ac.za

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

for tomorrow

Research participant's parent/guardian consent form

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth educating peers through social media

Explanation of the Study (What will happen to the participant in this study?)

I would like the participant to share his/her understanding of and solutions to gender-based violence in his/her community with me. He/She will designing a digital story using Windows Movie maker on the computer. I would like him/her to use images community members created from a digital archive, download images from the Internet, make his/her own drawings in MS Paint, as well as voice recordings, after which I would like him/her to publish her/his digital story onto Facebook and show one friend from his/her class what he/she has done and have the friend comment on questions and the digital stories on Facebook. At the end I would like the participant to tell me their thoughts on the whole experience.

Risks or Discomforts of Participating in the Study (Can anything bad happen to your child?)

Talking about gender-based violence in your community, might be difficult and painful. Therefore if at any point your child needs assistance I will make the necessary arrangement for someone to talk to your child.

Benefits of Participating in the Study (Can anything good happen to your child?)

By participating in this research your child will enhance his/her computer skills and express his/her opinions and contribute to research. He/She will participate in what is known as 'research for social change'.

Confidentiality (Will identity be disclosed?)

No-one will know your child participated in this study. When I do refer to his/her work, I will use a different name (pseudonym). All the information that we publish on Facebook will have restricted access for research purposes only.

Compensation for Participation/Medical Treatment (What happens if your child is upset?)

If at any point your child feels uncomfortable, hurt or sad or any feeling that is unpleasant I will let you know and we will get someone to talk to him/her that can help.

Contact Information (Who can I talk to about the study?)

If you have any questions please contact me, Mart-Mari on 079 319 8703.

Voluntary Participation (What if I do not want to do this?)

If at any point you do not want your child to participate in this study anymore you can withdraw without penalty.

Do you understand this study and are you willing to participate?

YES	NO

_____ _____

Signature of Parent/Guardian Date

APPENDIX H: LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

for tomorrow

Addressing gender-based violence in the age of AIDS: Rural youth educating peers through social media

Project Information Statement/Letter of Invitation to School Principals

My name is Mart-Mari Geldenhuys, and I am a Ph.D. student at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). I am conducting research with youth participants under the supervision of Professor Naydene de Lange. I invite you to consider taking part in this research. The Provincial Department of Education has given approval to approach schools for my research. A copy of their approval is contained with this letter. This study will meet the requirements of the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the NMMU.

Aims of the Research

The aim of the study can be formulated as:

- To explore how youth might educate peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework to contribute to addressing gender-based violence in their community?

Considering the secondary research questions aimed to interrogate the research question. The study further aims to explore:

- The rural school youth's understand of gender-based violence in their community.
- The ways in which rural school youth might use social media within a participatory cultures framework to address gender-based violence.
- How rural school youth educating their peers using social media within a participatory cultures framework could facilitate youth agency.

Significance of the Research Project

The research is significant in two ways:

1. I hope for a research contribution envisaging new knowledge production with rural youth who are on the other side of the digital divide using social media within a participatory cultures framework to formulate new contributions to addressing gender-based violence.
2. I hope for social change, where participants are not positioned as victims, but as knowledge producers as well as the users of new knowledge.

Benefits of the Research to Schools

1. Utilizing school-going youth in research involved with participatory cultures opens door for future possibilities of using youth in social media campaigns as a means of addressing harmful social issues.
2. The results of this study can inform policy and curriculum development.

Research Plan and Method

The data will be generated with 5 youth participants and 5 of their peers (boys and girls) in grade 9. Youth fitting the description of: "rural youth on the other side of the digital divide". Permission will be sought from the learners and their parents prior to their participation in the research. Only those who assent and whose parents consent will participate. Five of the participants will join me at Calderwood guesthouse where we will conduct research using social media to explore how they might use this to educate their peers as a way to address gender-based violence in their community. These data generation sessions will take place on: 24-26 June 2013, 1-3 July and the 8-10 July. Learners will be receiving meals and refreshments in a safe working environment, they will also receive financial assistance for travel expenditure. The last phase of the data generation will take place at school in the computer room or a classroom/multi-function room after school on Friday the 19th and Saturday the 20th of July 2013. Another 5 peers will be involved in this phase. I will provide participants with laptops and internet access as well as refreshments and lunch on these two days. All information generated will be treated in strictest confidence and neither the school nor individual learners will be identifiable in any

reports that are written. Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The participation of the school is voluntary and as the school principal you may decide to withdraw the school's participation at any time without penalty. The nature of the data may be sensitive as we discuss gender-based violence in the participants' community, therefore I would appreciate a contact number for the school's counsellor or Life orientation teacher if I need to refer my participants for help. If the participant requires any additional support as a result of their participation in the study I will take steps to accommodate this.

School Involvement

Once I have received your consent to approach learners to participate in the study, I will

- arrange for informed consent to be obtained from participants' parents and assent from the learners
- set in place the dates for data generation
- obtain informed consent from participants

Further information

Attached for your information are copies of the Parent Information and Consent Form and also the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form.

Invitation to Participate

If you would like your school to participate in this research, please complete and return the attached form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Mart-Mari Geldenhuys	Professor Naydene de Lange
PhD candidate	Supervisor
NMMU	NMMU