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**GIRLS' EDUCATION MOVEMENT (GEM): STUDY OF
PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION AND PARTNERSHIPS FOR
EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH
AFRICA**

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Abstract

Creating safe learning environments and gender equality for girls is a major development issue in South African secondary schools. Though 70% of South African children aged 14-17 go to secondary school, girls have reported feeling unsafe in the school environment. A variety of partnerships and initiatives have been developed in efforts to reduce the violence in schools and create a safe learning environment. These partnerships and initiatives have facilitated the establishment of policies that promote social, economic, and educational development.

This study investigates the efficacy of the implementation of the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) intervention. The study investigates the school environments and the relationships between learners, teachers, and program partners to assess the efficacy of the GEM implementation. This research focuses on a narrow form of partnership in which government (South African National Department of Education) and the regional office of an international multilateral organization (UNICEF South Africa) collaborate to address South Africa's gender issues in schools through GEM. This comparative case study was conducted in two secondary schools in Cape Town, South Africa. The schools and participants are from two school communities that are violent. This purposeful sample is reflective of the schooling environment in which the GEM intervention is implemented.

The primary research questions examine the efficacy of the GEM initiative as an intervention model program, how the partnership between UNICEF and DOE functions, and its roles and responsibilities. The study also seeks to identify and understand the opportunities and challenges of the partnership and how the partnership affects program implementation. This case study approach uses qualitative methods—interviews, program

observation, focus groups, and questionnaires—to research the implementation of GEM at the national, provincial and local level. The study examines the engagement and coordination of the partnership and its ability to contribute to education development by operationalizing the GEM initiative.

The findings from this study suggest that there are many concerns in building and sustaining a partnership for education development. The findings also reveal a panoramic view of real challenges that impede a successful partnership between UNICEF South Africa and the South African National Department of Education’s efforts to employ the GEM initiative and to create safe schooling for learners.

This study adds to the literature recommendations and strategies to mitigate the challenges of building partnerships. Some suggestions for policy and practice include (1) establish stakeholders with clearly outlined parameters from the onset of the partnership, (2) implement effective strategies for successful partnership building and program implementation, (3) develop and sustain consistent and continuous communication for the duration of the partnership, (4) set incremental stages of evaluation of the partnership and program and allow for midstream adjustments based on the results.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Education is the single most vital element in combating poverty, empowering women, protecting children from hazardous and exploitative labor and sexual exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment and influencing population growth. Education is a path towards international peace and security.

(Kofi Anan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Human Rights Watch, 2001)

Gender inequality and school safety and security are global problems that limit the benefits of education and cause poor health and psychological trauma in children (Dobbert, 1975). Both girls and boys are victims of verbal abuse, bullying, and harassment in school. The South African government struggles to address the challenges of poor quality education, high attrition rates, low teacher morale, and the devastating impact of HIV and AIDS. In most developing countries, 40% of girls who start school will drop out before completing five years (World Bank Education Report, 1993). Frequently the reason for dropping out of school is related to lack of infrastructure and fear of violence (Human Rights Watch, 2006). The lack of school safety is a direct cause of underachievement, dropout, unintended pregnancies, and the transmission of HIV/AIDS (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Violence in schools is not exclusively limited to girls; boys also experience acts of violence and are likely to become perpetrators of violence. Boys are consistently associated with an increased risk of violence during secondary school (RAND, 2001). Male students are more likely to become perpetrators of violence if they performed poorly in school or engaged in early deviant behavior such as stealing or getting in trouble in school; just being male

increases the likelihood of a violent future (RAND 2001). Acts of violence are occurring in schools consistently; for example, boys who are slightly younger than the majority of their classmates are more likely to be the recipients of violence in school. Older boys often engage in predatory violence against younger boys for money or other treats (Akiba et al., 2002).

To receive a quality education in a safe environment free from violence and harassment is recognized as a basic human right (HRW, 2006). Many of the problems faced by the current South African Department of Education in addressing violence in schools are not of its own making, but residual from the legacy of apartheid, yet the Department of Education is none the less responsible for combating the problems. As a researcher, I believe that educational institutions cannot complete their mission of educating students when the basic safety needs of the students are not being met. Intervention is necessary at every level to create an educational system liberated from violence.

Purpose of the Study

This dissertation assesses the efficacy of the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) initiative in its endeavor to establish school safety and to empower children in school. This case study evaluates the efficacy of the implementation of the program by comparing two schools with and without the program in the context of Cape Town, South Africa and looking at the partnership between UNICEF-South Africa and the South African National Department of Education Gender Equity Unit. I propose that overall school climate and school culture is a crucial factor in empowering students and combating violence in schools. Welsh (2000) wrote about how unwritten values, beliefs, and everyday practices of schools impact the forms and levels of violence in schools. The study will be guided by a series of questions: (1) What is the efficacy of the implementation of the Girls' Education Movement

(GEM) intervention at Fezeka secondary school? (2) Has the implementation of GEM at (GEM intervention school) Fezeka Secondary improved school safety associated with perceptions of violence in comparison to the neighboring (control school) Masiyile Secondary School? (3) Does the nature of the partnership between UNICEF-SA and SA DOE facilitate implementation of the GEM intervention at Fezeka Secondary School? The researcher seeks to gain understanding of the efficacy of the school-based intervention to facilitate school safety, empower girls, and educate boys on the importance of gender equality and access to education.

Girls' Education Movement (GEM) Program Overview

In 2003, the South African Minister of Education initiated the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) in Parliament. GEM is an African grassroots movement where students in schools and in the community employ strategies to bring positive change in the lives of girls and boys. UNICEF and the South African Department of Education collaborated to institute GEM in all of the country's nine provinces. The premise for this program is to combat gender inequality and promote school safety in South African schools and communities. Though gender equity is a national initiative, the Gender Equity Unit of the South African Department of Education did not have the manpower or funds to distribute the program in every province universally. Therefore the program was rolled out in provinces over a period of three years, with the goal to have program sites in each of the nine provinces by 2006. Since 2003 the program has been implemented in the following provinces: Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State, North West, Northern Cape, and Western Cape. In July of 2006, GEM and UNICEF received a donation of 4.5 million rand¹

¹ South African currency

from Barclays Bank to support the GEM program in Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal. Barclays CEO David Roberts pledged the funds because he believed in the mission of empowering girls through life skills and other training to reduce their vulnerability to abuse, and to promote higher achievement levels for girls in school (UNICEF, Media Centre 2006). The program, which also includes boys as strategic partners to reduce gender inequality, aims to strengthen the school environment by creating child friendly schools. The program hopes to ensure that schools are gender sensitive, safe, and have strong community ties.

GEM Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical impetus of GEM purports that culture is acquired through socialization. GEM claims that socialization is inherited through cultural practices and beliefs that are instituted in society and transferred into the school environment. GEM attempts to combat negative socialization that results in violence and inequality. GEM assumes that children's socialization can be molded in specific directions by encouraging explicit beliefs and attitudes as well as selectively providing alternative experiences for children in schools and communities. GEM recognizes that children should be an active part of the educational agenda, considers the perspectives of children, and recognizes children as "clients." This theoretical perspective places emphasis on children being primary contributors to solving conflict in the educational environment and community. Listening to children in concrete and effective ways places them at the center of innovation in the context of school/community intervention. GEM encourages student participation and empowerment by giving children the opportunity to work together to find solutions to problems affecting their lives; the children become actors in the development of their schools and communities. The program serves as a vehicle for female empowerment within the confines of a patriarchal society. It empowers

girls' confidence that they can acquire skills and be supported by peers and caring adults to gain control over their bodies and lives. GEM encompasses boys as a key proponent in dispelling inequality and violence in schools. As boys are often perpetrators of violence, it is through the educational and social transformation of values, cultural beliefs, and prejudice that boys can become advocates for change, therefore creating a mind-shift in South African schools and communities. By listening to children and valuing their concerns in education programming and interventions, the conversations of practitioners, policymakers, and researchers can be well informed from a "grounded" perspective. GEM professes that through the establishment of strong partnerships schools and communities can respond to three interrelated threats to education in South Africa: gender inequality, violence in schools, and the impact of HIV and AIDS (UNICEF, 2003).

Child Friendly School Concept

GEM is integrated into a broader UNICEF and Government of South Africa Child Friendly School (CFS) framework. The concept of CFS is to strengthen the gender responsiveness component within a school environment (UNICEF, 2007). Schools are encouraged to become centers of care and support for learners and vulnerable children. Educators who adopt the Child-friendly framework are prepared to focus on the needs of the "whole" child (which include his or her health, nutrition, and overall well-being) (UNICEF, 2007), and teachers and administrators are expected to care about what happens to children not just in school but also in their families and communities before they enter school and after they leave. "The CFS has not only created a conducive school environment for reconciliation, healing and hope, but has also helped to increase school enrollment and retention" (Gerret Martiz, UNICEF, South Africa 2007).

The Child Friendly School framework is based on a child-centered theoretical approach. It aims to create a supportive learning and teaching environment at all educational levels, strengthening the capacity of teachers with special focus on child-centered teaching methodologies that must be used in the academic setting. The framework is meant to strengthen the capacity of school development councils and ensure participation of children, teachers, and parents in school management, particularly focusing on eliminating such problems as violence, abuse, and corporal punishment (UNICEF, 2007). The framework of the Child Friendly Schools characterizes a Child Friendly School thusly:

- A Rights-Based School where children are aware of their rights and responsibilities
- An Effective School with quality learning and training
- A Gender-Sensitive School
- A Healthy School that promotes healthy living for all (including, water, electricity, toilets, food)
- A protective and safe school
- A school with partners with linkages to the community including, police, private sector, and health clinics. ²

Program Priorities

The CFS program's priorities center on challenging the norms that perpetuate violence in schools. Priorities encompass empowering girls, collaborative participation of boys and men, providing necessary services, and increasing the negative consequences of violence to abusers. Lastly, the program prioritizes educational settings to systematically address gender inequality and school safety.

² Mapping, Review and Evaluation of Children (CFS), Adolescents & Youth Participation Initiatives in Eastern and Southern Africa, August 2006.

The Issue: Children are given lower social status and often find themselves under the control and authority of institutionalized patriarchal control. The consequences of this structure have led to female disempowerment and higher levels of violence in schools and communities (GEM, 2003). Many school environments are not child-centered and expose students to exploitation by teachers and fellow students.

The Action: Development of a program in schools and communities that addresses the needs of children and advocates for an integrated approach of socialization and education. This course of action places the issue at the forefront of the South African educational agenda. GEM serves as a dynamic vehicle to mobilize school communities to become more responsive to the rights of the girl child.

The Impact: The schools become centers of care for all children, giving them a voice and a chance to contribute in resolutions that will affect them at school and in the community at-large. Children are being taught how to stand up for themselves and gaining understanding of their right to being educated in a safe environment.

Guiding Goals

The guiding goals of GEM are to ensure that the initiative respects the voices of children first and foremost. The goals also express the importance of cultural appropriateness of interventions and the necessity to employ a human rights perspective.³ The specific goals of the program are as follows (Accessed July 10, 2006 at: www.gem.gov.za):

- To enable African girls to participate in decision making about their education.
- To provide girls with opportunities to develop and exercise their leadership and technical skills.

³ A rights-based approach places the discussion of gender equity and safety in schools within a broader framework of human rights and justice.

- To tap the potential of boys, men, and women to work in partnership with girls to promote equitable, accessible, high quality education in Africa and through education to create equitable, justice societies.
- To protect the rights of girls with special needs and any child at risk of exploitation or abuse in or outside school.
- To sensitize key actors in the importance of girls' education and mobilize policies and programs that will ensure quality education for all girls.

GEM in a variety of programmatic approaches executes the above goals. The approaches vary based on the needs of specific schools and communities. The GEM initiative aims to help society recognize that investing in girls' benefits everyone. Educated girls become women who participate in the social, political, and economic development of the nation at large. Educated boys become men who serve as strategic partners in gender transformation. Therefore GEM recognizes the necessity to ensure safe and quality education for all students as the program pursues the goal to prepare girls to learn and excel in school/communities.

Training and Implementation

The South African Department of Education recognizes that its commitment to the importance of GEM must not be limited to development of students, but must also incorporate the development and understanding of teachers and administrators. Training is meant to promote buy-in among the participants and school community members, address program trainees' own experiences and perceptions of violence and gender, and assist trainers in establishing suitable postures to sensitive topics.

Since 2003, 2,500 learners and educators have been trained in the theory and practice of gender responsiveness that is fundamental to GEM. Participants attend various GEM

conferences and workshops that are held in each province. I was not able to ascertain how the training was executed for educators or students at the time of this study. However, I am aware that the trainings range from 2 to 5 days and incorporate gender sensitivity, self-awareness, how to communicate effectively, and decision-making skill development. Issues such as school safety, HIV/AIDS, and drugs and alcohol are also addressed during the training sessions. The GEM training focuses on providing trainees with practical skills as a means to empower girls and boys to cope with difficult situations in schools. Participants in turn train peers in their schools and communities on how to best implement the GEM program. Schools are encouraged to implement GEM as an extracurricular club or to incorporate GEM principles into clubs that already exist.

Program Structure: Partnership of UNICEF-South Africa and South African Department of Education-Gender Equity Unit

South Africa has adopted a life skills curriculum, which has been rolled out into every secondary school in the country. The life skills program has been in place since 2002. It includes information on relationships between men and women and on HIV and AIDS (UNICEF, 2006). GEM was also rolled out in provinces intermittently with the goal to have it fully implemented in all secondary schools by 2005. GEM was to serve as an additional program to combat violence against children. Statistics showed that in despite 89% net enrollment rate of primary school boys and girls, approximately 687,000 children remained out of school (UNICEF, 2006). The Gender Parity Index for primary and secondary schools is equal to 0.96 and 1.10, respectively (UNICEF, 2007). There are many barriers to accessing education including sexual harassment, violence in schools, hunger, and lack of school uniforms and fees, not to mention the ongoing issue of rape. A 2005 study revealed that the mean age of rape survivors is younger than 10 (UNICEF, 2006). It was also revealed that the

average age of the offender is decreasing and that many assaults take place on school property. These harsh realities are what propelled the partnership between UNICEF South Africa and South African Department of Education (SA DOE) forward to implement the GEM program. This partnership was devised to combat issues of accessibility and violence and to create safe learning environments.

While partnerships can produce new ideas, generate new ways for problem solving, and bring resources to education, there are also challenges that create tensions. There must be a collective voice between partners, which focuses on a shared outcome, though the partners may have different motives and though those motives may change over time. It is vital to have a clearly defined partnership. This enables each partner to maintain his or her own decision-making process and visibility.

In spite of the benefits of their partnership, both UNICEF and SA DOE found the collaboration to be taxing at times. The partners have different organizational structures and communication methods, and at times this prevented fluid response and action. Through the years, the partnership has transitioned and has struggled to keep the interest centered on producing a quality program with tangible results and strategies. Both organizations have acknowledged that there are substantial tensions in creating a collaborative effort.

National Level

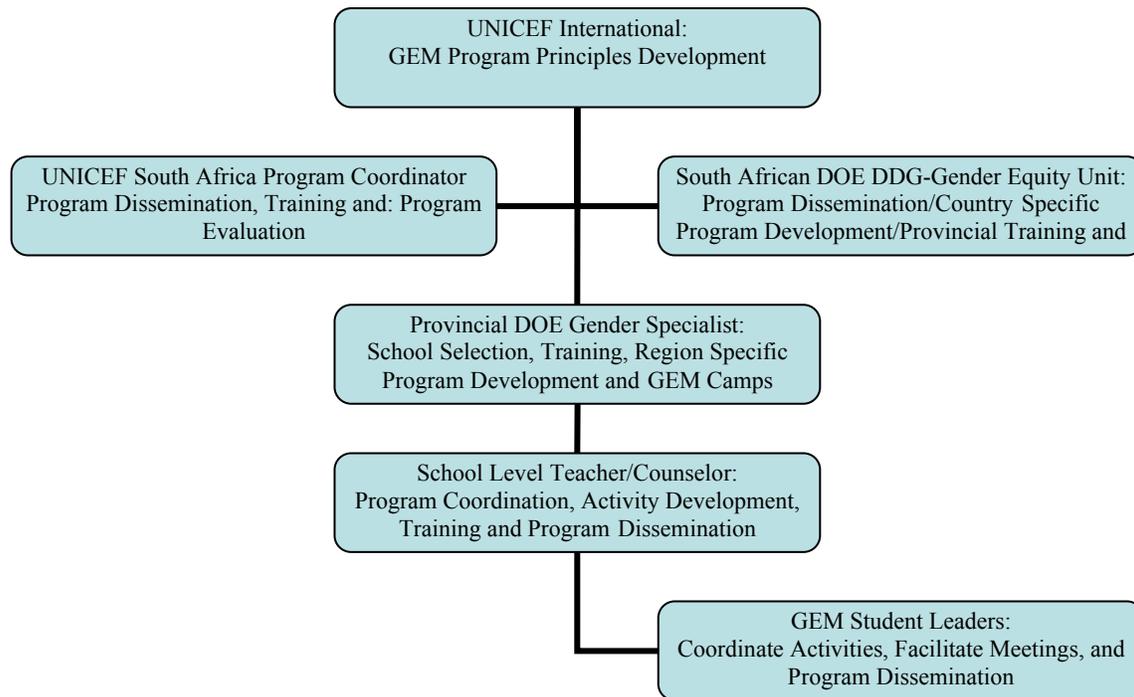
The South African National Department of Education and UNICEF have supported 164 primary schools and 53 secondary schools in establishing the GEM program. Recognizing that diverse strategies in education have emerged to combat violence in schools, both partners agree that GEM is the best model to meet the needs of learners in South Africa. The structure of GEM works in partnerships and uses multiple strategies and links to various

levels of interventions. The structure is set to promote system-wide changes at both an individual and community level, while integrating gender components into existing educational programs. In an effort to dispel violence in schools and to promote supporting school safety, the role and responsibilities of the partners are clearly defined.

UNICEF's primary role within the context of South Africa for the development and implementation of the GEM program is as a policy stakeholder. UNICEF South Africa (UNICEF SA) acts as a donor organization and initially sponsored GEM camps, which took place on a yearly basis in each province. UNICEF also partnered in disseminating information about the program principles to provincial and local GEM implementers and served as a resource and source of funding for training.

South African National Department of Education (SA DOE) Gender Equity Unit, as a partnering organization and the implementer of the program, carried the fiscal and programmatic burden of bringing GEM to fruition on a provincial and local level. The fiscal and planning responsibilities are outlined, and each partner is aware of its responsibilities. Figure 1 below shows the organizational structure and flow of the partnership between UNICEF SA and SA DOE.

Figure 1: Structure and Implementation of UNICEF/South African Department of Education Partnership for GEM



Provincial Level

GEM’s existing structure at the provincial level varies by province. The structural formation of the program is mainly connected to the capacity and fiscal means available. Though GEM caters to youth (14–25), each province implements the program at various levels. Some provinces have regional- and municipal-level clubs that participate in youth forums or GEM camps.

While researching, I attended a weekend GEM camp in Free State and observed the training and programming. Though this province was not selected as a site for my dissertation research, the researcher gained valuable information for consideration of the efficacy of the training session for GEM by attending this training. Two hundred students from all over the Free State province attended the training. This camp was a co-ed weekend

session and learners from public and private institutions were invited to participate. The weekend program addressed issues of violence in schools (sexual and gang), self-esteem, and cultural-identity building and collaboration. This training was quite impressive and well organized. The Free State DOE Gender Unit had received combined funding from its provincial DOE and also private donations from a grant. The Gender Equity team in Free State is lead by two South African men who are dedicated to the mission of the program and are attempting to create an institutionalized regeneration in the youth of that province.

The provincial youth forum did appear to have impact in Free State but did not exist in the Cape Town region where this study was conducted. As stated earlier, the availability of such programs is solely connected to the resources that each province has. Each provincial gender unit must negotiate their own funding from the provincial DOE, which gives a budgeted amount for all programs. Therefore, any GEM program cost must be withdrawn from the general program funding for the entire department. Some provinces are astute in grant writing and building partnerships with local business and private schools. Others are limited in capacity and receive no program implementation funding from national office.

School Level

The GEM initiative is implemented in schools and communities through school-based clubs. The clubs consist of students ages 7–19 and range in size. The clubs provide intervention for boys and girls; some clubs are co-ed and others are single sexed. In these schools and communities GEM is a network for improving girls' education with boys and adults as allies. Life-skills teachers or other volunteers monitor the clubs. There is no budget, therefore some clubs hold bake sales or sell candy to buy craft supplies or support projects. In many cases the educational leader will spend from his or her own pocket to support some

of the activities for the learners. In a small number of local settings, life-skills teachers partnered with the school-safety or counseling departments to support activities. The student-led clubs equip children through youth leadership and community workshops to address issues of access to education; clean and safe school environments; the importance of good communication amongst peers; HIV prevention; equal opportunities in math and science; life skills; and the importance of personal development. The workshops focus on enhancing students' abilities to be creative leaders who contribute to the development of their own schools and communities.

In primary schools, the GEM clubs are lead by the upper-grade students and are actualized through drama, music, and sporting events. At the secondary level, the clubs orchestrate more diverse activities; some have produced community radio and TV programs. GEM clubs have morphed into drama groups who perform skits on related school and societal issues, and peer-counseling groups that meet to discuss student concerns about curriculum, violence, and traditional community practices. The participants of the GEM program reinforce transformation by leading their own development and recruiting other students to participate. Though the program is operationalized at some level, there is a lack of consistency by province and the program does not yet meet the national standards. Therefore, there was a need to evaluate program effectiveness.

Conceptual Framework: Partnerships for Education Development

This study uses the theory of partnerships to address the program-implementation issues that concern education development for girls. It became evident to the researcher that in order to have a full understanding and evaluation of the efficacy of the GEM program, one needs to understand the partnership between UNICEF SA and SA DOE. Partnerships that

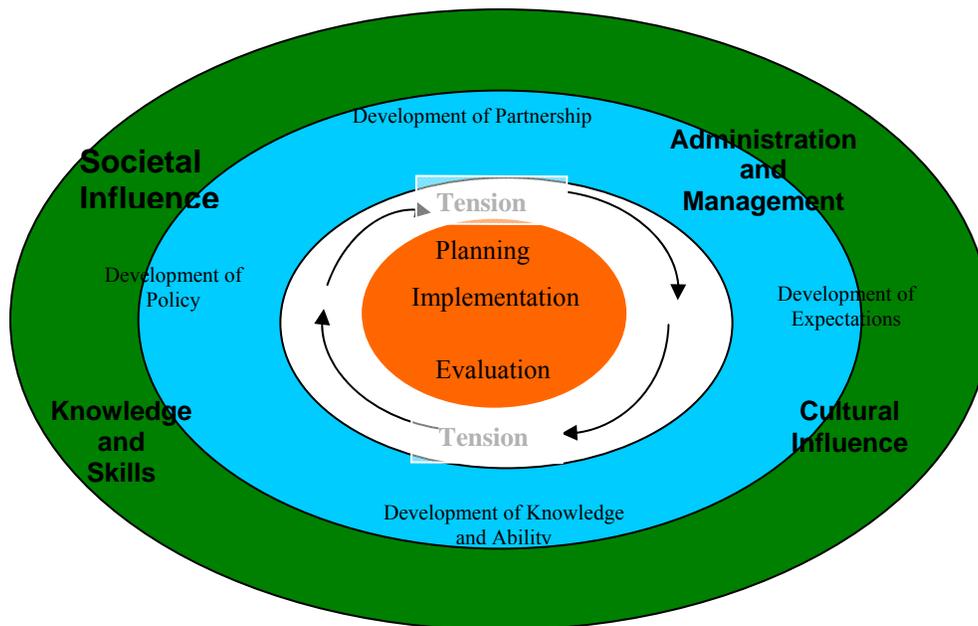
support initiatives such as GEM are usually mechanisms to address crisis in a country. Programs supported by such partnerships are an opportunity to achieve policy outcomes (Podziba, 1998). This study uses the theory of partnerships to address the organizational issues that surfaced with program implementation from the ceiling to the floor—on the national, provincial, and local levels. The review of the literature on partnerships speaks to four elements in the theory of partnerships: (1) the nature of organizational collaboration, which looks at the structural issues of collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 1996), (2) resource dependency thesis (Benson, 1978), and (3) institutional paradigm (DiMaggio and Powell, 1988; Singh et al. 1991). There is also public-management literature, which emphasizes contractual relationships, their management and cost, and the impact of trust (Williamson, 1988; Osborne 1997). There is a theoretical impetus that comes from a foundation of public governance, which looks at the network relationships and the importance between the political and social context (Kooiman 1993; Kickert 1997). Lastly, there is literature on the process and impact of partnerships on the local services and on development of the local community (Taylor, 1997). For the purpose of this study, partnership theory is viewed from the theoretical lens of the process and impact of partnerships on program implementation and on development.

The conceptual framework of this study is a hybrid model. The researcher reviewed the literature and discovered that the theory of partnership was a clear model that sufficiently represented the scope of this study. The model developed by the researcher addresses the big picture of success strategies for partnerships for education development. Education for development has a large number of actors and ownership, and a large community of learners, teachers, parents, and public and private entities that all need buy-in. Education also has a

large number of input materials (Brady & Galisson, 2008): books, furniture, and educational processes. It is imperative that the conceptual framework addresses these ingredients and stimulates innovative and technical knowledge about the collaboration of partnerships for education development. This model shows the relationship of the partners for all stages of the partnership process.

The framework addresses the need for more educational expertise and displays the degree of complexity that occurs as the partnership matures. The complexity of this conceptual framework represents the scope and scale of a partnership for educational development between UNICEF and SA DOE. The framework presents the tensions within the relationship of the partners. Development of expectations, policy, partnership, administration, and management are all contributing factors that influence tensions between the partners and directly affect the GEM implementation. These tensions take place at the national, provincial, and local levels. GEM is the collaborative effort of both agencies. There is a delineation of the relationship and the demands of partnership that begins to break down as information is disseminated and program priorities are realized into actual GEM activities.

Figure 2. Development Partnership Framework



The outer circle represents the assumptions and prior context that both agencies bring to the partnership. The prior context consists of cultural influence, knowledge and skills, societal influence, and administration and management. This prior context is the base for the communication exchange that takes place within the partnership. The second largest circle represents the interactive context of the partnership. These areas are development of policy, expectations, partnership, and knowledge and ability. These areas encompass the setting for development of competencies for effective program implementation. The third circle represents the tension that constantly evolves between the partners and the process of program implementation. The center circle represents the context of a continuous cycle of planning, implementation, and evaluation. All of the other mechanisms influence the process of development and program implementation. This visual representation of the framework shows the essential competing issues that affect the growth, effectiveness, and the decision-making process of implementing GEM.

Significance of the Study Policy to Practice

The significance of this study is affected by several factors. These factors are connected to the trends and lack thereof within the evaluation of the implementation of program initiatives, the lack of literature on educational development programs to promote girls' education, and the limited knowledge and strategies that promote collaborative partnerships between international development organizations and departments of education. The study looks at the development dynamics and cultural and social factors, which must be taken into account when determining the success of a girls' educational development program.

Educational development programs are often limited by lack of economic growth and the budget available for them. Beyond these constraints, the choices made in educational development program implementation are the allocation of resources, services, and goods. Researching the way the GEM program has been implemented reveals the level of commitment and highlights the priorities of the partners involved. In this respect, the assessment of the efficacy of GEM in South Africa unveils the lack of resources and capacity for girls' education development and school safety. This study places the emphasis on the need for partnerships to be cognizant of the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the partnership and the program. This is reiterated by urging the partners to conduct preliminary assessment of materials needed and human resources. The positioning of the partnership can serve as a predominate inference when trying to build capacity (human and technical) of the teachers, administrators and other stakeholders.

In South Africa, the policies and reforms are written to carry out national education development initiatives and encourage the schooling and protection of the girl learner. However, the policies are not backed by funds, nor are resources reallocated in the education budget to benefit GEM awareness-raising campaigns. This study reveals the need for a new awareness campaign on the part of South Africa DOE and UNICEF SA to inform the community and necessitate the protection of the girl child; the need to send girls to school; and, lastly, the need for an increase in safety measures once girls arrive at school.

GEM provides a formal frame for girls' education and development, yet policymakers, administrators, teachers, and learners must reference it on a consistent basis for it to be effective. This study is significant as it adds to evaluation of educational development programs and it adds to the evidence that having a strong desire for change is

not enough; there must be congruent action in place with clear measures and a heightened awareness of all partners and stakeholders. In a partnership formed for educational development, there must be conditions required for the access, preservation, and success of the program (Brady & Galisson, 2006). There must be synergized procedures that lead to cohesive program implementation.

Because girls' education plays a critical role as a factor of development, this study is significant as it examines South Africa's efforts, with varying degrees of success, to make girls' education and the GEM program a national priority directly linked to the Child Friendly Schools model. The strength of this research is that it expands the literature on educational development and girls' education. At a moment when Education for All is fast-tracked as a priority, and a necessity, the significance of partnerships of departments of education and international development agencies in South Africa is vital. This study investigates the importance of appropriate, well-designed partnerships in establishing effective educational development programs.

The significance of this study is undisputable: Policymakers and researchers have very little literature on partnerships of this kind and the organizational elements that affect partnerships. This study takes a magnifying look at the role of partnerships in educational development for girls' education between two entities and delineates the stages of implementation at the national, provincial, and local levels. In this respect, the study examines the GEM initiative and how a successful or unsuccessful implementation is the result of choices that partners make. The study also takes into account anecdotal stories and the messages that dictate the degrees of political and shared limitations that produce economic realities (Worldbank, 2000).

The role of educational policies and initiatives in designing a partnership for the success of girls' education is still a research area to be discovered. Development policies are designed and implemented in the context of economic and social crisis (Worldbank, 2000); usually there is little connection between education development, gender, and partnership design.

Internationally, the focus continues to be on primary and secondary education. This study also adds to the literature about the evaluation of the GEM program. The GEM program was implemented in South Africa in 2003 and at the time there was limited information and no formal evaluation in the context of South African schools. As statistics continue to corroborate the brutalization of girls in South African school environments by teachers and male learners, this study addresses the research gap between program implementation and evaluation.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The review of the literature looks at the concept of development and its place in schools in addressing girls' education issues. The literature provides background information on inequity and the history of unsafe schooling within a South African Education context. Lastly, the literature reviewed for this study looks at the leading thoughts on building partnerships for education program development, implementation, and evaluation.

Development and Girls' Education

Heward and Bunwaree (1999) examine the relationship between development and education from a gender perspective. They examine the structural adjustments and criticize the views of the World Bank that see education and development for girls and women as basically a cost-effective mechanism for higher economic production but deal little with the intrinsic and human-rights aspect of education and development for girls and women. The importance of educating the girl child in a safe environment for social, economic, and human development is recognized as imperative by policymakers and leaders of nations. Yet there are numerous barriers that present themselves structurally, economically, and socially to address this disconnect. Though it is documented that the benefits of education relate to all elements of development, women and girls have been continually marginalized.

Inglehart and Norris (2003) examined the relationship between gender equality and development and stated that development must happen in two phases. First there must be a mass movement of women into the labor force, which leads to declined fertility and greater literacy. Secondly, women must rise in management positions and gain more political influence. Though this study relates primarily to development and female status, it is

believed to be informative in connection with the education of girls. As girls become more educative they receive the benefits of access to the outside world and status and position. Studies have shown that while heightened affluence has its benefits, it is not an automatic relation between gender equality and development.

For the constraints of this study, *development* is defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

...An integral and interacting process, both requiring and precipitating far-reaching social, political, cultural and economic changes. It is by no means a unilinear process that moves steadily and smoothly toward some predetermined set of models and values...it is typically turbulent, often a downright disorderly and painful process.

(quoted in Shelly, 1981.p. xvi)

Economic development and education have been closely linked in many studies. Women's and girls' education is closely related to productivity and growth on an individual household level. A study in Uganda showed that if given the opportunity for schooling, girls and women raised their farm output by 7% (Watkins, 2000). Issues such as political and cultural decisions also played a role, as did the development of local market rates. However, it is confirmed through research that where women are denied education or face disproportionate access to education and resources, possible economic gains are restricted (Sutton, 1998). Though structural bias may be present in a community and may worsen the rate of return of education in regard to girls, Benoval conducted a study and found that, "*while education of both genders had a substantial impact on economic growth the education of girls was a stronger predictor of growth than that of boys,*" a consequence that according to the study is

mainly influential in poorer countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Sutton, 1998). This indicates a high social rate of return for education, and even higher for girls than for boys (Geiger, 2002). The distinction between the social and the private rate of return has implications for the essential position of the state in being accountable to provide education.

2015 is the year by which the United Nations has declared that all governments must meet the Millennium Development Goals to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development (United Nations, 2005).

Though all of the goals are important and must be attained, two goals are congruent with this study: universal education (gender equality) and empowering women. Universal education continues to be a point of contention and a struggle for many nations. Statistics have shown even with an increase of resources and changing cultural patterns, universal education is still difficult to achieve. After decades of commitments, some 121 million children are still denied this right. Gender parity in education continues to be elusive—65 million of those children are girls (UNICEF, 2004).

It is imperative that there be more programs and funding invested in girls' education. This investment will eventually protect the rights of these girls and help meet a broader context of development goals. To improve the opportunities for girls to enroll in and complete school, we must remove the barriers that prevent girls from learning in a safe environment. Nations must address the fundamental factors that exist and affect the quality of life for the entire community. Girls' education is inextricably linked to other dimensions of

human development: the health and status of women, early childhood, nutrition, water and sanitation, and community empowerment (UNICEF, 2007). The reduction of violence and other forms of exploitation of girls will only cease to exist when countries make significant progress in gender equality.

If we care about the health and well-being of children today and into the future, we must work now to ensure that women and girls have equal opportunities to be educated, to participate in government, to achieve economic self-sufficiency and to be protected from violence and discrimination. (Ann M. Veneman, *UNICEF* Executive Director, UNICEF 2007)

The State of the World's Children (2007) examines the Millennium Development Goals and shows how Goal 3 (gender equality and empowering women) can enhance the other goals. If effectively implemented, Goal 3 has the ability to address the other issues of development such as poverty and hunger, the lives of children, maternal health, creating universal education, combating infectious diseases such as AIDS and malaria, and ensuring economic and environmental sustainability and development.

UNICEF's New Paradigm for Education

- Include girls' education as an essential component of development efforts. Core human-rights principles must govern economic development and poverty-reduction programmes.
- Create a national ethos for girls' education. Communities must be as scandalized about girls being kept out of school as they are about children being involved in hazardous work.

- Allow no school fees of any kind. Primary school must be free, universal and compulsory.
- Think outside and inside the 'education box'. Education in general and girls' education in particular, must be completely integrated into each country's poverty reduction strategy.
- Establish schools as centers of community development. Schools and less-formal learning spaces should become centers for education and skills building as well as for community participation and development.
- Integrate strategies. Confronting the multifaceted barriers to girls' education must occur on three levels: investments, policies and institutions; service delivery; and conceptual frameworks, namely those of the economic and human rights approaches.
- Increase international funding for education. All industrialized countries should direct 10 per cent of official aid to basic education and make good on their commitment to move swiftly towards giving at least 0.7 per cent of gross national product in aid, and at least 0.15 per cent to least developed countries. The Fast-Track Initiative led by the World Bank must be extended to cover more nations and guarantee swift funding for their needs. (UNICEF, 2004)

The paradigm takes in hand a formula for successful implementation of quality programs such as the Girls' Education Movement (GEM). It addresses the necessity for the change in ethos, creating safe learning environments, and providing fiscal support to create sustainability for girls' education.

This new paradigm for education is a comprehensive plan that sets development and education at the forefront of the policy agenda. Education for girls and development are

paired to address the core of human rights and economic development. Development must be implemented in various stages of society, and schooling and development must form a partnership in order for girls' education to be valued—for a safe learning environment to become primary in the minds of policymakers, administrators, educators, and learners.

Inequity and Unsafe Schooling

South Africans are not new to violence. Even during the years of apartheid oppression, rates of abuse against women and children far outweighed the criminal and political violence (Dawes & Finchilescu, 1998). A culture of violence has been apparent in the society for many years. The establishment of the apartheid system permeated violence in educational institutions with the establishment of Bantu education (EFA: The South African Assessment Report, 2000). The Bantu Education Act was enacted in 1953⁴. The educational act established segregation and promoted inequity in South African schools therefore schools were transformed into site of political struggle and frequently became violent spaces (Hyslop, 1999)⁵.

Extremely high levels of both political violence and violent crime have accompanied South Africa's transition to democracy. Assault, rape and sexual violence are "endemic" in South African schools (UNICEF, 2003). As levels of violence have increased in society, so have levels of school-related gender-based violence in schools. Fear of violence is pervasive and has had major impacts on the educational opportunities available to students.

A study conducted by the South African Medical Research Center (MRC) for the Department of Health titled *The 1st National South African Youth Behavior Survey* (2003) gives statistical data of violence in schools. The landmark study established a baseline for

⁴ "Bantu Education" policies were meant to ensure that the majority of black children received inferior schooling and were not equipped to do anything more than unskilled manual labor.

⁵ There is massive literature on the political history of education in South Africa.

future studies by providing information on the unsafe school environment. The study consisted of 23 schools in each province, which sampled 14,776 learners. The quantitative report revealed the following statistical data: 17% of students carried weapons, 41% of students were bullied (in a month's time), 14% belonged to gangs (over a 6 month period), 15% had been forced to have sex, 15% had been threatened or injured on school property and 19% were injured in fights and 32% felt unsafe at school (MRC, 2003). Another study revealed that 50% of students had experienced violence either as victims or perpetrators⁶. The statistical data gives valuable information on violence in South African schools, but as it is quantitative, it is limited in giving contextual factors for violence in schools. Therefore this study is a small-scale qualitative case study that examines the efficacy of the implementation of the Girls' Education Movement (GEM), the partnership of UNESCO SA and SA DOE with the GEM initiative, and the partnership's effectiveness in implementing the program to create school safety in Masiyile and Fezeka secondary schools in Cape Town.

What Is a Partnership?

The literature on partnerships covers many elements of the process of developing partnerships, political reasoning behind partnerships, community-based partnerships, and a host of other concepts about partnerships. The definition of *partnership* covers different concepts a variety of relationships under different contextual circumstances. The literature suggests that there are an indefinite amount of partnership possibilities and methods that entities can engage in. Lyons and Hamlin (1991) write that partnerships are limited only by the imagination, and economic development offices are becoming increasingly innovative in their use of the concept. Partnerships involve "working together" and often are defined as collaboration between people or organizations in the public and private sector for mutual

⁶ Swart (2000) conducted a study on the prevalence of violence in teenage dating relationships.

benefit (Holland, 1984). Bailey (1994) gives another definition of *partnership* as “the mobilization of a coalition of interest drawn from more than one sector in order to prepare and oversee an agreed strategy for regeneration of a defined area” (Bailey 1994).

Dimensions of Partnerships

There are a range of partnership possibilities and partnership models available in the literature. Every partnership has multiple dimensions. To show a wide variety of partnerships, the researcher referred to the literature on the characteristics of partnerships. Partnerships have different dimensions of characteristics based on the needs and demands of the partnership. Some partnerships are driven by strategies and others are project-driven (McQuaid, 2000). Some partnerships are driven by time, others are directed by initiatives, yet they all have stages of development and changing relationships over time (McQuaid, 2000). What is important to know about these partnerships are the purpose behind the partnerships, who is involved, and when and how the partnerships are formed. These are the dimensions that encase the complexities of partnerships and direct the levels of efficiency based on an analysis of the issues (Hastings, 1996).

Strategies for Successful Partnership

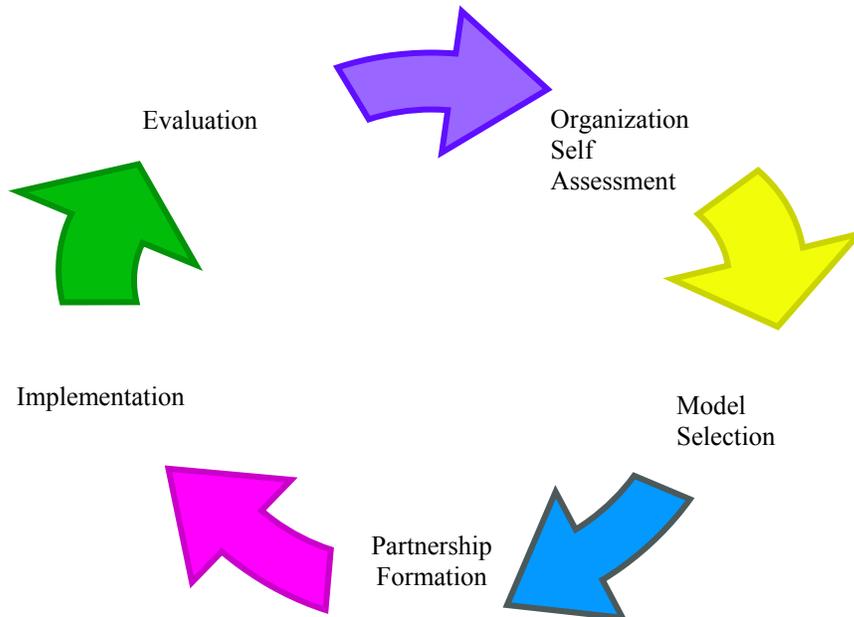
The first requirement of any successful education-devolvement partnership or program is careful planning. Without good planning, interventions, regardless of intentions, will not succeed. Planning must be comprehensive, involving a wide range of stakeholders from the national, provincial, and local level. The RE-AIM model (reach, efficacy, adoption, implementation, maintenance) is one method that can be used effectively during the planning process. Partners can assess the problems faced by the school, develop appropriate goals and objectives, analyze what resources are necessary, develop policies and implement the

intervention with levels of accountability, and then assess the efficacy of the program and the partnership.

Partners who use a collaborative and integrative approach for the implementation, execution, and evaluation are most likely to succeed. It is recommended that intervention planning be inclusive with learners, teachers, parents and staff when safe schools through school based education development. Competent staffing is required at each level of the intervention to ensure the program's success; educators, policymakers, and planners with appropriate skills and experience should be hired whenever possible. Training is also an important element to the success of any partnership or intervention initiative. Every individual at every level of involvement should receive appropriate training when possible.

There are a series of steps that must be taken to establish a successful organizational partnership. In the case of UNICEF-SA and SA DOE, there were many considerations that should have been addressed before the partnership commenced. The initial agreement to collaborate consists of making choices about the design and implementation. There must be an astute account of considerations for decision-making at different stages in the lifecycle of the partnership. It is evident that in the case of the partnership examined in this study, there was a lack of foundational decision-making. This is apparent in the lack of consistency in program implementation. Below is a flow chart that tracks the successful process of partnerships for development.

Figure 3. Flow of Decision-Making for Partnership in Education Development⁷



Self-Assessment

According to (Brady and Galisson, 2008) each partner must understand the motives of the other. It is the responsibility of each partner to self-assess to determine the needs and motivation of the partnership. Before organizations decide to become partners, there must be a clear idea of what each partner can provide. In the case of UNICEF SA and SA DOE, there needs to be a better outline of responsibilities and roles as well as fiscal management and accountability in the initial agreement stage.

Maturation of Partnerships

There must be a high level of commitment to get measurable deliverables (results) (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995) within a partnership. These deliverables are the driving forces to create change. This change cannot come about by process alone, nor can it manifest solely by efforts made. The ideal environment for creating program success and measuring change

⁷ Brady, K. and Galisson, K. (2008). *Dynamics of Private Sector support for Education: Experiences in Latin America*. Academy for Education Development

is connected to the partnership and its motives. The ideal partnership is based on a series of factors and conditions that must be operational within both organizations. In this case study, it is evident that pieces are missing to generate results that are measurable and sustainable. The complexity and magnitude of the relationships between multiple partners (UNICEF SA and SA DOE; SA DOE to province; or province to school) speaks volumes. It is imperative that there be levels of trust and clear communication, and allocation of resources to maximize the implementation of the program. The components below are necessary to building successful partnerships:

- Establish confidence on behalf of both partners; this confidence is earned over time and has degrees of complexities based on the levels of trust
- Define the results broadly to include not only the intended outcomes but also unintended consequences
- Clearly define in advance any constraints that limit how the work is to be done
- Clearly define how the work is to be done (methods, processes, tools) and have shared accountability
- Provide the resources, authorities, and information needed to deliver the agreed outcomes
- Negotiate fairly; don't coerce into accepting impossible assignments
- Offer support and coaching (mentoring) (Brady & Galisson, 2008)

Building Partnerships for Program Development, Implementation, and Evaluation

Partnerships in education have been in discussion for years. Often there is tension between the private and public sector in regards to the motives and benefits of private-public partnerships. However, little research has been done in regard to the benefits and challenges

of partnerships that include regional multilateral organizations such as UNICEF and national departments of education such as the South African National Department of Education. In the case of this study, the relationship between the two organizations is investigated to determine the efficacy of program implementation of the GEM initiative. In order to gain understanding of efficacy of GEM, the researcher needs to consider the strategies and knowledge base of working partnerships consecutively to deliver an accurate analysis.

An investment in education is a key strategy for economic development (King, 1991). Although there are dilemmas in investing in education development, international development assistance organizations have demonstrated that this tactic is the prevailing method to influence policy decisions (Crossley, 2001). In spite of major investments and building of partnerships, organizations are disappointed with the outcomes of ineffective educational policy (Cheng, 1997). Often, efforts of educational reform and policy impact fail because they are not attuned to the needs, values, and cultures of a local context (Crossley & Holmes, 2001). Partnerships working on reform strategies must tend to the local context of the issues and set priorities for educational development. Both partners must have an understanding of the tensions between localizing and globalizing program strategies to meet the needs of the learners.

There are many conflicts to reconcile before establishing and maintaining a partnership. The most successful education partnerships result when there is collaboration with policymakers, educators, and government agencies, and the community comes together to build schools for development capacity (human and technical). With a vested interest in girls' education, partnerships can have a tremendous impact on improving technical skills of

teachers through curriculum development and faculty support, while addressing the requirements for learning.

There must be shared responsibility for developing, implementing, enhancing, and evaluating equitable girls' education programs. Representatives from UNICEF, SA DOE, academia, and professional and community organizations must all work together to guarantee that girls' education is aligned with gender frameworks and curricular standards. It is imperative that partners help institutions develop responsive curricula and safe learning environments. These methods allow partnerships to develop effective and equitable educational programs:

- Engaging in strategic planning
- Identifying the need
- Training and updating the skills of educators
- Monitoring the program and partnership
- Ensuring that curricula content and programs meets the needs of learners
- Providing experiences for both girls and boys
- Sharing of resources for fiscal and capacity building
- Providing professional development opportunities for provincial and local leaders
- Promoting diversity among participants (Brady& Galisson, 2006)

There are many challenges that present themselves when developing a partnership. Partners in education must acknowledge the motives and identify the strategies that are necessary for an effective model. Partnerships are collaborative alliances in support of education (Otterbourg, 1986). The goal of the partnership is to improve education and to meet the needs of the school and learners. The shared interest of partners is the compelling

realization for the need for education reform. Partnerships are also seen as political resources to encourage commitment to activities, funding, and buy-in. In the situation of girls' education, interest has evolved from a local issue to an international sponsorship. The GEM initiative has propelled partnerships around the world to address the inequalities in girls' education and work to create safe learning environments. The stakeholders involved in this global partnership go beyond UNICEF SA and SA DOE and encompass project contributors and evaluators of the nature and implementation of the partnership.

Partnership Formation

After conducting an assessment, each organization must make an internal decision about how to organize and support the educational development program. The decision of what kind of intervention to use or which program to implement helps create activities for the program. Based on the agreed initiative, the partners can engage in different levels of collaboration.

There must be time and resources for appropriate planning to take place. The partners must determine the needs and define goals, objectives, roles, and responsibilities (Draxler, 2008). For an educational initiative such as GEM it is imperative that a needs assessment be conducted. The joint venture with UNICEF and SA DOE cannot be driven by resources and interest but must be driven by explicit schooling needs. When needs are recognized there must be a determination of what assets each partner has to meet the needs, how can the collaboration bring about specific activities and programs to move education and the GEM program forward. UNICEF and DOE would need to assess the amount of time, the level of expertise, skills, local context, decision makers, in-kind resources, fiscal resources, and stakeholder support that is necessary to accomplish the mission (Brady & Galisson, 2006).

Implementation of the Program

The dynamics of the partnership have affected program implementation at every stage. In a mature partnership, both parties should continue to self-evaluate their performances, making modifications and improvements to both the project and the partnership (Jones, 2001). It is crucial to establish an open line of communication and a plan for program implementation with detailed responsibilities. There must be a mechanism in place for communication among the partners and constant collaboration. The program must evolve through the implementation stage. If UNICEF SA and SA DOE had consistently self-evaluated the program and the partnership, there would be more successful strategies in place. To build support within the partnership, there must be interaction, institutional-capacity building, balance of power, ownership, participatory decision-making, and monitoring and evaluation (Jones, 2001). These specific strategies must exist at every level of the partnership and program implementation. There must also be strong leadership, flexibility, and an overriding structure that provides accountability. Lastly, there must be a transparency in both partners' decision-making mechanisms. These tenets will lead to the beginning of an effective program implementation.

Evaluation of Program

Schools present an authentic and natural setting for implementing programs expected to combat violence; to change learners' views, skills, knowledge, and behaviors; and to decrease their interaction with violence and increase their feeling of safety. Although many programs with these goals exist, few have been comprehensively evaluated. Partners as implementers of educational-development and violence-prevention programs need to be mindful of the communities where the schools dwell, the types of violence being addressed,

the target population, pertinent risk and protective factors, and the target of the intervention (Graves, 1995). Evaluation of programs like GEM requires careful consideration to the unit of randomization, conditions, outcome measures, timing of data collection, and potential moderator variables (APA, 1993). Efforts to develop and implement effective violence prevention programs can be facilitated by adopting an action-research strategy in which evaluation of findings provides a base for repeated program modifications.

Most importantly, better evaluations of partnerships and programs are essential to establishing and maintaining efficacy and accountability. Consistent and quantifiable evaluation will enhance existing relationships and programs and provide a concrete base for future efforts. This will enable partners to replicate strong and stable programs and improve weaker ones.

The most critical part of maintaining the efficacy of GEM and the partnership of UNICEF SA and SA DOE is program evaluation. Self-reflection on behalf of the partners ensures that the partnership is functioning effectively (Brady & Galisson, 2008). Program evaluation measures the effectiveness of program implementation and the impact on the educational system. By using appropriate indicators, one can determine the efficacy of the GEM program. These results must be shared jointly with the partners. This facilitates an education movement that influences policymakers and makes a difference at the grassroots level. UNICEF SA and SA DOE must develop a strategy for continuous evaluation of both the program and the partnership. This strategy will provide cohesion and keep the GEM initiative in the forefront of education development.

Summary

The progress in girls' education in recent decades is overshadowed by continuing disempowerment, discrimination, and poverty. Girls are disproportionately affected by violence in schools and in most places still are not able to access quality education. Millions of girls in the world are subject to physical and sexual violence. Girls are less likely to attend school as a result of being marginalized, and nearly one out of every five girls who enroll in primary school in developing countries does not complete a primary education (UNICEF, 2006). Improvements in girls' education in a safe environment continue to correlate with improved outcomes for child survival and development (UNICEF, 2006).

Education in a South African context continues to transition; however, the literature alludes to a persistence of violence. This violence is not only political in nature but it is reminiscent of the foundation laid by the past. Socioeconomic conditions and political marginalization continue to stratify the society. The evidence of this is visible in the education system and signifies attributes that support poor education for girls. There must be a mind-shift in education development: programs ought to be developed with cohesive values similar to GEM. However, these programs must be properly implemented and supported by strong partnerships in order to counteract the systemic violence. Establishing best practice approaches between partners is crucial for success, acknowledging the inequalities that will lead to strengthening and building capacity. There has to be effective communication among partners and a commitment to investing in a lengthy relationship to eradicate the inequity.

Chapter Three

Sakhasonke (We are building together)

The post-apartheid era ensued while South Africa was suffering an economic depression, so much so that the black population was economically worse off than during the apartheid regime. Inflation was at a record high, more than 7 million people were unemployed, 10 million people lived in shantytowns, and 42% of deaths resulted from living in poverty (South Africa Census, 1996). There was unrestrained rural-urban relocation. South Africa's economy was reliant on cut-rate Black labor. In 1996, the average annual income for Whites was 34,400 South African rands compared to 3,600 for Blacks (South Africa Census, 1996). Almost half of the Black and Colored⁸ populations of South Africa lived below the survival level. In these states of affairs all Black and Colored people were defenseless, but women and children were most at jeopardy. For this faction, education was insignificant as the end of apartheid complicated their predicament (Soudein & Baxen, 1997).

Undoubtedly, the legacy of apartheid adversely affected the ability of certain groups to participate in society and until there were changes in the political, social and economic conditions, education and school safety were the least of concerns. Communities could not stabilize or develop, especially for the Black population. The structure of these communities is relative to the historical significance of education in South Africa and the strongholds that currently permeate the school environment. Though the education and affluence of the South Africa's growing middleclass is increasing, the disparity of the townships leaves massive numbers of people still alienated from the benefits of the new South Africa.

⁸ Colored people are people of mixed race in South Africa

A description of the community in which the schools dwell is imperative to provide contextual understanding of the plight of the learners. Given the conditions of the community and its rollover effect on creating child-friendly and safe schools, I thought it necessary to provide a physical depiction of the community surrounding the schools where the study was conducted. These communities are ravaged with gang activity, drugs, and other elements of crime, and the activities within the schools are not limited to inside the school walls. It was necessary for the researcher to consider the legacy of Apartheid and the violence that takes place within the community that is then transferred to the school. To analyze the efficacy of the GEM program and its implementation on the ground, I observed relative poverty and violence in the communities and its influence in the school.

The fetid living conditions in Guguletu and Khayelitsha, neighborhoods in the mammoth townships outside Cape Town in the Western Cape, were observed. Living there is a battle for survival. Health and housing are the greatest priority for the families that dwell in these squalid conditions. Though there is economic diversity in the townships the predominate inhabitants live in abject poverty. The homes are predominately shacks made with cardboard or tin roofs and walls of concrete or wood. There is little to no access to playgrounds or recreational facilities for children; they often play on the waste ground beside the main road. Children as young as 3 walk the streets alone in dirty, tattered clothing with no adult supervision. On a regular basis there are reports of missing, murdered, and abused children.



(Guguletu Township Houses, August 2007)

In the last decade there have been plans underway to confront the elements of violence within the community, though there is not substantial capacity to deal with day-to-day nuisances that promote abject poverty. The Cape Town Police and city officials have first of all developed a plan in which the primary objective is the targeting of social chaos through the combating of alcohol and substance abuse, and secondly, they plan to carry out arrest and law enforcement actions. According to the South African Police (SAP), drug and alcohol abuse is seen as the primary factor contributing to crime (particularly domestic violence, mugging, burglary, and rape), serious accidents, and pedestrian deaths (Dugmore, 2003). The Community Safety Forum (CFS) also reported that the non-payment of fines and disobedience to traffic laws is also a contributor to the culture of mayhem reflected in communities (attended meeting, March 2007). To counteract these offenses, the community development plan uses a crime-fighting approach that even pursues petty crimes and minor thefts. In hopes of de-escalating the amount of crime, SAP has adopted zero tolerance in an

attempt to address the inequity and violence in Guguletu and Khayelitsha. Below is the information that was revealed in regard to arrests for community crimes.⁹

**Table 1: Arrest by Cape Town Police Services
Breakdown of Arrest Statistics in Guguletu and Khayelitsha
December 2006–May 2007**

Drunk in public	67
Possession of dagga/mandrax ¹⁰	92
Theft	60
Possession of illegal weapon	31
Discharge of weapon	6
Possession of stolen vehicle	10
House breaking	46
Theft from vehicle	10
Shop lifting	12
Urinating in public	2
Child abuse	1
Rape	10
Domestic violence	7
Murder	8
Anti-social behavior	32
Reckless driving	61
Other	93
Total	545

(Dugmore, 2003)

The statistics above present many challenges as the Community Safety Forum could only provide information in regards to arrest. There was no record available of the total crimes that took place within the community. Consequently, it is assumed that the numbers of violent crimes within the community are relatively high based on the arrest statistics provided. There is also the challenge of the police force being afraid or bribed when conducting investigations or when recruited to provide protection for community members. The director of the CFS stated, “Many crimes go unreported as the community has developed

⁹ Officials who provided this information indicated that the figures are only represent arrests. Information on the number of crimes committed was not made available.

¹⁰ Marijuana

an apathetic view towards the police and their ability to stop violence and restore justice within the townships.”

The neighborhoods of Guguletu and Khayelitsha are notorious for being violent and dangerous. At the onset of my research, peers constantly advised me that I should not enter the townships alone, yet none of my professional colleagues or friends were willing to travel with me. Many of them had grown up in similar communities but were now reaping the benefits of BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) and had moved their families out of the townships. It was often repeated that the Soweto, Guguletu, and Khayelitsha of today are much too dangerous for visitors. I was warned that as an outsider who did not speak the language, I could be carjacked, raped, or robbed at any moment. Initially I admit I had a sense of fear and trepidation, and reconsidered if this was indeed an environment that was conducive to research for an African-American female. I decided to rely to my own street skills from urban environments within the U.S. to navigate the streets of the townships. I often did not speak unless I was in a contained and familiar setting; I dressed in very plain clothing and wore no flashy jewelry or anything that brought attention to me. Most of the time this was effective; occasionally someone would notice that I was different, whether it was due to me speaking or just in the way I walked. I once needed to stop for directions to the school in Khayelitsha. I was lost and had taken the wrong turn into the township and spent 40 minutes trying to find my way by car. Each unpaved, potholed street blended into the next and the shacks that aligned the curbs had no distinctive markings. I could not remember which way the school was but knew that I was very close. Reluctantly I decided to seek assistance or I would spend another 40 minutes driving down dirt roads blocked with burned garbage and broken furniture. When I stopped my car I was approached by a few

young men asking if I was interested in buying dagga (marijuana), and though I admit I was intimidated, I kept my cool and nodded a persistent no. I passed them and called to a woman that was selling fruit to ask for directions. She spoke very little English and called in Xhosa¹¹ to one of the dealers that I had passed. A young man of about 20 approached me in a white T-shirt that read “Brooklyn” with his jeans hanging down, baseball cap, and Nike sneakers. He gladly gave me directions and said, “My American sista, welcome to South Africa.” This was all too familiar of a vision for me. In that moment I realized that the very nature and reputation of these communities was exactly the landscape that I needed. To have the opportunity to be in the interior of the most brutal community conditions was necessary to gain understanding of the realm of violence that the school community encountered. It was my intent as a researcher to give a glimpse of the violence within the community considering the reality that schools do not exist in isolation. The school itself is a member of the larger community and the actions and offenses that take place in the neighborhood directly impact the school’s ability to maintain safety.

Kunye (Forward Together)

There is a contentious issue within the township communities: the connection between community growth and lack of prosperity to increasing school violence. While many people interviewed agreed that the connection exists to some degree, Guguletu and Khayelitsha teachers and learners felt that the media exaggerates the levels of violence within their community, and that their community has been unjustly singled out as an example of something that is happening all over South Africa. “I believe that most of the time, people talk about our community because of sensationalism. I am not saying that we do not have problems, but like other communities, we try to work on them”(math teacher, Fezeka

¹¹ One of the 13 official languages in South Africa spoken by the Xhosa people

Secondary). “I find it hard to change the situation and minds of the learners because everyday they are told that their situation is hopeless. True, they are poor, but it doesn’t mean you have to be violent or always hopeless” (reading teacher, Masiyile Secondary). “When we were young, we were more poor than these children, but we did not do the robbing and killing that happens now. We had a strong will to fight the system and live to create a better country. I feel these children have nothing to live for, so it is easy for them to kill each other” (history teacher, Fezeka Secondary).

The anxiety experienced by learners and the community stems in part from the notoriety conferred on them by constant media reports, mainly sensationalized newspaper articles. However, there have also been films that framed school violence in the context of townships rather accurately. Films such as *Tsotsi* and *A Long Night’s Journey* depict the treachery of life in the township. In these films residents of these communities experience hardship as they maneuver their way through township squalor and streets infested with drug activity, risky sexual behavior, and crime. The societal and social ills that plague Guguletu and Khayelitsha are not limited to these communities but seemed to be magnified. The devastation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has created a silo of children who are raising themselves. The growing use of drugs, especially *tik*¹² in the Western Cape has also caused an increase in school violence. “My brother was a good student but then he joined the gang to protect himself and started using tik. This changed him a lot and now he just want to be high all the time. It makes me sad to see him in school just hanging by the bathroom”(11th-grade learner, Masiyile Secondary). “Many learners, especially boys, are heavy into drugs; it seems it takes their mind. They become lazy and thieves and they don’t care about anything, especially school” (school administrator, Fezeka Secondary).

¹² *Tik* is the street name for crystal methamphetamine

There is also the concern that the media and musicians have romanticized violence. Learners seek to emulate their popular culture idols, which can lead to the idolization of violence based on films and videos. When asked about their mentors or heroes, learners often focused on American rap artist or other South African musicians whom they have never met. The learners spoke of the gangbanging videos and the bling-bling¹³ that artist display. The researcher surmises that the generational replication of violence is heightened by poverty thus producing violence in schools. There is an obvious link between socioeconomic conditions and school violence. The researcher is persuaded that poverty and underdevelopment has made the community and families so dysfunctional that it is difficult for learners to abandon the reinforced negative values within the South African context. Even in the absence of extensive quantifiable data, there is enough qualitative information that displays the extent that hostile and insecure community environments have a direct impact and significant toll on violence in schools.

Violence can best be understood through processes operating at multiple levels, taking into account of the dynamics that seem necessary, if not sufficient, to produce a violent incident (National Research council, 1993). These levels encompass factors working at the social, community, subcultural, family, and individual levels of society and change repeatedly, from time to time rapidly. In addition, sequences of events, driven and guided by microsocial processes, are often vital in transforming the prospect for violence into a reality in the school environment.

History of GEM

The epidemic of violence in schools helped to spearhead the development of the GEM program. The ideals of GEM were formed through policy development on an

¹³ *Bling-bling* is the hiphop generation's slang for fancy cars, houses, and jewelry.

international level. Policy-makers and activist alike initiated that GEM should become a co-opted program and be linked the rights for girls to learn. The Girls Education Movement was launched in 2000 at the World Education Forum in Dakar by then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to respond to a disturbing truth: that millions of children worldwide were not in school, more than half were girls. Years later the reality continued. The right to learning was still withheld from millions of boys and girls living in countries in every region of the world. Girls are in the majority of children affected by the denied right to gain access to schools. Another concern for girls' education was linked to the amount of violence in schools and the lack of safety for girls in developing nations. In an attempt to address this reality came the formation of UNICEF's Girl's Education Movement (GEM).

UNICEF & SADOE's vision was to create an environment where all girls and boys have equal access to free, quality education. The goal of the partnership was to work to remove barriers to learning, such as school fees and other education costs, and to provide access to education in crisis situations. GEM promoted strategies that put the needs of the most underprivileged, learners, first in education policies, plans and budgets. The Initiative also advocates a holistic approach, with unprejudiced investment in education across the board, addressing violence in schools and academic and social development for learners of poor families, and literacy and empowerment of girls. Beyond access to education, GEM works for gender equality in a broader sense. The GEM program, which UNICEF developed, was birthed out of the concerted efforts of the Dakar Framework and other organizations such as the United Nations Gender Equality Initiative (UNGEI) (UNICEF, 2003).

This child-centered, girl- led worldwide movement of youth whose goal is to bring about positive social transformation by empowering girls through education has its strengths

and weaknesses. Yet it is a movement and operates through groups of learners in schools and communities with girls taking the lead; boys acting as strategic allies while the adults – parents, teachers and administrators provide the assistance. It is these groups that consequently make the choice on how to network with and help one another at community, district, national, regional and international levels in co-operation. With the appropriate government, civil society and donor organizations in play SADOE and UNICEF could be a powerful partnership and have serious impact.

There are many cultural impediments within the school as an organization and within the context of South Africa that prevent having an accessible and safe learning environment. There are external factors such as poverty, cultural beliefs that girls do not have a right to education and the culture of the school itself as an organization. Not to mention that South African society has had a history of being punitive society. All of these components are factors that must be considered when looking at the ability to implement GEM. Though the mentioned factors are deeply rooted in the culture and experience of South Africans, there is an effort being made to change the minds and practices of the community. In an attempt to address what was considered to be the primary issue in 2004, UNICEF and SADOE decided to begin the implementation of GEM with one focus on creating gender parity in schools.

Gender parity in school enrolment was the first essential step on the road to empowerment and equality, and to initiating the GEM program. Increasingly the girls movement focused on gender ‘mainstreaming’, that is, embracing the full gender perspective, making certain that every aspect of educational policies and programmes was reviewed for its impact on girls. This led to attention being given to the physical needs of girls as well as boys in the design, construction and upkeep of schools as physical plants; the particular

educational needs and experiences of girls as well as boys were considered in the analysis of what would be needed to enhance the curriculum to promote sensitivity; and an ongoing endeavor to provide for the psychosocial needs of girls as well as boys in the services delivered at school, especially where violence and culture relegate girls to discrimination, abuse, and exploitation. The mission of GEM is to address the concerns of the girls. The Girls Education Movement (GEM) in South Africa was meant to become a highly child-centered, girl-driven grassroots movement for addressing barriers to girls' education. Girls have routinely taken the lead in mounting strategies for getting girls into schools and have co-opted boys as strategic allies. The development of this program and strategy was to help policymakers understand that a focus on girls' education also contributes to boys' education, which is gravely important. Due to the crucial role that educated boys play in creating change in the school environment, connecting boys to the program is also essential.

Initially, the program centered on creating opportunities for girls to have access to schools. The program was seen as a groundbreaking effort to address urgent issues facing girls around the globe on issues of illiteracy, violence, human trafficking and exploitation, child labor, family health and HIV/AIDS, and access to schools.

GEM is just a part of the girls' and boys' education movement; countries with high levels of violence in schools have instituted the program to combat the issue. In the case of South African learners life can be challenging. The learners in South Africa suffer from high unemployment and poverty. The status of this plight is reflective of their contemporaries in other parts of the world; learners in South Africa face the dangers of drug abuse, HIV, violence and teenage pregnancy. GEM was created to give tools to learners to engage in positive ways to deal with the current realities. The program is executed through clubs, which

gain voluntary membership of girls and boys. The club offers a safe place where young people can share problems, develop leadership skills, promote gender equity and girls' empowerment, and build confidence to resist peer pressure.

This international movement adopted by South Africa was implemented in the Western Cape and Limpopo first, now it has swept across many provinces. From the start, learners were involved in different activities of the GEM launch conference. Boys and girls from various schools and institutions of learning were equipped with exciting and highly creative skills that prepared them to play a leading role in the activities of the launch. The movement has been reconstituted to not solely address issues with girls' empowerment but also to be an active extension for girls' and boys' education. This movement has not been limited to South Africa but can also be found in other countries in the southern region: Botswana, Southern Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

Masizakhe Mpindweni (*Trying to help build ourselves*)

South Africa has had the most ambitious school-reform movement of any nation in history. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was developed in response to the fragmented national education system. The primary goal of NQF was to “create an integrated national framework for learning achievement and to enhance access to and mobility, and quality within, education and training” (RSADE, 1997, p. 14). This proposed system was to be operationalized through an outcome-based system. Proponents of Outcome-Based Education (OBE) have claimed that this method has the ability to reach all students “regardless of their environment, ethnicity, economic status, or disabling condition” (Capper & Jamison, 1993, p. 428). They also suggest that OBE gives teachers clear and concise focus, better instructional methods, and the ability to assess learners' achievement with clarity.

This philosophical and pedagogical educational practice is mentioned because it is the primary underpinning of the current South African education stance. South Africa claims to have a “learner-centered, results-oriented design based on the belief that all individuals can learn” (RSADE, 1997, p. 17). However, what is clear from this research is the absence of the relationship between the philosophical belief and the practical application within a safe learning environment. Lacking is the reflective process to consider the socio-cultural context of violence within the school environment.

The Government of South Africa is committed to expanding educational opportunities for its girls and boys. It is an active partaker in regional and international forums and works to build consensus on initiatives that contribute to improving the provision of quality education. UNICEF, in promoting girls' education to provide quality basic education for all, was eager to work with South Africa as they worked with other countries in the region. The South African government decided to partner with UNICEF in order to address issues of quality in education. The minister of Education signed an agreement with UNICEF stating the GEM program goals and how those goals would be executed within the context of South Africa. Therefore the SADOE adopted the GEM program and formed a partnership with UNICEF. The policy was presented to the provincial leaders once it was approved at the national level. Funding for the program was primary the responsibility of UNICEF and was to slowly be absorbed by the SADOE. Unfortunately South Africa had no other development or donor agencies to support the effort and became reliant of UNICEF as its sole funding source for the program. Having one funder lead to the GEM program being implemented in stages. This caused a lack of fluidity and constancy in the programs development. UNICEF also provided technical support to prepare the provincial leaders with

the skills to implement the program. However, it was the responsibility of SADOE to then have gender specialist train other leaders at the local level who in turn trained the girls with leadership skills, life skills and peer education. UNICEF and SADOE also wanted to create alliances with the Girls Guides Movement and Forum for African Women Educationalist (FAWE) to develop and implement strategic interventions for girls' enrolment, attendance and completion. However this plan has yet to materialize in South Africa.

The rationale for the UNICEF/SADOE GEM partnership acknowledges that in addition to the essential issue of education as a human right, educating girls is one of the most cost effective ways to elevate economic productivity, lower infant and maternal mortality, improve nutritional status and health, reduce poverty and halt the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases (UNICEF, 2003). The partnership embraces the United Nations system, governments, donors, nongovernmental organizations, civil society, the private sector, communities and families. It provides stakeholders with a stage for action and stimulates their efforts to get all girls into school, to ensure that they receive a quality education that is safe and prepares them to be full and active participants in their societies. The intention of the partnership when it was formed was to bond two key partners who would share planning, decision-making, guidance and accountability for the entire partnership. Two partners would communicate effectively and implement the program nationally with, with SADOE serving as the lead agency. Perhaps the greatest achievements and the greatest challenges in girls' education partnerships are found at the country level. UNICEF supports the idea that the implementing country must lead the development of GEM. UNICEF's primary role was to influence decision-making and investments in ways that ensure gender equity and equality in national education policies, plans and programmes.

Partnership Intentions

Partners assemble resources for targeted development interventions; the GEM program was systemically designed to be an intervention that would affect the whole education system. SADOE tried to streamline its efforts by using the existing mechanisms in schools to reduce violence in schools and implement the GEM initiative. The GEM program in different regions had different focal areas to facilitate the coordination of girls' education strategies and interventions at the provincial level. UNICEF and SADOE were committed to increasing action on girls' education and invigorating the broad social mobilization for political action needed to make certain that every girl, as well as every boy, receives a quality education.

The disruption caused by violence in schools threatens not only the physical well being of students but also the academic success of students. Crime in and around schools impedes student learning and achievement. In an effort to contend with these violent practices DOE announced the formation of GEM in every school. The GEM clubs have been so needed that they were to be rolled out in all of the country's schools. "We are very happy that the Ministry of Education announced the movement is going to be supported in each and every school in South Africa," said UNICEF Representative Aida Girma. "This is the type of work that UNICEF does – we start, and then the government runs with it. We were quite pleased about this development." (UNICEF, 2009) The GEM club at Fezeka is one of 10,000 across South Africa supported by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF. The partnership works to solicit other education stakeholders in:

- Building policy and guidelines in mainstreaming gender, child rights, and school environment.

- Implementing plans to increase safety for girls
- Democratizing the school system through increased pupil and community participation.
- Evaluating the education system, reviewing and revising curriculum for gender responsiveness, and providing leadership training to girls and boys.
- Establish Child Friendly Environments in schools.
- Supporting school districts under the principles and guidance of the regional Girls' Education Movement.

Chapter 4

Fezeka Secondary School

Andulela (To Be First): GEM at Fezeka

GEM was implemented at Fezeka in the beginning of the school term in 2004. The program was lead by the life skills teacher and the school counselor. The rationale given for the program's implementation was the need to provide a separate space for girls to engage around gender issues and to prevent them from feeling marginalized. Girls who participate in GEM meet once a week after school to discuss topics such as career development, safe sex, academics, community, and issues of violence. The broad objectives of GEM have been interpreted slightly differently based on which school leaders were involved in the coordination and organization of the program. The initial broad-based objectives were left to the discretion of the local schools so that GEM would be suitable to the local context.

Masiphumelelele (We will succeed)

As I approach the narrow road leading to Fezeka Secondary School, I see droves of students flocking in the street. Interestingly, they are not headed for the school but are slowly walking away from it. The students are dressed in bright-blue school uniforms, with books in hand. Some crowd together to keep warm on the corner and I am wondering why the students are here and not in the school. As I slowly proceed to the entrance of the school, I realize that I cannot access the gate with its barbed wire because learners are standing and banging on the gate. I soon recognized that I have entered the scene of a standoff between school security, teachers, and students. I am perplexed and wondering what exactly the issue is. Why is the gate locked? Why are the students in such an uproar? Then I hear a male student yell, "Yes we are late, but we have our rights you cannot lock us out of the school. It is our right to get

an education. You must open this gate.” Another male student pulls on the fence and curses at the security guard, “Bastard, you must open the gate and let us in—how are we going to learn?” The entire time I am sitting in my car, alarmed as the students become more incensed, the teachers are railing back on the other side of the gate feeling justified because they gave the order to lock the gate. They are telling the students to go home because they are late and classes have started, that they must come back tomorrow. By this time some students are hanging on the fence, some are kicking it, and others are throwing rocks demanding to enter the school grounds. Eventually the guard notices that I am there in the car, stuck in the crowd of students, and says to me, “I cannot let you in or they will storm the place. So, sorry, you must come back later.” Befuddled, I am not sure what my next step should be but I decide to go over to the upper-grade campus two blocks away, where the 10th–12th-graders attend classes, and wait out this episode. When I arrive at the upper-grade campus, I see the principal rushing to his car. He speaks and tells me he must attend to an urgent matter: He has heard from the Western Cape Provincial Department of Education and the community members are complaining because learners are loitering and disturbing their property. The principal hops in his car and drives around the neighborhood, coaxing students to return to the campus. The students then explain to the principal what has happened and how they are the victims of cruel teachers who have locked them out.

This is my introduction to Fezeka Secondary School. It is my first day and I have arrived to conduct my research on the school that houses the GEM program. Though I did not know what to expect, I promise you this is not what I wanted to walk into on the first day. Expecting everyone to be aware of my arrival (at least the teachers and administrators), it was surprising that such an incident would occur. The researcher in me was excited at the

possibilities but the teacher in me was perplexed at the rationalization and methods used by both the teachers and the students. Eventually the principal rounded up the students from the neighborhood and escorted them back to the school grounds. An assembly was called and all the students appeared in the schoolyard for a lecture to discuss the importance of being on time.

It was later in a discussion with the principal that I realized this something that happens several times during the course of a semester. Learners report to school late and at any given day teachers or another administrator will decide that they must be locked out of the school. When questioned about the issue of safety and disturbance, one geography teacher responded, “No, they must learn to respect the school. How else will they ever learn if we do not lock them out? You see this is a pattern for these learners and it is the same children every week.” I admit I was baffled by the response because I was reflecting on how, less than 13 years ago, these same teachers and administrators had been denied access to education on many occasions. Yet they chose to use the lockout tactic as a disciplinary action to deter students from being late. A female English teacher commented, “The late children distract the other learners, and they are violating the rights of those children to learn. Besides, mostly the gangsters come late and it is best to keep them locked out. They will learn that the world does not belong to them.”

School begins at 8:00 am and by the time this fiasco was settled it was already 11:00 am. The morning’s event had left the entire school off schedule and the students had toyed¹⁴ for almost two hours. I wanted to know why the students were late and if this was a recurring issue, what guidelines were in place to deal with the matter in a constructive way?

¹⁴ Toy Toy is the South African version of a protest. During anti-apartheid times protestors would sing, jump up and down (like a rhythmic dance) as a sign of their dissatisfaction with the establishment.

Questions were raised in my mind about the safety of those students who, after traveling long distances to attend school, must return home without supervision. Were the learners' behavior and the behavior of the teachers creating a safe school environment for the benefit of educational enrichment? With new ideas and questions in hand, I immediately asked the principal if I could also meet with the learners who were consistently late as part of my research inquiry. I would invite them to attend the *indaba*¹⁵ to give them the opportunity to talk about the violence that occurred that morning and to gain a better understanding of the dynamics in the relationship between students and teachers.

Sinethemba (We have hope)



(Learners and teacher in life-skills class at Fezeka Secondary, August 2007)

During Apartheid, the white population restricted most of South Africa's means. In reality, South Africa's societies had two existences, one White and rich, one Black and poor. Shifting the economic equilibrium in favor of the Black population was therefore a vital part of nation building in the post-apartheid era. Access to education in South Africa was determined in part by financial circumstances, and it was complex for the most Black South

¹⁵ *Indaba* is the South African term used for traditional community group discussions.

Africans, especially women, to gain access to quality educational facilities, most of which were in White areas. The legacy of apartheid left townships destitute of infrastructure, and they remain under-resourced in terms of facilities (DOE, 1996). The Provincial GEM program coordinator in Cape Town who described school facilities as “almost minimal” confirmed this lack of facilities.

Fezeka Secondary School is located in the impoverished neighborhood of Guguletu, South Africa. The school began in a shack structure in 1965. However, the current school was built as a temporary structure after the school was burned down in 1976 during anti-apartheid protests. In the 1980s, a new facility was built to accommodate the growing community of learners, but once it was completed, the new facility was taken by the local legislature for office space. Today, learners still dwell in the temporary structure with limited toilets, no recreational area, and overcrowded classrooms with concrete floors.

The school has two campuses approximately two blocks away from each other to accommodate the large number of students. The upper grades are housed at the main campus and the lower grades are housed at what use to be a primary school. An 8-foot barbed-wire fence and an electric gate surround each of the campuses. There is a guard booth at the gate and visitors must be checked into the campus. There is parking for teachers, administrators, and visitors near the security gate. The grounds of the schoolyard are clean but there is no grass, only dirt in the courtyard. The classrooms are housed in one-leveled buildings that are structured in a connected block style. Each grade level is housed in a different block. The classroom walls are primarily barren with no displays of pictures or color or learning materials. The desks are wooden and have benches attached to them. In each classroom, the desks are arranged row by row. There are metal gates on the windows, yet many of the

windows are broken, leaving no protection from the cold or rain. There is a massive auditorium that was built to accommodate school assemblies and events. However, that space is now used for classrooms. One portion of the tin roof is detached, leaving a gaping hole above the auditorium. There are buckets placed around the room to catch the rain and desks are pushed aside in jumbled patterns to prevent them from getting wet. Student bathrooms are housed at the back of the school complex in a rather isolated position. The bathroom structure is a concrete slab and inside there is no toilet paper, toilet seat, faucet fixtures, or doors.

The administration block contains the teachers' lounge and the principal's office. This block has tiled or carpeted floors and heaters in the offices and lounge. There is a room with a copy machine, six long tables, and cushioned chairs. There is a refrigerator, microwave, and all the necessary amenities for the teachers lounge, including tablecloths and curtains on the windows. In one corner of the room is occupied by a computer for teachers to use and in the other corner is access to a private bathroom fully stocked with toilet paper, flowered curtains, and toiletries.

The school serves a culturally diverse population of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, and Colored learners. High percentages of learners are from poor and working-class backgrounds. The school has 1,700 learners and 70% of the children's mothers are single mothers. Many learners have been orphaned by the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the continuation of violence within their community. The school contains learners in grades 8 through matric (12). At each grade level there are at least four to seven class sections (A-G) and class sizes range from 50 to 70 students. The school is positioned in a poor and congested area of shanties where crime and violence are common. The dropout rate at this school is very high and the

school struggles with insufficient facilities, social dilemmas, and a history of apartheid. The old academic curriculum reinforced Bantu education, and offered sports and cultural development. The post-apartheid curriculum offers geography, math, history, life skills, science, literacy, English, economics, and business studies as well as indigenous language classes in Xhosa and Sotho¹⁶. In spite of all of the obstacles, Fezeka is still regarded as a flagship school in Guguletu. It is recognized for being a math, science, and technology school. Yet when speaking to teachers and students alike, they boast not of high matriculation scores or of high graduation rates, but of the school's award-winning choir.

The reality that violence exists in the school environment has forced learners to disregard the benefits of academic learning. The learners at Fezeka reported being afraid to answer questions though they knew the answers. An 11th-grade learner at Fezeka Secondary said, "I never raise my hand though I know the answer. If you do you will pay later: Sometimes other boys will come to you during break and threaten you. They say, "So you think you are clever? We are going to beat you, since you are so clever, see if you can answer this. Then they will beat you or take your lunch."

Many learners, boys and girls, reported being afraid to answer questions for fear of intimidation by gang members. The disabling presence of violence in schools immobilizes learners and prevents them from being free and available to learn regardless of what method of instruction is used. When students reside in classrooms where they are not protected, there is no philosophical underpinning that will support learning. The only thing present is the harsh reality of survival. It is important that all schools seek to create a disciplined environment that is conducive to learning.

¹⁶ Sotho is one of the thirteen official languages spoken in South Africa by the Sotho people.

The 11th-grade students mentioned that they felt that their academic performance was impeded by the behavioral elements within the school setting. Factors contributing to the decline in learning and the inconsistent delivery of instruction were due to many issues within the school. For example, the learners informed me that previously the mathematics teacher left the classroom one day and never returned. When I spoke to teachers they confirmed the story and stated that the teacher was fed up with the attitude of the students and behavioral problems and simply left the classroom and the profession. The students were then subject to a parade of substitutes, counselors, and administrators for the remainder of the school year. Therefore, they were not taught proper mathematics during the remainder of the school term. These situations are recognized as a form of violence that treads on the academic success of students and causes long-term issues of disengagement and distraction from student success.

When the researcher spoke to learners about their success and performance over the course of three years, they expressed concern for the lack of consistent teaching, and reported unprepared teachers and undisciplined students who refused to allow teachers to teach. Learners also stated that there was less violence present in the lower school campus (8th and 9th grade) where they were separated from the older children. The data from this research reveals that school safety and learners' success are related when considering the CFS model. Learners must have a safe learning environment to be able to access education. Respondents gave information to corroborate the results during the indaba discussions. This information will be discussed further in that section of the dissertation.

Indabas: Imbizo (Gathering of Like Minded People) Telling Their Stories

For the purpose of this study, the researcher thought it valuable to hold informal sessions called *Indabas* to gain understanding and receive responses to instances of violence in schools and school rampages. The descriptions disclose important possible elements, causes, and points that might never have been considered within the limitations of a survey. The information gathered during *indabas* deepened the understanding of the phenomenon of violence in schools and relied on the interpretation of the researcher and not solely on statistical information to guide the study. In this case, substantial description of events allowed for a different kind of analysis that is more beneficial than using large samples of superficially described events. In general, the stories present a different process for developing ideas about causes of school violence and potential interventions. Undeniably, in looking at this phenomenon, the study cannot be contained within a laboratory. The researcher believes that substantial description is the only feasible way of learning much about the prevalence of school violence in the two South African schools.

The researcher invited administrators, teachers, learners, and GEM members to an open forum at each school. At Fezeka, the teachers' session was held in the teachers' lounge on a day when students were given early dismissal. Teachers (15) voluntarily attended the *indaba* and were given a few questions to start the discussion. This tactic was used with the learners (three classes of 11-grade students/141 learners) and GEM participants (16 members) at separate *indabas*. Though the questions were the same, each faction presented varying answers based on their place in the school and community. The same informal setting was applied in each session; note that during the teachers' session no administrators

chose to attend, though the invitation was extended. The following questions were presented at each indaba:

1. In the last three years, what measures have been taken to prevent, examine, and correct violence in schools, and to ensure that staff and students, authorities, and institutions refrain from engaging in any practice of violence in the school and community?
2. Please describe program initiatives undertaken in the school and community to raise awareness of the problem of school violence and eradicate bias practices contributing to it, and promote safe school environments and equity?
3. What are the specific methods in place to implement interventions to address violence in schools?
4. How has the GEM initiative succeeded or failed in addressing school safety?

The researcher initiated each indaba and the research questions were distributed as a way to start the flow of conversation. The evolutions of the conversations often led to storytelling. Respondents would share a story or episode of violence before answering the question. This exchange led the researcher to understand the art of storytelling and its richly imbedded nature as a form of communication for South African culture when discussing sensitive issues. It was also apparent to the researcher that in the indaba setting, no one was to be critiqued or refuted when sharing his or her experiences.

Unfundisi (Teacher): Teacher-to-Learner Violence

Shortly after my arrival in South Africa, teachers' strike ensued, therefore delaying my access to the schools for months. During this time there were many reports of teacher on teacher, teacher on administrator, and teacher on student violence. The entire South African

school system was shut down by the antics of the striking masses. The incidents of assaults that occurred during the strike varied from physical attacks to the burning of the non-striking teachers' homes. There were reported incidents from teachers who refused to strike of having their cars vandalized and one administrator was killed in the driveway of his home. Many schools were vandalized, offices raided, computers stolen or destroyed, and classrooms annihilated. Teachers took to the streets demanding a salary increase of 12% and Congress of South African Trade Union (Coastu) forbid any teacher to return to the classroom until the matter was settled. It was communicated through media reports that those who did cross the picket line would pay a dear price. On one occasion 12th grade students were taking an exam and teachers stormed the classroom. These teachers demanded the exams from the students and tore them up and turned over desks. Students who did not release their exams were beaten and threatened. I spoke with one female student who was a victim of the violence. "I was afraid, but I refused to give up my exam because I am scheduled to attend University of Cape Town next year. I need to have all of my math and science marks completed. If not, I will not be able to pursue the pre-med course. So when the teacher asked me to give up my exam, I protested. Then he grabbed me by the throat and began to choke me. No one would help me; I was screaming and pulling away. Many of the students ran out of the class to get help but eventually the teacher let me go and ran away. I did not recognize this teacher but I am sure nothing will happen to him." Due to the nature of the strike, many union members joined the teachers' strike. When I asked the principal about the incident, he insisted that it was not a teacher at Fezeka, but that other union members entered the schools to show solidarity for the strike and often displayed violent behaviors. Many teachers and

administrators received death threats; there was constant fear that the atmosphere in the township would return to the episodes of tire burning¹⁷ that occurred during apartheid.

The strike caused such a tumultuous division within the community that it took many negotiations between government officials of the African National Congress (ANC), the Minister of Education, and the Minister of Labor. Though there are still issues of concern, the final outcome resulted in a 7% salary increase for teachers. Many Cosatu members were not happy about the outcome, but all parties realized that the only way to stop the violence was to come to an agreement. The idea of renegotiation has been considered and there are constant rumors of another strike. After many threats and disputes, it appears that the schools have finally returned to their routine. However, the damage to the buildings, loss of resources, reduction in learners' access to education, and the lost psychological and mental trusts will all take time to restore.

The element of trust between teacher and student is essential in creating a safe learning environment for students. Teachers also shared that corporal punishment, though not allowed, still exists. It is not uncommon for a teacher to slap a child or have a child stand in a corner or outside of the classroom. This type of illegal punishment is rationalized and defended by tradition. Teachers explained that African society still believes in physical discipline. As one teacher stated during the session, "We are not afraid of our students; we know their parents and many parents have given us permission to discipline them accordingly. The problem with you guys (Americans) is that you are letting your kids run the show. Here we will not allow them to disrespect us and not feel the rod—this is our culture, this is our way, and no democracy will change that." Other teachers admitted to knowing of

¹⁷ Tire Burning was a form of punishment that township communities used for those who betrayed the community. A rubber tire would be placed on the neck of the individual and the person and tire would be set on fire. This method of torture took place openly in the community as another form of protest and punishment.

incidents of teachers pinching or even kicking students when they become uncontrollable.

The researcher did not observe this sort of interaction between students and teachers during her time at Fezeka. However, teachers all expressed disdain for teachers who take advantage of students in other ways.

There have been many reports within South African communities about teacher and student sexual relationships. When I explored this topic during an interview with the principal, the answer I received was, “There was a case three years ago when we suspected a teacher of having a relationship with a learner. We formed a committee to deal with our vulnerable children. It turned out one of the [committee] members would then take the information we shared and seek out those [vulnerable] learners who had problems at home or no parents. It was very disappointing to learn of this. So we confronted the teacher and closed the committee.” When I asked about the particular teacher’s whereabouts, I was told that the teacher was transferred to another high school. The principal explained that in most cases, they prefer to deal with such matters with the family. The teacher or violator will go to the family and pay a fine to the parents of the learner, or, in some cases, the teacher may marry the learner and pay *labola*¹⁸ (if a sexual offense) because they have ruined the girl’s value for marriage. If the teacher does not marry the girl, he is often committed to paying the school fees of the girl for the rest of her secondary education. Unfortunately, sometimes these relationships are allowed to continue. At other times the relationship is stopped. Rarely is the teacher prosecuted for the offense.

¹⁸ *Labola* is the gift given to a woman’s family when she is getting married. The families negotiate a bride price based on the wealth of the groom and the value of the bride. This value is calculated by the education, family status, and possible child-bearing success rate. *Labola* is often a financial gift but can also be things such as blankets and livestock.

Umfundimane (Educated person) Learner to Teacher Violence

When the researcher assessed violence perpetrated by students, teachers reported being victims of gang violence and thefts. The most common assaults were thefts of cell phones, money stolen from purses and desks, teacher's cars being vandalized (broken windows, flat tires), and books stolen from classrooms and the teachers' lounge. Teachers reported vandalism as the primary form of violence that learners commit on school grounds. Many of the classrooms have locks on them. It is advisable for a teacher to lock the classroom each time he or she leaves. One Teacher reported the vandalism of school projects when she went to the bathroom during her planning period. There were students who had not completed the assignment and knew that the reporting would take place after the break. During the teacher's absence, they destroyed the work of their peers by ripping down all of the posters and throwing water on the floor and on the projects. Most of the learners' work was destroyed and would have to be redone. When asked what sort of action was taken, the teacher explained that "he" had no proof of who committed the offense, so no one was punished. Teachers reported incidents of older male learners getting into physical altercations with male teachers or using intimidation on female teachers. Two female teachers expressed concern about intimidation and the gangs in the school. They admitted to suspecting some culprits of violence in their classrooms but often did not address it because they did not feel supported by peers and administration. One teacher reported that a teacher in another school was threatened and beaten by a gang after he suspended a student for harassing another boy in the class. During suspension the learner returned to school with his gang and they beat the teacher to the state of hospitalization. The learner was later arrested and prosecuted and the teacher transferred schools and continued to teach.

Abafundi (Students): Learner-to-Learner Violence

Learners reported that most of the incidents of violence occurred either before or after school. The day-to-day problems that were cited were considered to be minor though frequent, the most common being smoking in the restrooms, thefts from classrooms, and confrontations or fights between students. There were also reports of students being caught bringing drugs or knives into the school. The researcher spoke with one particular group of learners who are notoriously known for getting into mischief. The boys insisted that their pictures be taken and even held up gang signs like those used in prison and some neighborhoods in the United States. The researcher wondered if they had any knowledge of the prison culture or the gang activity in the U.S. or if they were simply mimicking music videos and what they saw in movies about gangs. It is a well-known fact that there is a gang in Cape Town who calls themselves “the Americans” and wears gang colors of red, white, and blue. Students would not say to which gang they belonged, but insisted that they had committed violence and were not proud of it but felt they needed to survive. When asked about the violence that occurs on school property, they all smirked and glanced away. One learner admitted to taking other learners’ lunch money when he was in 9th and 10th grade, but was since reformed and is now a school leader. The learners who identified themselves as gangsters admitted to drug activity in the bathrooms. “Usually we just stand in the bathrooms and smoke dagga (marijuana) and whoever wants to buy some can join us. Then we just hang out and tell jokes or skip class.” Other students did not look at the self-identified gangsters as they spoke; instead they usually looked away or held their heads down.

The majority of learners participating in the indaba sessions at Fezeka expressed feeling relatively safe, once they arrived to school. However, girls shared that the boys often intimidate them. One form of intimidation reported is harassment on the way to the toilet. Many female learners expressed anxiety about going to the toilet during class time for fear of molestation. The bathrooms were notably dark and at the back of the classroom blocks. One female learner reported that a 10th grader was molested in the bathroom during class time the prior year; the victim could not identify the assailants because all of the lights in the toilet were smashed out.

There were many accounts of learners feeling unsafe on the way to school and on school grounds. Learners reported feeling unsafe in classrooms, bathrooms, and at lunchtime. Learner-to-learner violence was notably discussed in reference to bullying and theft. Learners articulated concern when walking to school for fear of being robbed. One female learner shared how she had been robbed the week before on her way to school. “They approached me and circled me. One boy said for me to give him my cell phone, and I told him I did not have one. He said he didn’t believe me then grabbed my bag and searched through it. Then another boy began to shove me and say that I should give him my earrings and trekkers (sneakers). I was so afraid they were going to rape me; I started to cry. Then another one yelled, ‘Why are you crying? We just want your stuff, not you.’ Then he pushed me down on the ground and snatched my purse. The other took my earrings and a necklace and then they all ran off with my trekkers. It was really humiliating because I am an 11th-grader and they were only around 11 or 13, but they were boys and there were five of them.”

In most cases the learners classified one another according to the ethnic group or area of the community they are from or by particular peer groupings. Some distinctions made by

the learners were terms like “preps,” “Christians,” “gangsters,” “choir kids,” “nerds,” and “school leaders.” The learner indabas corroborated the importance of being in one of those groups as a form of belonging and protection. An 11th-grade male learner spoke freely about how his method of survival is to be a part of the gangsters. “If you are not with them then they target you. Living here it is like you are in the heart of it. If you do not join, they will beat you or take your lunch money or just harass you all the time.” Similar sentiments were voiced by other male learners who are afraid to defend themselves and by the female learners who dread retaliation by gangs.

Learners were not aware of any programs outside of peer counselors that dealt with elements of violence. The learners did not believe that peer counselors were an effective way to deal with the violence. As one learner said, “They are children like us—they cannot solve our problems. Many of them are afraid and just stick to tutoring and sports stuff. They receive little training and we need the teachers and our parents to stop this violence.” Though some female students were cognizant of the GEM program, those who were not members did not know exactly what the members do. Female learners admitted to not joining GEM because they could not stay after school due to safety issues when walking home after GEM meetings. Learners also stated that GEM was for feminists and girls who did not like boys. One 11th-grade female learner stated, “GEMmers [GEM members] are seen as snobs at our school—they think they are better than us, but they are not.” This statement caught the researcher by surprise and she knew the perception of GEM and its purpose at Fezeka needed to be explored further. It was not until the researcher held the indaba with the GEMmers that she began to understand the cause for such a statement.

During the indaba, GEM club members were asked to share their understanding of GEM's purpose. Participants' conceptualization of GEM's objectives varied at Fezeka. The four main GEM themes implemented at Fezeka are seen in Table 2.

Table 2: GEM Themes at Fezeka

Purpose Themes	Gender	Skill Development	School-Based Support	Addressing Social Issues
Fezeka Secondary School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ To raise girls' self-esteem ❑ To create equal education opportunities ❑ To prevent gender-based violence ❑ To empower girls ❑ To encourage girls to finish schooling ❑ Prevent discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ To empower all learners to actively participate in decision-making ❑ To empower learners o resist pressures from peers ❑ To help learners with problem solving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ To increase a child-friendly school environment ❑ To provide peer support ❑ To provide constructive activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ To address social problems, such as HIV infection, crime and substance abuse

The program originally consisted of 80 members from both the lower and middle school campus, but now contains 28 members, the majority of which are from the lower-school campus. The current student leader has been president for the past three years. The GEMmers and student leaders who volunteered for GEM were trained three years ago and had not received any training since that time. When the researcher interviewed the current school leader, she expressed her reasons for no further GEM training: “I felt that what they were teaching was not really what we needed here. I used to go to the sessions on a monthly basis and then I would not learn anything, so I stopped going. The other issue was that meetings would get out late and I needed transport—sometimes I didn’t have money to get home and other times it was just not safe to take a *combie*¹⁹ at night.”

¹⁹ *Combie* is the term for the privately owned 12-15 passenger minivans that are used as public taxis in South Africa. The drivers are known for being reckless and dangerous and cause many accidents.

GEMmers also spoke of attending a weekend retreat offered by the National Department of Education Gender Equity Unit two years earlier: “The GEM camps were fun because we got to share ideas with girls from all over the country. We would play games and have sessions on different topics. Once a girl stood and said, ‘What do you do when your father rapes you?’ We were all in shock, but many of us thought, ‘Oh, shame for her.’ We all wanted to help her but there was nothing done about it. By the time the counselors got information to help her, two weeks later, I heard the girl had run away—not sure what happened to her.” According to the GEMmers, incidents of rape or molestation were very common among members and the girls thought of GEM meetings as a safe place to talk and get help. The learners reported being interested in GEM to make friends and feel safe in school, and to express their feelings and share problems.

Activities within the program varied from year to year at Fezeka. The GEMmers gave a list of programs that they participated in during the course of three years.

Table 3: GEM Activities

Purpose Themes	Gender	Skill Development	School based Support	Addressing Social Issues
Activities at Fezeka Secondary School	<input type="checkbox"/> Motivational speakers <input type="checkbox"/> Incorporate concepts in arts and culture lessons	<input type="checkbox"/> Peer education <input type="checkbox"/> Safety-related talks	<input type="checkbox"/> Peer counseling	<input type="checkbox"/> Collecting donations for food and clothes <input type="checkbox"/> Visit sick people <input type="checkbox"/> Mentor kids

GEM at Fezeka: Everybody Say Amen!

The GEM student leader expressed that though the activities in the table above were what GEM was founded on; the program had taken a different turn in the last year. The leader spoke of the need for change and that the program was not working, even though they

had many members a few years ago. She decided to change the program focus to a more religious tone and she addressed the issue in the following manner: “It just wasn’t working: People were coming to the fun stuff, but there was no change in their hearts. I would still catch girls smoking and drinking and skipping class. Some even fell pregnant, and would drop out of class.” The student leader had a distinctive look of disappointment in her eyes when she shared her thoughts. She determined that GEM was not working for the members. When the researcher asked what motivated her to stay in GEM she responded, “Because I was one of those girls. I use to hang out and drink and even though I did my schoolwork I was very bad. I was on TV and in the newspaper saying positive things, but I hadn’t really changed anything about myself. That is how I know those trainings were not working, ’cause they didn’t do anything for me.”

Ithuba (Opportunity): Current Program Structure

Approaching the GEM meeting, the researcher could hear music, like a church choir coming from the classroom. The song was a praise-and-worship song, “Our God is an Awesome God.” Opening the door, I thought I had entered the wrong classroom, but then I recognized some of the GEMmers and quietly took a seat in the front left corner of the room. There were 16 GEMmers in attendance and today there was a guest speaker. The student leader announced that the meeting could officially begin since everyone was present. She asked us all to stand and hold hands, and the researcher expected a GEM slogan or school song, but instead the student leader opened with a prayer. She then introduced the guest speaker, a male student leader in 12th grade at the upper-school campus currently. He introduced himself, gave us a greeting, and proceeded to open the Bible. He spoke from Jeremiah 29:11: “For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, sayeth the Lord, thoughts

of peace, and not of evil, to give you an expected end.” The guest speaker preached about the glory of God, holiness before happiness, and spoke of his own experiences with rejection and suicide. This learner/preacher spoke for 45 minutes with fire and brimstone to the GEMmers. The GEMmers sat with little reaction and few responses. The researcher wondered if this was the norm or a special event. Once the learner/preacher commenced his sermon, he invited all of the GEMmers to “receive Christ.” Three of the GEMmers went to the front of the classroom and bowed their heads and prayed. The learner/preacher prayed for the girls and then asked everyone to stand and sing: “Let us rejoice for these three sista who have accepted Christ. Now they are clean and have a fresh start, they are new creatures in the presence of God.”

Immediately following the learner/preacher performance, the GEM school leader stood to tell her story. She told the other girl learners how proud she was of them for reforming their lives and that she had reformed her life a year before. She decided to change her life and now she was going to help them change theirs. She shared how she had been a victim of sexual abuse as a child and that no one could control her once she became a teenager. The GEM leader then looked at the researcher and said, “You can write this down: I am a born-again Christian and my faith is primary, everything I do reflects my faith. Now that I know the truth, I will make sure everyone knows the truth. That is why I no longer do the GEM trainings because they have no impact really; they just change the superficial things. They do not create real change.” The GEM leader proceeded to say how their club members set an example and they no longer smoke, drink or have sex out of marriage, and were committed to studying and spreading the gospel.

The GEM school leader decided on her own to change the focus of GEM meetings. This decision was birthed out of her own experience and her new-found deliverance as a born-again Christian. The researcher then understood statements that were made earlier by the general body of learners that GEMmers thought they were better than others. The club had shrunk in three years from 80 members to 28 and on this day there were only 16 members in attendance. Sure, some members may have graduated or even transferred schools, but it appeared that the majority of members had abandoned GEM at Fezeka due to the nature of its new ideology. The faculty coordinator disclosed that several girl learners complained in the beginning, but eventually they just dropped out of the club. Since GEM is intended to be a learner lead and motivated initiative, the school allowed it to go in this direction. The current activities are very different from the original activities and do not necessarily align with the international and national objectives of GEM. It was clear that though the purpose and themes of GEM had not officially changed, a new and more heavenly purpose was reigning at Fezeka.

Through several observations of the GEM program over a period of weeks, the researcher noticed that there was no mention of program goals or objectives. The focus within the sessions focused more on spiritual development. Though activities existed, they were very different from the original activities and they centered more on skills such as sewing and cooking (the students were developing a cookbook). GEMmers also participated in social activities that centered on HIV/AIDS education and they tutored younger learners. As one learner stated, “These activities keep us busy with something positive, so we are not on the streets exposed to other harmful or negative things” (GEMmer, Fezeka Secondary School).

Summary

Schools must shield children from the negative effects of violence in order for learning to occur. Regrettably, Western Cape schools (particularly in the City of Cape Town) are sites of crime and violence that threaten the well being of learners. Overall, school violence has decreased according to Fezeka's administration and teachers. The school has attempted to maintain an active security program, though it continues to struggle with what is considered by school officials to be minor acts of violence. The security program is a partnership with the local police. Each of the area high schools was assigned one school resource officer and a sworn law-enforcement official is responsible for both Fezeka campuses. In the morning you will find the officer in his patrol car in the field, which separates the upper school from the lower school. This field used to be the site of many robberies and created opportunities for harassment for learners' on their way to school. Prior to the security being installed, there was more gang activity, robbery, and gunfire on campus. The school intends to lobby for funding for surveillance cameras in hopes of securing the grounds before and after school. The TV monitors and recording devices would be located in the main office and primarily face classrooms that contain school computers and other expensive equipment. The school administrator hopes that this technology would deter theft and could be used for determining the identity of assailants subsequent to a reported offense.

The information shared during *indaba* is valuable beyond the research process of finding data and evaluating efficacy of program interventions. The *indaba* stories can be used by the school communities as they make their own judgments about the nature of violence in the schools and ways to prevent it, and about how they ought to react to it if school officials do not create solutions. The researcher believes that beyond the institution of programs, the

knowledge collected when people gather and talk about the real problems in the schools is useful to the school community. The researcher presented the schools with the opportunity of indabas with the hope that these conversations will support learning in the schools and communities when used in formal and informal discussions about violence in schools. The researcher also realizes that this format was a useful research tool, a nonthreatening method of inquiry into sensitive matters.

Chapter 5

Masiyile Secondary School



Sesfikile (We have arrived)

It is 7:15 am and the learners of Masiyile are arriving at the secondary school in groups with their backpacks and books in hand. It is a cold morning and many have walked for several kilometers with no jackets to get to school. The weather of the Western Cape is fickle and already in the morning there has been a display of two different seasons. The weather reflects winter with dark clouds and wind, and then within minutes displays bouts of sun like on a fresh spring day. The researcher drives into the school parking lot carefully trying to maneuver around the learners so as not to hit anyone. Finally I find a space at the end of the parking lot around the back of the building. Taking care while getting out, I check my surroundings before opening the car door because I have already been warned that teachers have been hijacked²⁰ in the early morning by bandits who have jumped the school fence. Usually they are hijacked of their cell phones or wallets or carjacked when the area is deserted. As I am about to open the car door, I notice a young man in his school uniform crouching behind another car. This alarms me so I take care when getting out. I looked at him

²⁰ *Hijacked* is the term used for being robbed.

and he then stands up as though he was tying his shoe. He greets me and picks up his books. I am relieved and proceed toward the head office to begin my day of research at Masiyile.

Within seconds of me reaching to pavement I hear a commotion and students are screaming. Looking behind me I notice there is now a crowd of students in the parking lot and they are yelling and shouting, “fight, fight!” At this time the principal and the counselor charge out of the building and run toward the crowd. They force their way into the commotion and I follow. Two male students are on the ground fighting. One is the student that greeted me just seconds before. He is hitting another student with such force that each time he makes impact, the other student’s eyes roll back in his head. It takes about 15 minutes for the teachers to disburse the crowd and break up the fight. There is a dazed look in the face of the one learner. He is obviously older and is still raging as he continues to reach for the other boy. They are both escorted to the office and the police are called. The grade 11 learner is placed in the principal’s office; the grade 10 learner is placed in the deputy principal’s office. I am given the opportunity to be present when the principal speaks to each learner. The 11th-grade learner explains how on Saturday night he was walking home from a party alone and some guys in the township approached him. They demanded his cell phone and money and he refused. When he refused, the boys jumped him and beat him, taking his cell phone, money, and trekkers. Though it was dark he recognized one of the boys as the younger learner from school. To get revenge, he decided to come to school early and approach the boy to get his things back. “I waited behind the teacher’s car because I know which way he walks everyday. When he passed by, I asked him for my things and asked him why he hijacked me. I wanted to know who the other boys were and I told him I was going to report him. He responded, “fuck-off” and turned his back on me. Then I jumped him and

begin to beat him.” The principal asked the 11th-grade learner why he had not reported the incident to the police during the weekend. The learner responded, “For what? They will not do anything. Besides, I must defend myself, otherwise the word would get out that I can be hijacked with no consequences.” The principal sat in silence, and then explained that the learner’s parents will be called and he will be suspended for three days, and that he should hope the younger boy’s parents do not press charges.

We then relocated to the deputy principal’s office to get the other side of the story from the 10th-grader. “Well, me and some friends hijacked him on Saturday night. I did not know he went to my school until it was too late. We took his cell phone and trekkers and the money he had. There was one of him and four of us but he fought back, until we knocked him on the ground. We didn’t want to hurt him, just wanted his money and things.” The principal asked, “Why are you robbing people in the township, your own community?” The learner responded, “His father owns 10 taxis, they are rich, and he can afford to replace his things. We have nothing, and besides he was drunk so he was an easy target. He knows he should not walk alone at night; we all know you must be with your crew or you can be hijacked.” The principal shook his head and explained to the learner that his parents would be called and he would also be suspended. He also encouraged the boy to go and get the things he had stolen and return them; maybe the 11th-grader’s parents would not press charges. Eventually the police arrived and both boys were taken to the station to await their parents before they could be released.

It is now 9:00 a.m. and classes have yet to begin—the commotion this morning has all the students in an uproar. Learners are retelling the story and acting it out. Some teachers are in their classrooms, but most are in the teachers’ lounge demanding that both learners be

expelled for the remainder of the school year. They are fed up with the fighting and some cannot get their learners to calm down. The deputy principal gives the teachers a talking to and eventually one by one they return to their classrooms to begin the day and try to maintain order. When asked what he had said to get the teachers back to their classes, the principal translated into English the Xhosa words: “I told them that I would mark their performance appraisals down if they did not stop the nonsense and go to class. That we are teachers and it is our job to teach. We must not be like the students and run away from our classrooms.” Somehow I understood that he had said something more graphic than that, but without speaking the language, I took him at his word.

During the course of that day numerous emergencies surfaced. After lunch, as I sat with the life-skills teacher, a parent arrived with tears and reported that her son would not be attending school that week. When asked why, she stated that he had been arrested for murder on Sunday. The 9th-grade learner was accused of stabbing another child during a fight. Apparently the boys had a confrontation in school the week before. The woman’s son went to the other learner’s home with friends and demanded he come outside and fight. When the boy came out, a fight ensued and the learner was stabbed seven times. The mother of the surviving learner was asking the life-skills teacher for a letter from the school. She wanted to show the police that her child had good grades and had not been in trouble before. The life skills teacher referred the parent to the administration. The administration’s response to the parent was very direct: “We are sorry for the situation, but we will not give you a letter. Your boy has committed a crime. He is no longer the school’s concern. He now belongs to the police.” The woman walked away in tears with her head shaking, and the life-skills teacher attempted to comfort her and offered to help in any other way she could. Admittedly, I was

surprised by the administration's response, so when I asked the principal about the decision he simply stated, "We are to keep them safe here, but I cannot change what happens on weekends. The boy will learn that he has given up his life and the life of another for nothing. It is a pity but it is a matter for the police." I could not help but wonder what harm a letter would have done, not to excuse the boy's behavior, but to serve as a statement of the boy's character within the school. He had never been in trouble before and was known to be a good student. The boy that was stabbed had tormented many learners in school through bullying and fighting. The letter may have simply explained the provocation for such a tragedy.

Makhachkala (We Came out of Depression)

Masiyile Secondary School is known as a place where violence is persistent and constant. The school is housed in Khayelitsha, a newer development of the township, and serves a population that is predominately Xhosa but also Zulu and Sotho. The Xhosa tradition is one that is one of patriarchy and riddled with customs and traditions. The general stance is that Xhosas are the most intelligent of the ethnic groups, while Zulus are noted to have physical strength and Sothus are seen as passive and good with finances. These stereotypes are in no way scientifically quantified and there is a huge divide within communities concerning these stereotypes, yet they are sometimes played out in the classrooms. Those who hold positions as class leaders are often Xhosa, the premier student athletes are predominately Zulu, and the student entrepreneurs have been identified as Sotho within the social structure of Masiyile.

The school building is a four-story brick structure in an "I" shape and has room for more than 1,700 students. Though there are more than 1,700 students on the registry, the usual attendance is as low as 800–1,000 on a weekly basis. The life-skills coordinator stated,

“More students attend class in the winter—that way they receive at least one meal a day and the school is warmer than most homes.” The first half of the campus houses the administrative blocks (including the principal’s office, counselor’s office, and teacher’s lounge) as well as classrooms for the 10th- and 12th-grade learners. To enter the administrative block from the teachers’ parking lot, one must be buzzed in, as there is an iron gate that remains locked. The principal’s office is furnished with a handsome teak wood desk, computer, fax machine, and photocopier. The teachers’ lounge is meagerly decorated with a few chairs and tables and a refrigerator. There are bars on the windows and a toilet is located in the back of the lounge. There used to be computers and a copier in the teachers’ lounge, but they were stolen last school term and the administration decided not to replace them. Teachers who need to make copies must turn in the materials to the school secretary in advance so that copies can be made and distributed. There is also a computer available in the office for teachers to use before and after school.

The body of the school is an outside courtyard that connects the building blocks with a wide concrete path. There is a grassless field on both sides of the path. This is where assemblies occur and where learners spend lunchtime. There is no auditorium or lunch facility. Women from the community who have licenses to sell meals arrive during lunchtime to sell lunches. The meals are cooked in the women’s homes and then brought to the school in shopping carts. The hallways are littered with trash and broken desks and chairs. The classroom entrances are without doors, the windows have metal plates over them, and the classroom walls and floors are made of concrete. When I inquired about the classroom doors, I was told that the level of vandalism was out of control. Bandits from the townships climb over the barbed-wire fences during the evenings and weekends and steal the classroom doors

to sell in the townships. Not only do they take the doors, but they also steal bathroom toilets and fixtures. When I asked about the efforts to increase security, I was informed that the guards are often chased off or tied up during the robberies, if they are not in cahoots with the robbers. Therefore, school security officer is not an easy position to fill. The security officer informed me that they are not allowed to carry guns and often their only weapon of defense is a stick or bricks to scare vandals away. “We have a stick and they have guns; I am not going to risk my life for a building. I just try to make sure the learners are safe, at least once they are in my sight.”

The school curriculum is the same for each secondary school. Masiyile offers geography, math, literacy, English, science, life skills, economics, science, business, and indigenous languages. Classes contain 45–60 students and are arranged in clusters labeled A through M. Masiyile is a flagship high school in Cape Town for sports, particularly track. It boasts not of high matriculation scores or high graduation rates but of a top-ranking soccer and track team. Administrators claim that many families move into the Khayelitsha area from other townships so that their children may become beneficiaries of the sports program.

Khayelitsha is situated just off the Cape Town highway, and school officials reported that the school is an easy target for vandals as the location makes for a faster getaway. Day-to-day problems have been major and frequent, the most common being drugs and knives brought into the school. The administration reports minor infractions such as smoking in the restrooms, cell-phone theft, and an occasional confrontation or fight between students. While overall school problems have persisted, the school staff notes that it is the weekend activity within the townships that causes problems within the school. Nonetheless, they attempt to maintain an active security program.

Even with the security in place there have been incidents of theft on school grounds. The school secretary's computer, which contained all of the academic reports, was stolen three weeks earlier before my visit. Therefore, when the vice-principal needed to collect data for a report, information had to be retrieved from the principal's computer. It took several weeks to obtain this information and this placed the school at a disadvantage in their region. There were other incidents of theft from classrooms and the teachers' lounge where equipment and other personal items were stolen on a regular basis.

Indabas: Isiduko (Meet and Share): Telling Their Stories

The researcher and school administrators arranged indabas, and teachers and learners were invited to participate. Because previous conversations had transpired between the students and staff at other classroom sessions, there was a very informal setting for the indabas. The teacher sessions were held during two consecutive lunch periods and 25 teachers attended. Learners from three 11th-grade classes participated and 154 students attended the student sessions, which were held during life-skills class periods.

The following questions were presented at each indaba session:

1. In the last three years, what measures have been taken to prevent, examine, and correct violence in schools, and to ensure that staff and students, authorities, and institutions refrain from engaging in any practice of violence in the school and community?
2. Please describe program initiatives undertaken in the school and community to raise awareness of the problem of school violence and eradicate bias practices contributing to it, and promote safe school environments and equity.

3. What are the specific methods in place to implement interventions to address violence in schools?
4. How has the GEM initiative succeeded or failed in addressing school safety?

These guiding questions enabled the sessions to be framed so that the participants understood what the basis and goal of the research was. However, conversations were fluid and very informal.

Umphathiswa (Authority): Teacher-to-Learner Violence

The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) has launched a policy of zero tolerance in the face of continued sexual abuse in schools. The Western Cape Education Minister reviewed the policy and outlined statistics in a speech at the official opening of the 55th Annual Conference of the Union of South African Professional Educators: “All forms of abuse are completely unacceptable. For teachers to abuse children in their care is outrageous.” This statement reverberated in the hall as many educators applauded the Minister’s words.

The Labor Relations Directorate of the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) handled 44 cases of alleged sexual misconduct by teachers from January 2005 to June 2006. In these, 24 teachers were found guilty in disciplinary hearings, and 15 cases are still being investigated. The Minister of Education said, “Thirty-one cases were dealt with in 2006 and 13 so far this year.” Though the words of the Minister prompted educators to cheer, another teacher from the Masiyile stated, “I am not reassured by this report, because so many cases go unreported. One case is one too many.”

Two years ago there were investigations of sexual abuse at Masiyile that had the community up in arms. Two teachers under investigation were returned to work two weeks

after witnesses “disappeared.” When asked if the teachers were still within the community, another teacher spoke up: “We have chased them away. We will not stand for such things in our school—they have been transferred someplace else.” Another teacher followed with “You can be sure that our policy on sexual misconduct is absolute zero tolerance. Anyone that crosses the line will be dealt with.”

In 2001 the WCED introduced a comprehensive policy and guidelines on dealing effectively with child abuse. Previously, in 2000, the department launched the Safe Schools Call Centre, which provides support for learners and staff who may be victims of abuse. This year alone the Centre has received 173 calls over the past 18 months. Most of the calls came from urban areas, with the highest number of calls coming from Khayelitsha. Of the calls received, about 75% involved the callers’ families, 10% teachers, and 15% other learners. These statistics come after January’s study by the Medical Research Council, which found that one third of all rapes of schoolgirls under the age of 15 are by teachers (MRC, 2006). The consensus of the teachers present at the indaba was that schools have a special role to play by rooting out abuse in school communities, by educating children from troubled communities, and by setting an example for communities to follow.

The Life Skill Coordinator (LSC) shared that videos and other programs are being used to train teachers and learners to deal with matters of abuse. “Our revised nationwide curriculum is purposely designed to turn out learners with the skills and values required for the new South Africa,” she said. The teachers expressed that the system has come a long way and is getting better.

Other acts of violence that were reported by the teachers were considered to be minor incidents of corporal punishment. There was a discourse on the role of democracy and how

all of the changes within the “new” South Africa may not be the best for the African society. Teachers and administrators alike believe that corporal punishment is an acceptable form of discipline. They also stated that though there is a thin line between abuse and appropriate punishment, the schools and learners were more disciplined when corporal punishment was allowed. Though there were still reported incidents of teachers smacking, grabbing, or pinching learners, this is considered acceptable if within relative situations. No teacher was willing to report a colleague for such a minor infraction unless it was a clear case of abuse of authority.

Teachers also discussed violent situations that were not directly school related but impacted learners’ ability and opportunity to learn, so the school became involved to rectify the situation. A Masiyile female learner aged 14 (grade 9) was forced into an arranged marriage for one month. The learner’s parents were deceased and she was living with her uncle and aunt. The uncle traveled abroad for a few months and the aunt arranged for the girl to be married to a complete stranger, a 43-year-old man living in a village 100 kilometers away. After being locked in a room, forced to hide from visitors, and forbidden to speak, the learner was finally allowed by her new husband to return to school. Immediately she went to the life skills teacher and reported what had happened to her. Social Service was called and a case was filled against the aunt and the man. Apparently the uncle was not aware of the arrangement and wept bitterly when he heard the news. The case was heard in court; the man (husband) was charged with assault, and the learner was released back into the custody of her uncle. It was reported that the learner was back in school and was receiving counseling. It was evident that no other action or charges were filed against the aunt. When the researcher questioned the fact that the child was returned to the home, the life skill coordinator (LSC)

responded, “Where else could she go? She wanted to return home. She has three years of schooling left; hopefully she will make it.” There was a clear message that teachers and school staff were only responsible for what happened on campus. It was the parent’s responsibility to keep students safe at home and on their way to school.

Amandla (Power): Learner-to-Teacher Violence

“Some schools have degenerated into battlegrounds where teachers constantly look over their shoulders in fear of attacks by armed gangs or their own pupils,” the principal said during an interview. The teachers of Masiyile are lucky to still have some control over the majority of the learners. “Most learners are here because they want a better life and they know education will help. However, there are those who just want to mess around and make it bad for others.” The deputy principal stated that the school system was trying to implement a safety and security plan to tackle school violence. “Schools should be places of learning, not havens of violence,” he said. The deputy principal proposed that it was necessary to introduce a multisector effort involving schools, parents, and various government departments to stop the rise in violence on school campuses. “There is such a state of lawlessness—these children are their own parents and this is the main problem.”

When asked how teachers experienced violence from learners, there was a resounding sucking of teeth and rolling of eyes by the indaba participants. A litany of issues were mentioned: substance abuse, wide age gaps²¹ within classrooms, lack of departmental guidelines and teacher support, lack of information and record-keeping regarding incidents of school violence, and poor community involvement. In addition, the teachers firmly believe that a stronger, more disciplined approach to learner behavior needs to be followed. The

²¹ Learners may study for matric (12th grade) until they are 30 years of age. Often you have students who are 18 and older participating in matric.

consensus was that too often neither learners nor parents recognize the burden of responsibility for their own behavior and the consequences on the school community.

Teachers believed they were offered little or no training in alternative forms of discipline when corporal punishment was banned. Teachers have been physically assaulted by gangs, had their cars vandalized, and had cell phones stolen. Wallets and personal belongings have been taken from the teachers' desks. In one case, male students fondled a teacher when she passed through a crowd of learners. In that case the teacher could not identify the culprit so the teacher quit and gave up teaching. In serious situations like assault, the school attempts to investigate and when they do not have the means, they will call in the police for assistance.

Another teacher shared an incident that happened last year: "A teacher was driving out of the school premises and at the gate, five men, four with firearms and one with a knife, were waiting for her," she said. "They told her to get out of the car and as she was getting out, one of them stabbed her in the shoulder." The bandits jumped into her gray Volkswagen Polo and fled. Police never recovered the vehicle, and assume it was used in another crime.

The Safer Schools Program, introduced at the beginning of 2007 by the National Education Department in partnership with the police, is believed to be having no noticeable impact. Little is being done to help schools implement their safety plans according to teachers. The government set aside R14 million for this program in 2007, including R5 million for crime control, R5.7 million for crime prevention, and R560, 000 for a call center. Provinces have received R5 million each to implement safety projects at high-risk schools. The science teacher argued that though this seemed like a good-faith method, this plan was insufficient and that the problem is not limited to physical safety measures, but includes social issues, which the teachers cannot control.

Hlumelo (Shoot Growing from a Dead Tree): Learner-to-Learner Violence

Masiyile has faced many obstacles in trying to obliterate violence within the school community. However, learners reported that the gang violence was uncontrollable at this time. Three years ago there was a situation when gang members all carrying R5 military rifles cut through a bordering fence and entered classrooms. They held up five classes and took cell phones, jewelry, and cash. The principal was then held at gunpoint and his belongings were taken. The student leaders spoke of the incident in the indaba: “For far too long, *tsotsis* (thugs) are holding us at ransom. It’s sad that the powers that be are doing very little to stop the level of violence and crime in our country.” The learners revealed that though they feel unsafe at school, it is during exam time that there are high incidents of violence. The majority of students feel that once they arrived to school they are with their friends and that makes them less vulnerable to violence. However, they did interject that it is during lunch, bathroom breaks, and after school that they must take care. Students expressed the need for the school system to hire good security that is well trained.

The following week, the safety of teachers and pupils once again came under scrutiny when a teacher was robbed and stabbed. The learners protested that the security guards must be paid better if they are expected to protect them. This is the response that they received from a local politician when they expressed their concerns: “And the safety of pupils—it’s the parents’ responsibility to make sure their children get to school safely. It’s not the responsibility of school staff or those transporting children to school.” This statement was met with hostility and learners were advised not to protest or burn the politician’s house down.

The school prefect said, “Schools have become the easiest targets for gangsters, especially during exam time.” There was a scenario where a 10th-grade female learner was molested in the classroom while she was waiting to take an exam. She arrived early to school to study and a fellow learner accosted her in the classroom and forced her to touch his penis and lift her skirt. The girl was afraid to scream as she was told that she would be beaten if she yelled for help. Fortunately, another classmate arrived and stopped the male learner from going further. The incident was reported to the administration and the male student was suspended. The female learner and male learner both continued to take the exam the same day. When the researcher questioned the administration about the incident it was then stated that such matters were better taken care of by the families than by police. The boy learner was extremely apologetic and was told that he would be dealt with at home.

Learner-to-learner violence was not just limited to actual physical altercations and assaults. Boys and girls reported constant bullying and harassment by other learners. Girls experience cat-calling and name-calling often. Pregnant girls expressed concern about being forced to stay at home as a form of discipline for “falling pregnant,” as well as experiencing ridicule by other girls. Learners voiced their anger over the amount of vandalism that occurs in the school. There were no toilet seats in bathrooms and in some cases, no toilets. There were missing faucets, sinks removed from the wall, and no place to take showers after athletic activities. Learners stated that the conditions of the schools were a daily reminder of their reality and the poverty they faced.

Summary

Although there was a great deal of discussion among the learners and staff in Masiyile about school violence and its impact on creating a safe learning environment, there

was an overarching question that persisted. What was I going to do to stop the crime and violence? This question came as a complete surprise to the researcher, because as an outsider, I did not anticipate that the expectation was for me to stop the violence. The schools of Khayelitsha are noted to experience significant problems with gangs and other patterns of serious violence. There, learners have a reputation for getting into fights or being aggressive. Many come from broken families or child-headed households, which are not closely monitored by adults. The school serves as the source of nurturing and monitoring for every aspect of these children's lives.

The sensational acts of extreme violence that have brought so much unwanted attention as well as the high rates of dropout seem to be related in plausible ways to the underlying structural characteristics of the community, namely rapid change and lack of prosperity. Khayelitsha is a place where people who have prospered from the new democracy have been moving out very quickly and poor masses from villages have moved in. The conditions, which the school environment is surrounded by and contains, are contributing to violence and perpetuate poverty. There is clear evidence that this battle is not an easy one to defeat.

Under these circumstances, there is little money or personal time available for building the academic focus of the school program. The community is rapidly expanding as more learners come from the villages to the townships for schooling when their parents and caretakers seek employment. Others are forced to move into the townships when their parents die. Because of this, the shape of the school community is morphing into a more social-service oriented system than an academic institution. It is clear that there are many learners with time on their hands, no money, and little supervision. This environment breeds elements

of violence and is conducive to crime. Learners are faced with the challenges of survival while trying to cope with adolescent development in this particular context.

Chapter Six

Methodology of the Study

Qualitative Considerations: The Role of the Researcher

The role of the researcher in a qualitative approach is to use techniques to identify and define the phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This process is heightened as the researcher interacts with the organization or individuals studied to gain deeper understanding of the phenomenon. As a researcher, I gleaned themes from the collected data and attached meaning to what was being studied. One essential tool for collecting data in the qualitative process is interviewing. Through in-depth interviews and focus groups, the researcher constantly had verbal interaction with the participants. Hitchcock (1989) stresses that “central to the interview is the issue of asking questions and this is often achieved in qualitative research through conversational encounters” (p. 79). It was imperative that as a researcher I was acquainted with questioning techniques before conducting the interviews. It was also important for the researcher to report the nuances of the participants’ speech, emotions, and experience in my interpretation.

In the qualitative method, the researcher and the entity studied are both instruments used to understand the complexity of the phenomenon (Lave & Kvale, 1995). I used the qualitative research process (interviewing, thematizing, transcribing, analyzing, and verifying) to examine the existing data within select South African schools (Kvale, 1996). As a researcher it is my responsibility to understand the educational development partnerships within the context of the implementation of the GEM program and to discover the experiences of the participants within the study (Kruger, 2000). Rather than studying these

topics in isolation, my research strategy attempted to understand the linkages between them in the context of education development.

As a student of education leadership and comparative international education, I have had opportunities to study various cultural and theoretical frames that facilitated my investigation and analysis. According to theoretical practice, social reality is to be understood as deep hidden meaning, and it is the role of the researcher to uncover this meaning bit by bit (Wallerstein, 1998).

International Comparative Approach

Although the comparison and international education debate has evolved in many directions, for the purpose of this study Postlethwaite's (1988) definition of the comparative will be applied. He writes:

Strictly speaking to “compare” means to examine two or more entities by putting them side-by-side and looking for similarities and differences between or among them. In the field of education, this can apply both to comparisons between and within systems of education. (p. xvii)

International Comparative Education research contributes to the knowledge base of foreign education systems and adds perspectives “in order to enable more appropriate reform of one's own educational system or more insightful educational generalizations” (Henry, 1973, p. 231). This study compares the essentials of Fezeka and Masiyile Secondary Schools by comparing the physical settings, learner-to-learner relationships, teacher-to-learner relationships, violence in schools, and the programs that exist within the schools to support school safety. The study also compares the role of the partners in implementing the GEM program

Partnership Design

The partnership design model dictates the culture, structure, and resource-management process of the organization (Applebaum, 1999). The fact is, with authority (and freedom) comes accountability. Partnerships must manage the programs collaboratively achieve the best by results. Each entity must be free (within bounds) to figure out how to develop the agenda and move it forward (Applebaum, 1999). Organizations cannot persist to deny the importance of collaborative effort in partnership development and its effects on the participants in regards to motivation and effective performance.

There are many ideologies that guide the design of organizational structure (Pfeiffer, 1982). However, one that is primary and necessary for a highly effective partnership is that the partnered organizations are in consistent communication. It's the essential rule, extremely crucial to the success of every organization (Pfeiffer, 1982).

Authority and accountability of the partners must always be equal. There is a disconnect if authority and accountability are not given the same level of significance. When authority and accountability are given unequally to partners, this produces problems and inconsistencies for program implementation (Fawcett et al., 1995). If individuals within the partnership structure are expected to be accountable but have no authority, then they are presumed powerless and are usually less effective in completing and implementing policies and programs. The results lead to limited performance and very little initiative taken by those on the ground. If individuals within the partnership structure have authority but lack accountability, this promotes an unconstrained attitude. The partners are prompted to make decisions without having to consider each other and the program suffers from the consequences of these decisions. This sets up a situation where partners are in a position to place blame of

unsuccessful program implementation on others without the appropriate checks and balances being applied.

Research Design

Criteria for Selecting GEM Initiative

The GEM program was selected because it provides a range of possible approaches of implementation in schools and in the community. Though the GEM initiative had been launched in the provinces of Guateng, Western Cape, Limpopo, and other provinces at the time of this study, the exact number of GEM schools in South Africa or in the city of Cape Town could not be determined.

The GEM initiative was selected using the following criteria:

- Initiative purports to use multiple strategies to carry out information and education.
- Initiative makes an effort to link experiences between local and national levels.
- Initiative establishes partnerships.
- Initiative promises to generate safe school and community environments.
- Initiative emphasizes a human-rights perspective.
- Initiative ensures culturally appropriate intervention.
- Initiative seeks to promote change at both the individual and community level.

The GEM program has been implemented in South Africa for four years, yet there is little information available to evaluate whether the program does what it sets out to do. To date, there is no record of the efficacy of implementing GEM in school communities in South Africa. The South African Department of Education and UNICEF SA plan to conduct a

complete program audit in the future. It is the hope of the researcher that this dissertation research study serves as a conduit to promote the imperativeness for further extensive evaluative research. The obvious gap in rigorous evaluative data on the GEM initiative highlights the importance of increasing efforts to document and evaluate the efficacy of education intervention programs that address gender inequity and safety in schools.

Criteria for Selecting Sample

Two schools were selected to serve as the sites for this qualitative study. These schools were selected after the researcher inquired about the location of which schools in Cape Town had the GEM program and which communities were noted for high levels of violent activity. The selection of the GEM school was also based on the recommendation of the provincial gender unit. The DOE Gender Unit recommended schools that were in the same community: One school that houses the GEM initiative and another that does not. Both schools also consisted of learners with the same socioeconomic status and ethnic background. The schools selected for this study were Masiyile (control school, N=93) and Fezeka Secondary School (GEM intervention school, N=78), both located in Cape Town, South Africa.

Fezeka Secondary School was selected based on the following criteria:

- GEM program has been in existence for at least three years
- Program informants have been well documented
- Program staff is able and willing to share relevant documents and records
- Program employs multiple approaches for intervention
- Program seeks to change both at individual and community level

Masiyile Secondary School was selected based on the following criteria:

- GEM program does not exist in the school
- School violence has been well documented by police reports and media
- School staff is able and willing to share relevant documents and records
- School conditions are comparable to those of Fezeka High School
- School seeks change both at individual and community level

Other contributing factors in the selection of the school sites are that each site is a co-ed institution and located in impoverished townships of Cape Town, South Africa. Both schools are in areas of the Cape Town that have a history of high levels of violence among youth both in school and in the community. The schools are located in Guguletu and Khayelitsha, Cape Town; both areas have a concentration of different ethnic groups (Xhosa, Zulu, and Sotho) and often experience conflicts between rival gangs. Thus the consequence of the ethnic changes of neighboring township areas and school environments serves as a rich context for the investigation of the programs efficacy in combating violence in schools. The site dynamics lead to several assumptions concerning the ability of the GEM program in to create an equitable and safe learning environment as South Africa reaches for an equitable, nonviolent society.

Gaining Entry

Evaluation research can only proceed where access has been achieved, and this is not always straightforward. However difficult access may be, it is crucial that obtaining access is not the primary consideration in selecting an appropriate site, and that the site has relevance to the research. Patton (2002) states that entry into the field involves two actions: (1) negotiate with the gatekeepers, whoever they may be, about the nature of the fieldwork to be

completed and (2) gain actual physical entry. Patton (2002) emphasizes that the negotiation with the gatekeeper establishes the rules and conditions of how the researcher establishes himself or herself in the setting.

I visited South Africa in the summer of 2005 and had already developed rapport with various national and local educational and community leaders. To secure permission I used the “foot-in-the-door” approach (Crano & Brewer, 2002). I had the opportunity to meet the director of Gender Equity for the South African Department of Education (Ms. Mmabatho Ramagoshi), the director of the Gender Unit of the Human Science Research Center (Dr. Cheryl Potgieter), and the South African Department of Education Higher Education advisor (Dr. Teboho Moja). Dr. Moja and Ms. Ramagoshi gave me letters offering support from the South African Department of Education for my return to South Africa to conduct my research.

Initially when I set out on this expedition, I formulated my research around the urban center of Johannesburg, only to arrive in the country and realize that the GEM program that was documented to have been in place for three years in Guateng Province was actually rolled out several weeks after my arrival (February/March 2007). Obviously this was not going to work, as I needed a site where the program had been in existence for at least three years. Therefore, the search began for a school site that would yield the necessary environment to investigate the topic. I was horrified by this new discovery when I arrived, and thought I was doomed. How would I salvage my dissertation and my Fulbright project? I felt at a loss, for all the preparation and contacts that were made before I left the United States, I assumed it was all for naught. Then a small voice whispered in my moment of desperation: “change your thinking.” I looked around the room to see if someone had

entered, but there was no one there. What I thought was an audible voice was really the voice in my head. As “change your thinking” reverberated in my mind, I was sure that this simple phrase was a gift from the universe. In that moment I discovered that I was not bound by my initial expectations of South Africa or the whereabouts of the GEM program, but that I would use this an opportunity of discovery. As I sought new sites for this comparative study, I would be given a gift in exchange for my frustration. The gift would be an opportunity to grow as a researcher who practices flexibility and agility while in the field. I recognized that all the planning in the world could not compete with the actual field experience of negotiating access in South Africa. I welcomed the opportunity to transform as a researcher in adjusting the confines of my own mind, to gain the knowledge that research is not stagnant, and to realize what I was taught. How I negotiated with the gatekeepers would determine the nature of my existence in the context of the research environment.

During my prior visit to South Africa, I visited primary and secondary schools that participate in counter-violence programs. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to speak with principals, teachers, and students regarding school safety and gender inequality. I was able to visit and observe urban and rural communities from the depths of the economic center of South Africa—Guateng Province (Johannesburg)—to the sprawling fields of the most Northern Province—Limpopo and the cities of Tzaneen and Venda. The ability to travel to various communities gave me insight on the norms of South Africa as a nation in all its diverse communities, traditions, values, and beliefs. Through my contacts from the Guateng Department of Education, I gained access to teachers and administrators as the initial gatekeepers to help facilitate my right of entry to other informants in the Western Cape Department of Education (Creswell, 1998). I approached the gatekeepers and the cultural

system with sensitivity since I was an “outsider.” This facilitated my ability to create a recommended list of experts (see list in appendix) through my collaboration with the Gender Equity Unit, UNICEF SA, and GEM staff members. The list expanded to incorporate other individuals, representing a wider range of programmatic specialists. I contacted most of these informants via e-mail or telephone. With the permission and assistance of the South African Department of Education, GEM program coordinators, and the district and school administrators, I planted myself within the neighboring townships of Guguletu and Khayelitsha. For the purpose of this dissertation study, the “Mother City,” Cape Town, was selected as the place where the study would be conducted. In two months’ time I was finally back on track: I would be able to carry out the objectives of my study. This comparative dissertation study evaluated school safety in Khayelitsha and Guguletu and the efficacy of the GEM program’s implementation in combating violence.

Data Collection

Data was collected during a six-month residency at the South African Department of Education Gender Equity division in Pretoria, South Africa and for 12 weeks (6 weeks each) in two secondary schools in Cape Town, South Africa. The township sites are representative of the population that the GEM program serves as it establishes measures to address school safety and gender inequality. The study was conducted by means of observations, interviews, and a review of records and documents. Informants were learners, teachers, school administrators, program coordinators, and experts in the fields of education, gender equity, and school safety.

The data-collection process was qualitative in nature and consisted of three components: training, implementation and execution of the GEM program. I developed

questions to address these areas in inquiry. The data collection method included observations of GEM club meetings, training sessions, and program events. This helped the researcher to evaluate program training implementation and the overall efficacy of the program in the school and community. I lead group discussion in both schools with learners, teachers, program coordinators, and administrators, and conducted in-depth interviews with selected learners, teachers, program coordinators, administrators, and experts. Another component of the research was a review of school documents and academic performance records.

To collect data to determine the frequency, seriousness, and perceptions of incidence of violence in the schools, the researcher conducted a survey. The survey requested information on the actual number of crimes within a specific academic time period (2004–2006) that occurred at the school. Principals and teachers were asked about the seriousness of disciplinary actions taken for various offenses. Students were asked about the seriousness of crimes committed on school grounds, at school events, and on the way to and from school. The data indicates the frequency and types of incidents that took place, the type of security that is available, and what violence-prevention measures are in place for the school community. Questionnaires were distributed to students during indaba sessions. This allowed the researcher to collect small amounts of issue-oriented information with only a minimal burden on respondents and within a short timeframe. The survey was conducted with the sample of 11th-grade students from Fezeka (GEM intervention school, N=78) and Masiyile Secondary (control school, N=93) schools. The following school characteristics were considered:

- Instructional level
- Class size

- Student enrollment for three years within the school

The survey findings are presented by school characteristics noted in the survey:

- Discipline problems
- Types of crimes reported
- Zero tolerance policy for crime
- Security or law enforcement presence

It is essential to note that many school characteristics used for independent analysis may be related to each other. Locale may be related to poverty level and other relationships between analysis variables may exist. The sample size was not large enough to control for these types of relationships. Though a survey was conducted the findings did not yield much difference between the two schools in the level of perceptions of violence. The test performed did not yield convincing substantive data.

Limitations

There are some limitations in this study. One initial limitation is the reality that the instrument used was not pre-tested and not piloted. In addition to not being pre-tested, the instrument was written in English. The strength of measurement could be improved if the instrument was translated in the learners' native languages (Xhosa, Zulu, and Sotho).

Another limitation of the study is in regards to the sample selection. This study only looks at two classes in the 11th grade in both schools that have been in the schools for three years.

This sample may not be representative of the true learner population. Therefore. Selecting a more representative sample for further study that could provide appropriate results based on the number of years in the school and class size.

Though the researcher used the same themes as noted by the MRC in *The 1st National South African Youth Behavior Survey* (2003), the researcher did not use the same instruments of national measures. Therefore the researcher's instrument measures different perceptions while using the same themes. Lastly, there is self-bias between the students' perception of violence and actual incidents of violence. The results are based on students reporting how they feel about violent behaviors or incidents. Learners were asked to remember past events. Therefore, recall bias could also affect student responses; research questions required them to reflect on incidents that occurred as far as three years ago.

As an African American woman, I have been exposed to the confines of discrimination and gender roles that are perpetuated in society. It is my belief that cultural norms and ideologies of identity go hand-in-hand in the marginalization of the girl-child in schooling. The dominant society promotes and encourages social, economic, and educational stratification based on race, gender, and class (Giroux, 1997). If asked, "How do you know this?" I would respond, "Because I have lived it." Gender expectations permeate educational organizations, just as they do all social organizations (Goetz & Grant, 1988).

Being an African American woman gives me a certain cachet when interacting with the South African society. Though I am accepted as a Black woman and welcomed into cultural and educational settings, there is a double-edged sword in being Black and being American. My Blackness gives me acceptance, my gender may facilitate or hinder my process depending on the environment, and my Americanness gives me privilege and creates suspicion. Due to the history of South Africa and its political fervor, even as a student, the researcher was considered suspicious and questioned about government connections. It took

constant reassurance within the school environments and the ministries of education (national and regional) to get access to information and establish trust.

The researcher also recognizes within the South African context the importance language plays in making connections and observing the participants. South Africa has 13 official languages, which are spoken in schools on a daily basis; therefore, the researcher was placed at a disadvantage. Often learners would slip in and out of their native tongue, other languages, and English to explain themselves. Eventually realizing that the researcher only spoke English, they would recount their stories in English during indaba sessions or when answering the research questions.

The timeframe of the study also serves as a definite limitation. The researcher only spent six weeks in each school setting. Therefore, short notice was given to potential participants. The size of the sample (171 learners) in number and geographically (within Cape Town) will only give a bird's-eye view of the phenomenon. Studying the GEM initiative within South Africa also has its implications and limitations. Though it is noted that the program was initially implemented in 2003, the research reveals that the program was not succinctly implemented in provinces. Therefore, there is incongruent data from written materials and actuality; this may also serve as a limitation.

The survey was designed to collect data on school discipline and violence issues. The types and crimes represented are not an exhaustive list of possible infractions. The inexperience of the researcher in designing surveys serves as a limitation, as the questions asked centered around incidents of specific crimes relative to the school community. In retrospect the researcher recognizes that the survey could have asked more poignant

questions about GEM as an entity that stands alone and not in connection with other school-based intervention strategies.

The data reported in this research may differ from other such research due to differences in definitions, respondents, sample sizes, and coverage. The researcher urges these issues to be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the collected data presented in this study. Finally, the reader must be cognizant that any sample survey is subject to error based on data collection and response bias.

Strengths

The strength of the study was that it was conducted in comparable environments in regard to socioeconomic status, education, and geographical location. The use of themes similar to those in a previous study give the study a framework in which to operate when assessing what type of violence have been pervasive in the schools environments. The GEM intervention has proven to be successful elsewhere. Therefore, the selection of the intervention as a benefit in school environments has been tested.

Data Analysis for Efficacy of GEM Program

The data analysis is based on the RE-AIM framework for assessing program efficacy. RE-AIM gauges the effectiveness and translatability into practice of intervention programs (Green et. al, 2006). The researcher asked informants to provide information on the GEM program within five categories²²: Reach, Effectiveness, Adoption, Implementation and Maintenance. These categories are explained in more detail below:

- **Reach** the target population
- **Efficacy** or effectiveness

²² Categories are based on the programmatic framework of RE-AIM. RE-AIM evaluates programs implementation for impact and efficacy (Green, et. al., 2006).

- **Adoption** of program by target school and community
- **Implementation**: consistency of delivery of intervention program
- **Maintenance** of intervention effects in individuals and populations over time

Each data-collection process shaped the content of the tools in the next step (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher observed program participants during GEM club meetings at Fezeka Secondary school and documented observations of activities over a course of six-week residencies in both Fezeka and Masiyile Secondary schools. The document and record reviews gave me more data on student performance, violence statistics, and the implementation of the GEM initiative in curricular and classroom settings. The in-depth interviews provided data to develop deeper insight on the program experiences of the program participants, trainees, and experts in the field. This triangulated design ensured validation of collected data and allowed the researcher to capture experiences of educators, students, and other stakeholders.

From the data analysis, GEM intervention indeed improved school environment in some aspects, although a more accurate instrument design is required for future study. This study provides a window onto the real situation in the schools in South Africa. It also provides information to help UNICEF South Africa and South African National Department of Education in revising the GEM intervention.

Objective Measures of GEM Program Efficacy

This study provided rigorous investigation of the efficacy of the GEM program in four strengths. First, intent-to-treat analysis provided a conservative examination of program effects. Second, the investigation looked at the fidelity of the program implementation, which was assessed by attendance and implementation of each item described in the goals section of

the program description. Third, the researcher conducted a retention and attrition analysis based on records provided. Fourth, the findings were generalized for a broader range of students in violent communities because the sample was heterogeneous on ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender.

Objective Measures of Perceptions of Violence in Schools

The researcher reviewed the results of previous studies in South Africa on school violence to determine normative levels of violence among youth. The researcher accessed information from Johannesburg's Soul City Institute, which focuses on youth issues. Soul City has conducted numerous programs in education, health, and development issues and is committed to advocacy for equity and growth. The researcher examined school incident reports of violence in both schools to get an aggregate of the rates of violence. The researcher examined the nature of violence committed by boys and girls to determine the qualitative difference in the behaviors, which are categorized as violent acts. The researcher investigated the connection between exposure to violence in the community and in schools, and the impact of the GEM program in school environments. The researcher also conducted an analysis of media reports to determine if the actual frequency and nature of violence match the known cases. The researcher studied the intervention of the GEM program and comparative measures of violent incidents in both schools over time.

For the purpose of this study and within the context of the research, *violence* is defined as any aggressive behavior where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her self or an object to inflict injury or discomfort on an individual. The definition of violence also includes bullying, threats, verbal attacks, shouting, and teasing, as well as mental and emotional abuse.

Summary

The research results support the idea that the GEM intervention was useful. However, the results do not give enough information to corroborate the efficacy of GEM in its implementation. It is clear that there are high occurrences of violence in the GEM intervention school. It is also clear that the type of violence that occurs in the GEM intervention school mirror those of the control school. The GEM intervention school environment presents a story that does not reflect a safe school environment. The current atmosphere is filled with uncertainty for both learners and teachers. This type of atmosphere makes teaching and learning difficult (Ingersoll and LeBoeuf, 1997).

The perception of violence is not significantly different in the two schools in substantive violence. The research data yielded information believed to be important to understanding the scope and depth of violence in preventing a safe school environment in the context of both schools.

The results of the data reveal that there is room for improvement for the GEM intervention. In general, the results of this study on perceptions of school violence mirror results produced in the MRC report titled *The 1st National South African Youth Behavior Survey* (2003). These results gave clarity to the researcher about the nature of violence and social and economic conditions that also play a role in creating a safe school environment. It is the responsibility of the school system to give every student an equitable opportunity to learn; this requires increased efforts on behalf of South African National Department of Education and UNICEF South Africa in equipping Gem schools, coordinators, and learners with the necessary skills and resources to implement an effective program. The international

community, national government, regional politicians, and South African society must take more responsibility in creating an appropriate and safe learning environment in schools.

Chapter Seven

Indaba Findings and Analysis

Efficacy Analysis of GEM at Fezeka Based on RE-AIM Framework

This dissertation documents the findings for the implementation and efficacy of the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) in its efforts to address violence in South African schools. The study takes a comparative glance at schools with and without the GEM intervention to evaluate the efficacy of GEM in combating violence. The implementation evaluation explores the extent to which and efficacy with which, GEM has been implemented in Fezeka Secondary School in Guguletu Township in Cape Town, South Africa.

This section examines the findings of the focus group sessions (*indabas*). The discussions give information about the safety and the overall environment of the school by tapping into the school culture and learners and teachers experiences with occurrences of violence. This data presents a reliable scan of the school atmosphere, culture, physical setting, and the mechanisms for voicing concerns within Fezeka (GEM intervention school) and Masiyile (control school). The importance of these focus groups is to provide insight and to acknowledge and evaluate the current temperament in the GEM intervention school and to monitor if GEM has effectively addressed demands. The fundamental need to examine the GEM initiative and its ability to create a safe learning environment is imperative for all stakeholders as it directs us toward the next steps for potential program improvements.

The researcher gathered the data during a six-week residency at each school. This approach offered an opportunity to assess the school culture that strongly links the school environment to the efficacy of the GEM intervention. It is important to point out that this

research does not look at school effectiveness or learning outcomes, but tries to determine to what degree GEM has been implemented and its beneficial attributes in combating violence in the intervention school.

The GEM school is classified as a Child-Friendly School (CFS) and is considered to have the components of a successful GEM intervention. The implementation of the GEM intervention is analyzed by five elements of RE-AIM: reach, efficacy, adoption, implementation, and maintenance. Tables 20–25 outline the findings of the GEM program implementation based on the RE-AIM framework. Findings were substantial in recognizing and addressing the GEM goals and objectives, with concrete documentation of outputs, evidence from the field, outcomes, and achievements. Based on the reported activities and findings of this study, the data supports that there are some benefits to the implementation of the GEM intervention at Fezeka Secondary School; however, the study does not corroborate the efficacy of GEM in every RE-AIM area.

Goal 1: To Enable African Girls to Participate in Decision-making

While some participants recognized that there are many pressures that girls face in schools, participants thought it was important that girls be an integral part of the decision-making process for their futures. Though the tenets of GEM clearly state that clubs must be student lead, learners and teachers mentioned that participation was limited. “We used to be a large club, but then things changed once our first leader graduated. She was really good. Now it seems the club has changed because it is becoming religious” (GEMmer #4). The researcher thought it was imperative to investigate why the club appeared to be taking a religious tone. The current student leader expressed that she had become a Christian and because her life changed she wanted to change the lives of the other students. “I am not

ashamed nor will I apologize for my faith. Though I took the GEM training, I feel it doesn't work—it didn't stop people from having sex or smoking or anything, and girls were still coming to me pregnant and crying. So I decided to change the program and talk about God because that is what we all really need" (GEM leader).

The teacher advisor corroborated that the girls were not all included in the decision to change the club's focus, so since the religious aspect was added there were less learners participating. An ex-GEM participant told me that she decided to quit the club because she felt judged for everything. "I don't think it is right to judge me, because we are all human and I am not a bad person. But the new leader thinks she is better than us all and she does not let everyone participate. So I quit and I still think about what I learned but I do not go to meetings" (Ex-GEMmer).

The other issue that surfaced during the indabas was the fact that GEM had received no funding to keep the program running. The teacher advisor said that she often used her own money to help the girls buy program materials. "I do not make much but I try to help. Often girls need materials so they can make and sell crafts, so I will pitch in. Outside of the initial GEM camps, the girls have not received any other opportunity for training because there are no funds." The teacher advisor and learners talked about the opportunities that they were interested in with regard to training. GEMmers wanted to participate in GEM camps and youth conferences and have public speaking training. They also wanted to be able to go to local schools and teach others about GEM. The students would make an effort to make crafts or sell candy as a way to raise funds for program ideas. Yet given the financial limitations of the student body, the GEMmers did not produce much fiscal support.

The results of the indaba discussions were placed in the following tables based on the leading goals of GEM. Each table has the GEM goal, objective, desired output, and evidence from the field, outcome, and evaluation of achievement. The analysis of these results is supported by the quotes from the participants in the data.

Table 4

Findings and Analysis of the Efficacy of the Implementation of GEM at Fezeka based on the RE-AIM Framework					
Goal 1: To enable African girls to participate in decision making					
<i>Objective</i>	<i>Desired output</i>	<i>Evidence from the field</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Evaluation of Achievement</i>	
To promote participation and development of girls for making life choices.	GEM clubs established, support gathered for Girls' clubs with fiscal and technical support and a girls' network built	A GEM club was formed for girls in school. Big turnover in leadership among girls and teacher leaders GEM advisor noted that GEM club had no financial support or consistency in attendance	GEM club becoming decreasingly active	Girls were not taking an active role in the development of the clubs Decision-making Roles were lead primarily by teacher leaders	
RE-AIM Analysis	GEM requires constant support to become sustainable, due to frequent turnover of student leaders and the lack of infrastructure. The target population is not reached, leaving the program less effective and sustainable. In order for adoption to take place, there is more emphasis needed on the GEM clubs being driven by the girls and activities established that have relevance to the curricular, social, and career opportunities that exist for girls. There must be fiscal support for implementation and consistent program outlines introduced to all schools. Maintenance of the GEM program will only be congruent once a culture of gender sensitivity is established and girls are taught and boys included in the development and activities of GEM. Teachers and parents and all stakeholders must recognize and support the relevance of GEM and its asset to learners.				

Goal 2: To protect the rights of girls with special needs and any child at risk of exploitation or abuse in or outside school

Kaya (Home) School Environments

Human-rights advocates usually argue that human rights are indivisible and interdependent (Kollapan, 2006). This researcher asserts that rights exist in context and that some rights override the importance of others depending on circumstances. In the context of South Africa, educational rights are imperative and even the Constitution speaks to the development of the “potential of each individual.” Therefore, schools must be able to facilitate atmospheres that create room for substantive educational opportunity.

GEM participants spoke about their opportunities to attend trainings when the program was first established. These GEM camps and national programs helped the girls learn about the program and also helped them learn about their rights. “Before GEM, I could not stand up for myself. Thought I did not feel safe at school, I would just be afraid all the time. Attending GEM has helped me feel better about myself. Even though sometimes bad things happen to me, I know I can get help, I know my rights.” (GEM student leader #1). “Before GEM, I thought it was okay for your parents to beat or for a boy to touch you. I thought I just had to take it and suffer, but now I can say no to them and not be afraid” (GEMmer #12). It was evident during the indaba that GEMmers learned how to recognize physical and emotional abuse. Participants in GEM appeared to have a better understanding of what their rights were as learners. They knew the protocol for reporting abuse and also knew that they had support from the student leader and the teacher advisor. “Even if something happens to me at home, I know that when I get to school, I can tell the other GEMmers and they will help me. We make sure we protect each other” (GEMmer #3).

When posed with the question of how the school protected the rights of girls from abuse, participants mentioned concerns in relation to the physical setting and the overall feeling of safety on school grounds. Learners in both Masiyile and Fezeka expressed concerns of not feeling safe in school. The presence of gangs and bandits seemed to penetrate the minds of all the learners. “Some gang members will threaten us just to scare us, so we make sure we stay together when we leave the school” (GEMmer #2). GEMmers reported that intimidation by gang members was common but not because they were GEMmers, because they were girls. “They see us and they say nasty things to us, about sex or something, but we just ignore them or sometimes yell back at them. It can be scary” (GEMmer #11).

During the indabas, the researcher spoke to learners and teachers about theft and vandalism on school grounds. Learners in Masiyile (the control school) mentioned incidents of vandalism on a consistent basis at school. “Often it is difficult to even go to the toilets. Many of the stall doors have been stolen and we do not have privacy. I am also afraid of being raped in the toilet, so I do not go all day. Sometimes it causes me pains in my stomach, but I have learned to wait” (11th-grade female learner Masiyile Secondary). Due to the toilet situation and lack of protection, the GEM participants developed a buddy system when visiting the toilets in an attempt to prevent being harassed or raped in the toilets. “I never go alone, because I know what happens there. You can scream but no will here you because the toilets are far from the classroom. So now I always take a buddy to stand watch”(GEMmer #5). The administration admitted to being well aware of this problem, and to try to counteract the situation they have assigned teachers to monitor the toilets. However, the researcher

found that given the short amount of time between classes, most teachers did not bother to do toilet checks.

The guard at the GEM intervention school cited many instances of theft and vandalism due to the location of the school near an open field where gangs often hangout. The guard told me, “Once I tried to fight them off when they were stealing the toilets. But there were three of them and they beat me. Since that time, I just don’t bother. I report everything to the police but it doesn’t help much. As soon as things are fixed the vandals come back again.” The discussion on school vandalism revealed that there were incidents of stolen chalkboards, broken desks, broken toilet fixtures, and no doors on classrooms or toilets. “There is a problem with the school being located in the community—the doors are stolen and then sold. I used to replace them every year with the school budget, but this time I have decided not to until the weather gets colder. The desks are also stolen and used for firewood in people’s homes. I get tired of having to replace everything. I also think of how the learners feel about coming to a school with no doors on the classrooms” (Administrator, Fezeka Secondary).

Though both schools have guards and barbed-wire fences, the learners, teachers and administrators reported that most of the acts of vandalism came from the community around the school during the weekends. It was expressed that due to the configuration of the school grounds and the isolation of the school locations, it was difficult for security to monitor the situation.

The inability to protect the rights of girls at school, the acts of theft and vandalism, and an atmosphere riddled with foul language, threats, and intimidation places the learners in a precarious predicament. Learners and teachers must constantly negotiate the situation.

Though GEMmers try to share information with other learners, their reach is limited. The GEMmers lack the necessary training and opportunity, and they are few in number and don't have a full understanding of the interventions tenets. It appeared that the self-esteem of the GEMmers vacillated between thoughts of worthlessness and superiority. "I used to think I was ugly and no one liked me, but now while in GEM I feel I have friends. Sometimes I still get lonely and scared but then I remember I have sisters in GEM" (GEMmer #10). One learner spoke about feeling the need to be a part of GEM for protection: "Most students don't bother us as GEMmers; they know we have support because we talk to each other. Since being in GEM, I have changed a lot and I no longer hang with the rowdy crowd, but you have to be with some club or group or you can get in trouble. So I figure if I can have fun and learn and even be helping someone else, GEM is the place for me" (GEMmer #9). GEMmers often reported feeling protected or cared for by participating in the program. Table 5 below shows the findings and analysis based on GEM goal # 2. The findings in the grid are supported by the surrounding data.

Table 5

Goal 2: To protect the rights of girls with special needs and any child at risk of exploitation or abuse in or outside					
<i>Objective</i>	<i>Desired output</i>	<i>Evidence from the field</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Evaluation of Achievement</i>	
<p>To provide safe environments for all learners and educate on issues of abuse</p> <p>To sustain low risk indigent behavior</p>	<p>Trained GEM club participants, leaders and form more active awareness in school and community</p> <p>Produce materials and disseminate positive messages in the school</p>	<p>GEM club was not active school wide</p> <p>Information is not well disseminated and their are mixed messages on behaviors</p>	<p>Buddy System (toilet breaks & walking home) during and after school</p> <p>Some learners are participating in GEM club activities and therefore gaining important knowledge and skills about alternate behaviors</p>	<p>Awareness has been raised through GEM club but consistent support is needed to sustain the program</p> <p>Due to large turnover of leaders. Lack of measurable targets, makes it unclear whether behaviors have changed overall</p>	
<i>RE-AIM Analysis</i>	<p>Learners are more aware of their rights in schools and society overall, therefore there is a link to increased reporting of abuse and information dissemination. Boys are becoming stakeholders in GEM and playing an active part in programs and activities, which has marked improvement on individual perceptions of girls and the gendered issues. Knowledge skills are being developed but the quality of that base is questionable.</p>				

The environments in both Masiyile and Fezeka are the epitome of unsafe schools. Neither of the schools presents an environment that promotes physical or emotional security or support for learners. Though in all fairness, the teachers and staff attempt to manage the circumstances. Their efforts are aimed at simply managing a hazardous situation.

Goal 3: To sensitize key actors in the importance of girls' education and mobilize policies and programs that will ensure quality education for girls

***Impumelelo** (Success Through Working Together) School Culture: Role of the Key Actors
Indaba Analysis: Teachers as Actors*

The role of the teacher in promoting the tenets of the GEM intervention was limited. Many teachers were not aware of the existence of GEM or if they were aware of the program, they did not fully understand its role in the school environment. During the indaba session the teachers focused more on the violence that they experienced in the school and their relationships with the students in general.

The classroom environment was considered a place where learning was interrupted by gang members and bullies who were not interested in learning. The discussions also revealed reports of offenses against teachers by students. Data to the extent that learners threatened or caused injury to teachers provided a glance at the problem. In a typical scenario a learner would be high and begin to assault a teacher or yell insults at the teachers and his or her peers. The remainder of the learners would become preoccupied and concerned for their own safety and would not challenge the antics of the wayward learner. "Once I saw a gangster slap a teacher and then he pushed the male teacher on the ground. The teacher fought back but then the other gang members jumped the teacher" (Fezeka learner #14). Rather than learning, students spoke of being consumed by talk of guns, gangs, and fascinated by violence in the media. Although school policy has zero tolerance on guns and weapons, teachers expressed concern that more needed to be done in this area. "I always lock my classroom, though it is against the rules. It is safer for those who come to class to be locked in, so everyone knows if you are late you are locked out until the next period. Those

who want to learn, I will teach” (Fezeka Teacher #12). The violent events in classrooms sometimes involved knives and guns; teachers and students stated that these items are now readily available in the community and brought to school. Due to the heightened occurrences of violence, GEM coordinators and the participants held a series of workshops and rallies to address the issues in the school. “At the outset of GEM we had rallies and other fun activities to try to educate the rest of the learners and teachers. We would give away bags and buttons and invite guests to speak at assemblies. But eventually the funds were finished and we could no longer do things or have giveaways. We thought that these events would build membership and make the program strong” (GEM coordinator, Fezeka). The findings reveal that rallies and other events are short-term fixes to major problems in the school environment. Some GEMmers were interested in recruiting more members but believed that it was difficult to get girls interested. “I try to invite friends but most of them must get home to do chores or take care of siblings. One friend is like a mom—she is the only one at her place since her parents died, so she has not time for kid things” (GEMmer #7). Due to the level of responsibilities that some girls have at home, they are not able to participate. Others mentioned that they were afraid for their safety and could not stay at school late. It was also evident that some girls did not want to participate in GEM because they did not want to have a “good-girl” reputation. “The GEMmers think they are better than everyone else. They seem like they think they are smarter and separate themselves. I like to have fun while I am young” (learner #22, Fezeka). The GEM intervention attempts to change perceptions and create opportunities for girls within the school environment. The findings show that some female learners are not interested in GEM and find the expectations of the program high. Female learners placed the GEMmers in a category of girls who were on the “straight and narrow”

and believed that the program was too religion based. However, the tenets of GEM say nothing about religion. This case is an example of how GEM can be used to further the agenda of the student leader or teacher advisor and not reflect its initial program design. The primary goal of the GEM intervention is to promote a gender-sensitive view within the larger school environment. Its inability to be effective in some cases is due to lack of understanding of program principles, individuals' motives, and lack of proper training and funding for programming.

Although there appeared to be camaraderie between most teachers and learners, there was still a very present mindset of "us and them," whether it was the teachers believing that the learners were not committed, or the learners indicating that the teachers were lazy and not teaching well. There was sometimes a negative image and perception of the other. "Teachers don't care about us; they just work to get paid. When it is winter you will find most of them in the lounge and not in the class" (Masiyile learner #32). Teachers in Masiyile felt unsafe at school and regarded their commitment to teaching as an act of service due to the commitment to the profession. The teachers shared that many teachers had resigned in previous years after experiencing violence within or on the way to school. There were reports of robberies, stolen items, and vandalism from both campuses. Teachers also felt unsafe in the classrooms as many classrooms did not have doors, or if they did have doors, there were no locks on the doors or windows. Often, to secure their safety during breaks and before and after school, teachers traveled together to the public bus stops or carpooled as a means of protecting themselves.

Teachers viewed themselves as the isolated victims of crime and felt unappreciated and underpaid, and were frequently perceived by non-educators as contributors to the

violence in schools. “We once had a teacher who slept with the 9th-grade girls for grades and money. Everyone knew but people are afraid to turn in a colleague. Finally someone turned him in; he was a young teacher so they just gave him a slap on the wrist and sent him to a different district” (teacher #5, Fezeka). Accounts like this were numerous when the researcher spoke to teachers, though each teacher said it was something in the past, not a current practice. These reports of violence between teacher and student were seen as an anomaly, though statistics and testimonies of both teachers and students have shown otherwise. It was difficult to get teachers in the company of other teachers to admit that they were even aware of abuse of authority or violence that may have resulted in indecent relationships between learners and teachers.

The level of violence perpetrated by teachers to learners was not accepted as normal behavior but was pervasive. High rates of violence were especially seen in regard to male teachers and the abuse of female learners. Due to poor record keeping there were not extensive histories of delinquency of teachers’ involvement with students. Many incidents were known about but considered taboo in discussion. Therefore the incidents were considered rare, though teachers did allude to other acts of violence such as intimidation and corporal punishment. Indaba results indicated that there was little difference in the detection of teachers being physically or verbally attacked at Fezeka or Masiyile.

Teacher Support

The life skills teacher commented on the importance of building levels of trust with students: “Understand, most teachers are so busy with life, they love to teach but so many things get in the way. I try to open with the learners and to touch base occasionally to assure them that I am here for them and they can trust me” (home economics teacher, Fezeka). The

students of Masiyile were very connected to the life-skills instructor and it was clear that she developed a relationship with learners on an individual bases. These relationships were built on trust. Students solicited time with her during breaks and asked for personal items such as sanitary napkins, food, and carfare. They also sought out this teacher for career advice and to discuss family issues and concerns. There was a high level of respect for the life-skills teacher that was not given to other teachers on campus. The support provided by the life-skills teachers at both schools was obvious. Their approach to teaching was child-centered and gender sensitive. They each made a priority to getting to know the students and giving them guidance and encouragement. This nurturing expression was evident to the researcher through observations and having the opportunity to be privy to meetings and counseling sessions.

There was counseling and therapy available at both institutions. However, 50 learners at Masiyile reported a more informal process of support. Fezeka had a formal structure in place for referrals and scheduling within the life-skills office. At Fezeka, 78 learners reported that the tenets of GEM were used to govern its peer-to-peer counseling program. Promoting gender-sensitive ideals, protecting the rights of girls, and helping girls with decision-making, were all woven into program delivery. “Whenever I have a problem I can go to the counselor. She helps me think things through before I act. This really helps me with my temper and I think about my consequences” (11th-grade learner, Fezeka Secondary). Though the learners stated that they were limited in who they could talk to, they did feel supported when they asked for help. The findings reveal that having access to formal and informal counseling served as an asset in changing learners’ perceptions of themselves and peers.

Though GEM was present at the school, many teachers admitted to not fully understanding the program or its value. “GEM is an important program, but I really have not had any experience with it. I am trying to teach kids to read; not much time left for instilling gender directives. I do care but a teacher can only do so much” (teacher #8, Fezeka Secondary). The conditions of the school and the violence that persist in the community are prevalent; in both schools there is a sense of caring and overall concern for the learning and lives of students. Informal communication and cultural bonding was apparent in both schools. It was exemplified in the actions and language used between teachers, administrators, and learners. “I believe that we all care about the children, but honestly, with so many curriculum demands, GEM is another thing on the plate that gets ignored” (teacher #5, Fezeka Secondary). Though Masiyile seemed to have more teachers involved with the peer-educator program, they also expressed that they were limited in their availability to participate in programs that combated violence in the school. “You think I am supposed to teach these kids to stop killing and robbing? I don’t think so. It is hard enough to watch my back coming here everyday. I wish I could do more, but we should have more security. So when there is a fight, I just get out the way and send a learner to grab security” (teacher #4, Masiyile Secondary).

It was clear to the researcher that the teachers believed it was the school administration’s responsibility to try to prevent incidents on campus. This mindset leads to low involvement and low motivation for teachers to get involved to try to find a solution to deal with the violence directly. Teachers were often fearful themselves that there might be retaliation by learners, especially gang members, if they intervened in certain situations. All of the obstacles and experiences presented give the researcher insight to the school culture

and its link to school safety and the GEM intervention. School safety is not just linked to the physical space of the school but is also tied into the emotional and intellectual capacity of the administration, teachers, and learners to create a safe environment.

Indaba Analysis: Parents as Actors

Approximately 60% of the learners stated that their parents had no understanding of GEM and were not involved in the program or any intervention to deal with elements of violence in the school. The findings did show that some parents participate in combating levels of violence in schools in informal ways. “I am not always available for every program because I have to work and I try to leave the township before it gets dark. But I really try to promote the GEM way of thinking in my house. I use to make my daughter do all the chores and help with the younger children. Then one day she stood up to me and said no, her brothers must help. At first I was angry, then I remembered how I felt as a young girl always working and realized she was right. So now all the children share the responsibility; even my son cooks now. I think GEM has helped our family” (female parent #6, Fezeka Secondary). While discussing the implementation and spreading of the tenets of the GEM, learners expressed changes in behavior at home. “I am able to be free now [in] my mind. I used to be afraid of my parents because I did not think I could share my thought. Attending GEM has helped me get focused and be able to open up to my mom and dad—now we can talk about anything” (GEMmer # 8). Parents discussed believing that GEM was responsible for changing the culture and some did not feel that this was a good thing. Interestingly enough, the researcher found that it was often the female parents who were concerned with maintaining the traditional domestic and cultural female responsibilities of the girl-child. “I am all for girls getting educated, but they must not try to change the culture. I still want my

daughter to know her place” (parent #2 [father of a female learner], Fezeka). This parent was adamant about providing basic education and career opportunities for his daughter but expressed that he did not want her to lose her traditional values and role as a girl-child. Other parents also expressed concern that the ideas of the GEM intervention were too liberal and girls may become uncontrollable if they are too independent. Overall, parents expressed that the GEM initiative was useful in that it helped give girls access to schooling and an opportunity for equitable education. However, parents were also leery of some of the teachings on gender equity and wanted to maintain cultural beliefs.

In the area of policy development and mobilization of the community, the GEM intervention school fell short. There was no discussion at all about the activities, programs, or goals that would support any element of policy development. The teachers and learners felt that policy development was the work of the experts. There is a top-down approach from the SA DOE to the Provincial DOE to the school district and then to the school. Teachers, parents, and learners were not informed of the GEM intervention’s ability to affect policy. Therefore, little consideration was given to the possibility of GEM having a long-term effect on local, regional, or national perceptions. It is true that both schools face insurmountable obstacles in finding creative ways to negotiate the environment and circumstances that persist. Yet the level of resilience and collaboration within both schools was evident despite the heightening levels of violence. The findings on school culture indicate that though relationships between teachers and learners and learners and parents can be sometimes volatile, there is a level of engagement taking place in the GEM intervention school to combat the institutionalized violence and general perceptions in the school and community. Table 6 below is the assembly of the findings and analysis in regards to GEM goal #3.

Table 6

Goal 3: To sensitize key actors to the importance of girls' education and mobilize policies and programs that will ensure quality education for girls					
<i>Objective</i>	<i>Desired Outcome</i>	<i>Evidence from the field</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Evaluation of Achievement</i>	
<p>To create learning that is child-centered and gender sensitive,</p> <p>To develop policies and gain support of initiatives that promote quality programs and education for girls to change perceptions and opportunities</p>	<p>To dispel levels of inequity and protect girl learners</p> <p>To mobilize communities in being more active and aware of the process of policy making and to have input on the initiatives that are developed</p>	<p>Educators and community leaders are invited to GEM rallies and workshops but were unhappy with level of sensitization.</p> <p>Many parents believe GEM is changing the culture and roles and responsibilities of girls</p>	<p>GEM rallies were no longer attended and participation and support for the program dwindled</p> <p>Unsuccessful recruitment and learners who participated in information sessions were marginalized</p>	<p>Increased awareness was attempted but failed to have a community-wide effect</p> <p>Gender sensitivity was initiated but not sustainable</p>	
<i>RE-AIM Analysis</i>	<p>Educators see the relevance and importance of GEM, as do some other stakeholders, but the value of the program has not been extended to the entire school or community. This has stalled the effectiveness of GEM, as some learners are no longer allowed to attend meetings or participate in other activities. The lack of consistent attendance and the small number of participants makes it difficult to develop program activities that have impact. Though parents want their children to be safe, many are forced to rely on the girls for after-school chores, and girls are required to help with siblings. Therefore, participation dwindles in a short amount of time and changes based on enrollment in life-skills classes, which stunts the intervention. The lack of policy knowledge with administrators and teachers also presents as a limitation for GEM to be effectively implemented. It is not usual for communities, teachers, or students to support an initiative that they do not fully understand.</p>				

Goal 4: To provide girls with opportunities to develop and exercise their leadership and technical skills

It was obvious that there are teachers in both schools who take an interest in the learners and fostered chances to build relationships with and sharpen the skills of the GEMmers. However, there is a difference in the level of commitment in the schools. Teachers in Fezeka seem to develop more personal relationship with students. Students were comfortable to talk to teachers about personal matters. Learners often sought teachers out for support financially and emotionally when faced with a situation. The learners had full access to the teachers' lounge and there was an air of mutual respect between learner and teacher; this open line of communication fostered in students a motivation to learn. There was a network of collaboration between the students, teachers, and administrators. This support was directly linked to the concept of the child-friendly school model in regard to relationships. The teachers recognized, encouraged, and supported the children's growing capacities as learners by providing a school culture, teaching behaviors, and curriculum that are focused on the learner. The ability of a school to be and to call itself child-friendly, given the violent circumstances of the school and community is directly linked to the support and participation of most of the administration, teachers, and learners. "I don't have much to give them but I can encourage them to try their best" (science teacher, Fezeka).

The administrator at the GEM intervention school has built partnerships with outside a private schools and companies. Once a week, learners attend a historically white school on the other side of town to participate in an enrichment program. This opportunity is supported by the private school but was initiated by the school's board of directors and the administrator of the private school. "Going to the other school helps me be positive, because

when I see how these kids learn and live, then I know I can also have that someday. Getting to participate in sports and music is great. Also the chance to learn about science in a lab is fun. At my school we don't have the resources, so I think it is great that they open up to us. As a GEMmer I have been able to participate in many activities that before I would have been too afraid to try" (GEMmer #7). The students take part in activities such as tennis, chess, student leadership council, and technical academy. GEMmers participated in the program on a weekly basis. GEMmers were encouraged to take additional classes such as science and music to improve skills. GEMmers also took part in student council and served as *prefects* (student leaders) in their school. "Being in GEM improved my confidence, so after three years I was able to join the choir and become vice-president. This has been a great opportunity for me to build myself up. Being a school leader gets me respect from my peers and everyone knows me" (GEMmer #1). The GEM members and other learners also participate in a bi-weekly program with a local university to improve math, reading, and presentation skills. This activity is lead by junior college students who have attend the GEM intervention school or live in the community. The college students come to the school and conduct workshops on health or career and college preparation, or tutor learners in various subjects. This program is not a direct result of GEM but it is a side program within the GEM intervention school that GEMmers benefit from. Table 7 summarizes the findings and analysis of goal # 4 based on the RE-AIM framework.

Table 7

Goal 4: To provide girls with opportunities to develop and exercise their leadership and technical skills					
<i>Objective</i>	<i>Desired output</i>	<i>Evidence from the field</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Evaluation of Achievement</i>	
To increase girls' access to services and opportunities that promote and sustain their know academic and technical abilities for their livelihoods	Curriculum and materials produced for girls in technical areas. Support provided for technical assistance to girls through . schools, NGOs and community centers.	Lack of curricular materials and services available to girls in schools. Some support from community university partnership to raise awareness on opportunities for girls in higher education, an after-school career program established for girls and boys	Lack of access to services and opportunities Educational partnership with higher ed cued girls and boys with entrepreneurial skills and improved access to higher education	There is need for progress toward improving access and opportunities. Services must be made available on a consistent basis	
<i>RE-AIM Analysis</i>	Many girls are not able to participate in after-school programs due to responsibilities at home and lack of safe transportation. The program is not reaching a large portion of the population and lacks consistency in leadership. Girls do not have buy in for the program due to lack of motivation and interest in actually believing they can attend higher education institutions due to financial constraints. Implementation must start at the 9 th -grade level and earlier in primary levels to organize girls and boys to develop entrepreneurial skills. Activities and materials must be developed for long-term maintenance and not brief projects.				

Goal 5: Tap the potential of boys, men, and women to work in partnership with girls to promote equitable, accessible, high quality education and safety in schools.

Occurrences of Violence Drain Potential

Goal 5 addresses the importance of partnership if GEM is to be successful. It is imperative to have boys, men, and women as partners in the implementation and activities of GEM. The GEM intervention is intended to help schools connect with the community, as GEM is a grassroots movement. “The goal of GEM is to spread the importance of girls to everyone, to make sure schools and communities recognize the necessity for equity and protection of the girl-child. We need everyone, especially boys and men, to understand that they must join us in creating equitable standards” (gender specialist, Western Cape). The formation of partnerships with the community at large aligns with the tenets of GEM for building advocacy. In the case of the GEM intervention school, there was no substantiation that this component was even attempted. Communities must be involved in the process of implementing the GEM intervention in the schools. Only by including stakeholders can issues of equity, accessibility, quality education, and security be holistically addressed and societies be transformed, allowing schools to become safe environments.

In the case of the GEM intervention school, there appeared to be some interest by stakeholders, but very little motivation for participation. Many teachers and male learners expressed being concerned about how violence was impacting the school environment especially in regard to violence against girls, yet the concern for one’s own safety was expressed to be more important.

Since the introduction of GEM intervention at Fezeka, the program has been expanded to include boys as participants. Boys who participated in GEM attended GEM

camps and trainings and reflected on how participation had changed the way they thought about girls. “I use to think my girlfriend should do as I say, but after GEM I realize she has her own mind and she has rights. Now she is nice to me and we can communicate” (male GEMmer #5).

Investigation of the inclusion of boys in GEM lead to the discussion of the issue of assaults. When asked about the physical assaults, learners reported physical assaults as “attacks.” The indaba findings showed that 50% of Masiyile learners believed that incidences of assault against learners were moderate in school, while 43% of Fezeka learners believed physical assault to be moderate in school. Physical assaults included robbery, beatings, and rape. Boys who intervened in scenarios to protect girls were concerned about retaliation from gangs or bullies on their way to school; girls were more concerned about being attacked both at school and on the way to school.

During the indaba, learners reflected on the necessity for boys to be involved in GEM in an effort to combat school violence. Male learners expressed that they felt helpless to defend their peers. Boys were interested in protecting girls but often were afraid of what might happen to them. “I would like to help girls but I am also a child and get scared, so when I see someone harassing a girl I want to help but sometimes I just don’t because I am afraid to get beaten” (male learner #2, Fezeka).

Boys reported that they participated in GEM because they believed it was good to help girls at school. “If I do not stand up for the girls, I think, ‘What will happen to my sisters?’ I believe that the men are to protect the girls, though sometimes I am scared. In this program I have learned that ‘I am my sisters’ keeper’ (male GEMmer #1). Male learners who participated in GEM were more likely to intervene or report knowledge of abuse against girls

in schools. The learners and teachers who participated in GEM felt an obligation to report abuse. Though participants admitted that they did not always know which administration or authorities they could trust, they did think that their awareness had improved about what was happening in the overall school environment.

In this study, learners (male and female) were concerned about their safety at school but were also concerned about violence in the larger community. These findings concur with research that violence in schools can make students afraid and affect their ability to learn (Elliott et al., 1998). The findings also confirm the importance of building partnerships with stakeholders for the effective implementation of GEM. Table 8 reflects the objectives and other components that were reviewed to address GEM goal #5.

Table 8

Goal 5: Tap the potential of boys, men, and women to work in partnership with girls to promote equitable, accessible, high-quality education and safety in schools.					
<i>Objective</i>	<i>Desired output</i>	<i>Evidence from the field</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Evaluation of achievement</i>	
To strengthen capacity of boys in supporting girls in schools and communities, to establish partnerships with men to change societal understanding of the value of girls and women	Training boys in school and forming GEM support groups. Advocacy work done with men’s groups and policymakers in reviewing genderized frameworks	Some boys, and teachers/administrators were sensitive to issues of gender equity and justice Few scenarios where parents or educators actively addressed issues of abuse of girls	“I am my sisters keeper,” a saying developed from the GEM participants (boys) participating in the program	Learners were sensitized and awareness raised, but there is not a pervasive monitoring, prevention and reporting of abuse lack of participation by outside stakeholders	

<i>RE-AIM Analysis</i>	Communities have not been targeted to spread the message and build capacity at a larger scale. The GEM program is in its early stages of establishing effective protocols and procedures. Adoption is not fully accepted as there is a lack of interest in the program overall. Capacity is not in place for implementation and participants and leaders need training on gender tenets and exposure to the social options available to them. Partnerships are nonexistent and activities are not sustainable and have varied yearly; therefore, there is no history or culture established in the schools or communities to continue the maintenance of the GEM intervention.
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Indaba Analysis: Partnership of UNICEF South Africa and South African DOE

During the study, the researcher attended planning sessions sponsored by UNICEF SA and the South African National Department of Education Gender Equity Unit to discuss the program implementation and success within South Africa. Participants were selected from all nine provinces in South Africa and were representative of the Gender Equity units in each province. The purpose of these sessions was to discuss program implementation and provide a foundation for future planning and monitoring of the project.

The session participants were broken into four groups and assigned one of the objectives to work with during the workshops. Each group was asked to design the start of a monitoring framework for each objective. The process included considering activities undertaken to meet each of the objectives and the results expected from the activity. The collaboration of the gender specialists from various provinces presented an opportunity for shared experience and information exchange. Through a collaborative process the provincial gender specialist, national Gender Equity Unit staff, and UNICEF SA staff devised and drew consensus on the objectives mentioned above. This effort created a consultative network and improved the relationship of all the stakeholders. This set a platform for institutionalizing regular meetings between the partners and gave the provincial gender specialist an

opportunity for input, which they believed had not been considered in the past. The dialogue that took place encouraged the partners to assess individual motives and to determine the appropriate goals and objectives for consistent program implementation. This also influenced the researcher's understanding of observations of the partnership of South African DOE and UNICEF South Africa.

UNICEF's intention for implementing the GEM intervention in the context of South African schools initially was to promote the enrollment and retention of girl learners, especially in secondary schools (UNICEF, 2003). However, the researcher discovered the SA DOE and provincial gender units raised another issue during the study, as to the relevance of the UNICEF SA goal within South African context. There appeared to be a disconnect between the program's initial goals and the needs of learners in South Africa. After lengthy evaluation and discussion, the Gender Equity Directorate of the National Department of Education realized that the problem statement needed to be revised. The primary problem statement for girl learners in South Africa was changed to "Discriminatory practices and experiences limit girl learners' achievement at school"(INSIDEOUT, 2007). This new development changed the focus of the program implementation and the partnership of UNICEF SA and SA DOE.

To meet the needs of the students, an associated goal was suggested for a more appropriate South African context, namely, "To provide a positive learning experience that enables [girl learner] achievement, and the elimination of discriminatory practices within a Child Friendly School context" (INSIDEOUT, 2007). This discussion by stakeholders led to the development of new goals and created new boundaries for the partnership between SA

DOE and UNICEF SA. The developed goals above were then used to generate the following SMART objectives:

Objective 1: To capacitate 50% of girls in GEM on leadership skills by June 2010.

Objective 2: To ensure that GEM clubs in X (no number was given at this time) secondary schools support the implementation and monitoring of the Safe Schools Signpost program by 2008/09.

Objective 3: To create a minimum of two strategic Public Private Partnerships (at a local/national or international level) per GEM club by 2008/09.

Objective 4: To establish GEM in 100% of schools to support HIV and AIDS programs by the end of 2010. (Researcher's notes from workshop attendance June 2007)

The SMART objectives would then be used to help shape new program priorities and give credence to program activities developed within each province.

The researcher attended multiple meetings to learn about the GEM intervention objectives, roles, and responsibilities of the partners, and to observe the formation and review stages of the GEM intervention program planning. This allowed the researcher to become more knowledgeable about the GEM intervention, which guided the manifestation of relevant partnership themes: leadership, communication, attainment and distribution, meetings, recruitment, knowledge transfer, technical assistance, benefits of partnership, and policy change.

The partnership between the South African National Department of Education and UNICEF South Africa has been one filled with disruption and broken communication. The researcher found evidence of unfulfilled commitments and inconsistent follow-through with

the partnership, which left both parties feeling dissatisfied. As I pursued this line of inquiry, at each level the partner would blame another entity. In turn the provinces blamed the local school and the local school blamed the system (the educational system in general and the lack of resources), which inevitably lead me back to the South African National Department of Education Gender Equity Unit. This round-robin blame trickled down into every aspect of the partnership, preventing successful program implementation on each level.

UNICEF South Africa expressed displeasure with the inability to receive reports on time or to gain access to the schools in various provinces with the GEM program. There were times when UNICEF had to usurp the authority of the Gender Unit to gain access to schools through provincial and local partners to evaluate programs or even to get the names of program leaders and participants. “Once we needed to collect data about the number of existing GEM programs; it took over two weeks to get someone to call us back. When someone finally returned the call they did not have the information. It was very frustrating and makes the entire partnership stressful” (UNICEF staff #2). When speaking to the SA Gender Equity Unit about these issues, they professed that the breakdown in communication and data collection was housed in the lack of cooperation at the provincial levels. The Gender Unit reported difficulty retrieving materials and records and statistics from the provinces in regard to numbers of GEM programs, actual GEM events, and the benefits of the program. “People must understand that I am here in the headquarters. I cannot make a provincial gender specialist respond when we ask them for information. Most of them are short-staffed and manage the entire province alone. But when it comes down to it, we are all looked at as incompetent because we do not have the proper help to get the job done” (director of GEM, DOE). Other comments during the partners’ indaba reflected dissatisfaction with the

accountability chain. “When we were giving funds to support GEM, we found very little activities happening. The camps were great but you cannot sustain an initiative on one event. The agreement was that the Ministry of Education would support GEM and that UNICEF SA would give some financial support. After a while we realize that we [UNICEF] were the only ones holding up our end. Therefore we pulled the funding and informed DOE that they needed to find other financial partners” (UNICEF-staff #1).

The manifestation of this broken partnership was seen in the lack of understanding between partners. The fallout from this lack of understanding surfaced in the allocation of resources, lack of human capacity building and program management at the national, provincial, and local levels. This resulted in inconsistent sharing of information leading to stratified GEM program activities and misconstruing of the GEM philosophy based on individual preferences at the local level. Gender specialists mentioned that they constantly received confusing information from the national office. “First they tell us to focus on girls’ programs, then they tell us to include boys, then they say we should try to talk about violence, but with no funds or tools it is too overwhelming” (gender specialist #5).

The lack of appropriate training was also a concern of the gender specialists. “I wish someone would get organized. It seems we never know what is happening until the last minute. Just like this training: I only found out about two days before and then I was expected to be here. It is unfortunate, so while I am here no one is back at the office” (gender specialist #3). “It seems we only receive training once a year for a day or two. I am glad to see that this might change because I have no background in gender but I am committed to fight for the rights of the girl-child, so I took the job. Honestly, I need a lot of help to be able to help the teachers in my province—they are willing to learn but also need training”(gender

specialist # 9). The importance of technical assistance continued to be a focus. Gender specialist felt ill prepared and did not think they could transfer knowledge to teachers or others in their districts. Though they understood GEM, they believed that they needed more guidance in the development of the intervention program on the ground.

When asked if the partnership between UNICEF South Africa and SA DOE was beneficial, stakeholders expressed varying views. “I think it is a good idea but sometimes I feel neither of the policy partners listen to us. They just make decisions and tell us, ‘Okay, now do this....’ That never works. Most of us just shove the pile around and wait for the next directive” (gender specialist #6). The staff at SA DOE believed the partnership to be good because it gave the program high visibility. “Being with UNICEF is always a good thing, they are easy to work with and they really know the country. I think there needs to be better communication between us but I know that having them as a partner lets others know that we are serious about changing things in the schools. They are well respected for their work” (Gender Unit staff #1). Though most of the stakeholders believed the partnership was useful, they did express concern that the GEM intervention was no longer fiscally supported by UNICEF SA, which meant that there would not be programming funds. Table 9 lays out the key findings from the researcher’s observations and indabas with the primary partners.

Table 9

<i>Key Findings from Partnership Issues</i>	<i>Evidence of Management Challenges, Technical Assistance and Expanded Critical Influences</i>
Leadership critical to success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constant institutional changes and turnover at the regional and local levels • Withholding information and expertise
Partnership struggles with communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrequent exchange of information or follow-through from DOE Gender Equity Unit to UNICEF • Incongruent communication from DOE to the regional level
Difficulties with fiscal attainment and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited funding from UNICEF to

distribution	DOE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited funding from DOE to Provinces (training only) • No funding from Provinces to local schools
Periodic meetings for all stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for flexibility to meet face to face or via teleconference
Recruitment and retention difficulty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for creative ways to recruit qualified provincial and local leaders to receive training
Knowledge transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trainings were in high demand • Need to adapt courses and methods of delivery to meet the information gap for diverse participants
Technical assistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to improving techniques through participatory approaches to access education issues • Need to successfully target the most disadvantaged to participate in the GEM activities by utilizing local networks and connections
Benefits of partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for service delivery and improved community links • Bringing international lens to local issues
Policy change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for education expertise to contribute to reliable and valid policy changes at all levels (national, regional and local)

Addressing Partnership Issues

The themes that surfaced in the discussions set the boundaries for the analysis of the partnership between SA DOE and UNICEF SA. The emerging themes are leadership, communication, attainment and distribution, meetings, recruitment, knowledge transfer, technical assistance, benefits of partnership, and policy change. The participants shared information about the obstacles that they face in trying to implement the GEM intervention. There were discussions about the lack of consistency in programming, lack of funding, and uninformed/ill-trained staff. Participants found that in each district, GEM was implemented differently and had various levels of success. The activities and outcomes of the GEM

intervention were very dependent on the leadership at hand. The other components that affected the implementation of the GEM intervention were connected to school leadership, community involvement and the buy in of teachers and learners.

Leadership

Good leadership is critical to the appropriate implementation of the GEM intervention. Overall there was a high level of commitment from gender specialists and national staff. However, the SA DOE Gender Unit lacked cohesive leadership. There was true division in the ranks within the leadership that made it difficult to accomplish task. The director and deputy director of the Gender Unit were at odds constantly.

One example of poor leadership was displayed at a conference when the deputy director told a junior employee not to respond to a request that the director made. There was a need for a task to take place and the deputy advised the junior staff member to disregard the request. This blatant disrespect was constantly repeated and caused much friction in the national office. The director of the Gender Unit was committed to gender equity and committed to the vision of building a partnership with UNICEF SA. However, she was constantly challenged by the deputy and often was not aware of practices that ensued. The leadership of UNICEF SA was constantly frustrated with the Gender Unit leadership and usually would try to circumvent the deputy director to get goals accomplished. There was definitely a need for strong leadership that was willing to challenge the status quo and make others accountable. The leadership team was stuck in an ineffective, process-oriented cycle that made it difficult to move the initiative forward. Eventually, the outcome of this ineffective teamwork was noticed and the deputy director general, who then modified the accountability structure and required notification and dissemination of all programs and

trainings. She also began to attend all SA DOE and UNICEF SA meetings as well as approve all budgetary items, conferences, and program advertisements.

The weak leadership within the Gender Equity Unit caused a rippling effect in the implementation of GEM. The competition between the director and deputy director was noticed by all and created low moral and dissatisfaction among staff. The staffers were unable to fully execute tasks and things would be left in limbo for weeks. Therefore the implementation of GEM from the national to the local level would take months just for a simple event to be organized or for regional leaders to receive feedback. This overall culture of complacency filtered down into GEM intervention schools. School directors and GEMmers reported being less motivated than in previous years. Many thought of giving up GEM to participate in other activities.

Communication

Often communication was nonexistent or strained between the partners. SA DOE was known to withhold information from UNICEF SA. It was difficult for the partners to exchange information relative to the GEM intervention. UNICEF SA had little knowledge of which provinces and which schools actually housed the GEM intervention. There was also incongruent information for reports and assessments from regional offices to national offices. The national office found it difficult to communicate with the regional offices due to some infrastructure issues (lack of e-mail availability) or nonresponsiveness. At the time that this study took place; SA DOE was in the process of developing an electronic newsletter and a list-serve to be sent out monthly in an attempt to reach the target audience and stakeholders.

Due to the previous interruptions in accountability, UNICEF SA was instituting a request for quarterly reports of program status and demographic information and yearly

evaluations or reflections. In the course of three years, this had not been done. There was no formal chain of communication or evaluation of the efficacy of the program. The lack of communication presented a great obstacle in the implementation of GEM.

Partners did not communicate effectively, which led to a breakdown between GEM tenets and the digestion of program goals. As shown previously in this chapter, the partners initially did not even agree on what the gender issues were in the country in relation to the girl-child, and were attempting to solidify a concrete country goal for the GEM intervention. Not having effective communication creates room for fractured vision. Fractured vision leads to programs not being replicated and taking different or watered-down shapes in each province. Therefore, GEM has no consistent identity; a lack of identity leads to weak programs, no visibility, and little recognition. If these components are missing in any intervention program, there is a risk that the program will not have sustainability.

Fiscal Attainment

Although both UNICEF South Africa and SA DOE discussed concerns about the availability of resources, both found ways to address the issue. UNICEF SA no longer funds the GEM camps, and returned that responsibility to the SA DOE. In order to deal with the crushing blow of loss of funding, regional DOEs begin to look for local partnerships with banks, private business owners, and grant-makers. However, UNICEF SA was now going to place funds into more research and evaluation support. The motivation for this new funding decision was the lack of research that existed in regard to what the GEM intervention was doing on the ground in South Africa. Another course of action that took place was that SA DOE mainstreamed all finance matters for the GEM program to one primary contact person. This was to create accountability for program spending. It was also intended to track the

distribution of the funds to the provinces. In an effort to cut back on funding, SA DOE limited the regional GEM Camps to one national camp. Now countrywide GEMmers would gather once a year as opposed to the smaller camps that used to take place around the country. On the local level, funds were not available unless the students organized fundraisers or districts budgeted for GEM intervention programs. At the GEM intervention school I studied, there were no funds available for any GEM; any programming had to be supported by fundraising activities or by teachers' support.

Having limited or no funds is a major issue with GEM. Without appropriate funding, GEM presents as nothing more than a program of activities. It does not present as a full-scale intervention. Without appropriate funding, the GEM program is failing because there is limited consistency. It is estimated that to properly implement the program, there would be a cost of US\$50 per participant per school year. Though this may seem like a minuscule amount, in the context of South Africa and the community of the GEM intervention school, US\$50 is more than some families earn in a month. The lack of substantive fiscal support causes ineffective distribution of the GEM intervention program. UNICEF SA and SA DOE must collaborate on a budget and strategy to get the intervention funded so that each participating GEM intervention school will be well equipped to implement the program.

Meetings

The researcher participated in many meetings with the partners. The partners admitted that this was a new arrangement to help build continuity and collaboration. Before 2007, both partners had not made arrangements to bring together the provincial leaders and the regional leaders with the national staff. The new arrangement was for the SA DOE and UNICEF SA representatives to meet and provide training for all gender specialists quarterly. In addition to

the quarterly meetings, there would also be trainings and meetings conducted by SA DOE for GEM intervention program planning. This would help facilitate better implementation of GEM and assist with disseminating information to stakeholders. Creating opportunities for stakeholders to meet assures buy in and gives participants an opportunity to build relationships and trust. These meetings are also beneficial in sharing ideas and exchanging what works as well as what doesn't. Continuing to foster collaboration among all the stakeholders leads to more viable methods of program implementation and helps create a community of practice.

Recruitment and Retention

SA DOE and UNICEF SA experienced staff turnover during the course of this study. In prior years, many provincial gender specialists also changed jobs. This constant movement of human resources created recruitment and retention issues. It was difficult to maintain institutional memory with stakeholders changing all the time. Each time a new person is hired, there is a need to train and educate them on the tenets of GEM. Then those individuals must build relationships with various provincial leaders and gain access to the local schools. In South Africa this all takes time, as trust is not easy to establish. Towards the end of this study, leadership shifted at SA DOE; the director resigned and took a new position and the deputy director was demoted. This left the gender unit staff in limbo for months. Provincial gender specialists could not move forward with planning, and meetings and engagements were suspended. The previous director did not leave any trail of a strategic plan and the entire gender unit had to be restructured. UNICEF SA expressed concern about the turnover with the deputy director general, who assured them that given the circumstances, she would personally attend to finding a quality team to replace the last. This situation affected the long-

term sustainability of GEM. Although the national specialists were attempting to deliver the program, it was difficult to do with no authority.

Knowledge Transfer

By requiring full participation of all provincial gender specialists, the GEM program gained buy in from critical program leaders. By collaborating, the partners were able to gain access to targeted groups for technical assistance. The partnership in this training effort was a major accomplishment for the partners because previously none of the specialists would attend the meetings or collaborate. Together they were able to have a voice and articulate the needs, priorities, and directions for the future of the GEM program. Yet there was still concern about the transfer of knowledge. The fact that most gender specialists worked in isolation in one-person offices presented a problem for the institutional retention of knowledge. When trainings took place, it was the sole responsibility of that individual to take what was learned back to the province and then disseminate the material in hopes of it reaching the local school. There was no efficient process for knowledge transfer and there was constantly a disconnect between gained knowledge and transferred knowledge. This resulted in unskilled and ill-informed implementers.

Technical Assistance

DOE expressed concerns about the lack of technical resources available at the provincial level, seeing that most provincial education departments relied on one gender specialist for the entire province to manage all programs including GEM. To solve this, DOE was in the process of developing an online training course for all gender specialists. Provincial leaders conveyed concern about the lack of technical expertise in the local schools and were attempting to offer training programs in some provinces to teach important gender

philosophies and GEM program policies and activities. Even if the provincial leaders were well trained, it was rare to find someone in their region or province that was both interested and experienced in the areas of gender issues. Thus the participation for implementing GEM was on a voluntary basis. This left the gender units vulnerable to low-skilled but willing teachers to be implementing GEM at the school level.

Benefits of Partnership

The interaction between UNICEF SA and SA DOE Gender Equity Unit was a formal relationship. The UNICEF SA staff and the DOE staff did work closely initially on program development and trainings. However, the partnership roles shifted and the DOE Gender Unit became solely responsible for providing training at the provincial level and providing support for provincial leaders to who in turn support local communities and teachers in the classroom. The goal of developing community level leadership was to give greater control and input for the program to be developed regionally and to have clearer lines of service delivery. The benefits of this collaboration were meant to bring more ownership on the part of the SA DOE and provincial leaders and create local formation of the GEM program. If done correctly, this effort would enhance the GEM intervention in becoming a more applicable device for change in the schools.

Another benefit to the partnership was in the delivery of an evaluation plan. UNICEF SA contracted a firm to conduct provincial program evaluations and trainings of the GEM intervention. Though the evaluation was not complete at the time of this study, it was a good effort to finally document results of the workings of GEM in South Africa. This endeavor spared SA DOE the expense and would provide valuable information. Building trust and providing a nonpartisan evaluation by experts would help all stakeholders gain understanding

of the current status, success, or weaknesses of the GEM intervention program implementation. Given that the data collected will be disseminated to the stakeholders, the benefits of the partnership will expand the visibility and understanding of GEM.

Policy Change

Although the SA DOE Gender Equity Unit has a talented work force, they have been limited in their ability to write and contribute to policy development and change. Due to the sheer fact that interns mostly staff the office and there are limited resources to hire consultants, there is not a high level of knowledge and expertise available to allow the team to build technical aptitude in policy development.

The inability to affect policy change limits the reach of SA DOE. Though they are implementers of the program, the program goals and objectives cannot be enforced, but merely recommended. In the context of South Africa, the GEM intervention is not a mandated policy but merely a tool to be used in the schools to address genderized policies. Because the GEM intervention is not actual policy, there is little monitoring or accountability. Each province could adopt the program and the SA DOE intends to implement the intervention at every school eventually, but without GEM having a seat at the policy table, the likelihood of it having effecting policy is nominal.

Isisa (To give freely): Indaba Analysis Summary

The indaba findings reveal that many elements play a role in perceptions and experiences of school violence. Perceptions of violence and other elements (including acts of violence within the community) were all considerations in this study. In the case at Masiyile and Fezeka, school safety was not limited to violence at school but included incidents that happen on the way to and from school. It is believed that these elements are directly linked to

the impediment of the implementation of the GEM intervention. The study reveals that dysfunctional relationships within the surrounding community are associated with what happens at school.

In the community and in the homes near the schools studied, there was a void of adult supervision and role models. Many parents are deceased, divorced, or have abandoned their children. In future studies, the researcher would further investigate parental and community involvement as it was not fully explored as a consideration in this study.

The incidents of violence that occurred at Fezeka and Masiyile Secondary Schools corroborate with the violent incidents in the community with high and consistent rates of crime among both learners and adults. This study shows that crime rates in Western Cape mirror the rates of violence in the schools. There is a relationship between the lack of prosperity within the community and the violence in the schoolyard. The statistical evidence that was presented in the previous chapter confirmed the data that was highlighted by interviews with learners, teachers, and administrators. Inquiries about other incidents of serious violence repeatedly elicited descriptions of the same scenarios.

It is important to compare the school environments systematically to see what this diminutive sample of incidents can tell us in terms of factors that are present in both schools. Comparison of the research reveals which elements are commonalities and which elements are entirely absent (Bray et al., 2007). Through such analysis the researcher is able to parlay this small number of complex scenarios into a broader, more lucid pattern of understanding.

What is apparent in the research into the communities in which Masiyile and Fezeka reside is that the violence in the communities filters into the school, and as a result, schools have become unsafe for a significant number of learners. The incidents reported suggest that

schools are places where learners could become victims of violence including sexual violence, assault, and robbery. In both communities studied, the levels of violence have been normalized by the communities' acceptance of the incidents as a "part of life." No longer is bullying the primary act of violence against learners; now gangs are taking up residence within schools, and causing an increase in the use of weapons such as guns and knives. In these communities, gangsterism has found its way into schools by recruiting learners and spreading the use of drugs.

Learners are at high risk for violent crime in Fezeka and Masiyile. Although there are some attempts to rectify the soaring levels of violence, there is no consistent strategy in place. Learners make up only 15 percent of the population age 13 and above but 30 percent of all violent crimes in that population; in 2006, 1.9 million violent crimes were committed against them (SA DOE, 2007). Because crimes against learners are likely to be committed by offenders of the same age, preventing violence among and against learners is a twofold challenge. Learners are at risk of being both victims and perpetrators of violence. An evaluation conducted by the South African government, the "1st South African National Youth Behavior Survey 2002," showed the impact of school violence during a six-month period. The study evaluated levels and types of school violence in all South African Provinces. The study also evaluated the relative nature of the curriculum and intervention programs.

The prevalence of violence that was discussed during the indaba sessions among teachers, students, and administrators supports the findings of the government's study. The increased use of weapons in the school environment, the lack of consistent forms of discipline, and the high incidents of risky behavior continue to threaten the well-being and

safety of learners. The apparently atypical difference between the variations of certain violent behaviors with learners could not be explained by age or grade. Older learners did exhibit a greater prevalence of certain risk behaviors. Yet teachers also displayed levels of risk behavior, therefore increasing the amount of violence perpetrated on younger, less experience learners.

This aspect was observed in terms of the following risk behaviors: having threatened or injured someone, having been threatened or injured by someone, feeling unsafe on the way to and from school, and feeling unsafe while at school. Violence perpetrated on school property was consistent with patterns of violence-related behavior in general, with respect to learners. This study shows that students are at high risk for individual experiences with and exposure to severe forms of conflict and violent scenarios at school.

The issue of partnership is also a primary focus of this study. The findings display the relevant elements that contribute to the success or failure of the partnership between SA DOE and UNICEF SA in the implementation of the GEM intervention. The breakdown in fiscal, managerial, and programmatic planning has a direct impact on the implementation of the GEM intervention at the school level. Each inconsistent element cascades down from the National Gender Equity Unit and UNICEF SA to the provincial gender specialists and local school leaders. As information, purposes, and program ideals are transferred, there is a collapse of GEM goals and objectives. The weak partnership between the two agencies is seen to be a primary contributor to the ineffective program implementation. Though GEM has been beneficial to the GEM intervention school, it has not succeeded in creating school safety.

Chapter Eight

Summary, Findings, Implications, and Recommendations

I would like to thank the South African Department of Education and UNICEF for giving me the opportunity to conduct my research on GEM. I thank them for their willingness to share information and giving me access to the program and the schools, which participate in GEM. It has been a valuable experience to work directly with the SADOE Gender and Equity Unit and the UNICEF staff. I gained insight and knowledge about GEM from everyone I encountered and I also gained knowledge about the process of partnership, program development and program implementation.

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study and presents its implications and recommendations. In pursuit of gaining understanding of the efficacy of GEM, factors associated with the GEM implementation process in the GEM intervention school were examined to identify contextual factors connected with successful program implementation. It became evident to the researcher that in order to effectively evaluate the efficacy of the GEM program, there must be a comprehensive review of the relationship of the partnership between UNICEF SA and the SA National DOE. Considering that the implementation of the GEM intervention depends on a series of actors, it was important to consider the actors involved, their roles, responsibilities, and levels of commitment, and the chain of dissemination for successful program implementation.

Part 1 of the literature review looked at development for girls' education and suggested problems and policy solutions typical of intervention initiatives. This section also reviewed the goals of UNICEF SA and its guidelines for creating a solution for girls' education. Part 2 of the literature review examined the issues of inequity and unsafe

schooling. Part 3 addressed the elements and dimensions of successful partnerships. Chapter 3 discussed the context of the community and gave background information about the community where the GEM intervention school (Fezeka Secondary) and the control school (Masiyile) reside. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 presented the background and the data collected at Fezeka Secondary and Masiyile Secondary, including the researcher's observations and focus group (indaba) outcomes. In Chapter 6 presented a detailed plan of action for the research based on the comparative case study design and method. Chapter 7 provided data analysis that compared each case, and identified the differences and similarities in the school environments. Chapter 7 also presented an analysis of the partnership of UNICEF SA and SA DOE. The current chapter (8) summarizes the findings of the study and addresses implications for theory, practice, and future research, and provides recommendations for such.

Purpose and Design of Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the efficacy of the implementation of the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) intervention in Cape Town, South Africa. In particular, the researcher explored the efficacy of the implementation of the GEM intervention. As outlined in Chapter 1, the primary questions guiding the research were as follows:

1. What is the efficacy of the implementation of the Girl's Education Movement (GEM) intervention at Fezeka secondary school?
2. Has the implementation of GEM at (GEM intervention school) Fezeka Secondary improved school safety and improved perceptions of violence in comparison to the neighboring (control school) Masiyile Secondary School?

3. Does the nature of the partnership between UNICEF SA and SA DOE facilitate implementation of the GEM intervention at Fezeka Secondary School?

In short, this study sought to uncover the complexities of GEM implementation and look at the nuances and competing forces that would reveal if the intervention was successfully implemented in the GEM intervention school.

Summary of Findings

To address the research questions, a comparative case study was conducted. The study used observations, interviews, focus groups, and a survey questionnaire to collect data about the efficacy of the implementation of GEM. Interviews with various stakeholders (3 UNICEF SA staff, 7 SA DOE Gender Unit staff, 9 provincial gender unit specialists, 15 teachers at GEM intervention school, and 8 Teachers at the control school). The researcher also conducted a survey with 171 learners—78 at the GEM intervention school and 93 at the control school—to gain insight about the questions in the study. However the survey findings were not conclusive and thus only add additional value to the rich descriptive qualitative results. A review of literature provided guidance on components of partnerships, leading to points of similarity and contrast to assess the program implementation.

A purposeful sample selection process was used, ensuring the appropriateness of the participants for the study. Criteria for the purposeful sample were as follows: two schools in the same community, one school with the GEM intervention and the other without, documented reports of violent activity, and both schools with the same social economic constraints (impoverished communities). This setting provided the researcher with the contextual factors that contributed to the implementation outcome.

Data analysis occurred during the collection of data. The researcher gained an understanding of the participants' perceptions by conducting a series of focus groups (indabas). Each focus group was guided by an identical outline of questions and then probed for more information. Focus groups were transcribed from audio and video recordings and reviewed and reread multiple times for emerging themes.

The first question considered the efficacy of the implementation of GEM intervention program. The main theme that emerged was the importance of the school environment. The findings suggested that effectiveness of the GEM intervention is highly dependent on the circumstances of the school environment. The problems, politics, and specifics that form the contextual factors that frame the efficacy of program implementation determine the success or failure of the intervention.

The findings revealed pertinent information in regard to teacher/learner relationships, school safety, infrastructure, and the organization of the GEM clubs. The findings facilitated a comparative analysis on the differences and similarities of the GEM intervention school and the control school in the areas of teacher commitment, school safety, and student perceptions of teacher and learner involvement in the GEM intervention program.

The data from the study show that teachers and learners involved in GEM were found to have better relationships and support within the school environment. The learners who did not participate were found to have an increased involvement in violent activities and were at risk for other violations. Over the course of the study, learners and program leaders who had a moderate amount of training and coaching in GEM and who remained committed to the program by participating in activities showed significantly lower participation in aggression-related events and had fewer conflicts.

Though the GEM intervention impacted the learners' social interaction and interpersonal behaviors, this varied by context. Learners often spoke of feeling more confident about their academic ability and reported better emotional self-esteem at school, but they also spoke of feeling afraid at school and in the community at large. It was evident that the positive effect of GEM activities was dampened for learners in the larger context of the school environment, classrooms, and neighborhoods. The efficacy of the implementation of GEM within the intervention school was not consistent.

Though GEM exists in the intervention school, it is not proven to have a significant effect or influence on the broader school environment. Nevertheless, in its attempt to combat violence, the GEM program has measurable benefits in changing the mindset of individual participants, though it has not created a generalized culture that supports school safety. This finding is significant and reveals the key issues in developing, implementing, and evaluating GEM as a school-based educational development intervention.

The second question addressed the perception of violence at each school. This question was investigated by the analysis of the survey results. The survey was intended to gather information on the learners' perception of violence. Each survey was collected and coded by the patterns that emerged; these patterns were placed into themes like assaults, school access, and substance abuse.

The analysis suggests that there are significant differences in learners' perception of school violence in the following factors: weapons, drug use, verbal threats, robbery and thefts, physical assault, murder, and rape. The main consensus that emerged from the data was that the GEM intervention school has lower perceptions of violence in the factors

mentioned. However, it could not be determined if the sole reason for the significant differences in violence between the two schools was the GEM intervention.

The analysis of the data suggests that both learners at the GEM intervention and control school participated in violence. In the study, learners were asked specific questions about the types of violence that occurred in school and whether or not they were participants in violent activities. For example, learners admitted to sometimes carrying a gun or knew of someone who carried a gun or weapon to school. The presence of weapons on campus created a threatening and volatile situation for teachers and learners. Fifty-five (55) learners at Fezeka and 29 learners at Masiyile carried or knew of someone who carried a weapon to school. Fifty (50) learners at Fezeka and 33 learners at Masiyile admitted to carrying or knowing someone who carried a gun to school. For the purpose of this study, a weapon was anything used to defend or protect oneself. More males added that they would carry a weapon on school property, compared to girls who carried a weapon anywhere and were afraid of being raped or victimized.

The analysis suggests that the presence of the GEM intervention did not curtail gang violence or acts of intimidation. The presence of street gangs was pervasive on school grounds and has infiltrated the school culture by forcing learners to take alliances. Learners imitate the “American” gangs and have even adopted the names of notorious gangs in the United States. The gangs in Cape Town schools are organized and cause constant disruption in of the learning environment. Students voiced that the gangs engage in physical conflict, and that these conflicts take place in the toilets or behind the school buildings. Masiyile learners reported that gangs exist in the school and present a problem. In an effort to handle the situation, Masiyile Secondary collaborated with law enforcement to increase the police

presence in the field adjacent to the school in the mornings when learners arrived and in the evenings when learners departed for home. Administrators also organized staff to do a toilet checks and have security walk the grounds more frequently. Though there were efforts put toward finding a solution, the analysis suggests that these interventions are not working. Gangs have learned how to predict the movements of teachers, administrators, and police so that they can disperse quickly, change location, or conduct their activities at different times.

The analysis of the results exposes that learners do not feel that the overall environment of the school is safe. Learners reported that though they believe GEM is valuable, they do not see how it has affected the atmosphere of the school. The perception of the learners is still that the school is not a safe place. Confirmations of these perceptions of violence were facilitated by results relating to bullying, drug and alcohol use, and more serious occurrences of murder. The findings revealed that older learners bullied younger learners constantly and contributed to acts of intimidation. When asked how often they were bullied, 3 of 8 learners reported being bullied daily over the course of a year. Male students reported being bullied at higher levels than females. Girls reported that they experience more verbal and less physical bullying. The analysis suggests that both girls and boys have high degrees of anxiety and emotional distress and feel vulnerable in the school environment. The analysis suggests that the use of drugs and alcohol in these schools is pervasive and could not be monitored. Learners shared that their peers use drugs or alcohol while in school. Reports of *daka* (marijuana) were present. Learners from both schools reported that learners hide substances and often leave school and return under the influence.

Recapping the results of the survey confirm the analysis of the study. Though the GEM intervention has guiding goals and tenets that could be implemented to address issues

of violence in schools, the reality is that the implementers of the program are constrained in their capacity to access the strategies. The analysis suggests that varying factors create an impediment in attempts to achieve school safety, and this reveals the complexity of establishing efficacy in implementing the GEM intervention.

The third question addresses the nature of the partnership of UNICEF SA and SA DOE in facilitating the implementation of GEM from the policy level to the practice level. In the case of UNICEF SA and SA DOE, the GEM program has suffered tremendously on the ground due to poor implementation practices. The analysis suggests the breakdown of this partnership can be summarized by addressing the following themes: leadership, communication, fiscal attainment and distribution, meetings, recruitment and retention, knowledge transfer, technical assistance, benefits of partnership, and policy change.

The partnership of UNICEF SA and SA DOE experienced many setbacks. The fractured leadership within the Gender Equity Unit at SA DOE and their resistance to sharing information with UNICEF was a primary downfall that prevented overall success of the GEM intervention. The lack of accountability and consistency in communication also greatly influenced the efficacy of the implementation of GEM. More importantly, the analysis suggests that a deficit in the distribution of resources (fiscal, human, and management) is a driving force in the inability of the GEM intervention to build capacity on the ground in the GEM intervention school. There needs to be a restructuring of the GEM intervention program. In this restructure, there is a need for organizational skills with current best practices and relevant activities in the GEM intervention school. The delegation and coordination of responsibilities could be strategized so that human resources could be made available to complete all the required goals. These findings are significant because the

process of implementation requires tasks to be highly organized. There must be a flow of information and a strategic plan to reach desired program objectives and to include all stakeholders.

The researcher recognizes that these results are a birds-eye view of the implementation of the GEM intervention in one specific school in one specific province. However, the analysis supports that this grass roots program is very political in nature and can be highly influential if implemented effectively. In the case of this study, the analysis revealed that instead of a quality GEM intervention program, there has been a broad but superficial paintbrush effect. The brush has simply been dipped into the supply of genderized beliefs and policy guidelines and then thinly stretched across the canvas of the provinces. From a distance, the landscape of the GEM intervention appears to be a well-implemented program: There are nice brochures, quotes from the girl-child about the importance of GEM, and many pictures of girls smiling while participating in GEM activities. However, a closer look and in-depth analysis reveal that the implementation of the GEM intervention program has been diluted, and the selected canvas is actually a shameful reproduction of a finer effort.

Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice

Implications for Theory

The conceptual framework based on the literature review portrayed the intersecting elements of the study. The framework displayed the essentials used to identify and explain the influences in policy, partnership development and process, and school and community. The conceptual framework that emerged during the research was instrumental in showing the intersecting tensions that surface when implementing an intervention and maintaining a partnership. These intersecting tensions were connected to the structure of the partnership

between the two agencies and the funnel of information at the national and provincial levels. Other tensions manifested due to the need for educational expertise and the degrees of partnership complexities. Specifically, the components of the framework align with the partnership streams, thus confirming my assumptions as a researcher. Three factors were impacted the research: management and administration, expectations, and policy. Figure 2 illustrates the framework (page 16).

Management and administration influences (distribution of funds, communication, leadership) were prioritized as primary factors. This was done because the impact on the efficacy of the implementation of the GEM intervention is exclusively based on the skills and capacity of the contributing partners and stakeholders of UNICEF SA, SA DOE, provincial specialists, teachers, and learners. Education process, input, and advocacy presented as attributes of the management and administration but were not the primary factors.

The framework also echoes the reality of how expectations play a role in the implementation process when resources are not available. The study revealed that in the area of expectations, all stakeholders must have agreed-upon objectives and a common plan for how to reach the expected outcomes. The partners must have the same understanding so that tensions are decreased and productivity increased in the actual implementation process. If this is not achieved, there is a high amount of dissatisfaction between UNICEF SA and SA DOE, which cascades to provincial leaders and ultimately manifests at the local schools.

Lastly, the framework displays the direct influences of policy when it is filtered through a national level to the grassroots level for implementation. Policymakers can consider the GEM initiative as a beneficial initiative but unless it is solidified in the policy framework of the educational system, GEM simply remains a program of convenience and

not a policy for change. The conceptual framework that emerged during the research reflects management and administration, expectations, and policy influences as elements that were detrimental to the efficacy of GEM in the intervention school.

Implications for Research

There are relatively no empirical studies looking at the efficacy of the implementation of the GEM intervention and partnership for educational development in combating violence and providing a safer school environment. Studies focused on development and education from gender perspective or economic development (Heward and Bunwaree 199; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Watkins 2000; Sutton 1998; Geiger 2002). Other studies focused on inequity in schools, school violence, and empowerment models (UNICEF 2002, 20004; Hyslop 1994; MRC 2003; Gray 1991; Wolff 1992). Lastly, the studies looked at partnerships for development and capacity building (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995; Brady and Galisson 2008; King 1991; Crossley 2001; Cheng 1997; Crossley and Holmes 2001; Otterburg 1986). While these studies were invaluable to the development of this dissertation study, they were not empirical studies or literature that attempted to integrate the components of program intervention and partnerships and combating school violence.

This study attempts to link the issues of girls' education and violence in schools to the broader framework of policy development. The research places the situation at a priority status that is meant to incorporate girls right to education from the ground up. These implications go beyond the confines of UNICEF/SADOE and even South Africa. There are lessons to be learned by all educators and policy makers. There is a distinct difference between the idea of policy development and the act of bringing that policy to life on the ground. There are a series of politics that cloud the process from written text to program

implementation. Competing values of both organizations along with international expectations impede the program implementation. Not to mention the ability to loose focus of the initial program goals. Then there are the activities at the local levels, which can be lost and absorbed into local dynamics. The existence of several small capsulated programs tends to compete and each program suffers remaining underdeveloped and therefore leaves the community underserved. There must be a concentric circle between policy and implementation. Policy goals must be able to align with the mechanism for implementation. It is important the UNICEF and SADOE do not displace goals as organizations, which will affect what happens on the ground.

Appropriateness of Selected Methods

Initially, the research was designed as a qualitative study. Using qualitative research methods to interview experts in the fields of gender and policy in South Africa, as well as teachers and learners in the schools with open-ended, semi-structured discussions was the researcher's plan. However, after some thought, the researcher decided to develop a survey to gain understanding of the occurrences of the perceptions of violence in the schools as a way to compare the two school environments. Initially, the researcher was only going to use qualitative methods to analyze the survey results. The researcher intended to only use the results of the survey to relay the perceptions of participants in their own words and to gain in depth understanding. After distributing the survey, the researcher determined that the results of the survey did not reveal difference in the schools, however the collected data gave richer in-depth descriptive data. This approach allowed the researcher to better examine what was happening in the school environments and to assess whether the efficacy of the GEM intervention was a contributor to creating school safety.

Areas of Future Research

Based on the findings from this study, there are definite implications for future research. Three questions related to program implementation emerged: How does the geographic context or location affect the implementation of GEM? For example, if GEM were implemented in a rural environment, would the results differ based on the configuration of the school community, values, and attitudes? The second emerging question is related to policy. How would the GEM initiative be implemented if it became an integrated and mandatory part of the genderization policy within South Africa's educational framework? For example, in Uganda the GEM initiative is written into the education policy guidelines and is not just a recommended program. How then would UNICEF SA and SA DOE build the fiscal and management capacity of the program for effective implementation? Lastly, how does the implementation of GEM in the intervention school compare internationally with schools in other countries that have implemented the program?

Greater research attention must be placed on determining whether the GEM intervention is an effective tool to be used in South Africa's efforts to deal with the marginalization of girls and to create a safe learning environment for all learners. A more comprehensive evaluation of the GEM intervention around the country is needed to assess the efficacy of the program intervention as a whole. The implementation of the intervention is very dependent on the location of the program, the cultural factors of the region, and the capacity of program delivery.

In the area of partnerships for development, the following must be considered: why, how, and when a partnership should be formed and the appropriateness of that partnership. Additional research must be conducted to confirm if in its current state, the partnership of

UNICEF SA and SA DOE is having the same effect on other GEM interventions in other provinces within South Africa. It would be useful to know if the same amount of effort and contributions are unilaterally applied across the country.

There is a need for research to be expanded in the area of program implementation. It was not always easy to organize and document the program implementation results. There must be practical direction given to researchers on how to conduct implementation studies in the context of program evaluation. Future research would discuss approaches to review and explain program implementation. This would contribute to the field of implementation research with more in-depth studies and articles written on how one should organize and conduct an implementation study. This expanded research would assist other researchers in determining data needs and data collection techniques in implementation research.

There is a body of research on partnerships in regard to business, private-public partnerships, and interventions to combat violence in schools. However, further research could look at the theoretical underpinnings of this study and see how the scope and nature of partnerships for education development affect program implementation. For example, studies could be conducted to see if the interventions in those same school environments have similar outcomes in combating violence. However, most research does not emphasize the contextual factors that influence and break down a program intervention. More in-depth research is needed to follow up the connections of program implementation to the policy and administrative factors from the beginning of the partnership to the implementation on the ground. In addition, case studies of other education development initiatives are needed for comparative research in evaluating efficacy.

Implications for Practice

The analysis of the findings of the study revealed some implications for practice: stakeholder commitment/buy in, and strategies for implementation. A significant finding emerged in reference to the GEM intervention implementation at Fezeka. Most of the staff, teachers, and learners were not aware of exactly what the GEM program was. Though most had heard of it, they were not involved and did not fully understand the intervention's agenda. Those who were involved in GEM had limited training and knowledge but were committed to the ideals of the intervention. Even if not implemented properly, the GEM intervention gave the participating GEMmers positive reflection and activities to explore. While learning about rights and gender issues, girls spent most of their time as members of GEM working on crafts (a traditional female activity). This presented an oxymoron when one considered the values of GEM. Other learners not in GEM did not appear to be interested in learning about the program or felt that it was not useful to the school environment.

Buy in must be established within the school community for the GEM intervention to be a fully accepted and effective program. Each gender specialist, at every level in every province, must be properly trained and committed to the GEM intervention. There needs to be more fiscal and human support given to the gender specialists so that they can find time to visit schools or hire teams of individuals to visit the schools to assess the status of the GEM program. If national and provincial leaders are not committed to the implementation of GEM, they cannot expect the local schools to have an understanding of how the program could be integrated into the school environment and how to get administrators and teachers to see the effort not as additional labor but as a beneficial asset to the practice of being an educator.

Before buy in at the school level can be achieved, it is imperative that UNICEF SA and SA DOE have a clear vision of what GEM will look like on the ground. There must be continual development of GEM activities and trainings, and a marketing campaign that develops a face for GEM. For example, just as the peer counseling program within the school system has an organized curriculum and toolbox, the GEM intervention could also have a toolbox for GEMmers and teacher advisors to help guide the program's growth and development. This would give shape to the program intervention and be clear and concise way for stakeholders to identify comprehensive risk and protective factors that must be targeted to institute systemic changes and a mind-shift in the GEM intervention school and community setting. UNICEF SA and SA DOE policymakers and implementers, along with the school administrators, must remember that meaningful involvement of learners, parents, and other school and community partners are necessary to avoid failure when implementing GEM. The strategic planning process must incorporate information about conditions in the schools and community needs so that the GEM intervention is not developed in isolation. There needs to be understanding on the ground about the program, its structure and benefits before the program can be properly implemented. It has been proven time and again that the top-down approach does not work with creating change in communities or schools. The impetus of change must come from the ground-up. Therefore having a positive and lasting affect on the broader community. This will give the GEM program and any other policy linked program clarity for implementation and actual manifestation of practice.

Recommendations

Successes

First, let us examine the successes of GEM that the research discovered. GEM was instrumental in creating strong support systems among learner participants at the school level. Learners were able to feel protected amongst their peers and developed their own accountability system. For instance girls at Fezeka developed a system for going to the toilet as partners. Girls would take turns using the toilet so one was the lookout and the other could be at ease. This lessened the possibility of assaults. GEM has also been successful at recruiting boys for participation. Boys that participate expressed gaining new insight about the importance of girls' education. They also expressed that their minds were different because they now understood their responsibility in changing behaviors themselves and protecting the rights of girls. GEM was also instrumental in helping girls understand their rights and teaching them how to speak up for themselves in and out of the classroom. GEM provided leadership opportunities for girls and boys who may not ordinarily become involved in school activities. GEM also provided skill development in the areas of public speaking, curriculum expansion and mentoring. Girls registered for various subjects, spoke at conferences and mentored younger learners. Lastly, GEM provided exposure for training allowing participants to travel to different neighborhoods and provinces by creating the GEM camps.

Challenges

When investigating the efficacy of the GEM program on the ground I discovered many challenges that remain to be addressed in achieving the GEM goals for combating violence in schools and creating a safe learning environment. 1: the lack of a comprehensive

and consistent GEM program for participants, and the lack of available resources both human and monetary.

What policy strategies could realistically help UNICEF and SADOE to meet these challenges and speed the progress of GEM implementation? There is a need for new thinking on the part of government officials and policy makers to confront the lingering issues that exists. These realities are explored in this summary. Now let us examine the challenges that the research revealed in more detail.

The investigation into GEM revealed that the implementation on the ground is not cohesive in the local context. The GEM goals are a bit altruistic and can appear lofty when looking at the circumstances within the school environments. The development of GEM varies from region to region. Thus there is a need to have clarity and a methodology for program implementation. Each community/school is left to their own devices on how to implement GEM. Therefore implementation is largely dependent on the skill level and interest of the local program implementer. Thus allowing teachers, learners and gender specialist who lack training to misconstrue the goals of GEM and leaves the learners/participants vulnerable to different interpretations of the initiative.

There is a need for social responsibility in the translation of GEM into practice. In the Fezeka school there was a general idea among the learners that “I am my sisters keeper”. However, on a broader scale this mantra did not prevent several incidents of harrassment and acts of violence against girls. There was a disconnect between the GEM program values and the actual manifestation of activities that promoted empowerment within the school community. Teachers and learners alike must have buy-in for the program to be successful.

Another finding of the research is connected to the use of human and fiscal resources. It is imperative that UNICEF and SADOE use the resources that exist on the ground. The research revealed that on the national, provincial and local level there were many provincial gender specialist, gender equity unit specialist and teachers that felt ignored. There was a willingness to work and many made sacrifices to help GEM get off the ground. However it was difficult to sustain GEM. There was a general consensus that the partners did not hear the voice of the implementers. A prime example was at the training session, which I attended with UNICEF and SADOE in Capetown, the assigned facilitators from whom UNICEF hired were stuck and believed that South Africa's greatest problem for girls in schools was access. However the program implementers voiced that access to education was no longer a primary issue for girls' education, but that it was the growing concern for what happens to girls when they get to school. Therefore, a day was used to come up with a strategy that was not going to be useful once the implementers returned to their local settings. Eventually this situation was rectified but many hours were spent spinning wheels, when the facilitators could have consulted one of the primary sources of information about what was happening in the schools, the implementers themselves.

In the fiscal management area, there is less of an issue with management and more of an issue with the availability of actual fiscal support. In order to expand the reach of GEM and the activities closely related to empowering girls. There must be increased financial resources applied to the program. In looking at effective program implementation in school settings governments that espouse gender equality and school safety have contributed more support in part to the proliferation of GEM in each region. In cases where private or local investment accompanied GEM funds there was an increased level of commitment and

participation. Both UNICEF and SADOE must balance the fiscal commitment to match the need by province. There must also be opportunities for provinces to seek private partnerships in support of GEM. Seeing that millions of rands have been donated to GEM there have been limited results because the funds are not evenly distributed but encapsulated in specific regions. Thus many GEM programs in schools receive no funding at all. While other provinces have partnerships with Barclay's this leads to inequity and limits the reach of GEM and its services.

Why is effective implementation important?

Proper administration of program implementation is the “glue” that holds a successful GEM program in place. Without strong administration, implementers and participants may struggle to find consistency in GEM. Some participants end up losing interest in GEM. Learners may experience discontinuity as they become disappointed with GEM activities. Good administration and implementation can ensure that GEM attains quality standards, and meet local needs, promote girls' empowerment and is cost-effective, and achieves GEM goals. As the GEM empowerment movement expands and becomes increasingly more apart of the fabric of South African schools, policymakers need to address administration of the program to ensure more coherent GEM policy across provincial and local settings.

Other countries with GEM, such as Uganda, have incorporated GEM into the general gender framework of schooling. Therefore the tenements of GEM are present in every curriculum module. This multi-sectoral approach brings GEM to the forefront, allowing expertise and resources, to be marked for program implementation. This prevents fragmented responsibility and lack of access and quality disparities on the ground. To meet the challenges of GEM implementation, some countries have consolidated GEM with other

social programs within one ministry. Designating a lead agency makes it less difficult to develop and implement the GEM initiative and reduces some inefficiency.

Creative Solutions

Major government support is needed for GEM and advocacy efforts must gear towards combating violence in schools. Existing partnerships for GEM is very small, and tends to go to the same provinces rather than to other less developed provinces where there may be a greater need and disparities are more pronounced.

An alternative strategy for GEM implementation is to reserve government resources exclusively for the program while encouraging investments from private donors. For example business could adopt a school or district. In the area of training it would be great to offer courses to faculty and gender specialist that helps build their skills. This was the case in Limpopo where gender specialist gained exposure to training and organized a learning environment for other teachers and learner participants.

Lastly another recommendation connects to the inter-sectoral coordination within SADOE, this is necessary to achieve success in coordinating pilot projects, policy formulation and analyses of the GEM program. It is believed that these efforts would promote greater public awareness of GEM, better program coverage, and more collaborative policy formulation. This tactic challenges the community to become involved and educates the parents, teachers and administrators about GEM goals. Inter-sectoral coordination tends to be more effective when a strong division leads and when the division has the authority to make funding decisions.

Policy lessons for Implementation

The process of creating policy, taking the opportunity to implement the policy and actually having the policy be realized can sometimes be worlds apart. The reality that GEM is an encapsulated program aimed at a specific group allows it to get lost in the policy pool. Because of its narrow scope the policy does not carry clout with the larger population. Therefore it is easy to lose sight of the program goals. The process of implementation of the program is very fragmented and becomes the property of others. The individuals responsible for implementing the program at the local level interpret GEM on the ground. Depending on the individuals' understanding, experience and level of commitment the outcome and face of GEM within the school community is determined. Often this leads to GEM not being a priority and customarily GEM dies a quiet death. In an effort to eliminate this casualty of policy implementation the following recommendations are suggested.

Involve stakeholders from a range of divisions (e.g., health, education, nutrition) to ensure that GEM policy development and implementation meet the diverse needs of learners and families in different local contexts.

Clearly outline the responsibilities for GEM. The involvement of each partner needs to be clarified, with accountability put into place. The leading partner must promote coherent policy development and implementation.

Reflect on the opportunities and demands of integrating GEM into the education system. Along with greater access and higher standards, it is necessary to have a GEM toolbox to improve replication and it is critical for teacher training, curriculum integration and assessment.

Guarantee sufficient resources to maintain GEM at the local level.

To reduce disparities that arise with decentralization, UNICEF and SADOE need funding for capacity building to develop and implement GEM programs.

Establish an evaluation and monitoring protocol that address the full range GEM program goals. The lack of research data about program success and challenges can negatively affect the future of the program. GEM programs along with SADOE and UNICEF must be required to maintain quality programs by measuring the programs' contribution.

The GEM program must be tied to other policies to become integrated into the general body of the school and community. GEM must be aligned with a stronger more

powerful policy that has levels of accountability and must produce results. Though Gem ideally is a good program, it gets lost and would be better served if it were anchored in an existing policy. GEM would also gain strength if it centered on a few goals and did not try to address multiple purposes. If the goal is to create access then the activities should be centered on ways to get girls in schools. If the goals of the program were to create a safe learning environment for all children with a specific interest for having girls be leaders then the program would need to shift to strategies that create a safe learning environment. These strategies must incorporate the physical and psychosocial needs of girls as learners within the school environment.

UNICEF and SADOE must create opportunities for the GEM to be understood on the ground. The voices of the actual implementers must be taken into account as well as the voices of the participants. It is necessary to develop a ground up approach to developing the program and implementing the program. I recommend that UNICEF and SADOE speak with the learners themselves to see what their concerns and needs are in each locality. It was obvious that there was willingness amongst the implementers; provincial gender specialist, teachers, learners and administration. However, they need to be heard and valued as knowledgeable stakeholders in the process of translating policy into practice. GEM must not be limited to a lofty idea but can be realized when the participants by gain possession of the program and understanding the broader policy implications.

School Environment

The ultimate measure of a safe school environment is the relationship between students' and teachers' perceptions of safety at school and students' ability to learn. The findings of this research reveal that the physical settings of Fezeka and Masiyile are no

different in appearance or maintenance of their campuses. They are both in need of numerous repairs to meet even the basic demands set by the CFS framework.

Changing the behavior of individuals is difficult in any setting, but there must be a way to clear the space on the school grounds to affect change. In order to change the atmosphere and school culture, the researcher recommends replacing the bad with something good. For example, create a space for lunch to take place at Fezeka. Usually the learners are walking around on a dirt field or slipping in and out of the gate. Creating a decorated space that is identified as a lunch area may clear space for learners to socialize without violence if recreation is placed in the newly created space.

The researcher recommends that both the provincial and regional leaders of the GEM intervention school and the control school repair the conditions of the classrooms and toilets, which lack sanitation. Place doors on the toilets and classrooms, change the location of toilets, which are currently in isolated areas of the school grounds, and monitor the bathrooms during each class period or place permanent security in the vicinity. This may assist with decreasing the overall vandalism and assaults that take place and restore some order to the school grounds. The researcher also recommends that the barbed-wire fences be replaced with other materials that are more aesthetically pleasing, which would promote a sense of a school pride in place of the current prison-like structure. There is a need to consider cost beyond human resources and include the cost of facilities. In order for the program to be more effective it is necessary to meet the basic needs of the school with proper facilities management and repairs. This change may facilitate a safer and creative learning environment.

The GEM Intervention

The GEM intervention was implemented in Fezeka Secondary as a tool to combat violence and improve school safety. It is expectant that the educators and learners of the school be concerned with the welfare of learners. The research literature suggested that schools take necessary steps in creating safe places for susceptible children to learn and grow. According to UNICEF, schools that execute the Child-Friendly Schools (CFS) framework are committed to making the needs of the ‘whole’ child the center of attention. Educators are motivated to think about what the learners experience in and out of school. Using the CFS standards, the researcher analyzed the school environments of Fezeka and Masiyile Secondary Schools. According to the UNICEF model for CFS schools, the essential and fundamental element required in assessing if a school is indeed a CFS school is the establishment of a healthy living environment²³.

Based on the findings of the study, the researcher recommends that the following steps be considered by the GEM intervention school and the control school to create a safe school environment reflective of the CFS model. GEM could be integrated into the rights-based school approach where learners are educated on their rights and responsibilities. The researcher encountered learners in Fezeka and Masiyile who were well aware of their rights but took little interest in learning what responsibilities went along with those rights. GEM could be included in the civics curriculum to teach about social responsibility and the importance of creating a safe school environment. There is a desperate need at the school level to have more effective teaching and higher quality learning. The study suggests that learners and teachers alike could benefit from trainings in self-esteem, conflict resolution,

²³ Mapping, Review and Evaluation of Children, Adolescents & Youth Participation Initiatives in Eastern and Southern Africa, August 2006

and self-defense. This could be implemented into the life-skills component of the existing curriculum. Having students who are healthy is another area that must be considered for maintaining school safety and health standards. The schools need to obtain at least the minimum standards of a healthy school to promote healthy living for all; this includes having running water, electricity, working toilets, and food available to students for breakfast and lunch. Lastly, the researcher recommends that the schools acquire their own local partners to establish linkages to the community including, police, private sector, and health clinics.

The impact of GEM as a school-based violence-prevention intervention for education development could only be addressed by examining the contextual and cultural entities that affect the nature, vision and scope of the program. If GEM is successfully implemented its circumference of influence could not just affect the school, but could have an effect on the community in addressing contextual issues of violence in a more pervasive way.

Partnership

This study suggests that the partnership between UNICEF SA and SA DOE must be ratified to be able to meet the desired goals and objectives, and to create transformation in the schools. A strategic approach to improving the GEM intervention tool and creating efficacy will solidify a partnership with specific program priorities that address the various problems at the schools and in the communities. It would be an advantage for the SA DOE Gender Units to bring together a variety of actors with a broad range of capacities to systematically restructure the GEM intervention. I suggest that SADOE seek other partners to associate with. Partnering with another policy would give GEM the teeth it needs. If tied into a more forceful policy that is already anchored and has the ears and understanding it would produce better results. There would be a higher accountability level and it would be associated with a

funded mandate. At the time this study was conducted GEM was not a mandate for all schools, but merely a recommended program.

SA DOE must take full advantage of the benefits of its association with UNICEF SA. The researcher recommends SA DOE establish evaluation teams to collaborate on the design and address specific priorities, goals, and objectives of GEM. Each team could be assigned regionally so that the program development could include the program elements that address issues specific to each community. If planned succinctly, SA DOE could enlist contractors to assess the GEM intervention implementation process and receive funding from UNICEF SA for program evaluation. This would help in the development of stronger programs and give clear signals that SA DOE is committed to monitoring the program inputs and outputs. This would also allow the GEM intervention schools to give feedback about what works and what doesn't, and why. This could possibly increase buy in from administrators, parents, teachers, and learners and reduce occurrences of violence once the program is implemented school-wide.

UNICEF SA must establish more stringent reporting and accountability. It is imperative that both partners engage civil society and provide incentives for schools to implement the GEM intervention. The process for building the engagement must be from the lowest level to the highest to create conditions of success. For example, UNICEF should solicit responses from the schools and market GEM on public television and radio. UNICEF SA and SA DOE must create tangible images to be associated with GEM, including a logo and slogan. The researcher also recommends that educators mobilize local leaders and allow them to drive the initiative. The researcher surmises that changes in the both the GEM intervention school (Fezeka) and the control school (Masiyile) can be motivated either from

the inside (school) to the outside (community) or from the community to the school. To create true sustainability, more resources must be used on the ground.

The research also reveals that the greatest resource within the partnership is its human resources. Therefore I recommend that there be more consideration given to how the human resources are valued and used for expertise and actual program implementation.

Conclusion

This study provides a classic look at the dilemmas of policy implementation. Policy often begins as a noble idea however it is not easy to implement that which has been suggested. There is often displacement of goals and the activities or program implementation becomes divorced from the original policy intention. Often there is a disconnect between the policy goals and the administration mechanism chosen to carryout the policy. There must be a realization of the policy goals and the programs activities that are reflective of the bigger picture. The partners must develop ways to invest more in the local school. There is a need to invest more time into program development and a need to nurture the program and its participants.

In conclusion, this study provides the empirical and theoretical information for evaluating the efficacy of the implementation of the GEM intervention and explaining the cultural and social elements in the GEM intervention school. The theoretical model was based on the literature reviewed and evolved from the data collected during the study. In relation to the theoretical model, this study was significant because it provides UNICEF SA and the SA DOE policymakers, as well as researchers, with information on what factors are influencing the poor implementation of the GEM intervention. It is apparent that this dissertation has made several contributions to the field of education development by adding

to the concentrations of gender, educational policy, safe schooling, partnership development, and program implementation. The major contribution that this study was founded on was the concurrent assessment of various factors that have an influence on program implementation, making inferences that are supported by previous research and theories. The study also assesses the role partnerships play coupled with stakeholders' expectations. The research explores that there are a succession of associations that may affect appropriate program implementation and partnerships for education development.

This study supported the findings of the MRC *The 1st National South African Youth Behavior Survey* (2003) that learners' violent behaviors in school were impacting the overall school environment and creating unsafe schools. Though small and with little effect, this study finds that the focus on the efficacy of the GEM intervention implementation process is a contributor to producing understanding of the processes, stakeholders, and real issues that come into play when systems are trying to implement an international intervention in the context of their own communities.

The findings from the study suggest that many different factors can potentially lead to an ineffective program implementation. A weakened partnership between UNICEF SA and SA DOE is a contributing factor to the ineffective implementation of the GEM intervention. This study reveals that structural and political conflicts, community perceptions, administrative processes, and the lack of cultural competency are all threats to the successful implementation of the GEM intervention. Cultural influences within the GEM intervention school and community, the instability of the leadership at SA DOE, and the lack of motivation or incentives at the regional and local levels all interrupt the processes of program implementation.

The question of whether there is efficacy in the implementation of the GEM intervention at Fezeka is conclusive. The research reveals that there is value in the program, but the study does not give conclusive leads to enable the researcher to be justified in saying that the GEM intervention is effective in combating violence and creating school safety. The indaba findings give context to the school environment and provide rich, descriptive results about what occurrences of violence are taking place, as well as how the teachers and students in the GEM intervention and the control school relate and their perceptions and experiences with violence in the school and community. The instrument used does not explain the connection between the GEM intervention and decreases in violence. The data from the perceptions of students showed decreases in violence, but the researcher cannot attest to these.

The limited efficacy of the GEM intervention does not provide sufficient evidence for the implementation of the GEM intervention on a larger scale and the cost effectiveness of such could be debated. However, if communication is established in the organizational structure of the UNICEF SA and SA DOE partnership, provincial leadership is included in the planning, appropriate trainings are held, and funding per participant is provided to the GEM intervention school (Fezeka) for activities and outreach, there is an opportunity to build capacity on the ground and increase the benefits of GEM in supporting a safer school environment.

If GEM is to be successful in South Africa then the what, when and how are prominent issues for program implementation. Let's give attention to creating safe schools for girls and develop interventions and build an approach for holistic empowerment and development around them. Let's consider everyone as an available resource; let's regard

them as viable agents of change. Where government investment is scarce, and private resources lacking let human resource be a viable option. I recommend that a more comprehensive study be ensued to gain further knowledge and to do a cross-provincial investigation of GEM's efficacy.

Persistence is necessary to make create change in the status quo; further improvement is necessary in communication, program planning and implementation. However, UNICEF and SADOE have made a start at addressing the issues that appear insurmountable. For that we must all recognize the effort and endearing commitment.

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Appendix

Operational Terms

Assessment: Method used to evaluate program efficacy.

Curriculum: A plan of instruction that deals with what students know, how they learn, teacher role, and context of teaching.

Efficacy: Effectiveness

Incident: A specific violent act or offense involving one or more victims or offenders.

Intervention Program: a program designed to assist participants in attaining school safety and gender equity.

Physical assault or fight: Intentional or actual touching, striking of another person.

RE-AIM: Reach, Efficacy, Adoption, Implementation, Maintenance.

Robbery: Taking or attempting to take anything of value that is owned by another person.

School-based: Program that is physically at the school building or extended into the community from the school.

Theft: Unlawful taking of another person's property.

Vandalism: Damage or destruction of school property.

Weapon: Any object used with the intent to threaten, injure or kill. Examples include guns, knives, and blades.

Zero tolerance policy: School or district policy that mandates predetermined consequences or punishment for specific offenses.

Organizational Terms

GEM: Girls' Education Movement

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

HSRC: Human Science Research Council

MRC: Medical Research Council

RAND: A nonprofit institution that helps to improve policy and decision-making.

HRW: Human Rights Watch

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Data Collection Schedule

Research Activity	Timeline
Arrive in South Africa Feb. 1st	February
Begin Residency in South Africa Dept. of Education	
Contact Schools & Program Coordinators	March
Start School Residencies	April
Begin School/Community Observations	May
Contact Experts/Document Observations	June
Begin Expert Interviews	July
Continue to Analyze Data	August
Attend GEM conference	September
Distribute Survey	September
Continue to Analyze Data	October
Continue to Analyze Data	November
Analyze Survey and other Data	November–December
Return to United States Finalize Dissertation	January–March

Observation Protocol

Observation Log GEM Evaluation				
School/Event: _____		Date: _____		Time: _____
Activity	Observed Setting	Program Goal	RE-AIM Dimension	Criteria
	GEM Club Meeting	Goal 1	Reach	
	Community Event	Goal 2	Effectiveness	
	Training Session	Goal 3	Adoption	
	Classroom	Goal 4	Maintenance	
		Goal 5	Implementation	
Observation Comments:				

Guided Group Discussions/In-depth Interview Protocol

The purpose of the guided discussions and in-depth interviews was to investigate deeply the efficacy of the GEM program. To provide support of the structure of the discussions and interview questions I used the following protocol when conducting the discussions and interviews.

- Individual interviews met for 30-60 minutes. Timeframes (starting and ending) were honored.
- The group met for 90 minutes. Timeframes (starting and ending) were strictly monitored.
- The educator group contained no more than 12 and no fewer than 8 members.
- The learner group contained no more than 50 and no fewer than 30 in class size.
- The participants for group discussions were selected by recommendation of Life Orientation Teacher and the school Principal or Vice-Principal.
- The goal for the group composition was to find individuals who are highly representative of the stakeholders in the school or district.
- I did not mix supervisors and the people they supervise in the same group. To avoid the "power relationship" in a group the groups were made of peers. To avoid hierarchy of individuals "experts" on policy or administration were grouped appropriately to avoid monopolizing of the entire conversation.
- Groups were conducted with the researcher as the only evaluator. The researcher asked the questions and recorded actual conversation and observations of group behavior.
- Interviews were conducted in private with the researcher only. The conversation was recorded when the participant allowed.

Below is an example of the explanation that was used when addressing group members for the discussions prior to starting the actual questions.

(Script)

Good morning/afternoon!

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. I will honor your time by making sure that we wrap up in the next 90 minutes. Does anyone mind if I tape record this for my records? I will not share the tapes with anyone other than myself as the researcher. I am a researcher conducting my dissertation research I am exploring school-related gender-based violence

against girls and the important contextual factors within the school as an organization within this community. My primary interest is to gather information that will help evaluate the GEM intervention program and improve conditions for gender inequality and school safety in schools/communities; and that the information I am collecting is by descriptive methods. All information I collect is confidential as to who provided it. For example, I will not disclose who actually participated in this focus group nor will my final report make any attributions for quotes. I hope this encourages you (if you need encouragement) to speak freely. My evaluation will result in a written dissertation. This report will be for the completion of my doctoral degree at Penn State University. Any questions before we start? Be sure that everyone signs and completes the info on the sign-up sheet. I intend to break the questions into several thematic groups.

GEM Program Efficacy Chart

<i>Re-AIM Dimension</i>	<i>Questions</i>	<i>Responses</i>
<i>Reach</i>	<p>Does the program reach the intended population? Who is the intended population?</p> <p>Has the community been mobilized to address school safety and gender inequity?</p> <p>How can men and boys be more effectively involved in promoting girls' and defeating school violence?</p>	
Efficacy/Effectiveness	<p>Does the program achieve targeted goals? If so, how and which ones? If not, why?</p> <p>Does GEM produce unintended consequences?</p> <p>How does the GEM program impact the quality of the school/community environment?</p> <p>Do the GEM training sessions prepare you to facilitate the initiative?</p> <p>Is there a change in school/community-level indicators of violence?</p> <p>How does GEM recognize that the interventions are effective?</p>	
<i>Adoption</i>	<p>Does the GEM program address the school/community issues?</p> <p>How does GEM develop organizational partnerships to support the delivery of intervention?</p> <p>How has the GEM initiative been successful or failed in addressing school safety and gender inequality?</p>	

<p><i>Implementation</i></p>	<p>How is GEM implemented in your school/community?</p> <p>How many active GEM members exist in your school/community?</p> <p>Are the program components delivered as intended?</p> <p>What skills are developed through the GEM training sessions? What training components would you change?</p> <p>How does GEM ensure that intervention is delivered properly?</p> <p>What are the essential elements that need to be in place in order to ensure the empowerment of girls through the GEM program?</p>	
<p><i>Maintenance</i></p>	<p>Are the participants and settings able to maintain program initiative?</p> <p>How does GEM incorporate intervention so it is delivered over a long-term?</p> <p>Does the GEM program produce lasting effects at the individual level? Can the school/community sustain the program over time?</p> <p>What changes in the school/community resulted from the GEM initiative?</p>	

Questions On Violence In Schools

- 1.) What are the specific methods in place to implement interventions to address violence? (Please describe the mechanism or provide a copy of an existing description.)
- 2.) Has the school adopted a national action plan or a comprehensive strategy to eliminate violence in schools?
- 3.) What actions are being taken to gather data/information to measure the prevalence of violence in schools and to monitor crime statistics, or to evaluate various approaches to eliminate violence against students?
- 4.) What data currently exist in the schools/community on the pervasiveness and nature of violence in schools? (Please provide any official statistics, victimization reports, etc.)
- 5.) Please describe program initiatives undertaken in the school/community to raise awareness of the problem of school violence and eradicate bias practices contributing to it, and promote safe school environments and equity.
- 6.) In the last three years what measures have been taken to prevent, examine and correct violence in schools, and to ensure that staff and students, authorities, and institutions refrain from engaging in any practice of violence in the school/community?
- 7.) What legislative and organizational measures have been taken (criminal, civil, administrative) to respond to school violence? (Please provide a copy of relevant legislation.)
- 8.) What practical measures and strategies, in deterrence of violence have been implemented to address school violence?
- 9.) Please describe the specific assistance and support services, to assist victims of violence.
- 10.) Do programs and services exist in the school environment to protect and support students vulnerable to violence by reason of age, gender, physical/mental handicap, background or status? (Please describe.)

Survey of Perception of Violence in Schools

1.) Circle the number indicating to what extent, if any each of the following has been a problem in your school during the 2004-2006 school years.

	Not a problem	Minor	Moderate	Seriousness
a. Student tardiness.....	1	2	3	4
b. Student absences/skipping class.....	1	2	3	4
c. Verbal threats among students	1	2	3	4
d. Physical conflicts among students.....	1	2	3	4
e. Robbery and theft in school	1	2	3	4
f. Vandalism on school property.....	1	2	3	4
g. Student possession of weapons	1	2	3	4
h. Gangs	1	2	3	4
i. Ethnic/racial tensions	1	2	3	4
j. Sale of drugs on school property	1	2	3	4
k. Trespassing	1	2	3	4
l. Physical abuse of teachers	1	2	3	4
m. Student drug use in school	1	2	3	4
n. Student alcohol use in school	1	2	3	4
o. Student tobacco use	1	2	3	4

2.) During 2003/4–2006 school years, were there any incidents involving each type of the following offenses at your school? (Include incidents in which police, law enforcement as well as school administration or teachers were contacted.)

In **Column I, II or III** write a check under the year that an incident occurred next to the type of offense that occurred at your school.

- Include all incidents that occurred “in connection with school” that includes school buildings, on school buses, on the way to school, places holding school related events or activities. Include incidents that took place before or after school or during normal school hours.
- If an incident did not occur at your school please enter “0” **Column I, II or III.**

In **Column I**, record if an incident of violence involved students as a victim or a perpetrator in 2004.

In Column II, record if an incident of violence involved students as a victim or a perpetrator in 2005.

In Column III, record if any incident of violence involved students as a victim or a perpetrator in 2006.

	Column I 2004	Column II 2005	Column III 2006
a. Murder	_____	_____	_____
b. Rape	_____	_____	_____
c. Suicide	_____	_____	_____
d. Physical assaults or fights with a weapon	_____	_____	_____
e. Physical assaults or fight without a weapon	_____	_____	_____
f. Robbery	_____	_____	_____
g. Theft	_____	_____	_____
h. Vandalism	_____	_____	_____

3.) Does the school have a course of action for reporting information about violence listed in the above questions?

Yes.....1 No.....0

4.) During 2004-2006 school years, indicate if disciplinary action taken for listed violent offenses with a check.

	Transfer 1	Suspension 2	Expulsion 3
a. Possession of a weapon other than gun	_____	_____	_____
b. Possession of a gun	_____	_____	_____
c. Physical assault	_____	_____	_____
d. Possession of drugs, alcohol or tobacco	_____	_____	_____

5.) Mark Yes or No as an answer. During 2004-2006 school years, did your school have:

	Yes	No
a. Visitors sign in and out?	1	0
b. Controlled access to school grounds?	1	0
c. Controlled access to school buildings?	1	0
d. A closed campus for students during lunch?	1	0

6.) During 2004-2006 school years did you or a peer participate with the items below in school?

	Yes	No
a. Violence?	1	0
b. Guns?	1	0
c. Weapons?	1	0
d. Drugs?	1	0
e. Alcohol?	1	0
f. Tobacco?	1	0

7.) During 2004-2006 school years, were any programs or efforts introduced to prevent or reduce school violence? (Please list programs of instruction, school management, services to students; changes in

classroom instruction or other services, activities or programs could take place during or after school hours.)

Number of one time programs _____ Number of ongoing programs _____

Enter zero (0) if there are no programs in your school or connected to your school.

8.) Were the incidents of violence used to design the programs offered? Yes.....1 No.....0

9.) Please identify which efforts were included in the program development and implementation?

	Yes	No
a. Prevention curriculum, instruction, or training for students	1	0
b. Behavior modification	1	0
c. Counseling, therapy	1	0
d. Tutoring or Mentoring	1	0
e. Recreation	1	0
f. Student mediation and conflict resolution	1	0
g. Technical assistance in classrooms for teachers	1	0
h. Review of discipline procedures	1	0
i. Community and Parent involvement	1	0
j. Reorganization of school (grades, schedules, houses)	1	0

10.) How many students participated in the program intended to prevent or reduce violence? (Check one answer)

- a. All or almost all (91-100%) 1 _____
- b. Most (61-90%) 2 _____
- c. About half (41-60%)..... 3 _____
- d. Some (11-40%) 4 _____
- e. Few (1-10%) 5 _____
- f. None..... 6 _____

11.) How many teachers and staff in your school were involved in any programs or efforts intended to prevent or reduce violence? (Check one answer)

- g. All or almost all (91-100%) 1 _____
- h. Most (61-90%) 2 _____
- i. About half (41-60%)..... 3 _____
- j. Some (11-40%) 4 _____
- k. Few (1-10%) 5 _____
- l. None..... 6 _____

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1990	Trinity College (Music Education/Special Education)	B.A.

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Jackson Scholar: 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008
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Washington Post Arts in Education Award: 2001
Who's Who Among College Students: 1990
T-Pin Award: 1990