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**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Students who have sex with teachers: a youth perspective  
from the Western Cape education region

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# Declaration

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Valerie Anderson  
Cape Town  
February 2011

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## Abstract

The phenomenon of student-teacher sex, while often reported in the media and occasionally mentioned as a by-line in research on related topics, has been neglected by researchers in South Africa. Large gaps exist in the literature, most notably a lack of South African prevalence data and a general lack of critical engagement, with a narrow focus on issues of power and exploitation. This thesis begins to explore the phenomenon, in the South African education system, of students who have sex with teachers. The study provides a more nuanced understanding of student-teacher sexual relationships, reporting on empirical research which explores the prevalence of the phenomenon, the circumstances in which it occurs and students' opinions. In doing so, this research contributes to a more complete picture of student-teacher sexual relationships, exploring a plurality of viewpoints, in order to inform policy and interventions. A sequential, mixed-methods approach was employed, consisting of three focus groups and a survey questionnaire. Sixty-four Grade 12 students participated in the focus groups, and a further 700 students were surveyed. Participants were selected from a stratified sampling frame comprising all public secondary schools in the urban districts of the Western Cape education region. Participants were evenly distributed across school poverty quintiles. There was substantial gender bias, with 71% of participants being female. Forty-three percent of participants identified themselves as 'black', 7% as 'white' and 48% as 'coloured'. Just over one in ten participants knew of a student in their school who had had sex with a teacher, and four in ten participants knew of a student who had engaged in sexual activity with a teacher, including dating a teacher, being touched in a sexual way by a teacher and kissing a teacher. Participants said students were primarily receiving better marks in exchange for sex or sexual activity, followed by material benefits, and love and care. Two out of ten participants had experienced some form of sexual harassment by a teacher, 3.6% claimed they had had sex with a teacher, and a further 8% had sexual activity with a teacher. Just under half the participants said student-teacher sex should not be illegal, claiming it was acceptable in certain circumstances, most notably if it is off school property (38%), if the student is over the age of 18 (34%) or if it is consensual (31%). In qualitative responses, participants further argued for and against the acceptability of student-teacher sex, talking about issues of transgression, power, transaction, and desire.

Key Terms: student-teacher sex, teacher-student sex, mixed methods, school, sexual relationships, prevalence

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# Terminology and Acronyms

## *Terminology*

Age of Consent	The minimum age at which a person is considered legally competent to consent to a sexual relationship. Many countries have different ages of consent, governed by diverse sets of circumstances. For example, some countries may raise the age of consent for boys or for homosexual relationships, may have a “closeness in age” clause which lowers the age of consent if there is less than a three year age gap between the two parties, or may have a “position of trust” clause which raises the age of consent in certain circumstances (see “Position of Trust”)
Conceptual Equivalence	In translation of surveys and questionnaires into other languages especially, this involves ensuring that concepts retain their meanings across languages and cultures. Here we look for multiple meanings of a word which can, for instance, have the following effect: make the word in the source or target language richer, point to the most important meaning, raise value judgements or connotations associated with words, provide the typical context of the use of a word which may make the source and target definitions differ, and make one aware of idiomatic or figurative meanings. In sum, conceptual equivalence is the absence of differences in the meaning and content even after linguistic equivalence has been achieved.
Hostile Environment	Refers to sexual conduct that creates an uncomfortable, intimidating, or uncomfortable atmosphere.
Informal Settlement	Informal settlements – also known as slums, shanty towns, or squatter areas – have a higher population density than townships, and shelters are self-constructed from scrap materials including plywood, corrugated iron sheets, plastic, and cardboard boxes. In South Africa these areas usually neighbour townships, and lack sanitation, electricity, water and telephone services.
Linguistic Equivalence	In translation of surveys and questionnaires into other languages especially, this involves asking the question in a second language using equivalent words as in the original language, maintaining meaning, connotations, comprehensibility, and readability. Linguistic equivalence may be difficult to obtain especially when the translator is faced with words that do not have an equivalent in the second language, are idiomatic expressions or metaphors, and are imprecise quantifiers.
Moral Panic	According to Stanley Cohen’s definition (1972: 9), a moral panic describes

	<p>the circumstance where a “condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests: its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media”. Moral panics are characterised by the use of sensationalised anecdotal evidence which brings the issue to the fore, and the use of statistics and numbers to back claims (Best, 1990). These figures are often exaggerated and broadly disseminated. Moral panics generally flourish in circumstances where there is a latent, genuinely felt public concern around the issue already.</p>
Position of Trust	<p>Legal term referring to a one person who is in a position of authority over another person. Usually, a person in a position of trust is prohibited from having sexual relationships with a person in their care even if the other person is over the standard age of consent. Some position-of-trust professions include: teachers, medical practitioners, legal guardians, social workers and the police. Also known as “Position of authority” or “guardianship”.</p>
<i>Quid Pro Quo</i>	<p>Latin: "this for that". In the context of this thesis, refers to the exchange of sexual behaviour for reward or avoidance of punishment.</p>
Quintile Ranking	<p>WCED schools are ranked by ‘quintiles’ in alignment with the poverty rankings of their surrounding communities, school facilities and amenities. School fees and staffing salaries are funded or subsidised accordingly. Quintile one holds the poorest schools and the wealthiest schools are ranked in quintile five (Attwell, 2007). For clarity we refer to “school poverty quintile” throughout the thesis.</p>
‘Racial’ Terms	<p>The racial nomenclature as fixed under the Apartheid state and defined by the South African Population Registration Act of 1950 (Republic of South Africa, 1950) is retained in this thesis for two reasons. First while these descriptors, ‘black’, ‘white’, and ‘coloured’, are artificial and have no biological basis, they reference the ongoing legacies of inequality and disparity as instituted under Apartheid and may thus be used as a comparative marker to redress injustice. Secondly, because of the high correlation between ‘race’ and ‘class’ in South Africa, race continues to be one of the strongest predictors of ‘socio-economic status.’ This discussion is presented in more detail in the thesis; suffice it to say that the use of these categories does not in any way endorse the continued reification of race. Single quotation marks are used when referencing a racial category or the notion of race. When quoting a source directly, however, the racial descriptor is left as it is found in the original text.</p>

Student-Teacher Sex	Sexual intercourse (anal or vaginal) or oral sex between a school student and a teacher.
Sexual Harassment	According to the <i>Code of Good Practice on the Handling of Sexual Harassment</i> (Republic of South Africa, 1998) sexual harassment includes, but is not limited to, physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct including touching, sexual assault, rape, innuendos, advances, phone calls, jokes, comments about a person's body, enquiries about a person's sex life, whistling, suggestive sounds, gestures, indecent exposure, display of sexually explicit objects or publications including pictures and text, and sending of letters and email with sexual content. The Code includes the prerequisite that such physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct is <i>unwelcome</i> . In the current study, sexual harassment is operationalised as anything a teacher has said or done sexually that has made the student feel uncomfortable, including looking at a student's body, touching a student, making a sexual joke, and asking a student private questions about his/her sex life.
Sexual Assault	Rape, attempted rape or being forced to do something sexually.
Student-Teacher Sexual Activity	Sexual activity between a school student and a teacher, including dating, sexual touching (not specified as unwanted), kissing, and showing naked pictures of self.
Student-Teacher Sexualised Relationships	Refers to behaviours included under 'student-teacher sex', sexual harassment, sexual assault, and 'student-teacher sexual activity', non-specified.
Township	Usually underdeveloped urban residential areas in South Africa. Under the segregationist policies of the Apartheid regime, townships were reserved for non-whites – 'black' Africans, 'coloureds' and Indians. Until recently, townships occupied the periphery of towns and cities, removed from the economic hub, outside of formal transport routes (i.e. trains and highways), and lacking amenities such as shops and entertainment facilities. These areas are characterised by small dwellings, ranging from backyard shacks to one-roomed houses to flats, and have a high population density.

### **Acronyms Used in the Text**

HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
NAPTOSA	National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa
NATU	National Teachers' Union
SES	Socio-Economic Status

SACE	South African Council of Educators
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SAOU/SATU	Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie/South Africa Teachers' Union
SAPA	South African Press Association
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

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# 1.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of sex between school teachers and school students, while increasingly reported in the media and mentioned as a by-line in research on related topics, has been largely neglected by researchers in South Africa. Substantial gaps exist in the local literature, most glaringly a lack of South African prevalence data, but also a general lack of critical engagement, with a narrow focus on issues of power and exploitation. The current research begins to explore the phenomenon of students who have sex with teachers in the Western Cape education region. The focus is on presenting a youth perspective on student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships, a point of view largely neglected in studies on the subject. While some academic articles have recounted students' experiences of student-teacher sex, they have presented them as anecdotal case studies. In South Africa no large-scale study has explored students' opinions and perspectives on the topic. For this reason, we refer to "student-teacher" sex rather than the standard "teacher-student" sex in order to foreground the focus on students' voices.

Included in the phenomenon of student-teacher sex is a range of sexualised relationships and interactions related to sexual intercourse, including dating, sexual touching, exposure, kissing, sexual assault, sexual harassment and showing sexual content to students. While the study specifically focuses on sexual intercourse, the related interactions are explored as well in order to produce a more holistic picture of the full ambit of sexualised student-teacher relationships. Hereafter, sexual intercourse (anal and vaginal) and oral sex is referred to as student-teacher sex; unwanted or unwelcome verbal or non-verbal sexual conduct is referred to as sexual harassment; rape, attempted rape or being forced to do something sexually is referred to as sexual assault; and dating, sexual touching (not specified as unwanted), kissing, and showing naked pictures of self is referred to as student-teacher sexual activity. When referring to any of these behaviours without specifying, the term "student-teacher sexualised relationships" is used.

As the rest of this introduction will demonstrate, student-teacher sex and sexual activity has largely been presented and addressed through a primary theme: the abuse of power in the student-teacher relationship. The danger in exploring such a complex and experientially diverse topic through a single lens is that potential policy recommendations and the efficacy of interventions are limited. In this study we ask whether or not a more nuanced understanding of student-teacher sexualised relationships, supported by empirical research, can contribute to a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon in order to better inform policy and

interventions. This study has been designed to elicit data that will ultimately assist in implementing realistic legal and policy frameworks and in informing interventions for teachers and students.

This introduction begins with a brief description of some of the media reports on student-teacher relationships which have emerged in South Africa over the past decade. This is followed by an overview of the academic literature on student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships. Thereafter a description of prevalence data, firstly on the continent and then in South Africa, is given. This prevalence data, as will be illustrated, is limited and some of the constraints of conducting research on the topic are discussed. The official legal and ethical position on student-teacher sexualised relationships in South Africa is discussed. Finally, dominant discourses of student-teacher sex are identified and addressed.

### **1.1.1 Media Reports**

In Canada and Britain, student-teacher sexualised relationships received widespread public attention in 2002 in the highly-publicised and sensationalised Amy Gehring trial (Williams & Cummins, 2002). Gehring was acquitted of the charges of indecent assault of two underage male students. The Gehring case may have been sensationalised for its voyeuristic appeal and its non-conventional attributes and images of female sexual subjectivity. Cavanaugh has dealt with these issues comprehensively elsewhere (2005), but the trial also brought the issue of student-teacher sex to the forefront of public attention. The Gehring trial was described by one journalist as a “cross between a peepshow, a circus, an auction, and an invasion” (Wallace, 2002), a description which fits many of the student-teacher sex scandals which broke in the years surrounding the Gehring trial (for example, see Herszenhorn, 1997; Rafferty, 1999; Phillips, 2005; Walls, 2005). What characterises most media stories of student-teacher sex is their sensationalism, voyeuristic detail and “public appeal”.

Similar stories have emerged in South Africa over the last few years (for example, see Willemse & Hayward, 2007; Madala, 2008; SAPA, 2009a; Butler, 2010; Hlatshwayo, 2010; Khoza & Masinga, 2010; Otto, 2010). Some of the cases which were reported appeared relatively “consensual” – as in the case of a teacher at a top Port Elizabeth school who had sex with a 16-year-old pupil (“Bay school rocked by teacher sex claim”, Butler, 2010). Most were reported as rape, statutory rape or sexual misconduct (“Life in jail for rapist teacher”, Makana, 2009; “School sexual misconduct probed”, SAPA, 2009a; “Sex crimes with boys: teacher guilty”, Otto, 2010).

In 2008, the Daily News reported the case of a 23-year-old high-school teacher, who had fathered a child with a 12-year-old girl, and was being investigated for statutory rape when the girl miscarried his second child (Madala, 2008).

Recently, issues of transaction and exchange have emerged in these reports. In 2009 ("Sex teachers: MEC visits school", SAPA, 2009c), News24 ran a story wherein 20 students at a school in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal had reported that female pupils as young as 15 had had sex with teachers in exchange for money and alcohol. The students alleged that teachers were frequently having sex with female pupils in the science laboratory, and had even consumed alcohol with them. The girls reportedly received R100 after sex. A follow-up article several days later confirmed that five teachers accused of sexual misconduct at the school had been suspended, also noting allegations that some of the girls had been romantically involved with the teachers ("Sex claims: Teachers suspended", SAPA, 2009b). Similar cases, where a number of teachers in a single school were accused of sexual misconduct with several students, have been reported in Mpumalanga ("Probe to flush out sex pest teachers", Hlatshwayo, 2010), Gauteng ("Teachers fired over sexual misconduct claims", SAPA, 2010b) and in the Western Cape ("Southern Cape school rocked by teacher-pupil sex problem", Thaw, 2010).

Some of the complexity of student-teacher relationships emerges in these articles, including issues of consent, desire, power and exchange. As one student (15 years old) said, *"My teacher supports me financially. That is useful because I live with my grandmother who uses her pension for booze. The teacher pays for my clothes, lunch and school fees,"* (Hlatshwayo, 2010, italics added). A 2010 article by Khoza and Masinga ("Sexual abuse rampant at rural schools", ) highlights some of the dynamics in student-teacher sex relationships: many of the students involved in these relationships are seen as being from poor families, teachers are sources of financial and material support, students don't know their rights or the laws about student-teacher relationships, parents don't know where to report relationships, and a relationship with a teacher may be seen as a status symbol.

In response to one of the more recent allegations of student-teacher sexual relationships, Gauteng Education spokesperson, Charles Phahlane, was quoted as saying that "it was good that sexual abuse allegations in schools were being dealt with". However Phahlane also "emphasised these were isolated incidents" (SAPA, 2010a). In 2001, before the Gehring story came out, a curriculum director in Connecticut made a statement which holds true today: "I don't know if this [sic] kind of cases have increased or not, because I don't have statistics," Jeff Linton

said. “But, it seems stories of these types are more prevalent in the media. It seems we hear about these cases more quickly” (Curriculum Administrator, 2001). The question implicit in Linton’s and Phahlane’s statements is still unanswered: have the media generated a moral panic regarding student-teacher sexualised relationships or is there more below the surface than meets the eye?

### **1.1.2 Overview of Academic Literature**

Several articles have dealt with the ethics and dynamics of educator-learner sexual relationships and sexual harassment at college or university level. These articles date back to the 1980s and include seminal works such as Dziech and Weiner’s *The Lecherous Professor* (1984), and Skeen’s *Sociological Examination of a Contemporary Taboo* (1980). Skeen and Nielsen (1983) and Glaser and Thorpe (1986) were some of the first authors to use empirical research to explore the complexities of consent and coercion in university faculty-student sexual relationships. The debate has been taken up again more recently (Keller, 1990; Stites, 1996; Jafar, 2003).

Far fewer authors have looked at the phenomenon within schools. In Shakeshaft’s literature review (2004), she found 900 citations for educator sexual misconduct (broadly defined), but only 14 United States empirical studies and 5 United Kingdom or Canadian empirical studies. One of the few studies conducted on student-teacher sex which provides prevalence estimates was conducted by the American Association of University Women (1993, 2001). *The Hostile Hallways* survey in the United States, found that 9.6 % of students in grades 8 to 11 reported sexual abuse by an educator. The survey also found that four in ten females and one in ten males reported being sexually harassed by a teacher during their school career. In a much earlier study in five United States metropolitan areas, by Cameron et al. (1986), 4.1% of respondents reported having a physical sexual experience with a teacher.

Amongst the research conducted outside of the African continent, Charol Shakeshaft stands out as one of the leading authors in the field. Her several articles have explored sexual abuse of students by teachers (Shakeshaft, 1994; Shakeshaft & Cohan, 1995; Shakeshaft, 2002, 2003, 2004). Amongst these, Shakeshaft’s 2004 report for the US Department of Education is recommended for its thorough review of the US and UK literature. In 2003, Shakeshaft concluded that in the United States there are no national studies documenting student-teacher sex or, as she consistently refers to it, “educator sexual abuse” (Shakeshaft, 2003: 10). Her secondary analysis of the *Hostile Hallways* data found boys to be targets of educator abuse

slightly less than girls, and black and Latina/o students more likely to have been targeted than white students (Shakeshaft, 2003). Shakeshaft conflates verbal, visual and physical acts under a single term: “educator sexual abuse” which she defines as “any behavior by an adult (2) directed at a student (3) that is intended to sexually arouse or titillate the adult or the child” (Shakeshaft, 2003: 10).

Shakeshaft and Cohan (1995) categorise sexual abuse into four categories:

Level One Non-contact Abuse (visual) - including showing pornographic or sexually explicit material, obscene gestures and indecent exposure;

Level Two Non-contact Abuse (verbal) - including sexualised comments, jokes or name-calling;

Level One Contact Sexual Abuse - including “pinching, fondling, laying hands on students, tickling, placing hands on genital areas, holding children upside down, touching breasts, caressing, feeling, and drawing circles on a girl’s chest” (Shakeshaft & Cohan, 1995: no page number given);

Level Two Contact Sexual Abuse - including actual sexual acts.

Shakeshaft’s research has detailed the effects of “educator sexual abuse” on students, the profile of teachers who abuse children and the outcomes in cases of abuse (2004), but has failed to differentiate qualitative differences between cases. She has not explored students’ experiences of student-teacher sexualised relationships or their opinions of it, but has seemingly decided unilaterally that any instance of sexual contact between a student and a teacher, whether consensual or not, is “abusive”, and has thus treated all cases with the same broad brushstrokes.

### *Africa*

Research on the African content is stronger. Numerous quantitative prevalence studies have been conducted in Africa, and these are discussed in detail below (‘Prevalence in Africa’). Predominantly, African studies on student-teacher sex are based on case material, anecdotal evidence or qualitative reports of student-teacher sex, and go some way towards describing the phenomenon. A study in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region (Chege, 2006) gives qualitative reports of sexual harassment and sexual abuse of students by teachers and of teachers propositioning students for sex. Similar accounts have emerged from Ghana (Leach & Machakanja, 2003; Dunne, 2007), Botswana (Dunne, 2007), Kenya (Omale, 1999, in which case

teachers were having sex with primary school students), Tanzania (Plummer et al., 2007), and Zimbabwe and Malawi (Leach & Machakanja, 2003). This last study reports students having sex with teachers in exchange for higher grades or money and students being reticent to report the abuse for fear of blame, ridicule or victimisation.

An in-depth focus group study in Ghana (Goparaju, Afenyadu, Benton, Wells & Alema-Mensah, 2003) reported that sexual relationships between students and teachers were 'common'. Accounts were given of *quid pro quo* and hostile environment coercion for sex, although some participants reported that girls also competed for teachers' attention and enjoyed it. Nhundu and Shumba (2001) and Mgalla, Schapink and Boerma (1998) reported that girls were pressurised into sexual relationships with their teachers after being warned that non-compliance would result in lower grades, embarrassment before their peers and even corporal punishment. In contrast, others reported that some girls chose to engage in these relationships because they were promised the reward of good grades, material possessions or money (Leach, 2003; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004). Some students pursued teachers they perceived as eligible for marriage (Leach, 2003).

#### *South Africa*

In South Africa, prevalence data is scarce and the few studies which have attempted estimates of prevalence are discussed below ('Prevalence in South Africa'). Unquantified reports of student-teacher sex have appeared in several qualitative South African studies. A Human Rights Watch study (2001) detailed reports of "widespread" serious sexual misconduct towards underage female students by teachers. There are several other qualitative reports which describe students being propositioned by and entering into relationships with teachers (Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Abrahams, Mathews & Ramela, 2006; Swartz, 2009). Reports include teachers raping, sexually assaulting, sexually abusing, sexually harassing girls, using threats of physical violence or corporal punishment, using overt force or threats of force and abusing authority by offering better grades or money to pressure girls for sexual favours or dating relationships on a *quid pro quo* basis.

The difficulty in comparing the studies mentioned above is their vastly divergent conceptualisation, operationalisation and definitions of student-teacher sexual relationships, ranging from 'abuse' to 'sexual harassment' to 'sexual misconduct'. Wishnietsky (1991: 168) holds that "whether the actual percentage of educators involved in sexual harassment is 1%, 5%, or 20% becomes inconsequential. The fact that there are teachers involved in un-ethical

relationships indicates a problem that cannot be ignored.” Unfortunately, outside the African continent at least, most knowledge of student-teacher sexual relationships comes from media reports (Shakeshaft, 2003).

### **1.1.3 Prevalence in Africa**

In recent years, there has been an increase in research on sexual violence, abuse and harassment in schools in African countries. Authors have conducted research in schools across the continent and have found evidence of student-teacher sexual relationships as well as sexual assault or harassment of students by teachers in the following countries: Botswana (Dunne, 2007), Ghana (Afenyadu & Goparaju, 2003; Goparaju et al., 2003; Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani & Machakanja, 2003; Leach & Machakanja, 2003; Dunne, 2007), Guyana (Gill-Marshall, 2000), Kenya (Omale, 1999; Hakijamii Economic and Social Rights Centre, 2009; Ruto, 2009), Malawi (Leach et al., 2003; Leach & Machakanja, 2003; Burton, 2005), Tanzania (Mgalla et al., 1998; Plummer et al., 2007), Uganda (Mirembe, 2003, as cited in Leach & Machakanja, 2003) and Zimbabwe (Zindi & Shumba, 1999; Nhundu & Shumba, 2001; Shumba, 2001; Leach et al., 2003; Leach & Machakanja, 2003). These studies are described and discussed below, but a more complete description, including detailed results and details on sampling and methodology, is presented in Appendix 1.1.

Several studies on the continent have attempted to provide prevalence figures. In Ghana (Afenyadu & Goparaju, 2003) 3% of in-school girls reported having sex with a teacher and a third of teachers knew of another teacher having sex with a student. Focus group data claimed that six out of ten student-teacher sexual relationships were based on mutual agreement related to grades, money or love. The remainder were accounted for by coercion under false pretences. In Guyana, Gill-Marshall (2000) detailed similar data on student-teacher sex, with 2.5% of students reporting having sex with a teacher, and 9.8% reporting being fondled by their teachers at school. According to Gill-Marshall (2000) male students were three times more likely than female students to report having had sex with a teacher. A Kenyan study (Ruto, 2009) reported 2.7% of students entering into a sexual relationship with a teacher. In Uganda, reports of student-teacher relationships were much higher, with 8% of female students claiming to have had a sexual relationship with a teacher (Mirembe, 2003). In Tanzania (Mgalla et al., 1998), 9% of students in one study claimed to have been sexually harassed by a teacher.

Some studies have provided raw counts of student-teacher relationships without attempting to convert these results to a percentage or prevalence figure. For example, a recent study in Kenya

(Hakijamii Economic and Social Rights Centre, 2009) found that 12,660 girls were sexually abused by male teachers between 2003 and 2007. However, only 633 teachers were charged with sexual abuse over the same period, suggesting either that teachers were having sex with many students (up to 20 students per teacher) or that there were high rates of under-reporting of sexual relationships. The report estimates that 90% of sexual abuse cases never reach the Kenyan Teachers' Service Commission. A report in 2010 claimed that 1,000 teachers had been dismissed in Kenya over the past two years for sexually abusing girls, including kissing, touching, having sex with, and impregnating (Hughes, 2010). In Zimbabwe (Shumba, 2001), a content analysis of case files of teacher perpetrators revealed 212 cases of sexual abuse of secondary school students by their teachers, between 1990 and 1997. According to the study definition, sexual abuse included 'sexual intercourse' (65.6% of cases), 'writing love letters' (26%), 'fondling, kissing, hugging etc.' (10.9%), 'rape or attempted rape' (1.9%) and showing of 'pornographic material' (0.5%, Shumba, 2001).

Two studies on the continent have provided prevalence data on third-person accounts of student-teacher sex. A study in Kenya (Ruto, 2009) found that 21% of respondents claimed to know of a girl who was engaging in sex with a teacher. In Malawi (Burton, 2005) this figure ranged from 23% (students 13 years and younger) to 33% (students 14 years and older) of students who reported that teachers have sex with children in their school.

#### **1.1.4 Prevalence in South Africa**

In the South African context, there are no reliable estimates of the extent to which sexual relationships occur between teachers and students. A South African Medical Research Council study reported that 37.7% of rape victims interviewed specified that the perpetrator was their schoolteacher or principal (Medical Research Council, 2000). Madu (2001), in a study of 722 undergraduate Psychology students, found that 7.8% had experienced sexual intercourse before age 17 with an adult or person at least 5 years older or in a position of authority. Of the perpetrators, 12.3% were school teachers. A study by Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga and Bradshaw (2002) reported that 1.65% of participants in a sample of just under 12,000 had been raped before the age of 15, a third of the rapes being perpetrated by teachers.

More recently, a Human Rights Council study (2006) reported that the Western Cape Education Department received between one and four reported cases a month of sexual abuse or sexual harassment of students by teachers. The same study reported claims by the Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Project that 8.5% of reported student sexual abuse cases were

perpetrated by a teacher. The latest prevalence data is reported in Khoza and Masinga (2010), according to which the South African Council of Educators (SACE) claimed that in 2009 75 teachers at private and state schools were removed from the SACE register for misconduct, mainly for sexual offences. National Basic Education spokesperson, Granville Whittle, is reported as saying, “of the 75 teachers struck off last year [2009] six were found guilty of rape, 20 of having a sexual relationship with a pupil and 21 of sexual assault” (Khoza & Masinga, 2010).

A more complete description of these studies, including detailed results and details on sampling and methodology, is presented in Appendix 1.2. As it is elsewhere (Shumba, 2001), it is difficult to ascertain a prevalence rate for student-teacher sexual relationships in South Africa for three main reasons. Firstly, there is no centralised database or reporting system of abuse. While it is hypothetically possible to do a content analysis of police sexual assault and rape reports and convictions, this would not capture cases where the student has been over the age of consent. Secondly, no systematic research has been done solely on this topic. Where it has been addressed, it has been as part of a larger study (for example, on rape and sexual coercion, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002) or school-based violence generally (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Human Rights Council, 2006; Swartz, 2009). Thirdly, the phenomenon is largely under-reported by students who are afraid of being victimised, blamed or ridiculed (Leach, 2003; Leach et al., 2003).

Wood and Jewkes (1998) note that cases of sexual coercion are particularly vulnerable to under-reporting both in surveys and to the police. In addition, the authors found that for some township participants, coercion and violence were conflated with or seen as an expression of love. Similarly, the Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Project (as reported in Human Rights Council, 2006) found that just over one in four learner victims surveyed did not think that forced sexual intercourse constituted rape.

#### ***1.1.5 Official Positions on Student-Teacher Sexual Relationships***

Broadly, two legal positions govern student-teacher sexual relationships: [1] Laws regarding the age of consent govern relationships between teachers and students; and [2] The law prohibits sexual contact between persons in positions of trust or authority and those entrusted to their care. Regarding the second, a “guardianship” or “position of trust/authority” clause may either set the age of consent higher where a person is in a position of trust over a younger person or prohibit sexual relationships between these two parties even when the entrusted party is over

the basic legal age of consent. A clause defining the position of authority/trust generally covers student-teacher relationships.

### *Legal and Ethical Codes and Policies in South Africa*

In South Africa, non-consensual student-teacher sexual relationship cases would first and foremost fall under the remit of the Sexual Offences Amendment Bill (Republic of South Africa, 2003). In this instance 'non-consensual' refers to a case where the student is either under the legal age of consent (16) and therefore not legally competent to consent to sex with an adult (Clause 9.1); or is over the legal age of consent and has not given full consent or has been coerced into having sex (Clause 2.2.a). Under this clause, coercive circumstances refer to the use of force, threat of harm or an abuse of power or authority (Clause 2.3.a, b, c).

The most direct piece of South African legislation dealing directly and unambiguously with student-teacher sex is the Education Laws Amendment Act, No. 53 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa, 2000a). Section 17 of the Act lists dismissible offenses of serious misconduct relating to student-teacher relationships as follows:

(17.1.b) "committing an act of sexual assault on a learner, student or other employee";

(17.1.c) "having a sexual relationship with a learner of the school where he or she is employed";

(17.1.d) "seriously assaulting, with the intention to do cause grievous bodily harm to, a learner, student or other employee".

(Republic of South Africa, 2000a: 46)

Several other legislative and policy documents deal with sexual harassment (Department of Education, 1996; Republic of South Africa, 1996, 2005) and sexual violence at school (Republic of South Africa, 1983). In addition, various non-governmental organisations and para-statal organisations have released reports dealing with these issues (Naylor, 2002; Roper, 2002; Education Rights Project, 2005). The Western Cape Education Department has published a policy document providing guidelines and protocols for dealing with sexual harassment and violence in schools. The document, *"Abuse No More: Dealing Effectively with Child Abuse"* (Western Cape Education Department, 2001), the first of its kind, sets a standard for the South African education system, which still lacks a national policy on the issue.

Under the SACE Act No.31 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa, 2000b) all educators in South Africa must register with the South African Council for Educators (SACE), and may not practice

as an educator without this registration. The SACE is a statutory body aiming to “enhance the status of the teaching profession, and to promote the development of educators and their professional conduct” (South African Council for Educators, 2006b). The SACE Code of Ethics (2004) governs all registered teachers in South Africa and the Council has the right to investigate and discipline all breaches of the code of professional ethics for educators. The SACE Code of Ethics sets out unambiguous guidelines regarding student-teacher sexual relationships. Section 3 of the Code, addressing conduct between the educator and the learner, states the following:

A teacher,

(3.5) “avoids any form of humiliation, and refrains from any form of abuse, physical or psychological”

(3.6) “refrains from improper physical contact with learners”

(3.8) “refrains from any form of sexual harassment (physical or otherwise) of learners”

(3.9) “refrains from any form of sexual relationship with learners at a school”

(South African Council for Educators, 2004: 2).

Disciplinary sanctions include a caution or reprimand, a maximum fine of one month’s salary, or the removal of the educator’s name from the register (South African Council for Educators, 2006c). In 2006, SACE took a resolution to publish details of educators found guilty of breaches of the Code of Ethics (South African Council for Educators, 2006a). The decision to publish the details of teachers convicted of sexual offenses or of misconduct received mixed support from various teachers’ unions: the South African Professional Teachers’ Union called the register “stupid” and “an attack on teachers”; and the National Teachers’ Union claimed the Department of Education was already sanctioning convicted teachers making the register of offenders redundant. On the other hand, the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa supported the register and several other non-governmental organisations and school associations were grateful for the move which would allow schools to investigate potential teachers’ credentials and professional standing before employing them (Ndlovu, 2009).

Apart from the SACE Code of Conduct only one other professional code covering student-teacher sex exists in South Africa. Out of the following five largest teachers’ unions – South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU), National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), the National Teachers’ Union (NATU), and the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie/South Africa Teachers’ Union (SAOU/SATU) – only SADTU has a

professional code of conduct stipulating the minimum standards for members of the union. The Code sets out minimum standards governing teachers' relations with pupils (South African Democratic Teachers' Union, 2010). Point seven of the code is, however, vague, stipulating only that a student-teacher relationship should not involve "improper association" (7.1); "undue personal favour or disfavour towards a pupil" (7.2); or for the teacher to "commit such acts against a child which are illegal" (7.3) (South African Democratic Teachers' Union, 2010, electronic source).

In many countries, a teachers' union or similar body will have ethical guidelines or a code of conduct in place, which discourage student-teacher relationships. These codes are, however, difficult to enforce in practice; often, the most that can be done is to terminate the teacher's union membership. Mgalla, Schapink and Boerma (1998) state that sexual offences that occur within schools in Africa are generally not pursued by the authorities, especially if the offenders are teachers. Leach (2003) supports this statement by explaining that the scarcity of adequately qualified teachers in many countries, especially developing nations, renders authorities reluctant to punish offenders.

### **1.1.6 Dominant Discourses**

The academic studies referenced here have done little to explore the ethical dimensions of student-teacher relationships, at least not to the same degree as has been done in exploring faculty-student sexual relationships. Issues of consent and desire have not been addressed with any critical awareness; rather academic authors have generally taken as their point of departure the fact that these relationships are intrinsically wrong morally and ethically on the basis that: [1] they are conducted in a school context; and/or [2] contravene age of consent laws. In fact, they appear hardly different at all from media accounts which are characterised by their sensational and uncritical flavour.

There are two primary views which have taken the fore in the discussion of student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships: student-teacher sex/sexualised relationships as exploitation or as scandal (Sikes, 2006). Student-teacher sexualised relationships as 'exploitation' fall under discourses of 'Power', and 'scandal' falls under discourses of 'Transgression'. The 'Power' discourse broadly refers to notions of control, power, exploitation, manipulation, consent and coercion in sexual relationships. The 'Transgression' discourse refers to moral, ethical and legal contravention and looks at codes and penalties for these relationships without necessarily seeing how they work or exploring the experience of the phenomenon in context.

Where South African academic studies have touched on student-teacher sexual relationships, they have generally considered the phenomenon from a 'Power' perspective. For example, Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2003) claim that the fundamental structure of schooling is marked by asymmetrical power relations of gender, age and authority, and even where a relationship is "consensual" contravening these underlying power relations constitutes the relationship as 'abusive' and 'transgressive', both as a disciplinary offence (in that it contravenes ethical codes of conduct), and/or a criminal offence (where age of consent or position of authority laws are contravened). 'Power' discourses claim there is an inarguable "power differential" between students and teachers "with its basis in authority and agency conferred by position, trust and, usually, age", a differential which characterises sexualised relationships between the two parties as "inevitably, wrong and exploitative" (Sikes, 2006: 268-269). This normative position has become law to the extent that the 'Power' discourse undergirds the second discourse or 'Transgression' theme.

Themes of transgression have dominated in media accounts of student-teacher attraction which, as we have already shown, are usually "titillating and salacious...making little contribution to understandings" of the phenomenon (Sikes, 2006: 266). Sikes furthermore refers to these kinds of accounts as a "discourse of scandalised outrage" and sexual relationships between students and teachers are "almost always stated, or taken, as being illegitimate, abusive or exploitative on the part of the teacher" (p. 266). A quick glance at South African reports and studies demonstrates this point well: almost all of them use terms like sexual misconduct, rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, perpetrators and victims to describe the sexual relationship and the character of those involved. Internationally, Shakeshaft refers to any sexualised relationship between a student and a teacher as "educator sexual abuse" (2003) or "educator sexual misconduct" (2004) and Shoop (2004) refers to it as "educator sexual exploitation". Drawing attention to this is not to negate that those studies found cases of sexual abuse, misconduct, harassment and rape, with teachers as perpetrators and students as victims. Undoubtedly, from case reports it is clear that this is the situation in many cases. We ought, however, to note that these are the only (or at least the dominant) ways in which sexual relationships between students and teachers are portrayed.

As described above, there are strong laws and prohibitions on student-teacher sexualised relationships in South Africa, thus it is not altogether surprising that a discourse of transgression frames the discussion. What is of concern is that "the language of the law [has], in almost all socio-legal commentary on [student-teacher sexualised relationships], been taken at face value

as the only accurate and possible representation of the relationship” (Angelides, 2007: 350). Such discourses place a “blanket prohibition” on student-teacher sexualised relationships (Sikes, 2006: 266). Kate Myers (2002) agrees that there could be a difference between a relationship between an adult and a young child and a young teacher involved in a consensual relationship with an eighteen year-old student. She still reverts however, to the normative position, holding that however small the age gap and regardless of who initiates the relationship, the “power relationship” remains and the teacher has a professional responsibility to avoid such relationships.

The trend towards ‘Transgression’ and ‘Power’ discourses of student-teacher sex extends beyond South Africa (Shumba, 2001; Shakeshaft, 2003). These kinds of discourses exclude considerations of consensual relationships (e.g. love, romance, desire or willingness) and subsume transactional aspects (e.g. *quid pro quo*, for grades, protection, money, gift-giving) under the rubrics of power, coercion and exploitation. Although Leach (2003) reports that girls themselves are less disapproving of student-teacher relationships based on mutual consent or transaction, the author holds that these relationships are still intrinsically abusive on the basis that they contravene a code of conduct and expose the learner to exploitation. Exploitation is seen as inevitable in these relationships whereas a more balanced way to phrase it would be the “potential of exploitation.”

Similarly, while Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) acknowledge that amongst adolescents in South Africa gift-giving in exchange for or as a precursor to sex is seen as natural and not necessarily indicative of coercion or a loss of negotiating power, the authors claim that gift-giving and transactional sex in the context of age or wealth disparities or power imbalance is always exploitative. Luke and Kurz (2002) have noted how cross-generational sexual relationships and transactional exchanges are commonplace in Africa, but, again, where student-teacher sex studies have considered transactional exchange they have done so looking through the lens of poverty and exploitation. Studies have not considered that students may exchange sex with teachers for things they want (for example, money, clothes, airtime and status items), rather than for needs such as fees, bus fare, books, uniforms or food (Leach, 2003). Nor have they considered the legitimacy of sex as a valid exchange commodity in many cultures (Kaim, Chingwena & Gwata, 1997).

In a multi-year ethnography of a township high school, Swartz (2009: 33) gives qualitative descriptions of student-teacher sexual relationships, of teachers soliciting sex and “[taking]

students as girlfriends.” Such relationships, however, are not always straightforward, but are fraught with complexities. A school teacher revealed that often students approach male teachers for a relationship, “proposing sex” and trying to make them fall in love. Such a relationship, the teacher claimed, brings the student privileges, material benefits and social status (p. 195). While researchers are loath to condone transactional sex relationships, especially those that occur in the context of power imbalances and age differentials, for example, ‘sugar daddies and teachers (Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004), some research has indicated that these relationships may be seen as a viable and acceptable “means to economic survival, security, or maturity” (Meekers & Calves, 1997; Silberschmidt & Rasch, 2001; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004: 379). Aspects of desire and norms surrounding the pursuit of “eligible” partners – such as young teachers, student teachers, or teachers who are close-in-age to the student (Leach, 2003) – have also been neglected. As Swartz says (2009: 112), “issues of power, professional responsibility and conduct, poverty (of students who engage in these relationships), and the maturity of students (many are over 18 due to interrupted schooling), all point to the need for further research on this subject”.

There is a slow progression beyond the ‘Transgression’ and ‘Power’ discourses around student-teacher sex, evident in the emerging literature (French, 1999; Cho, 2005; Sikes, 2006), a move to which this study aims to contribute. This is not to say that the ‘Power’ discourses of exploitation and abuse should be completely ignored. Rather, their discussion needs to become more nuanced and sensitive to changing norms, economic dynamics, and complexities of desire and consent. The danger in opening up such discourse is that issues of violence, abuse and exploitation are downplayed or dismissed altogether or that these issues are “dealt with as an aside” (Dunne et al., 2003: 6). Perhaps this is why researchers have been wary of attempting such analyses. Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez (1997: 219) claimed the following:

Gendered or sex based violence, in the broader context of discrimination, constrains freedom of movement, choices and activities of its victims. It frequently results in intimidation, poor levels of participation in learning activities, forced isolation, low self-esteem or self confidence, dropping out of education or from particular activities or subjects or other physical, sexual and/or psychological damage. It erodes the basis of equal opportunity realized through equal access to education.

Student-teacher sexualised relationships may very often result in these same consequences. Thus any discussion of non-conventional discourses around transgression, desire, and capital must take care not to disregard issues of power completely. For this reason, the study focuses

on student-teacher sexualised relationships where the student is above the age of consent. It does not address relationships where the student is under 16 and legally deemed incapable of consenting to sex with an adult. These ethical concerns are beyond the remit of this thesis and are best left to other spheres. Of course, focussing on students over the age of consent does not altogether remove legal constraints from our discussions – but it does guard against irresponsible discussion.

## 1.2 Research Question and Outcomes

Exploring a complex and experientially diverse topic such as student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships only through the lens of abuse of power and transgression, as has largely been done thus far, results in a limited range of potential policy recommendations and interventions. The dominant discourse presents student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships through two interrelated themes. The first is the ‘Transgression’ theme which looks at the moral, ethical and legal codes and penalties for these relationships without necessarily seeing *how they work* or exploring the *experience* of the phenomenon in context. The second is the ‘Power’ theme which discusses control, power, exploitation, manipulation, consent and coercion in sexual relationships. The ‘Power’ discourse underlies the ethical and legal aspects of ‘Transgression’.

Research Problem: such a narrow analytical focus disregards the experiential diversity of student-teacher sexualised relationships, i.e. the plurality of circumstances in which they play out and the reasons and justifications for these relationships. Other considerations and voices are bypassed, and in so doing an incomplete picture of the phenomenon is presented. It is imperative that alternative conceptualisations and opinions of student-teacher sexualised relationships are explored. Firstly, we seek to ascertain whether student-teacher sexualised relationships are isolated incidents or more widespread than reported. Secondly, we seek to explore the experiential diversity of these relationships. Thirdly, we seek to present alternate opinions and conceptualisations of student-teacher sexualised relationships and a plurality of voices to counter-point the dominant discourses. The following research questions are addressed:

*What is the prevalence of student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

*What are the circumstances of student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

*What are students’ opinions about student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

In summary, the specific and measurable outcomes of the study are:

to describe the current legal and ethical codes and policies about this practice in South Africa (see above);

to describe the prevalence of student-teacher sex;

to describe experiences of student-teacher sex; and

to describe opinions towards student-teacher sex.

It is intended that the insights gained in this study will produce better informed policy and more effective interventions where necessary.

University of Cape Town

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

University of Cape Town

## 2.1 Design

The study employed a sequential mixed methods approach, with a primary purpose of development and a secondary aim of complementarity (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989). The mixed methods approach has a strong history in sociological work (Denzin, 1978) and, as Bryman notes (2006) is referred to by various names within the literature, including multi-methods (Brannen, 1992), mixed methods (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2006), multi-strategy (Bryman, 2004), and mixed methodology (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In framing this methodology, I have used Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner's (2007) abbreviated general definition, which is as follows:

“Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researcher [sic] combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (p. 123.)

This methodology has gained much attention over the past few decades, so that Bryman (2006) can claim that it is now “unexceptional and unremarkable” to combine qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study. In fact, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) move far beyond the “incompatibility thesis”, which has been levelled by some against the practice (Guba, 1987; Guba & Lincoln, 2000), and refer to mixed methods research as the “third wave” paradigm of research. For them, in a world that is “increasingly inter-disciplinary, complex and dynamic” we should be promoting epistemological, methodological and paradigmatic pluralism and ecumenicalism (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 15).

The design began as a simple sequential qualitative and quantitative exploratory strategy, with a pilot study (survey test and qualitative focus group) designed to test the draft instrument before its widespread implementation. This typology, a qualitative pilot followed by quantitative research, is the most common form of mixed research (Morgan, 1998). A three-site pilot study was conducted (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa) at which the draft survey was administered. In addition, a focus group was conducted at each of the sites, exploring participants' reactions to the survey, perceived accuracy and effectiveness of questions and understanding of key terms. This discussion was guided by a semi-structured interview schedule with 12 key questions related directly to the content and format of the survey. These discussions, however, quickly

progressed beyond the survey content, and the topic was explored generally in some depth, guided by the focus group participants. When the survey was rolled out it became clear that the data obtained in the pilot stage focus groups could be valuably integrated into the analysis of the quantitative results. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2006) have drawn attention to the “opportunistic nature” of mixed-method designs and the likelihood of new components of the design evolving as the study progresses. As this happened, the decision was made to return to the qualitative data and analyse it more comprehensively.

Green, Caracelli and Graham (1989) identified five rationales for mixed method studies: triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion. The current research chose a mixed methods approach primarily for the purpose of development – which “seeks to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method” (Greene et al., 1989: 259) – but as the study progressed the secondary purpose became complementarity, which “seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from another’ (p. 259).

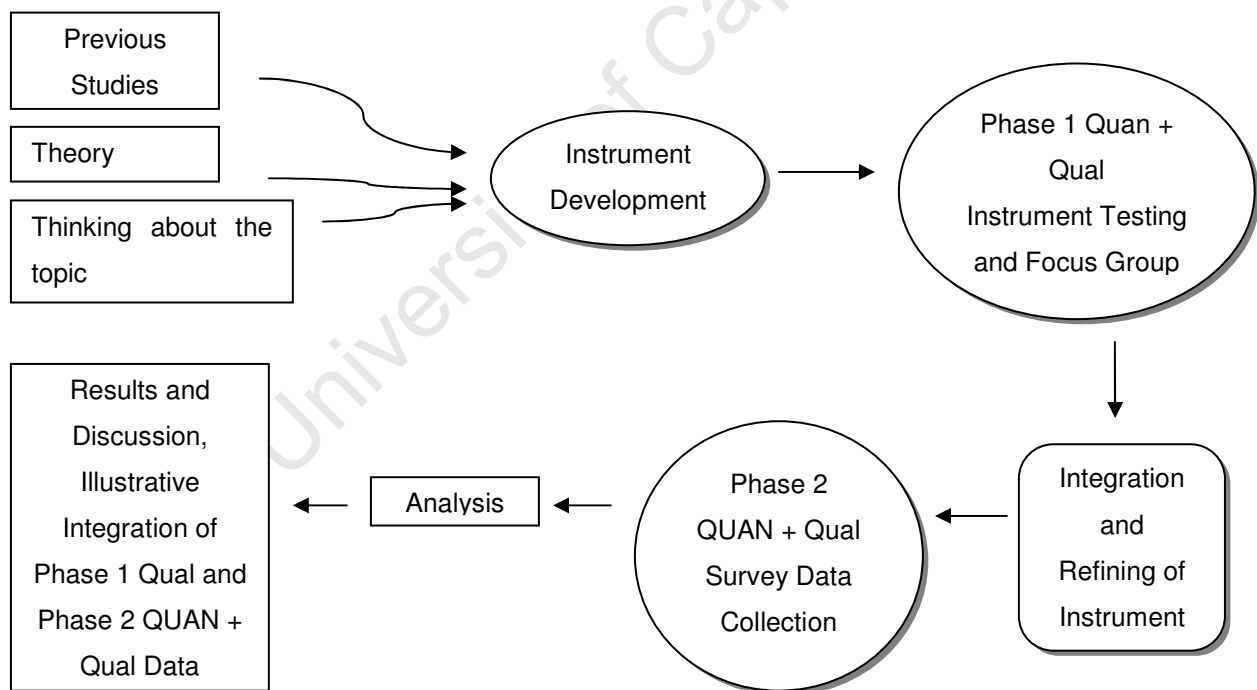


Figure 1 Visual Portrayal of Research Typology

A more detailed scheme was devised by Bryman (2006) under which the rationales for the current study include the following: [1] *Offset*, which “refers to the suggestion that the research methods associated with both quantitative and qualitative research have their own strengths and weaknesses so that combining them allows the researcher to offset their weaknesses to draw on the strengths of both”; [2] *Instrument development* which “refers to contexts in which qualitative research is employed to develop questionnaire and scale items, for example, so that better wording or more comprehensive closed answers can be generated”, and [3] *Illustration* which “refers to the use of qualitative data to illustrate quantitative findings, often referred to as putting ‘meat on the bones’ of ‘dry’ quantitative findings” (Bryman, 2006: 106-107).

Diagram 1 (above) visually portrays the research typology followed, using Morse’s notations and abbreviations (1991).

### *Research Assistants*

Four postgraduate students assisted in conducting this research. Two assistants provided straightforward blind translation of the final survey instrument into Afrikaans and isiXhosa and back into English for comparison. A further two assistants provided administrative help and assisted in some data collection. These assistants performed the following tasks under the direct supervision of the researcher: contacting schools and setting up permission interviews and appointments to conduct the focus groups and administer the survey; conducting focus groups, to the specifics of the researcher, in isiXhosa and Afrikaans (the researcher is not fluent in either language), and translating the transcribed interviews back into English; checking translations of the survey; obtaining informed consent from participants; administering the survey instrument; and participating in an inter-coder verifying exercise to test the extent to which different coders agreed with or verified the coding rationale. These assistants were required in order to be able to achieve the scope which this thesis has had and to conduct and complete such research in the limited time frame. In addition, their bi-lingual fluency aided the researcher across language barriers. At all times the assistants were operating under the express written instructions of the researcher and adhered to these fully. Both primary assistants attended training with the researcher and attended at least one administration of the survey with the researcher before administering the survey to a class alone.

## **2.2 Qualitative: Focus Groups**

The focus group method was chosen for its efficacy in: firstly, gathering relatively rich data from a representative sample in a limited time and with limited resources; and, secondly, exploring the active creation of meaning as participants consider the opinions of others which they may not have otherwise considered in formulating their own opinion (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

### ***2.2.1 Sample***

Three schools were selected by convenience sampling to participate in the qualitative pilot study and focus groups. Schools were drawn from the primary sampling frame (see below) and were subsequently removed from the frame once they had been selected (whether they agreed to participate or not). Schools were chosen for their perceived ease of access - including geographical accessibility and administrative capacity, and demographic makeup. In total, five schools were approached, two of which declined to participate. One poverty quintile 2 (isiXhosa-speaking participants), one poverty quintile 4 (primarily Afrikaans-speaking participants), and one poverty quintile 5 school (primarily English-speaking participants) participated for a total of 64 participants.

### ***2.2.2 Instruments - Focus Groups Interview Schedule***

The focus group schedule was designed pragmatically to probe participants' reactions to the survey instrument (see Appendix 4.1, Q1-8) as well as to explore the topic further in order to inform the revision of the survey instrument (see Appendix 4.1, Q9-12). The vignettes in particular were oriented towards further exploring the topic and response options which should be included in the final survey version. These vignettes were excerpts from media articles appearing in South African newspapers in the past two years (Appendix 4.2). While all three focus groups were guided by the interview schedule, interviewers were given leeway to explore issues, opinions, and ideas as they came up through the course of the conversation. This open questioning provided pertinent and rich qualitative data and insights (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

### ***2.2.3 Procedure***

Sampled schools were approached telephonically in the 2<sup>nd</sup> term and the purpose and requirements of the study were explained. The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) permission and a formal request letter detailing the study were either emailed or faxed through. Two of the schools requested a face-to-face meeting to discuss the proposal and concerns.

Once schools had agreed to participate, an appointment for consent was set up, at which time the selected home class was told about the study and given a consent form, in their preferred language (English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa), to complete. A pilot study date was set at this time. On the day of the pilot, the study was re-explained, questions answered, and participants were given the option to withdraw at any time as part of active informed consent. Facilitators conducted the pilot study in the home language of the majority of the participants (English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa), although all facilitators were bilingual<sup>1</sup>. Participants were asked to complete the survey. Once they had done so they were given one of three short vignettes (see Appendix 4.2) and asked to respond in writing to these excerpts, loosely guided by 7-8 questions. The facilitator then conducted a focus group discussion exploring the content of the survey, reactions to the vignettes and other themes which emerged as participants engaged with the topic (see Appendix 4.1).

## **2.3 Quantitative: Questionnaire Survey**

A self-administered survey design was chosen for its efficacy in: gathering data from a large population in a limited time and with limited resources; investigating unobservable behaviours or opinions; and gathering data on stigmatizing or sensitive behaviour and opinions (Nardi, 2006). Surveys are useful for descriptive and exploratory studies which have individuals as units of analysis, and are arguably the best method for gathering data from a population too large for direct observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Questionnaires provide a standardised form of data which makes between-group comparisons easier – providing a “numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population” (Creswell, 2003: 153). These attributes of the survey method fit the purpose of the research which was to generalise characteristics, attitudes and behaviours of the Western Cape Grade 12 student population from a sample.

### **2.3.1 Sample**

Survey participants were randomly selected from a sampling frame comprised of the urban education districts in the Western Cape education region, namely: Metro South, Metro North, Metro East and Metro Central. In total there are 236 ordinary sector Secondary Schools in these regions, including public and independently owned schools.

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<sup>1</sup> The first research assistant spoke English and isiXhosa, and the second research assistant spoke English and Afrikaans.

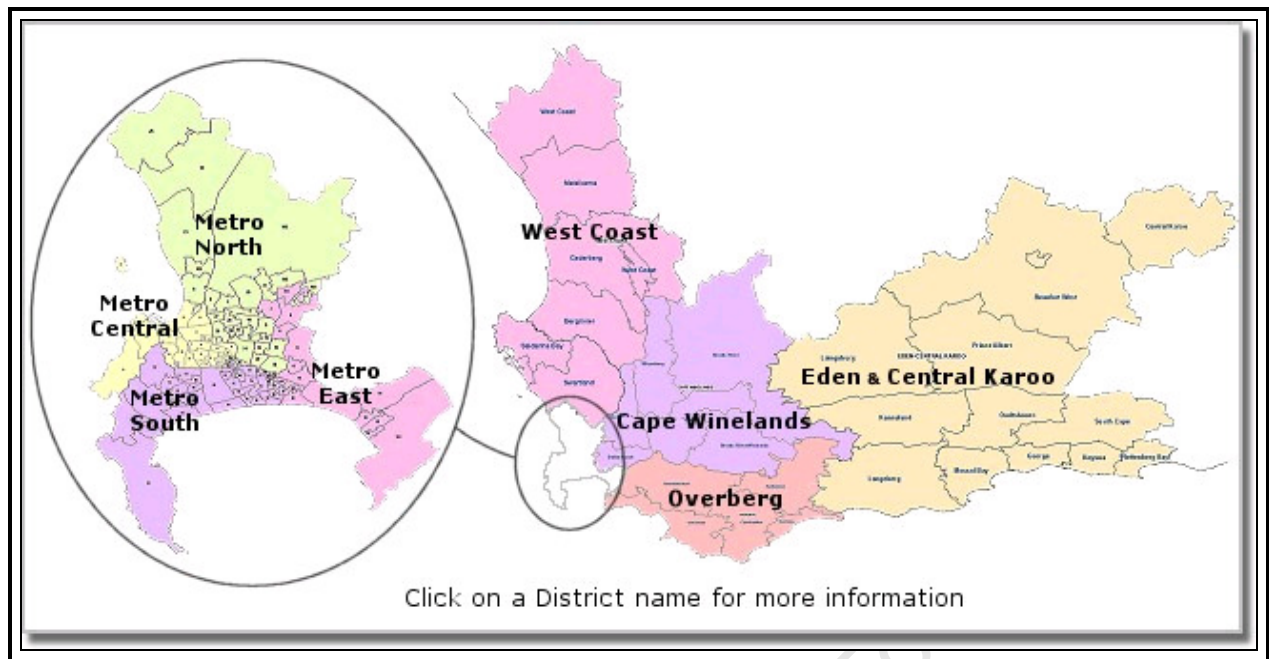


Figure 2 Map of Western Cape Urban Education Districts (Western Cape Education Department, 2007)

Schools were stratified according to WCED region and their poverty quintile ranking. WCED schools are ranked by 'quintiles' in alignment with the poverty rankings of their surrounding communities and funded or subsidised accordingly (See '*Setting the Scene*' below). Quintile 1 holds the poorest schools and the wealthiest schools are ranked in quintile 5 (Attwell, 2007)<sup>2</sup>. Since there are only two poverty quintile 1 schools in these districts they were not included in the sampling frame as it would have been impossible to guarantee anonymity. All poverty quintile 2-5 schools were included in the primary sampling frame. Schools in the frame were not listed alphabetically, but were randomised after stratification to minimise sampling error. A sample of 30 schools was chosen by systematic sampling with a random start. At each selected school, a Grade 12 register class was selected by the researcher, via convenience sampling, to participate in the survey. Where a primary or secondary sampling unit was unable to participate (at school or class level), a replacement unit was included in the study.

<sup>2</sup> The HSRC 2009/2010 Annual Report claimed that in 2006, Q1 schools received an allocation of R703 per learner compared to R117 per learner in Q5 schools. The same study found that schools are often misclassified according to the quintile ranking system, which is able to identify schools at the ends of the poverty spectrum, while the schools in the middle look similar and are often worse-off than lower ranked schools. There appear to be small differences between schools in Quintiles 2-4 especially. The poverty scores are based on the geographic area within which schools were located, ignoring the "diverse nature of households and the composition of the schools' learners" (Human Sciences Research Council, 2010, p. 49).

One poverty quintile 2 school was selected in the original sample, but declined to participate, citing exam pressure and severe resource limitations as the reasons. A second poverty quintile 2 school was chosen to replace this one, but we were unable to gain access for the same reasons. Thus the final sample consisted of ten poverty quintile 3, ten quintile 4 and ten quintile 5 schools.

The study was severely impeded by the teachers' union strikes which crippled the country for 3 weeks in August 2010 (Patsanza, 2010). Data collection was due to proceed throughout the third term of school but at the time of the onset of the strikes, only 18 schools had been surveyed, primarily from poverty quintiles 4 and 5. Even in the initial days of the strike, when not all schools were yet participating, it was impossible to gain access to predominantly poverty quintile 3 township schools which had already been thrown into disarray by the impending strike action. Once teachers went back to work on September 6, their focus was on making up for the lost time in preparing Grade 12 students for their preliminary examinations. A further 6 schools granted access during these final two weeks of term. Since the WCED permission prohibits research in schools in the 4<sup>th</sup> term and it was impractical to extend the study into the next school year (cohort effects, re-sampling and re-consent issues), I was forced to settle for a final sample size of 23 schools – eight from poverty quintile 3, seven from quintile 4, and eight from quintile 5. In total, 700 self-administered questionnaires were completed.

### ***2.3.2 Instruments – Questionnaire Survey***

The survey instrument was developed in two stages: firstly, the literature was consulted for themes and insights; and, secondly, key informants were consulted in focus groups to ascertain the significance of the questions and response options, and to explore additional questions and response options which should be included. In developing the survey, content was broken into five sections: key demographic questions; opinions about student-teacher sex; personal experiences of sex; personal experiences of student-teacher sexualised relationships; and third-person accounts of student-teacher sexualised relationships. Demographic variables were included to allow for in-group and between-group comparisons; the section on opinions sought to explore students' opinions and perceptions of student-teacher sex, answering Research Question 3; the section on the personal experiences of sex as well as parts of the sections on personal and third-person accounts of student-teacher sexualised relationships answered Research Question 2, exploring the circumstances of student-teacher sex; and the last two sections explored prevalence rates, answering Research Question 1.

### *Demographic questions*

Demographic indicators such as Age (Q1), Gender (Q2) and Home Language (Q4) are standard in surveys of this type and were included to allow for between-group analysis of results. In South African studies there is increasing debate on the use of racial indicators (Q3). A full discussion of the contestation over the use of race in public surveys is included in Appendix 5. In summary, while 'race' is still highly correlated with 'class' or socio-economic status (SES), Seekings (2008) takes care to point out that the two are no longer coterminous. The salience of 'race' as a descriptive category has declined and, increasingly, South Africans are using alternative identity descriptors including class identities, religious descriptors and ethnic ones (Seekings, 2008). Participants in the pilot study were largely comfortable with the inclusion of 'race' in the survey and when probed in the focus group claimed that it *"indicates culture"* (Afrikaans-medium focus group) or *"is like culture"* (English-medium focus group). Participants in the isiXhosa-medium focus group said it was unnecessary *"because this is a matter of love, feelings and sex and all races experience so there is no need to differentiate which race is doing it."* However, none of the learners felt that 'race' should be excluded from the survey. Over 98% of participants filled in their 'race' according to the given categories on the survey ('black', 'white', 'coloured', Indian). Of the 1.6% who ticked other, a very small number specified neutral identities – e.g. 'human', 'human being', 'South African', 'a person'.

In this study 'race' was retained as a demographic independent variable in order to allow for in-group comparison. In the public sphere in South Africa, the issue of student-teacher sex is largely framed in racialised terms. As I began to talk to teachers, principals, and friends, it became clear that many see this as a "black township problem." Admittedly, my own sentiment was that poverty would end up being the main correlated variable, which, given the economic stratification in South Africa (see Appendix 5) would imply that it is a "black" issue. In order to avoid this conclusion – and working on the assumption that many people who read a phrase such as "more prevalent in township areas" would assign a racial rather than a class value to it – I decided to do an in-group comparison within each of the 'race' groups across socio-economic status.

It was decided that an independent variable of SES was imperative to allow for in-group comparison (see discussion on 'race', above) and between-group comparisons which would differentiate the significance of class on the prevalence and/or circumstances and opinions of student-teacher sexualised relationships. While income or expenditure based measures compared against a statistically derived poverty line have been the golden standard in poverty

measures for years, the use of this type of measure was rejected for two reasons. Firstly, the income/expenditure figures needed for such measures would most likely be unknown by Grade 12 students. Secondly, Sen (1992; 1995) has made the case that the relationship between income or expenditure and welfare (or rather, well-being) is tenuous. He proposes a measure which observes capabilities. According to Sen's capabilities approach, poverty is the "inability of individuals to achieve a minimal level of capabilities to function (such as the inability to be healthy, well-fed, clothed, sheltered, etc)" (Klasen, 2000: 35). As Sen notes (1992), the choice of capabilities to be included in an evaluation, and the weighting given to each capability may be controversial.

While it is possible to derive the various capabilities and weightings statistically using, for example, principal component analysis, Klasen holds that these decisions must ultimately be based on "judgment and discussion about the nature, the relative merits and importance of various capabilities. In many cases, the choice of the most basic capabilities may be uncontroversial and at least a range of weights may be agreed upon" (2000: 36). Klasen produced a composite index of 14 components giving a measure of deprivation score (2000). These 14 components included basic capabilities listed by Sen (1992; 1995) and stated priorities of the population. Each component was scored on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 representing the best possible condition, 3 indicating a basic level of welfare and 1 indicating severe deprivation (Klasen, 2000).

Drawing on Klasen's composite index (2000) and insight from Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study which used a composite SES score (Swartz et al., 2010), a basic SES score was produced based on two sub-scores. Firstly, the poverty quintile ranking of the school the participant attended was weighted 1-5. Secondly, participants were asked to select the most appropriate statement regarding availability of money, with options ranging from not having money for food to having more than enough money for food, clothes and extra things (Q37). The range for this sub-score was 1-5. Given that no poverty quintile 1 and 2 schools were included, the possible SES sum score was 4-10. The SES score is not weighted against any poverty line and is not intended to indicate poverty per se, but is rather a score of "relative inequality" between sample participants. The lower third of scores (SES 4-6) indicated relative deprivation, the middle third (SES 7-8) represented relative well-being, and the upper third (SES 9-10) represented the best possible (relative) condition. For ease of reference the lower third of participants are labelled "Have-nots", the middle third are "Have-enoughs" and the upper third are "Have-a-lots". It was intended that this SES score would be composed of three sub-scores,

but on closer analysis it was felt that the categories on “Place where you live” (Q5) did not provide adequate capability differentiation.

#### *Opinions about student-teacher sex*

Several questions explored participants’ opinions about student-teacher sex directly in which participants were asked to tick which options they agreed with (Q6, 8, 15 and 23), and one free-answer question gave participants the space to give the reason for their opinion in their own words (Q7). The questions in this section explored students’ opinions on the legality of student-teacher sex (Q15), the morality of student-teacher dating relationships (Q6), participants’ reasoning for their views on student-teacher dating relationships (Q7), the morality of student-teacher sex in a range of hypothetical circumstances (Q8 – adapted from the experiences sections) and participants’ opinions on their own hypothetical responses to a proposition for sex by a teacher (Q23). The range of direct, optional, and open ended questions on this section explore participants’ ‘gut reactions’, probe their reasoning, and explore opinions on alternative scenarios which they may not have thought of in giving their outright opinion. This goes a long way towards exploring in-depth participants’ opinions on student-teacher sex and dating relationships.

#### *Personal experiences of sex*

Several questions regarding personal sexual behaviour were drawn from the South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (Reddy et al., 2010) including whether learners have ever had sex (Q17), age of first sexual encounter (Q18), number of sexual partners (adapted to ‘within the last year’, Q21), and sexual activity in the past 3 months (adapted to ‘currently’, Q16 and Q19). An additional question, adapted from a study by Maharaj and Munthree (2007), explored circumstances of sexual debut (Q20). Participants were asked to select which statement best described the first time they had sex, with options ranging from “I was willing” to “I was raped”.

#### *Experiences of student-teacher sexualised relationships (personal and third-person accounts)*

The following key works were consulted in developing the draft sections on personal experiences and third-person accounts of student-teacher sexualised relationships: Mgalla et al. (1998), Nhundu and Shumba (2001), Leach (2003), and Leach and Machakanja (2003). Key issues are highlighted in these articles, including the need to explore whether relationships are

coerced or consensual; whether coercion is emotional, physical or material; and the genders of those involved. A range of sexualised relationships were explored.

Questions were shaped by the definitions of sexual abuse and sexual relationships between teachers and students in the studies above and Swartz's (2007) dissertation was consulted in further expanding the dynamics around student-teacher sex, particularly issues around transaction (i.e. student-teacher sex for airtime, money, needs, status, transport and grades). Questions exploring these themes were developed (Q8, 27, 28, 30, 31). In addition, a question from the Barriers to Education survey (Centre for Applied Legal Studies, 2006-Present) was adapted and expanded (Q9 and 11), which explores participants' knowledge of students in their school who are in relationships with teachers. Media articles were consulted to draw out further themes and issues around student-teacher sex, particularly in the South African context.

The literature revealed that issues of sexual harassment were also prevalent in schools (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Human Rights Council, 2006) and occurred concurrently in schools where student-teacher sex was prevalent. Several questions exploring sexual harassment were included (Q24, 25, and 26). The development of these questions was based on the definitions and operationalisation in the aforementioned studies, and on the *Code of Good Practice on the Handling of Sexual Harassment* (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

#### *Revisions to the Survey*

The draft version was administered during the pilot study and revisions were made based on response-sets to this draft, and on focus group discussions around the content. Some of the mistakes in the draft survey were glaring. For example, the definition of 'sex' was heterosexist and did not measure the prevalence of same-sex intercourse (i.e. anal sex, oral sex and tribadistic definitions were excluded). The pilot survey version is found in Appendix 4.3. A full discussion of the revisions to the survey is presented in Appendix 4.4. Since this is the first questionnaire of its kind in South Africa, the revision decisions are presented in detail. Such a thorough treatment of the development of the questionnaire supports the validity of the instrument and will assist in future studies and the development of further instruments.

The final version of the survey (Version 8) was translated into isiXhosa and Afrikaans by bilingual research assistants who were familiar with the content (having translated the pilot draft) and who had participated in brainstorming the development of the instrument. The translated copies were then translated back into English by bilingual graduate students with no previous

knowledge of the content (i.e. blind back translation). Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Bulmer and Warwick (1993) have highlighted the difficulty of linguistic and conceptual equivalence, especially in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts such as South Africa. This was particularly easy to attain when the original and back-translated Afrikaans versions were compared. The versions had almost exact linguistic equivalence and the points of conceptual non-equivalence were minor and easily corrected.

The issues in the Xhosa back-translated version were more difficult to address and resolve. Firstly, there was much linguistic non-equivalence as some English words do not have a direct Xhosa counterpart and had to be explained in Xhosa. On the one hand this made the Xhosa version longer and more complex, while secondly the definitions often lacked some of the nuances and connotations which the English word held. Thus, conceptual equivalence became a challenge. A second Xhosa-speaking assistant was brought in to help with the corrections on the final version. Some words were particularly difficult to translate, thus, as Babbie and Mouton (2001) have suggested, where the English was deemed to be commonly used and likely to be understood (i.e. where the English version was commonly used in bilingual television programmes, news reports, 'soapies', or in tabloids) the original word was included in English in parenthesis.

### **2.3.3 Procedure**

Sampled schools were contacted telephonically in the 2<sup>nd</sup> term and a first appointment was setup to explain the study and request permission to conduct the survey in the school. At this meeting the principal was given a copy of the WCED permission and a formal letter explaining the purpose and requirements of the study, and outlining the confidentiality clauses (see Appendix 3.1). Most schools agreed immediately to participate and a register class was chosen and an appointment made for consent forms. Consent was undertaken in the 2<sup>nd</sup> term, fitted around each school's exam timetable.

The selected class was approached, usually in a register, Life Orientation or pre-exam period, and the study was explained. Consent and confidentiality issues were dealt with in full, questions answered and consent forms handed out (see Appendix 3.2). Students who were over 18 years signed the forms immediately, while students under 18 took them home for parental/guardian signatures. In retrospect this was a time-consuming and largely ineffective way of doing consent, resulting in a reduced sample size. Several students never returned their forms as they "got lost", others forgot, and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> term when trying to set up survey appointments numerous calls

were made to try to find missing consent forms which had often been misplaced in the school office. Master-copies were faxed off to several schools where teachers graciously handed them out again. The frustration this caused to all concerned could have been avoided by a simpler process.

Appointments for administering the survey were set up for the 3<sup>rd</sup> term. The study was briefly re-explained to participants and they were given the option to withdraw consent at anytime or to decline answering questions in the survey which made them uncomfortable (ongoing active consent). Verbal instructions for completing the survey were given and participants were given the option to complete the survey in English, Afrikaans or Xhosa. Once completed, participants dropped their survey in a closed box. Once all participants had finished, the legal position on student-teacher relationships was explained, questions answered, and participants given a copy of the Lifeline and Childline information sheets (see Appendices 3.3 and 3.4).

## **2.4 Summation of Research Activities**

### ***2.4.1 Phase 1– Piloting of Survey, Focus groups***

A three-site pilot study was conducted (Afrikaans, English and Xhosa) at which the draft survey was administered. In addition, participants were given one of three different vignettes detailing a media report of student-teacher sex. They were asked to respond to the story, guided by seven general questions exploring their initial reactions and opinions. Finally, a focus group was conducted at each of the sites (English-medium n = 18; Afrikaans-medium n = 12; isiXhosa-medium n = 34). The discussion explored participants' reactions to the survey, perceived accuracy and effectiveness of questions and understanding of key terms. This was a semi-structured discussion, loosely guided by 12 key questions related directly to the content and format of the survey. The focus group also explored the topic generally in some depth, guided by the focus group participants.

### ***2.4.2 Phase 2– Student survey***

Survey data was obtained from a sample of 23 schools in the Western Cape Education Department jurisdiction. The self-administered survey provided quantitative data from 700 Grade 12 students on their experiences and opinions of student-teacher sex. The survey consisted of 36 structured close-ended questions and two open-ended questions.

## 2.5 Data Analysis

### **2.5.1 Analysis of Focus Group Interview Data and Open-Ended Survey Questions**

The first stage of the qualitative analysis involved reducing the dimensionality of the qualitative data (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003) which was aided in part by transformation of the data. Phase 1 focus group data was intuitively analysed in the pilot stage to develop the survey instrument.

A more rigorous combined-method thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) was conducted at the end of Phase 2, using both Boyatzis' data-driven inductive approach (1998) and Crabtree and Miller's deductive approach (Crabtree & Miller, 1999), by which an a priori template of codes based on prior theory is used. Thematic analysis is a "search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 82). "Through careful reading and re-reading of the data" (Rice & Ezzy, 1999: 258) themes are identified and coded and become the categories for analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998), a "good code" captures the richness and depth of the phenomenon. The author describes themes as "a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organises the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998: 161). The deductive approach presented by Crabtree and Miller (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) entails using a template of codes which is defined before in-depth analysis. This template may be based on the research question, prior theoretical themes and understandings or a preliminary inspection of the text. In this analysis, the template was developed based on prior theory and a scanning of the text.

Four primary analytic themes<sup>3</sup> were identified which are either dominant in the literature and popular discourse and which characterise debates of student-teacher sex or which are strong theoretical themes related to the broader field of non-normative sex (e.g. sex as rape, prostitution, transaction, assertion of power etc.). The Transgressional theme looks at the moral, ethical and legal codes and penalties for these relationships without necessarily seeing *how they work* or exploring the *experience* of the phenomenon in context. The Power theme draws on notions of control, power, exploitation, and manipulation and notions of consent and coercion in sexual relationships. The Capital theme considers sexual relationships in which exchange or

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<sup>3</sup> The four themes were conceptualised co-jointly with Dr Sharlene Swartz (personal communication, 2010).

transaction occurs and explores the “materiality of everyday sex” (Hunter, 2002). Lastly, the Desire theme, largely absent from discussions of student-teacher sex, explores the consensual nuances of sex. The absence of desire, romance, love, pleasure, and sexual attraction from discussions of student-teacher sex further supports the female-as-victim and sex-as-danger discourses.

I followed the step-by-step process of thematic analysis detailed by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). The development of the a priori code template is detailed above and, as suggested by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), based on Boyatzis (1998), the codes were identified by:

1. the code label or name;
2. the definition of what the theme concerns; and
3. a description of how to know when the theme occurs. (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 85)

<p><b>Transgression</b></p> <p>Moral, ethical, legal codes and penalties</p>	<p><b>Power</b></p> <p>Control, power, exploitation, consent and coercion</p>
<p><b>Capital</b></p> <p>Exchange, transaction, and materiality of sex</p>	<p><b>Desire</b></p> <p>Romance, love, pleasure, agency and sexual attraction</p>

Figure 3 Four Primary Themes

The code template is presented in Appendix 6. The method requires that the interpretation of the data is made explicit and specific, and that the rationale for the applicability and appropriateness of the codes is transparent, coherent and understandable. This allows the data to be opened up to inter-coder testing.

Using Crabtree and Miller's template analytic technique (1999), the template codes were applied to the open-ended survey data and the focus group transcripts. The open-ended survey data was colour-coded manually. The focus group interviews were transcribed and the Afrikaans and isiXhosa transcriptions translated into English. The three transcripts were coded in *QSR NVivo 8*. Both sets of data were coded using the same coding template. In *NVivo* the template codes were entered as nodes. In alignment with Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's process (2006: 88), the "analysis of the text at this stage was guided, but not confined, by the preliminary codes". Where a new theme was identified, inductive codes were assigned. These codes were either separate from or expanded the a priori codes in the manual. Once all the data had been coded according to the code template and the newly emergent themes, I began the process of identifying patterns of similarity and difference (Potter & Wetherell, 1995), consensus and potential conflict (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) across the data set. During this stage, themes began to cluster.

The coded themes were corroborated by careful scrutinising to ensure the code template and emergent themes were representative and accurate. Crabtree and Miller (1999) warn that fabricating evidence is a common problem in thematic analysis, even if unintentional. At this point in the analysis, an inter-coder verifying exercise was undertaken with two independent coders. Note that this was not an "inter-rater reliability" test to check the accuracy of the codes or to ascertain the extent to which an external researcher would find the same themes. Rather it was to test the extent to which different coders agreed with or verified the coding rationale, were able to differentiate systematically between the different themes, and were able consistently to identify the primary and secondary themes in the data. Joffe and Yardley (2004) acknowledge that "inter-rater reliability" may not be the best measure of internal reliability since it may not test the objective significance of the themes, but rather the extent to which one researcher, trained by another researcher, has the same subjective perspective. Thus we refer to this process rather as "inter-coder verifiability". The codes are tested and affirmed by opening up the rationale of the coding template to the scrutiny of others. Thus high inter-coder verifiability affirms a strong and clear coding rationale.

The research assistants were individually shown the coding template and the rationale. The researcher and each assistant then went through ten surveys together to illustrate the coding rationale and clarify themes and points of confusion. There was high inter-coder verification on the coding system between the researcher's coding and that of both assistants individually. Out of a subsample of 20 surveys, the first assistant coded 15 (75%) exactly as the researcher, 4 similarly (e.g. coded one theme but missed a second), and coded 1 survey completely differently (e.g. completely different theme coded). Out of a different subsample of 20 surveys, the second assistant coded 15 (75%) exactly as the researcher, 3 similarly, and 2 differently. This suggests a high level of content validity in the themes: three researchers agreed on the themes, were able to differentiate effectively between them, and were able to identify them consistently in the data. There was a good match between the coding template and the data.

Themes were clustered and renamed, core themes were identified and "connected into an explanatory framework" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 90). Open-ended survey questions, and focus group transcriptions provide depth and nuance, and the qualitative themes are used to illustrate the statistical survey data which emerged and are presented concurrently in the 'Results and Discussion' section. In addition, the themes which emerged from the qualitative data are fully listed in Appendix 6 and may at a later stage be used for additional analysis.

### ***2.5.2 Analysis of Close-Ended Survey Questions***

Out of the original 30 schools selected from the sampling frame, 3 declined to participate. Replacement schools were selected from the frame. At this stage all thirty schools agreed to participate and consent was conducted with the students, but, because of time constraints largely brought about by the teachers' strike (as discussed above), 7 schools were not surveyed. Response rate on the survey amongst participant schools was 85.1% (out of 831 students who were approached, 700 students participated in the study).

In analysing the quantitative (Phase 2) data, I drew on Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie's (2003) seven-stage analysis process: (a) data reduction, (b) data display, (c) data transformation, (d) data correlation, (e) data consolidation, (f) data comparison, and (g) data integration.

The survey data was coded and entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, also known as PASW Statistics - Predictive Analytics SoftWare) and descriptive statistics for participant description were retrieved. Most of the data were categorical and these were analysed using Pearson Chi-square Independence Test analyses. Pearson Chi-square

was an appropriate choice of test since no assumptions about the population distribution are made. The sample size was large, making Pearson Chi-square a satisfactory choice over Fisher's test since, in large sample tests, the P values reported by both are very similar. Yates' continuity correction was unnecessary for the same reason (i.e. large sample size).

Data was disaggregated and answers were compared across gender, school site (in selected cases), 'race' and SES ranking. Alpha was set at  $\alpha = 0.05$ , but where the test returned a significance of less than  $\alpha = 0.001$  this is reported. The null hypothesis for all the Pearson Chi-square tests was independence; i.e. no significant difference between groups. Descriptive statistics were converted to tables and graphs. In this case, Chi-square can be used to assess whether two variables are independent or not.

Quantitative data fell into the following categories:

#### *Participant Description*

*School poverty quintile ranking, age (Q1), gender (Q2), 'race' (Q3), language (Q4), place of living (Q5), honesty (38)*

*Combined SES score (school poverty quintile ranking + Q37)*

#### *Prevalence*

*Third-Person Accounts (Q9-Q11)*

#### *Personal Experiences*

*Sexual Harassment (Q24 and Q25)*

*Sexual Content (Q26)*

*Sex and Sexual Activity (Q27-Q33)*

#### *Opinions*

*Dating (Q6)*

*Sex (Q8)*

*Legality (Q15)*

As with any survey study, significant challenges arose around validity. With regards to "veridicality" or truthfulness, while it is impossible to judge whether participants answered the survey truthfully, data from participants who claimed they had been "completely dishonest" in answering the survey (Q38) were excluded. In addition, where blatant contradictions appeared in the response set, participants were excluded from analysis on the particular category where

contradiction appeared. For example, participants claimed they had “vaginal sex with a teacher” (Q27) but two questions later claimed they had “never” had sex with a teacher (Q29).

After consultation with my supervisor, co-supervisor and two research assistants, it is my judgment that the instrument has both face validity and content validity, and that all questions explicitly deal with the issues at hand and the central research question. It is impossible to claim absolute concurrent validity on the instrument as there is no other measure of student-teacher sex available. There is sufficient concurrent validity, however, in as much as the survey development was informed by and speaks to a priori theory and research. Validity is ultimately a means to assess utility, and it is strongly suggested that the survey results have good utility as a measure of prevalence and opinion and as a basis on which to refine and design future studies on the topic.

## **2.6 Ethical Considerations**

The proposal was submitted to the University of Cape Town Humanities Ethics Committee and received verbal and electronic confirmation that ethical requirements were met (see Appendix 2.1). Permission was granted to proceed with the study. In addition, the proposal was submitted to the Western Cape Education Department, as per minute number DER 0001/2004 pertaining to research at WCED institutions (Western Cape Education Department, 2003). The written permission from the Department is included in Appendix 2.2 and the research proceeded according to the conditions set out therein.

Request letters were issued to schools, with a copy of the Departmental permission, at the first meeting with the school principal (see Appendix 3.1). As well as confidentiality and anonymity, young people (and their parents/guardians if under the age of 18) were asked for active informed consent after having the study carefully explained to them, including the benefits and potential discomforts they might experience. In addition, young people were informed that should their circumstances require it, and at their request, they would be referred to a community, social, youth or mental health services worker. In most of the schools the research proceeded under the supervision of the Life Orientation teacher or the Guidance Counsellor.

Given the sensitive nature of the research and its potential for raising traumatic memories, as well as the legal position on some of the relationships being explored, a more comprehensive

ethical protocol was developed during the course of the research. After completion of the survey, the basic legal position in South Africa on student-teacher sexual relationships was explained, often progressing to a discussion around issues of age of consent, guardianship clauses and abuse of power. Participants were advised to talk to the principal, another teacher, or an adult they trusted should they, or someone they knew, be in a relationship with a teacher that contravened age of consent or amounted to abuse of power (i.e. over 18 but under physical, emotional or *quid pro quo* coercion).

All research participants were provided with an information sheet describing the legal position on child abuse and rape and Childline and Lifeline contact numbers. In addition, participants under the age of 18 were given an additional information sheet with the researcher's contact details. Had the participant not wanted to contact Childline directly, the researcher would, at the participant's request, have been obligated to report on their behalf. Had clear statements of abuse been made, these would have been reported to the appropriate authorities, with due concern for the child's wellbeing. In particular, where disclosure of ongoing sexual relationships are made which are clearly illegal, that is, teachers engaging in sex with students under the age of consent (16yrs), whether consensually or not, the researcher is under obligation, under Section 110 of the Children's Amendment Act, No. 41 of 2007, to report that conclusion in the prescribed form to a designated child protection organization, the provincial Department of Social Development (DoSD) or a police official (Republic of South Africa, 2008).

In navigating some of the ethical dilemmas around disclosure of abuse, confidentiality and statutory reporting codes, the researcher drew on the standards of reporting developed by Bhana, Swartz and Davids (2010) and the WCED ethical guidelines for reporting abuse (Western Cape Education Department, 2001). On the one hand, the confidentiality of the surveys (i.e. no names on the surveys), and the wording of the survey, which avoided any direct or specific detailing of relationships (i.e. no names of perpetrators, dates of interactions), allowed the researcher to side-step direct knowledge of specific abusive relationships. However, at one school all participants said they knew of at least one teacher who was having/had sex with a student, and two thirds said that between 6 and 8 teachers in their school were having sexual relationships with students. The likelihood of ongoing underage sexual relationships between teachers and students in this particular school is very high, but since no direct revelations were made it was decided to not report these results and the school name either internally or to external authorities. While the ethicality of allowing a high-risk situation to remain unchanged may seem for some indefensible, on balance I felt that the benefit of maintaining confidentiality

and not impeding the collection of data in other schools or further studies because of confidentiality concerns outweighed the merit of reporting this school without any 'proof'.

## **2.7 Expanding the Provincial Study into a National Study**

The current research will contribute to the overall results of a larger study on student-teacher sex, currently being undertaken by the Human and Social Development research programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). That project will expand the current research to a national sample replicating this project design and survey in Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal, as a start. The HSRC national study will explore the themes which emerge in this study through in-depth interviews with teachers, students, and other stakeholders, including uninvolved learners, uninvolved educators, parents, School Governing Body members, police, social workers, Department of Education officials, Trade Union officials and South African Council of Educators members.

University of Cape Town

# CHAPTER 3

## SURVEY AND QUALITATIVE RESULTS

University of Cape Town

## 3.1 Results

The narrow analytic focus which has characterised much of the discussion of student-teacher sex in South Africa, has ignored the experiential diversity of student-teacher sexualised relationships. The plurality of circumstances surrounding these relationships and the myriad opinions about student-teacher sex have been largely side-lined. This research sought to rectify this narrow portrayal of student-teacher sex by exploring the experiential diversity of these relationships as well as alternate opinions and conceptualisations of student-teacher sexualised relationships. To recapitulate, we sought to answer the following key research questions:

*What is the prevalence of student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

*What are the circumstances of student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

*What are student's opinions about student-teacher sexualised relationships?*

For clarity and ease of comprehension, the results are set out according to the above outline, and open-ended questionnaire answers and qualitative focus group data are integrated with close-ended questionnaire answers and presented cohesively in answering the key research questions.

### 3.1.1 Sample Characteristics

Nine participants were excluded from the analysis for claiming to have been “Completely Dishonest” in answering the survey (Q38), thus the final sample size was 691 participants. The sample was evenly distributed between school poverty quintiles with 250 participants from poverty quintile 3 (36%<sup>4</sup>), 219 from quintile 4 (32%) and 222 from quintile 5 (32%). There was substantial gender bias with 71% female and 29% male. When asked to identify themselves, 43% of participants identified themselves as ‘black’, 7% as ‘white’, 48% as ‘coloured’, and 2.5% as ‘Other’. Those who identified themselves as ‘other’ included religious identities (e.g. Muslim), ethnic identities (e.g. Indian, Rastafarian, Chinese, South African), and a small number of participants who said they were ‘human’ or a ‘human being’. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 23 with a mean age of 18.24 years. The greatest number of participants spoke isiXhosa (42%), followed by English (32.5%) and Afrikaans (24%), with a small percentage (2%)

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<sup>4</sup> Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, except for half percentages which are left as they are.

indicating another home language, including Chinese, Mandarin, Zulu, Sesotho, German, French, and Hlubi.

Most participants lived either in a township (38%) or in the suburbs (35%), while 18% indicated they lived in an informal settlement and 7% in a rural area. From the remaining 2%, participants indicated they lived in a security complex, semi-suburb, ghetto, and 'gemeenskap' (translated directly as 'community' but usually referring to small towns bordering farms or winelands, such as Paarl and Grabouw).

Age (mean)	18.24
Gender (n (%))	
Male	201 (28.7)
Female	499 (71.3)
Race (n (%))	
Black	300 (43.1)
White	47 (6.8)
Coloured	332 (47.7)
Indian	6 (.9)
Other	11 (1.6)
Home (n (%))	
Informal Settlement	122 (17.7)
Township	258 (37.4)
Suburb	244 (35.4)
Rural	49 (7.1)
Other	16 (2.3)
Home Language (n (%))	
isiXhosa	296 (42.3)
English	226 (32.3)
Afrikaans	166 (23.7)
Other	11 (1.6)

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of Sample

Participants fell almost evenly into three SES rankings. 165 participants fell into the 'Have-not' category (27%), 232 fell into the 'Have-enough' category (38%) and 213 fell into the 'Have-a-lot' category (35%). Eighty-one participants were excluded from this ranking because of incomplete data to qualify for an SES score. Pearson Chi-square between 'race' and SES ranking was significant with a large effect size ( $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero,  $\phi_c^5 = 0.434$ ). There was no significant association between gender and SES ranking (Chi-square  $p = 0.461$ ).

### 3.1.2 Sexual Behaviour

Of the 691 participants, 65% claimed to have had sex. Of those participants who were sexually active, the majority (60%) claimed to currently be having sex with one person, while a further 9% claimed more than one partner. Of the participants who were currently sexually active (had sex within the previous 12 months), 59% claimed to have only had one sexual partner. After excluding one outlier (a participant who claimed to have had 45 sexual partners in the previous 12 months), the mean number of partners was 2.12 with a range from 1 to 15. When collapsed

<sup>5</sup>  $\phi_c$  denotes Cramer's V, a measure of the strength of association or correlation between variables. A score of 1 indicates absolute correlation and 0 indicates absence of correlation. We use Rea and Parker's (1997) suggestions for interpreting effect size: 0.0 to 0.1 negligible association, small effect size; 0.1 to 0.2 weak association, small effect size; 0.2 to 0.4 moderate association, medium effect size; and  $> 0.4$  strong association, large effect size.

into categories (None, One Partner, Two to Four Partners, More than Four Partners) there was no significant difference between SES rankings (Chi-square  $p = 0.053$ ). There was, however, a significant difference between males and females on number of sexual partners, although the effect size was large (Chi-square  $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero,  $\Phi_c = 0.411$ ). Males were more likely than females to have more than one sexual partner. Chi-square was unable to be performed for 'race' as assumptions were not upheld (31% of cells had an expected count of less than five and the minimum expected cell count was less than 1).

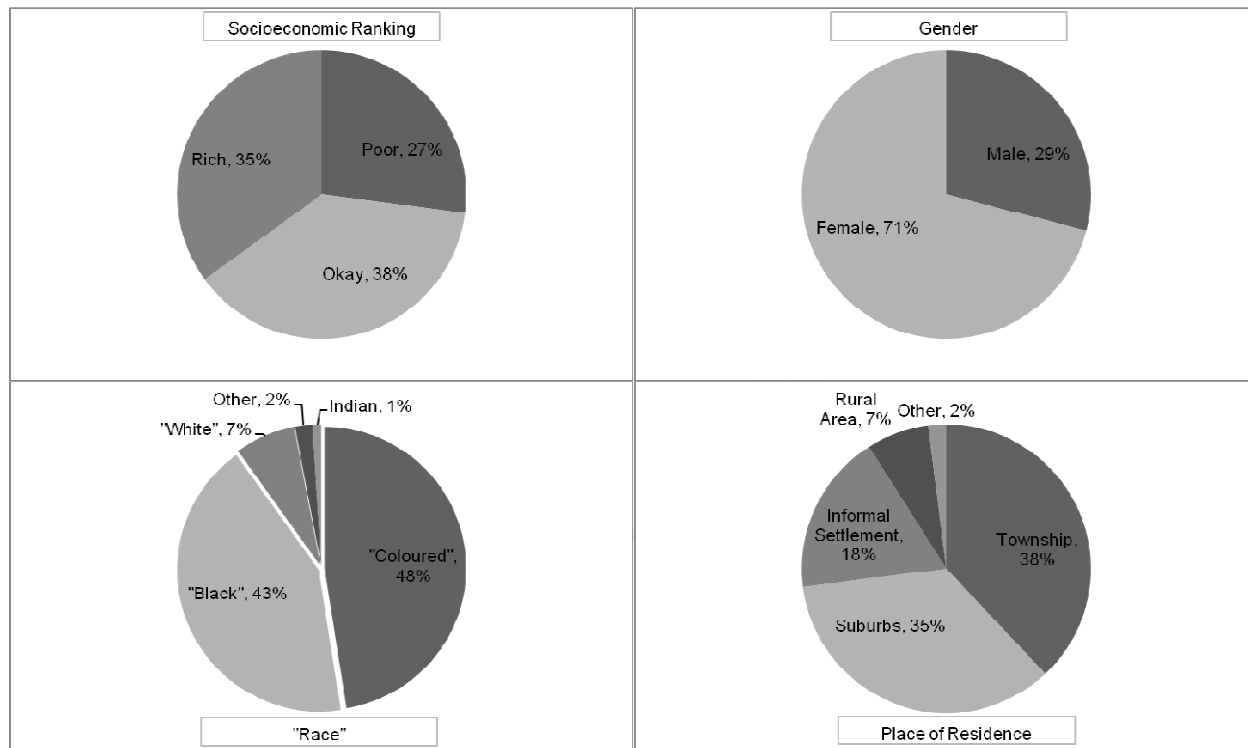


Figure 4 Selected Demographic Indicators for Sample

Age of sexual debut was normally distributed with a range from 8 years to 21 years. Mean age of sexual debut was 16.28 years. An independent samples t-test was run on age of sexual debut and gender. Levene's showed equal variances were not assumed ( $F=38.175$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). On average, male participants had earlier sexual debut than females. This difference was significant ( $t(195) = -6.544$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and the effect size was medium ( $r = -0.34$ ), suggesting that gender had a moderate impact on age of sexual debut. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed no significant difference across SES ranking on age of sexual debut ( $F(2) = .245$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). Both tests were run since a T-test applies to two independent groups whereas ANOVA is most useful for more than two independent groups.

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
<b>How old were you when you first had sex</b>	Male	147	15.45	2.136	.176
	Female	293	16.69	1.220	.071

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Age of Sexual Debut

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
<b>Have-not</b>	126	16.17	1.996
<b>Have-enough</b>	149	16.31	1.770
<b>Have-a-lot</b>	107	16.20	1.153
<b>Total</b>	382	16.23	1.702

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics for SES Ranking and Age of Sexual Debut

Of the participants who had had sex, the majority of participants described the circumstances of sexual debut as consensual (83%), a further 9% claimed they were forced, tricked or did not know what was happening at sexual debut. Eight percent of participants preferred not to say what the circumstances of their sexual debut were.

### **3.1.3 Setting the Scene**

While an SES score paints some of the picture of the difference between participants, it doesn't capture the story in its entirety. As I entered school after school I was struck by how vast the inequalities were. Some schools had Smartboards – hooked up to a state-of-the-art projector and a laptop, from which the teacher could run slide shows and interactive lessons and access web-based resources. Other schools had black boards, the green paint chipping or in some places scratched off. When teachers arrived in the morning they went to the office before class to collect their piece of chalk.

Some schools were pristinely clean, with immaculate lawns and trees, multiple sports fields and an indoor gym. Others had a concrete quad outside, and sometimes a covered quad indoors, and the grounds were sand and stone which turned to thick mud when it rained. Classrooms were full of litter – empty soft-drink cans, barbecued chicken feet, chip packets and crumpled pieces of paper. Some schools had individual desks, natural light, and subject libraries within the class. Others had bars on the windows, no air, harsh artificial light (or none at all), and walls, floors and roofs covered in graffiti. Some schools had to-the-minute schedules and well-kept examination timetables. Others were phenomenally disorganised: class happened when teachers arrived and was cancelled when students did not.

This incongruence in facilities and organisation existed across school poverty quintiles with poverty quintile 3 schools having significantly inferior resources than most poverty quintile 5 schools. Even within the same school poverty quintile, however, these differences were evident – some quintile 5 schools, ostensibly the richest schools, lacked basic facilities and resources which other quintile 5 schools had.

SITE	DISTRICT	SCHOOL POVERTY QUINTILE	NO STUDENTS IN CLASS	NO SURVEYS COMPLETE	% COMPLETE	
1	East		3	42	30	71.43%
2	South		3	26	26	100.00%
3	North		4	45	36	80.00%
4	South		5	31	28	90.32%
5	Central		4	34	32	94.12%
6	North		3	46	44	95.65%
7	South		4	42	37	88.10%
8	East		5	27	23	85.19%
9	East		5	41	38	92.68%
10	Central		4	38	26	68.42%
11	South		5	37	35	94.59%
12	Central		4	58	32	55.17%
13	North		5	28	26	92.86%
14	Central		5	29	26	89.66%
15	South		5	28	18	64.29%
16	North		3	41	37	87.80%
17	South		3	30	25	83.33%
18	North		5	33	31	93.94%
19	North		4	41	32	78.05%
20	North		4	31	26	83.87%
21	East		3	40	36	90.00%
22	East		3	33	28	84.85%
23	Central		3	30	28	93.33%
				831	700	85.12%

Table 4 Site Description

## 3.2 What is the Prevalence of Student-Teacher Sexual Relationships

### 3.2.1 Third-Person Accounts

Across all groups, 80 participants (12%) knew of at least one student in their school who had had sexual relations with a teacher (oral sex, anal sex or vaginal sex). Chi-square analysis showed no significant difference across gender (Chi-square  $p = 0.995$ ). There was, however, a small significant difference across SES ranking on the number of participants who claimed to know of students in their school having sex with a teacher (Chi-square  $p = 0.005$ ;  $\Phi_c = 0.134$ ). Participants in the 'Have-a-lot' ranking were less likely to claim knowledge of third-person student-teacher sexual relationships than expected. In the 'Have-not' and 'Have-enough' rankings, participants claimed knowledge of third-person student-teacher sexual relationships far more than participants in the 'Have-a-lot' ranking (15% and 14% versus 6%). There were significant differences across 'race' groups on third-person knowledge of student-teacher sex (Chi-square  $p = .001$ ). 'Black' participants were more likely than expected to know of a student having sex with a teacher, but the effect size of 'race' was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.154$ ).

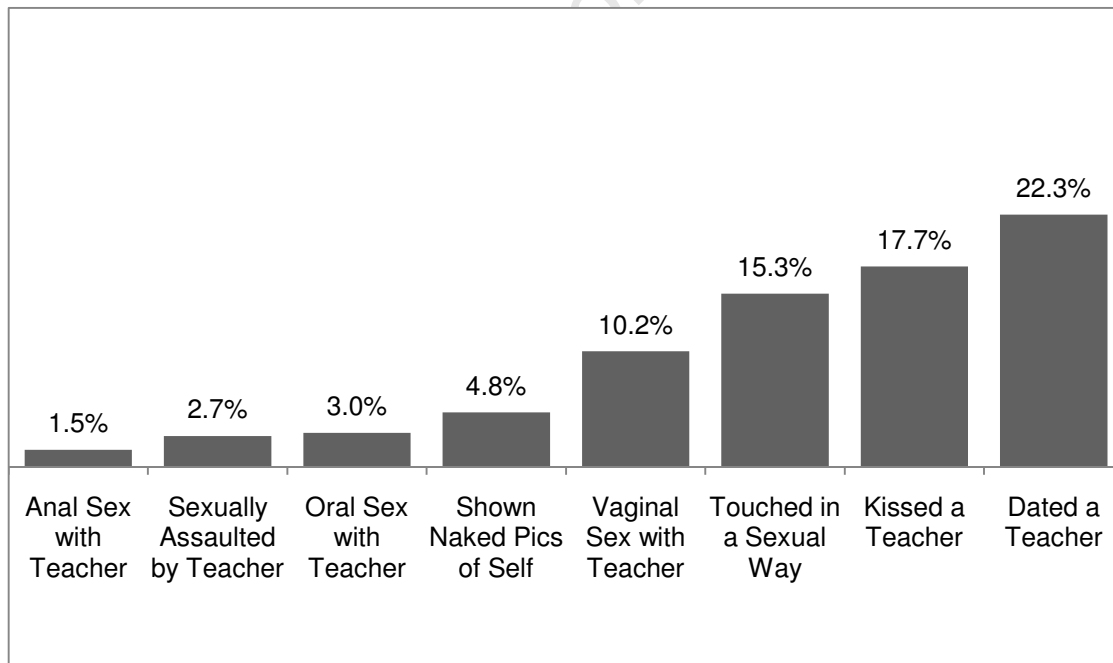


Figure 5 Third-Person Accounts of Sex/Sexual Activity

Two hundred and forty-nine participants (37%) knew of a student in their school who had 'sexual activity' with a teacher (defined as dating a teacher, being touched in a sexual way by a teacher, showing naked pictures of themselves to a teacher, or kissing a teacher). Chi-square analysis showed no significant difference between males and females on knowledge of sexual activity between teachers and students (Chi-square  $p = 0.160$ ). There were statistical differences across SES rankings (Chi-square  $p = 0.025$ ) although the effect size of SES ranking was small ( $\Phi_c = .111$ ). Participants in the 'Have-enough' ranking had claimed knowledge of third-person student-teacher sexual activity more than was expected. In this group, 44% of participants knew of a student in their school who had been involved in sexual activity with a teacher, a significantly higher percentage than in the other two SES rankings (38%: 31%). There was no significant difference between 'race' groups on knowledge of third-person student-teacher sexual activity (Chi-square  $p = 0.232$ ).

In addition to knowledge about students in their schools who were having relationships with teachers, participants were asked how many teachers in their school they *thought* were having or had sex with a student. Across all groups, 63% of participants said *no* teachers in their school were having sex with students. In some schools this statistic was considerably different. At Site 3, 81% of participants said that between 1 and 3 teachers were having sex with a student. At Site 16, 88% of participants claimed to know of at least one teacher who was having sex with a student. At the same school, 59% of participants (20) claimed that between 4 and 8 teachers in the school were having sex with students. At Site 20, 68% of participants (13) said between 2 and 10 teachers were having sex with students. At Site 23, 58% of participants (14) said between 2 and 5 teachers in the school were having sex with students.

### **3.2.2 First-Person Accounts**

#### *Sexual Harassment*

Overall, 19% of participants (130) said that a teacher had made them feel uncomfortable by saying or doing something sexual. There was a significant association between gender and this sexual harassment scale (Chi-square  $p = 0.004$ ). The effect size was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.109$ ). Chi-square correlation for sexual harassment and SES ranking was not significant, (Chi-square  $p = 0.409$ ). There was, however, a significant correlation between 'race' and sexual harassment (Chi-square  $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero). The effect size for 'race' was slightly higher than for gender, but still classified as small ( $\Phi_c = 0.163$ ). Thirty-nine percent of 'white' participants claimed to have been sexually harassed by a teacher. However this correlation should not

discount the experience of sexual harassment across other race groups. 14% of 'black' participants and 20.5% of 'coloured' participants claimed harassment.

Figure 6, below, gives the frequency counts for the different categories of sexually uncomfortable behaviour. Sexual harassment claims were particularly concerning where participants specified harassment that did not fall under the survey definition – for example, participants wrote the following under 'Other' ways a teacher had made them feel uncomfortable: “Kissed me” (#72, Female, 17yrs); “talked about sex” (#118, Female, 18yrs); “locked both me and him in a classroom” (#308, Female, 18yrs); “looked at pictures of students half naked” (#400, Female, 17yrs); “gave me a chocolate saying ‘Are You Keen?’” (#218, Female, 17yrs); “urged my hand toward her boobs. Kissed me” (#336, Female, 18yrs); and “calling me names like ‘babe’ and ‘sweetheart’” (#484, Female, 19yrs).

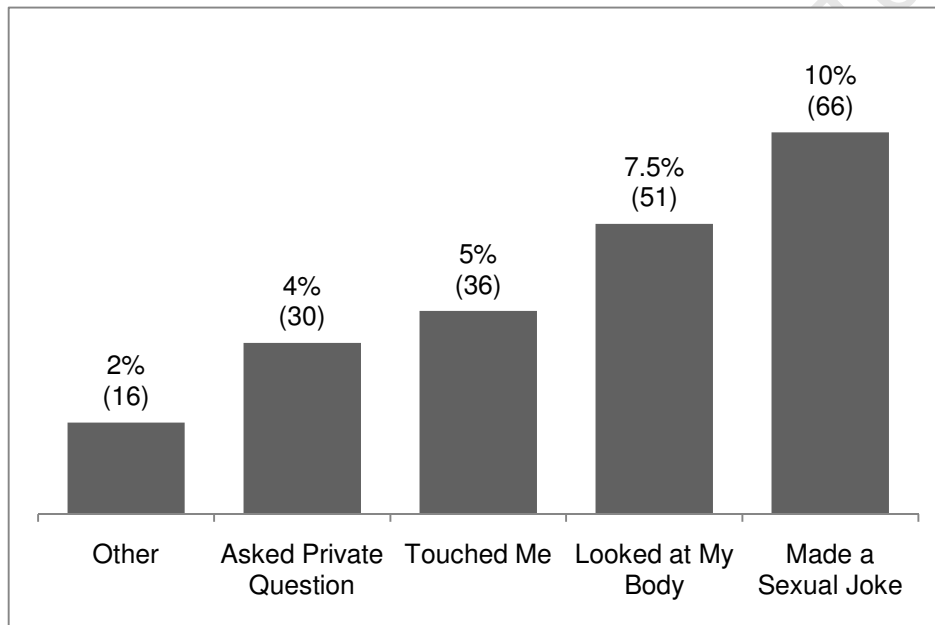


Figure 6 Types of Sexual Harassment

At some schools, the percentage of participants claiming sexual harassment was much higher than the average. At 8 schools (Sites 3, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 18), over 25% of participants claimed to have been made to feel uncomfortable by a teacher doing or saying something sexual. At 4 of the schools (Sites 8, 13, 14 and 15), this number rose to 30% of participants. All of these schools are ranked under school poverty quintile 5, i.e. they belong to the richest ranked schools in the Western Cape. The highest claims were at Site 15 where 33% of participants (or 6 out of 18) claimed to have been made to feel uncomfortable.

### *Sexual Content*

Six percent (32) of participants claimed that a teacher had sent or shown them sexual content. There was no significant association between gender and having been shown sexual content (Chi-square  $p = 0.795$ ). Chi-square was significant across SES rankings and having been shown sexual content (Chi-square  $p = 0.031$ ). The effect size was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.112$ ). Participants from the 'Have-not' ranking were more likely to have been shown sexual content than expected. The Chi-square assumptions were not upheld for the 'race' category (37.5% of cells had an expected count of less than 5 and the minimum expected count was less than 1) and thus the test was not run.

Of the 32 participants who had been shown or sent sexual content by a teacher, 45% had been shown or sent sexual content via phone (Mxit, sms, mms, phone call), 40% had been shown sexual content personally or face-to-face, and a further 13% had been sent or shown sexual content electronically (email, Facebook, MySpace). Some participants had been shown or sent sexual content via multiple mediums.

### *Sex*

There were significant divergences on answers surrounding first person accounts of sex with a teacher, making it difficult to analyse this variable. Several questions asked whether participants had ever had sex with a teacher (Q27.4-6, Q29 and Q32 and follow-up questions Q30, 31, and 33). On Q27, eight participants claimed to have had oral, anal, or vaginal sex with a teacher. Of these, three had previously answered that they were still virgins (Q17). This discrepancy may be explained by students' definitions of virginity. That is, a student who has given (or even received) oral sex may still consider him/her-self a virgin.

On Q29 (how many teachers the participant has had sex with), twelve participants claimed to have had sex with a teacher. On follow-up Q32 (how old was the participant when they had sex with a teacher), twenty-nine participants claimed to have had sex with a teacher, including 11 of the participants who had also answered affirmatively on Q29. It was decided that were a participant had coded positively on either of these questions (i.e. claimed to have had sex with at least one teacher) and also answered at least two of the three follow-up questions the data would be retained. This was done in order to eliminate what appeared to be careless answering. The results are noted below. These are, however, conservative results given that altogether 30 students answered positively on either Q29 or Q32.

Of the thirty students who claimed to have had sex with a teacher (Q29 and Q32), twenty-four also answered at least two of the follow-up questions. Thus, according to the inclusion criteria 3.5% of participants claimed to have had sex with a teacher. Of those who answered Q29, eight claimed to have had sex with only one teacher; three claimed to have had sex with two to three different teachers; and one participant claimed to have had sex with more than three different teachers. Asked to describe their most recent relationship with a teacher, 13 participants said it was either consensual or they were in love; 8 participants reported that the teacher was female, compared to 4 who said the teacher was male; and 6 participants said the teacher did not specifically teach them. Other counts are presented in Figure 7.

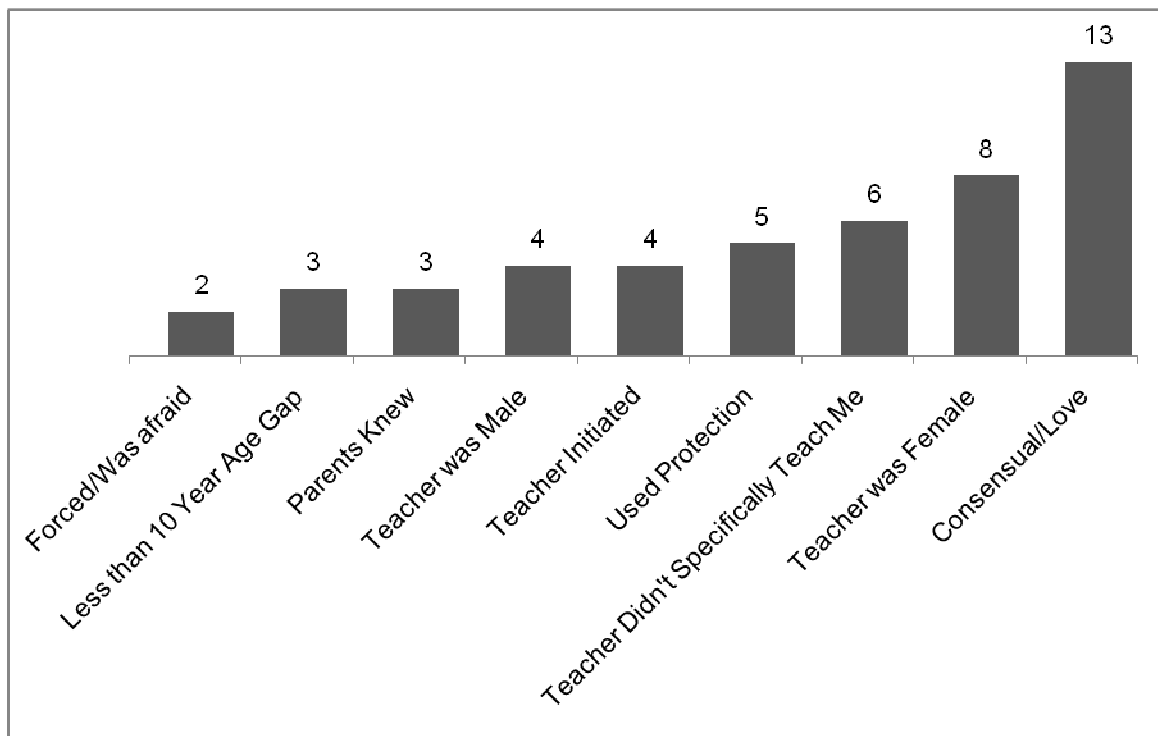


Figure 7 Circumstances of Sex with Teacher

Eighteen of the participants said that they were over 18 years when they had sex with a teacher, compared to 7 who said they were over 16 years but under 18 years, and four participants who were under 16 years when they had sex with a teacher. Results for what participants claimed to have received from a teacher in return for sex are presented in Figure 8.

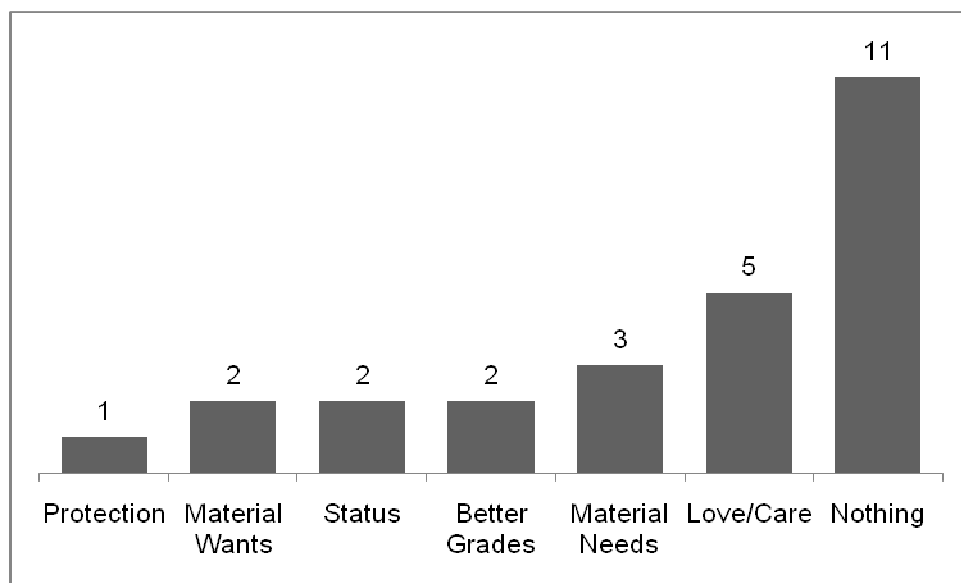


Figure 8 Participants' Accounts of What They Received for Sex

Eleven participants claimed to have received nothing in return for sex, but 5 received love and care. Participants also mentioned receiving things they needed, things they wanted, status, protection and better grades. Primarily, participants claimed to have had sex at the teacher's house. Full results are presented in Figure 9.

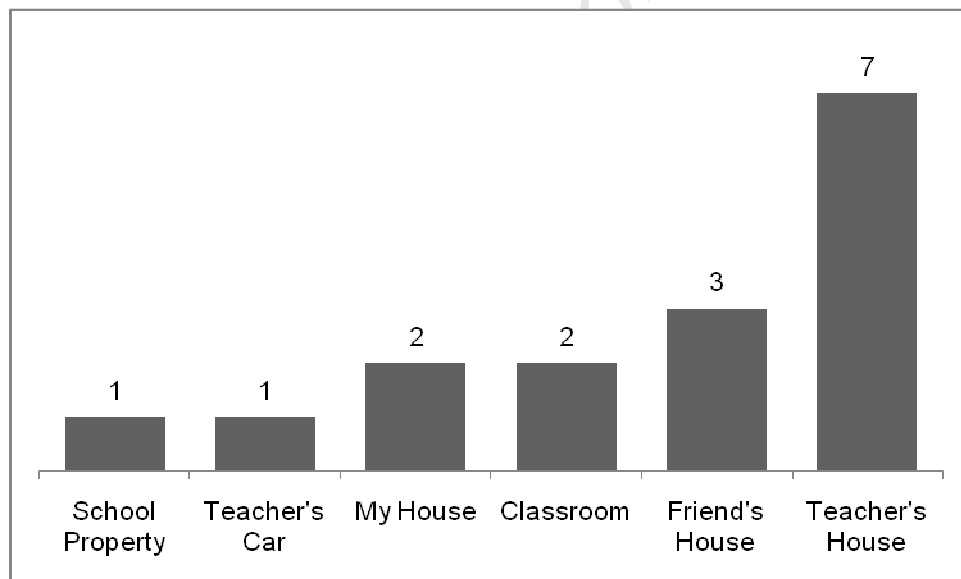


Figure 9 Place Where Sex Happened

The assumptions for the use of the Chi-square test were not upheld across sex, 'race' and SES ranking, because of small sub-sample sizes and minimum expected frequencies, thus these

association and correlation tests were not able to be run. Only the descriptive statistics of the participants who claimed to have had sex with a teacher are presented. Of the thirty participants who had sex with a teacher, 43% were female and 57% were male. Forty-seven percent of the valid participants were 'black', 43% were 'coloured'. One participant was 'white' (3%) and two participants were Indian (7%). Socio-economic status ranking was missing for three participants. However, of the remainder 33% fell in the 'Have-not' ranking, 26% in the 'Have-enough' ranking, and 41% in the 'Have-a-lot' ranking.

### *Sexual Activity*

There were 62 counts of first-person reports of 'sexual activity' with a teacher (including dating a teacher, being touched in a sexual way by a teacher, showing naked pictures of self to a teacher, or kissing a teacher) spread over 49 participants. Thus, 8% of participants surveyed claimed to have had some form of sexualised relationship with a teacher. The most frequent accounts of sexual activity fell under the following categories: 29 participants (4.5%) claimed to have been touched in a sexual way by a teacher, 12 participants had dated a teacher (2%), and 20 participants had kissed a teacher (3%). In addition to counts of sexual activity, 5 participants (1%) claimed to have been sexually assaulted by a teacher.

There was no statistical difference in sexual activity with a teacher across gender (Chi-square  $p = 0.769$ ) There was no statistical difference across SES ranking (Chi-square  $p = 0.509$ ). Chi-square assumptions were not upheld for the 'race' category (40% of cells had an expected count of less than 5 and the minimum expected count was less than 1) and thus the test was not run. Since there was no statistical difference on the primary groups being tested, it was decided to run an additional Chi-square analysis on school poverty quintile ranking to ensure no differences. Chi-square on school poverty quintile ranking showed significant differences on sexual activity (Chi-square  $p = 0.023$ ). Participants in poverty quintile 3 schools had sexual activity with a teacher more than expected. The effect size was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.108$ ).

## 3.3 What are the Circumstances of Student-Teacher Sexualised Relationships

### 3.3.1 Introduction of Qualitative Data

Several themes related to the circumstances of student-teacher sexualised relationships and students' opinions of student-teacher sex, emerged from the open-ended survey data and from the focus group transcripts. Four primary themes were identified and were used to broadly differentiate the data, but, as analysis progressed, additional secondary themes emerged under each of the themes. In Table 5 (below) the primary and secondary thematic codes are listed, with a brief description of each and a report of the number of questionnaires coded under each primary theme. The full code template is presented in Appendix 6. Open-ended Question 7 from the English-medium questionnaires was analysed (n=424). The English-medium surveys were well spread across the school poverty quintiles giving an adequate sampling of opinions across the board (poverty quintile 3 = 106; poverty quintile 4=136; poverty quintile 5=189). An additional subsample of 40 isiXhosa-medium surveys and 40 Afrikaans-medium surveys were analysed to see if alternative themes emerged. No additional themes emerged in the isiXhosa or Afrikaans-medium surveys thus these were excluded from the final analysis as there was sufficient thematic saturation across the English-medium questionnaire answers.

In Q6 participants were asked whether they felt it was permissible for a student to go out with a teacher (date, not having sex). Q7 was an open-ended format question asking participants why they gave the answer they did to Q6. A small minority of participants interpreted Q6 to mean "hang out with", "go for a celebratory lunch" with, or "have extra lessons with". The question was explicitly phrased to connote a romantic, "dating", boyfriend/girlfriend interaction, and, thus, where participants interpreted this question as a platonic going out, these were coded as "Other" and are not included in these results below. Forty-four questionnaires were thus excluded from the analysis. More than half of the participants referenced sex in their answer, suggesting that despite the express delimitation of "dating" to exclude sex, 'dating' and 'sex' were conflated. The emergent primary and secondary themes are discussed in light of the quantitative questionnaire results exploring the circumstances of student-teacher sexualised relationships and participants' opinions towards student-teacher sex (see Section 3.4).

Code	Description	Number of Questionnaires Coded
<b>Transgression</b> Consequences Character Contravention	Questionnaire answers were coded under the “Transgression” theme where they explicitly referenced moral, ethical and legal codes and penalties of these relationships or where they referenced consequences.	60 of the English-medium questionnaires referenced items which fell under the Transgression theme solely. A further 108 referenced themes of Transgression and one of the other primary themes. In total, 168 segments referencing themes of Transgression were analysed. These were further categorised within the Transgression theme under secondary themes relating to consequences, character and contravention of specific codes.
<b>Power</b> Coercion Consent Classroom Dynamics	References related to the Power theme were dominant amongst the survey. Answers were coded under “Power” where they referenced issues of control, power, exploitation, manipulation, consent and coercion in the student-teacher sexual relationship.	82 questionnaires were coded under Power solely, with a further 133 coded under Power and at least one other primary theme.
<b>Desire</b> Love and Attraction Choice	Two closely related themes emerged under the theme of “Desire”: issues of romance, love, willingness and sexual attraction and issues of choice and agency.	34 questionnaires were coded under Desire only, and a further 36 under the theme of Desire and at least one other primary theme.
<b>Capital</b>	The conceptual differences between transaction as Capital and transaction as Coercion (i.e. <i>quid pro quo</i> ) were subtle. For ease of differentiation, items were coded under “Capital” where they expressly referenced agency on the part of students in negotiating sexual relationships for grades, money, etc	6 questionnaires fell under the “Capital” theme solely, and a further 9 were coded under “Capital” and at least one other primary theme.

Table 5 List of Primary and Secondary Themes

### 3.3.2 Presentation of Results

Of the participants who knew of a student in their school having sex or sexual activity with a teacher, just over 60% claimed the students were receiving something in return for a sexualised relationship. Participants claimed that students in their school who had sex or sexual activity with a teacher were primarily receiving higher grades (29%), followed by things they wanted (23%, e.g. money, clothes, airtime), followed closely by love and care (22%). Material needs (e.g. money, food, clothes, airtime, school fees) came in fourth at 21%, fairly close behind love and

care and material wants. Participants claimed that students in these relationships were also receiving 'status' (17%) and protection (8%). Finally, additional reasons why students got involved sexually with teachers included the following: for a "car lift" (#24, Male, 18); to "get back at the teachers' wife" (#523, Female, 17yrs); "for pleasure" (#550, Male, 17yrs); "to look cool/get attention" (#534, Female, 17yrs); and "to make the teachers' wife jealous" (#537, Female, 18). For a comparative graph of these percentages see Figure 10, below.

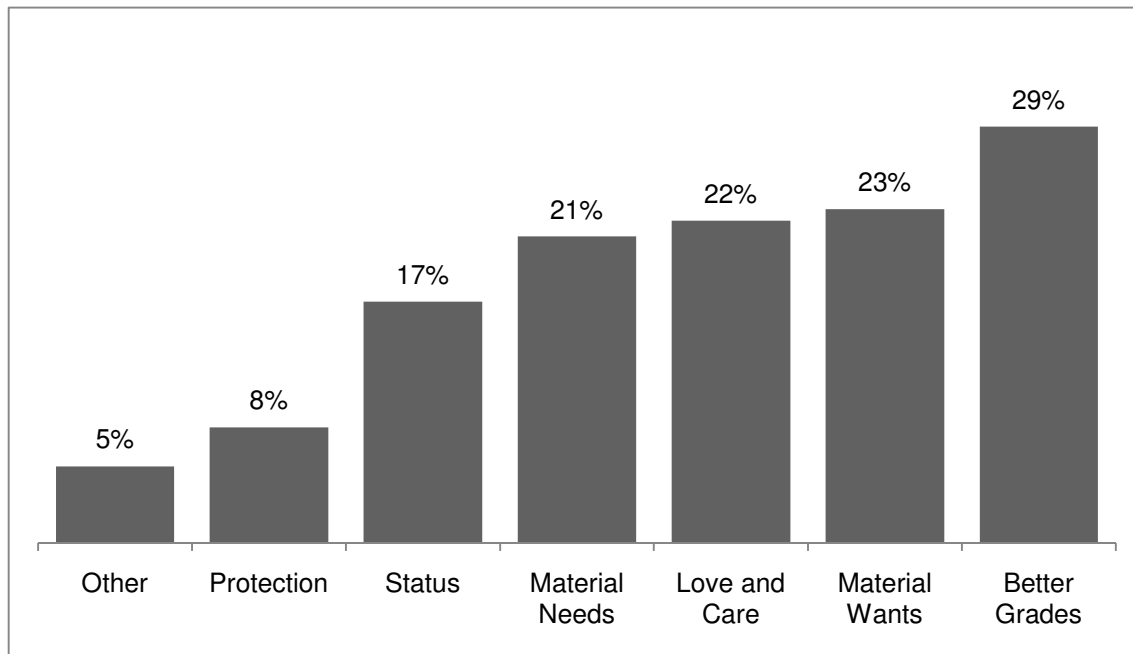


Figure 10 Third-Person Accounts of What Students Received for Sex/Sexual Activity

### Coercion

Two key issues are flagged in these results. The first is the high frequency of accounts of what appears to be *quid pro quo* sexual relationships between students and teachers. Amongst the open-ended questionnaire answers, several participants directly referenced teachers' abuse of power or authority, and these were coded under the theme of 'Coercion'. Key words in these surveys were 'use' or 'using', 'manipulate', 'intimidation', 'vulnerable', 'take advantage' and 'intentions'. Primarily these answers referred to a teacher using his/her power or life experience to coerce a student into a relationship. Participants condemned relationships in which teachers were "using and taking advantage of" students (#634, Male, 20yrs) or "manipulat[ing] him/her into doing something he/she doesn't want to" (#425, Female, 17yrs). Participants didn't specify how an "abuse of power or authority" operated except for three participants who made direct reference to *quid pro quo* coercion in describing why student-teacher sex was not acceptable: "It

*depends on the teacher's age and if the teacher is not offering higher marks or any other benefits" (#447, Female, 18yrs) and "In some cases it will be abuse of power as in the teacher forces the student to do something for extra marks" (#275, Female, 17yrs). The third participant said, "Some teachers take advantage of learners because of their age or where they come from. Students often go out with teachers because of the money and not for love and a relationship that is not based on love and respect is not a good relationship at all." (#411, Female, 19yrs).*

### *Capital*

It is unclear from the qualitative results whether or not sexual relationships in exchange for better grades, material wants or material needs are an "abuse of power" or a use of sexual favours as a type of transactional currency on the part of students. The conceptual differences between transaction as capital and transaction as coercion (i.e. *quid pro quo*) were subtle. For ease of differentiation, questionnaire answers were coded under Capital where they expressly referenced agency on the part of students in negotiating sexual relationships for grades, money, etc. For example, "*Because other learners sometimes are doing it to get something on [sic] it, e.g. to get money, clothes, etc.*" (#28, Female, 19yrs, my underlining) or "*I gave that answer because some children do it so that they can get more marks at school*" (#154, Female, 18yrs, my underlining). The motivating factor for the relationship in both is *to get* and the initiating agent is the student. Again, "*when the student needs money and the teacher have [sic] it she can go out with her*" (#127, Female, 19yrs, when it is okay for a student and teacher to go out); "*Students sometimes they don't really love the teachers, they just do it for money for lunch*" (#599, Female, 19yrs). For a few participants, having a relationship with a teacher was a means of earning income or helping to support family. For example, "*Most of student are being abused by their parent or maybe they passed away long time ago so there's no-one who cares about you or either support you and your siblings so you decide that you are going to sleep with the teachers because you are the only bread-winner in the house and the old one*" (# 182, Female, 17yrs). Unfortunately the complexities of transactional student-teacher sex were not able to be teased out. Whether or not participants expected marks or money or gifts as a "normal" transaction in any sexual relationship or whether they used sex as a means of gaining material wants and needs or whether teachers capitalised on students' needs and economic status is unclear. These issues of transaction and *quid pro quo* coercion are explored in the 'Discussion' section, below.

### 3.4 What are Students' Opinions about Student-Teacher Sexualised Relationships

Across all groups, 54% of participants felt that student-teacher sexual relationships should be illegal, compared to 18% who felt that they shouldn't be illegal. The remaining 28% either didn't know whether they should be illegal or not or felt it depended on circumstances. Chi-square analysis found significant, albeit small, differences between males and females on this question (Chi-square  $p = 0.003$ ;  $\Phi_c = 0.143$ ). A significantly higher number of females than expected said that student-teacher sex should be legal. There was no significant difference across SES Ranking and opinions on legality (Chi-square  $p = 0.054$ ). Chi-square assumptions were not upheld on 'race' (25% of cells had expected counts of less than five and the minimum expected count was less than 1).

Asked whether participants thought it was permissible for a student to go out with teacher (date, not having sex) the vast majority felt it was 'Never okay' (65%) versus only 1.5% who felt it was 'Always okay'. The remaining third of participants felt it 'Depended' or that it was 'Sometimes Okay'. These categories were collapsed because of their similarity. Chi-square analysis of difference for gender was significant (Chi-square  $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero). All categories showed significant deviance from expected values although the effect size was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.193$ ). Males were of the opinion that dating relationships were 'Always okay' far more than females were (3% versus 0.8%). Males also had higher rates of noncommittal opinion ('It Depends' category) than expected and than females (48% versus 28%).

Despite almost 54% of participants saying student-teacher sexual relationships should always be illegal, on a related question only 37% said it was never permissible for a teacher to have sex with a student. The majority of participants agreed with at least one hypothetical circumstance in which they felt it was acceptable for a teacher to have sex with a student. The full results from this question are presented in Figure 11. Three key findings stand out here: the specialised nature of student-teacher roles, opinions on age of consent, and issues of consent and love.

The primary circumstance in which participants felt it was acceptable for a student and a teacher to have sex was if it took place off of school property, with four in ten students supporting student-teacher sex in this circumstance. This theme came up strongly in the qualitative

analyses, both amongst questionnaire responses and in the isiXhosa focus group. Students challenged the notion that a teacher is inherently different to other people by virtue of his/her professional status. As one student said, *“It is okay sometimes because of the feeling you have for him [the teacher]. And he is not different from other people who I live within the community. So if I love him and he love me it’s okay”* (#491, Female, 19yrs). This theme was mirrored in the isiXhosa focus group where one participant said, *“With the female teachers though, our approach is totally different. You do not treat that person like a teacher but as a woman that you want so you go through all the phases, you charm them etc until you get that feeling and they like you too.”*

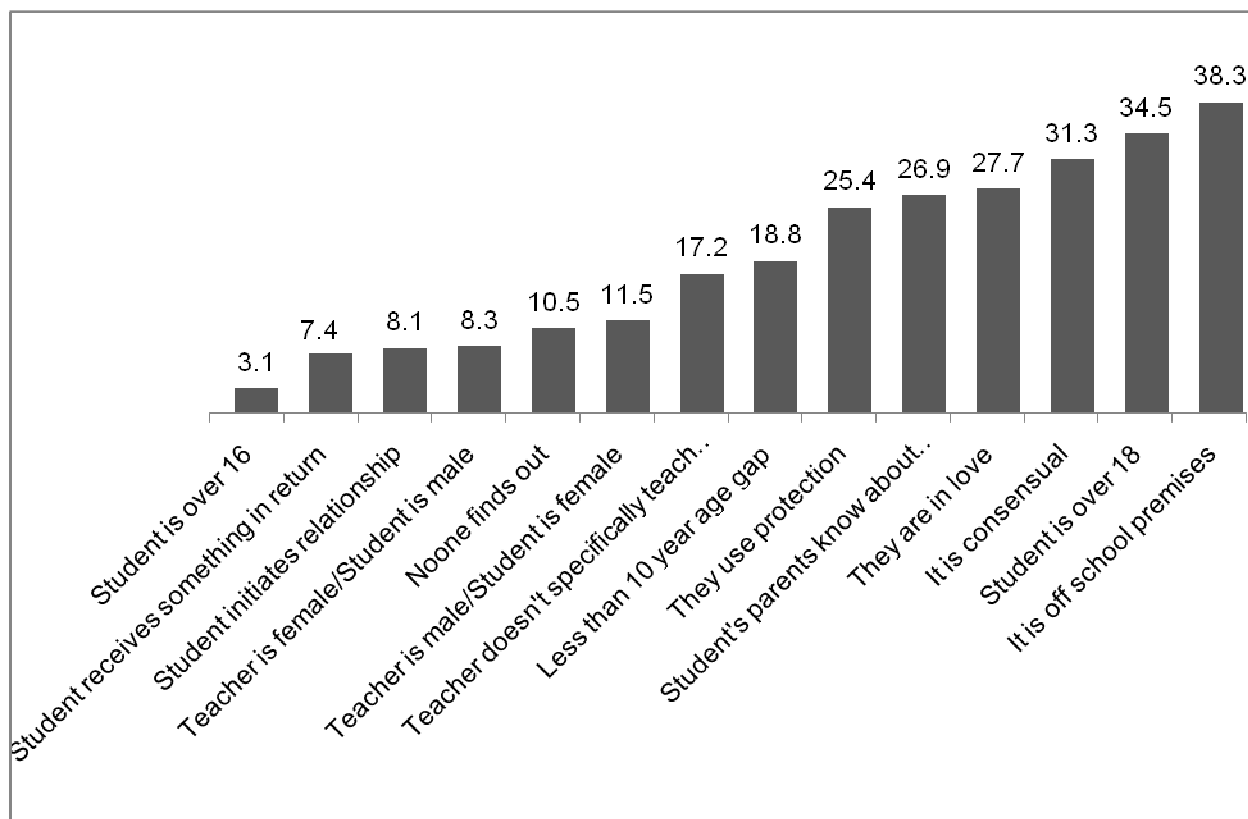


Figure 11 Participants' Opinions on the Acceptability of Student-Teacher Sex

Of particular interest in this regard was a discussion launched by the facilitator's question, *“If a student-teacher sex scandal got to the courts, who should take responsibility for the situation?”* One student answered it was squarely the teacher's responsibility as the “adult”, but several participants immediately dissented. One student claimed, *“No, no here at school that person is a teacher but outside the gates after school hours you can do your own thing there are no students and teachers, there are people.”* Several participants agreed and followed up with

similar comments. A lively discussion followed as participants debated amongst themselves the notion that a *“teacher is a person too”* and the boundaries of the teacher’s role and responsibility.

While other themes, such as Consent and Desire, addressed metaphorical boundaries and age and maturity boundaries, participants in this school gave physical boundaries, locating the school gate as the frontier at which the appropriateness of student-teacher relationships was debated. While a few participants felt that a teacher’s position as a role model should extend into the community and thus student-teacher relationships would remain inappropriate outside of school gates, several participants felt this was not the case and that a teachers’ professional role and responsibilities ended when he/she left the school premises, becoming a person again *“just like everyone else”*. An excerpt from this dynamic and lively discussion is included in Appendix 7. It illustrates some of the contentions around the notion of roles, responsibilities and frontiers.

The second strongest theme related to the age of consent: just over one in three participants said student-teacher sex was acceptable if the student was over 18 years old, compared to only one in thirty-three who said it was acceptable if the student was over 16 years old. In addition, two out of ten participants felt that student-teacher sex was acceptable if there was less than a 10 year age gap between the two parties. Issues of consent emerged strongly in the qualitative analyses.

### *Consent*

Three participants’ questionnaire responses referenced traditional issues of consent, referring directly to the students’ maturity, for example: *“It’s high inappropriate as the teacher would clearly have ‘needs’ which would need to be met. A school pupil, in my opinion, is not emotionally ready for a relationship such as this”* (#403, Female, 17yrs); and *“Students under the age of 18 should not be allowed to engage in [a relationship with a teacher] as they are not emotionally prepared or mature enough for the consequences”* (#546, Female, 17yrs). The majority of participants made references to age or difference in age yet for the most part these allusions were vague and it was unclear whether participants were referring to a legal definition of age of consent, a power dynamic in difference in age, or a moral code of acceptable age and age differential in sexual relationships. Any questionnaire answer referring vaguely to age or difference in age was coded under Consent, but there was not enough information to tease out the exact meanings of these references. Typically these references took the following form:

Reference to undefined age – *“it depends on the age of the student and the teacher...”*  
(#103, Female, 17yrs)

Reference to specific age – *“[Sometimes okay] if the student is 18 and not directly taught by the teacher it shouldn’t be an issue”* (#99, Female, 18yrs); *“...if the student is not a minor”* (#430, Female, 18yrs)

Reference to undefined age differential – *“It depends on their age difference”* (#168, Female, 19yrs)

Reference to specific age differential – *“If the learner is 18 and the teacher is a year or 2 years older then it will be appropriate”* (#101, Male, 17yrs); and *“I said sometimes because when you’re older and than 16 and your teachers are also still young like 22/23 years then I don’t see it as being so wrong. But say now you 18 and you in a relationship with a teacher in their 30s then it’s so wrong”* (#538, Female, 18yrs).

The third strongest theme in the quantitative findings was that one in three students felt student-teacher sex was acceptable if it was consensual (the teacher and the student both agreed to it and were willing). In addition, just over one in four participants felt that a student-teacher relationship was acceptable if the two parties were in love. A strong, but distinct, link to the notions of consent discussed above, was that of love and attraction and agency and students’ right to choose who they date and have sex with.

#### *Love and Attraction*

The issue of love and attraction was raised in the previous section where 22% of participants claimed that students were exchanging sex or sexual activity for “Love and Care”, a theme dominant under the Desire theme in the qualitative analysis. A large number of students, as indicated above, felt that under these conditions student-teacher sex was acceptable. The theme was echoed amongst questionnaire responses.

Three participants referenced sexual attraction as a reason why student-teacher relationships were sometimes permissible: *“If the teacher is attractive female”* (#405, Male, 17yrs); *“If the teacher is hot”* (#268, Female, 18yrs); and *“It depends on how good looking the teacher is or sexy she’s looking and also if that teacher is interested in the student then maybe it will be okay”* (# 230, Male, 19yrs). However, the majority of surveys coded under Desire dealt with “love” explicitly. Twenty-five participants felt that it was acceptable for students to have relationships with teachers provided they “loved” each other, “were serious”, “had feelings”, “[like each other]

*in a girlfriend/boyfriend way*” (#201, Female, 17yrs), “*like*” each other, or “*fall in love*” (various participants).

Some students’ claimed that “*...love never chooses a partner for you, it’s something that just develops inside of you, it doesn’t matter who the person is or how old he is, it’s all about love*” (#377, Female, 20yrs) and that a loving relationship between a student and a teacher, expressing itself in sexual interaction was acceptable since “*...sometimes students and teachers do fall in love and have sex. You don’t choose to fall in love with somebody*” (#226, Male, 19yrs). One participant claimed that consensual sex between a teacher and a student is not exceptional or condemnable since “*sex [is] natural, but except when it comes to rape*” (#91, Male, 17yrs).

### *Choice*

Many participants who coded on Love and Attraction also referenced themes of agency and choice. While some of these held that it was the teacher and the student’s right to decide whether what they were doing was right or wrong, and whether they wanted to go out, some participants appealed to broader human rights in defending student-teacher relationships. For example: “*Because it’s your own right who you date and it has nothing to do with other people...*” (#221, Male, 18yrs); “*Because as a person you have freedom of choice, you decide who you want to go out with and a teacher is also a person too*” (#685, Female, 18yrs); and “*Humans are not able to control their feelings like love and emotions. If you feel it’s right for you then do it. It will depend on your personal beliefs of what is right or wrong*” (#678, Male, 18yrs).

While the majority of answers coded under Desire defended student-teacher relationships on the basis of love, attraction or agency, several participants clearly stated that love was not a good enough reason to have a relationship: “*The student should know better because he/she is come to school for learning, not their love life*” (#328, Female, 17yrs); “*It is a disgrace to be in love with someone who is helping you to success*” (#470, Female, 18yrs); and “*The teacher doesn’t love you, he is just having fun with you and it is wrong*” (#386, Female, 19yrs). Many participants who mentioned love as a defence of student-teacher relationships also put conditional circumstances of when love or agency was a defence, including: if it is kept confidential or professional; it doesn’t result in unfair advantages; if they meet outside of school or if the relationship begins while the teacher is in training or before he/she becomes a teacher; if the student is over the age of consent and/or the age gap is not too big ; if the teacher is teaching at a different school or is a trainee teacher; and if the parents approve.

Many of these concerns were mirrored in the quantitative results, presented above. Other related quantitative results are that 10% of participants approved of student-teacher sex as long as no-one finds out about the relationship; 17% of participants approved if the teacher does not specifically teach the student; and 27% approved of a relationship in instances where the student's parents know about it. Other opinions arose in the qualitative results as participants wrestled with the 'okayness' of student-teacher sex. Most opinions related to transgression, including the consequences of a student-teacher relationship. These are presented below.

### *Consequences*

A few participants felt that a student-teacher relationship was wrong on the basis of the consequences it would have, either for the student or for the teacher. Consequences included disruption of the school environment (discussed in more detail under Classroom Dynamics, below); the teacher "*getting into serious trouble*" (#307, Female, 17yrs); losing their job or having their marriage broken up (discussed in more detail under Contravention, below); or the girl or the teacher becoming pregnant. Only one participant appealed to consequential transgression related to HIV infection. Just over a quarter of participants felt that student-teacher sex was acceptable if the parties used protection (i.e. a condom or birth-control pills). It was unclear whether this was to prevent the transmission of HIV or to prevent unwanted pregnancies. The latter appeared to be of particular concern in the qualitative results.

### *Character*

Strongly related to consequences were themes surrounding loss of character, respect, dignity or reputation. Because these themes came through so significantly it was decided to code them separately to "Consequences". Character consequences were frequently attributed to the teacher, as illustrated in the following quotes: "*the teacher should be regarded as the disciplined person and respected*" (#383, Female, 19yrs) and "*the student will definitely tell his/her friend what has happened last night. And it is how the teacher loses his/her dignity*" (#387, Female, 18yrs). Character consequences were, however, also attributed to the student involved in the relationship: "*things could go wrong, rumours often spreads [sic] very fast and as a student you should have a good reputation and a high self-esteem, and people will consider you as someone who has a low self-esteem and who has no pride*" (#198, Female, 20yrs); and "*...your school mates will look at you as a slut if they know about you dating a teacher*" (#208, Female, 18yrs). There appeared to be equal concern over loss of character for the student as for the teacher.

### *Contravention of Moral, Ethical, Professional or Legal Codes*

One of the strongest themes to emerge across the surveys was reference to the contravention of overt or non-specified moral, ethical, professional or legal codes (40 surveys). This is not surprising given that over 50% of participants thought that student-teacher sex should be illegal. Several participants claimed student-teacher relationships were wrong on the basis that it is “unethical”, “unprofessional”, “inappropriate” or “*just isn’t right*” (#602, Female, 20yrs). In many cases this was accompanied by a strong value judgement; i.e. “*it’s disgusting*” (#379, Male, 18yrs); “*it’s irresponsible*” (#266, Female, 17yrs); “*It’s gross*” (#261, Female, 17yrs); and “*it’s disgusting and just no it’s not normally [sic] for a teacher to date a learner. That behave [sic] at schools are unaccepted and not to be allowed*” (#124, Female, 18yrs).

Most of the participants who said student-teacher relationships were wrong on the basis of ethical or professional codes did not appeal to any specific reason why it was unethical, unprofessional or inappropriate. One participant sums up these types of appeals when he says, “*I don’t know why. It is just how the morals of society work*” (#547, Male, 17yrs). Several participants, however, listed overt contravention of school or legal codes: e.g. “*I think it depends on the situation and the circumstances, whether it is legal or not, allowed within the laws and ethics of the school, etc.*” (#544, Male, 17yrs). Linked to contravention of moral codes were appeals on the basis that the teacher is married, or a relationship would break up a marriage. These participants did not claim that student-teacher relationships were necessarily intrinsically wrong, but that they were wrong on the basis that they contravened a pre-existing moral or legal relationship – i.e. marriage.

### *Classroom Dynamics*

The final theme coded under the Power lens dealt with issues relating to changes in the classroom dynamics. Changes in classroom dynamic addressed both the ability of the student involved in a relationship with a teacher to concentrate on his/her schoolwork in the classroom, and other students’ being unfairly disadvantaged by a *quid pro quo* relationship or by the extra attention given to their classmate. Several participants were against student-teacher relationships because the “*teacher can help the learner cheat*” (#299, Male, 18yrs), or give the student “*special treatment, e.g. better marks, detention, etc.*” (#271, Female, 18yrs), leading to other students being unfairly disadvantaged (#536; #84; #347). These views are somewhat surprising given that 7% of participants felt that student-teacher sex was acceptable if the student received something in return for it.

Participants were, however, not only concerned about unfair advantage, but also by the potential of an awkward or negative atmosphere being introduced into the classroom environment either by the dynamics of an ongoing relationship (e.g. expressing affection in class, or having an argument) or with the breakdown of a student-teacher relationship. One participant put it this way, *“The student won’t be able to concentrate in school or in that teacher’s class his/her mind will just be by the teacher and the vibe between them will change the whole situation of others in the classroom...”* (#338, Female, 20yrs), and another said, *“...It becomes awkward in the classroom if they do [go out together]”* (#105, Female, 18yrs).

When asked how often student-teacher sex is discussed as part of the school curriculum (e.g. in Life Orientation or other classes), 20% said it was discussed a lot, 35% said it was discussed a little, and 44% said it was never discussed. It was useful to ascertain whether this varied across schools and thus Pearson Chi-square was run across school quintile poverty ranking. There were significant differences across school poverty quintiles (Chi-square  $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero), although the effect size was small ( $\Phi_c = 0.186$ ). Participants in poverty quintile 5 reported that student-teacher sex was never discussed as part of the school curriculum far more than expected. Similar results are found in the Chi-square analysis across SES Ranking (Chi-square  $p < 0.0001$  approaching zero;  $\Phi_c = 0.159$ ) with participants in the ‘Have-a-lot’ ranking also reporting that student-teacher sex was never discussed as part of the school curriculum, more than expected.

Participants were asked what they thought should be done about the topic of student-teacher sex and dominant answer was that it should be talked about in Life Orientation classes (52%). In addition participants felt that it should be researched more (36%), that students should be offered support (22%) and that teachers should be given training about handling relationships (31%). Only 5.5% felt that nothing should be done about student-teacher sex.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

University of Cape Town

## 4.1 Discussion

As mentioned in the 'Introduction', a narrow analytical focus disregards the experiential diversity of student-teacher sexualised relationships: the plurality of circumstances in which they play out and the reasons and justifications for these relationships. Other considerations and voices are bypassed, and in so doing an incomplete picture of the phenomenon is presented. Angelides (2007: 358) has suggested that we are often "more concerned with defending ideological positions, laws, and politics than we are with seeking to understand the complexity of sexual relations and seeking, genuinely, to listen to, understand, and allow for the articulation of a range of adolescent subjectivities". It is imperative that alternative conceptualisations and opinions of student-teacher sexualised relationships are explored, in this case especially adolescent subjectivities, as this study has attempted to do. The three research questions are answered sequentially below.

The key results under each research question are discussed and addressed in relation to the literature. Unfortunately, as demonstrated in the 'Introduction', the literature is remarkably thin and thus many of the results are discussed descriptively. In addition, an analytical research question relating to the notion of moral panics, is addressed. Limitations to the study are presented, although where they have appeared and been addressed elsewhere in the text they are excluded here.

## 4.2 Key Research Questions

### ***4.2.1 Research Question One – Prevalence of Student-Teacher Sex***

Prevalence data was divided into third-person accounts of student-teacher sex and sexual activity, and first-person accounts of student-teacher sex, sexual activity, sexual harassment and being shown sexual content.

Third-person accounts of sex are somewhat lower than similar studies. Previous studies, in Kenya (Ruto, 2009) and Malawi (Burton, 2005), have reported between 21 and 33% of students knowing of a student having sex with a teacher, compared to 12% in the current study. Third-person knowledge of sexual activity was, however, far higher with four in ten participants knowing of a student having sexual activity with a teacher.

First-person accounts of sexual harassment, two in ten students being made to feel uncomfortable by something a teacher had done or said sexually, are much higher than reported in a Tanzanian study in which 9% of students claimed to have been sexually harassed by a teacher (Mgalla et al., 1998). This number increased drastically when 'white' accounts of sexual harassment are considered – four in ten 'white' students reported sexual harassment.

First-person accounts of sex with a teacher bore striking similarity to other studies on the continent. Three studies, in Ghana (Afenyadu & Goparaju, 2003), Guyana (Gill-Marshall, 2000) and Kenya (Ruto, 2009), showed student-teacher prevalence rates of between 2.5 and 3%, compared to a rate of 3.6% in the current study. Almost one in twenty-five students claimed to have had sex with a teacher. Two in twenty-five participants claimed to have had sexual activity with a teacher, ranging from dating through to kissing and being touched sexually by a teacher. The only comparable South African figure comes from Madu (2001). In a study of undergraduate psychology students, Madu found that .94% of participants had experienced sexual intercourse before the age of 17 with a school teacher. Unfortunately the results are not comparable with other South African studies, because of differing definitions and operationalisation.

In discussing the prevalence data which emerged in this study, I return to the two statements made in the 'Introduction' regarding the alleged prevalence rate of student-teacher sexualised relationships. Charles Phahlane, Gauteng Education spokesperson, said "it was good that sexual abuse allegations in schools were being dealt with" but he "emphasised these were isolated incidents" (SAPA, 2010a). Several years earlier, Jeff Linton, the curriculum director in Connecticut commented, "I don't know if this [sic] kind of cases have increased or not, because I don't have statistics, but it seems stories of these types are more prevalent in the media. It seems we hear about these cases more quickly" (Curriculum Administrator, 2001). Two questions arise from consideration of these statements: firstly, has the media created a moral panic around student-teacher sexual relationships? Secondly, how many relationships of this kind are "too many"? In other words, what percentage would we consider 'high' and at what point does this issue become one of major concern? The first question, pertaining to moral panics, is addressed under 'Analytical Research Questions', below.

This brings us to the second question raised by Phahlane and Linton's comments: how much student-teacher sex is "too much"? At what point does this become a matter of national concern and a policy priority? It is difficult to make a value judgment on the significance of the results and

prevalence data presented in this thesis. Such a value judgement would differ for religious institutions, policy makers, education officials, involved and uninvolved teachers and students, parents, and the 'general' public. What cannot be discounted, even in light of the methodological constraints on this data which are discussed more fully below, is that students are having sex with their teachers and that from the statistics presented here, in conjunction with other anecdotal evidence from South African studies and prevalence data on the continent, these are not isolated incidents of student-teacher liaisons. What is far less easily agreed upon is what these relationships look like.

#### **4.2.2 Research Question Two – Circumstances of Student-Teacher Sex**

Unfortunately, the data provided in this study do not paint a neat picture of student-teacher sex. For many participants, a teacher's verbal or physical sexual advances are unwelcome and make the student feel uncomfortable. With statistics ranging from 19% across groups, to as high as 39% within certain groups, behaviours which may be classified as sexual harassment are a major factor in students' school lives. Not all advances are, however, wholly unwelcome. Some students initiate relationships, pursuing eligible or 'hot' teachers, while others openly consent to a relationship based on love and affection. Some acquiesce for better grades, and others for status, protection, fun, or power. Some have sex with teachers for things they want, others for things they need.

While it appears that some students are having oral, anal, or vaginal sex with their teachers, many more are not going quite as far, while still getting involved in sexualised relationships with teachers – they are dating teachers, kissing teachers, showing naked pictures of themselves to teachers, and being touched sexually by teachers. Some appear to be doing so out of love and others are doing so for gain. Still, between 0.8% and 2.7% claimed to have been sexually assaulted by a teacher – including rape, attempted rape and being physically forced to do something sexual. Many of these issues have been raised in qualitative case reports from studies in several African countries and in South Africa, which have been described in the 'Introduction'.

The range of sexual behaviours which students enter into with teachers, combined with circumstances of direct abuse (sexual abuse, assault and harassment), and the reasons for which students partake in these relationships, suggest that there is no 'typical' student-teacher sexualised relationship. Nor is there a 'typical' student who has relationships with teachers. On some of the key variables there were significant differences either across gender, 'race' or SES

ranking yet even where significance occurred the effect sizes of the independent variables were negligible.

Participants in the 'Have-a-lot' ranking reported student-teacher sexual relationships significantly less than the other two categories and significantly more 'black' participants knew of a student having sex with a teacher than other 'race' groups, but on both the SES and 'race' differences the effect sizes were small suggesting that neither contribute much predictive value in ascertaining what 'kind' of student knows of student-teacher sex. Participants in the 'Have-enough' category were statistically more likely to know of a teacher having sexual activity with a teacher than in either of the other SES rankings, but 'race' showed no significant difference on this variable.

In the analyses of sexual harassment, gender and 'race' showed differences with significantly more females than expected claiming to have experienced sexual harassment and significantly more 'white' participants claiming the same, compared to other 'race' groups. Both gender and 'race' had small effect sizes. However, when comparing the raw percentages, the percentage difference between 'white' students claiming sexual harassment compared to other 'race' groups seems substantial. There were no significant differences on either gender or SES for first-person accounts of sexual activity with a teacher and Chi-square assumptions were not upheld for 'race'. This suggests that there are no substantial differences on these three variables between students who have sexual activity with a teacher and those who do not.

It is regrettable that Chi-square analyses were not able to be run on first-person accounts of student-teacher sex. A look at the descriptive statistics can give some insight. Looking at the modal descriptors, a 'typical' participant who had sex with a teacher might be as follows. They would be male, 'black', and in the upper SES bracket. They would have been over 18 when they had consensual sex with one teacher at the teacher's home for which they received nothing in return.

Such a 'typical' description of course cannot be statistically tested due to small sub-sample sizes, but some points are worth making. While according to modal characteristics the participant was more likely to be male, still over 40% of the first-person accounts of sex were from females. Similarly, while most of the first-person accounts came from 'black' participants, nearly the same amount came from 'coloured' participants and nearly a third of all accounts fell into each SES bracket. The vast majority of participants claimed they were over 18 years old

when they had sex, but 11 said they were under the legal age of consent. While eleven participants didn't receive anything for sex, 7 received tangible things such as better grades, things they needed or things they wanted, suggesting that these relationships are highly transactional. And while most participants had sex at the teacher's house, 3 had sex on school property.

A description of a 'typical' student who has sex with a teacher is somewhat useful, but can also be highly misleading if not compared statistically to the number of participants in the sample corresponding to each characteristic. For example, while males made up the majority of first-person accounts, they only accounted for 30% of the total sample suggesting that the proportion of males who have sex with a teacher is much higher than the proportion of females who do so.

These results are useful as descriptors and to stimulate thinking about some of the circumstances of student-teacher sexual relationships, but should be interpreted cautiously and not used to support meta-narratives around gender, class and, especially, 'race'. The disaggregated Chi-square results allow broad generalisations about what groups are statistically more likely to know of a student-teacher sexualised relationship or have experienced sexual harassment. When analysing the effect sizes of these statistical differences between groups, however, it becomes clear that neither gender, 'race' nor SES ranking had a major effect on whether a participant had experienced sexual harassment, had been shown sexual content, had sexual activity with a teacher or knew of a student who had sex or sexual activity with a teacher.

The assumptions for Chi-square analysis were not upheld on several of the analyses, with small cell counts or minimum expected values prohibiting meaningful comparisons between groups. The small effect sizes throughout this study, coupled with the constraints of the study size and the somewhat skewed groupings (for example on gender and 'race'), leave us reticent to make sweeping conclusions about the impact of 'race', socio-economic status and gender on students' experiences of student-teacher sex. It is strongly advised that all statistically significant results related to gender, SES and 'race' are interpreted with extreme caution and are treated accordingly. That being said, it is imperative that the effects of these variables are investigated further and that the constraints experienced in this study are taken into account when designing future studies which will be able to address the impact of 'race', class and gender in relation to student-teacher sex.

#### **4.2.3 Research Question Three – Opinions on Student-Teacher Sex**

Angelides (2007) questions the appropriateness of a prison term as punishment for what she terms an unethical decision to enter into a consensual sexual relationship with a student. In other words, should student-teacher sex be criminalised outright or governed by ethical codes which take into account the uniqueness of each case? Certainly, participants' opinions on the appropriateness and legality of student-teacher sex raise some questions in this regard. A large percentage of participants felt that it was not permissible for a teacher to date a student and between 36 and 54% of students felt that teacher-student sex was never 'okay' or should be illegal. The discrepancy in answers on these two closely related questions is difficult to explain. Why it should be more acceptable for students for a teacher to have sex with a student than for a teacher to date a student is obscure. Perhaps, as the questionnaire progressed, students thought about their opinions more, eventually concluding that despite thinking it is acceptable in certain circumstances, on balance it should be illegal. Certainly it appears that for many participants student-teacher sex is not permissible.

In defending why student-teacher sex is not acceptable, participants referred to issues of abuse of power; *quid pro quo* and hostile environment coercion and harassment; contravention of legal, moral and ethical codes; negative consequences for the student and for the teacher; and negative impact on the schooling environment for other students. These opinions were often combined with strong value judgments – with participants claiming somewhat vehemently that such relationships are “*gross*” and “*disgusting*”. Even so, the discrepancy in opinions across the three acceptability questions – especially in the many cases in which students said student-teacher sex should be illegal and yet sanctioned it in certain circumstances – suggests that even these students are not entirely settled in their opinion of the phenomenon. Several participants who were against student-teacher sex vacillated in their answers suggesting some uncertainty in their own opinion, for example one participant's answer went thus: “*Students sleep with teachers in order to get higher marks. Then again you don't ask to fall in love with someone, but that still doesn't make it okay for a learner to sleep with a teacher, unless they know how to keep things professional. It is still wrong!!!*” (#213, Male, 17yrs).

These findings do not discount or discredit opinions which were broadly in line with Transgressional and Power discourses, of which there were many. The aim of this study was, however, to “listen to, understand, and allow for the articulation of a range of adolescent subjectivities” (Angelides, 2007: 358). A range of opinions is discussed below.

It appears that just under half of the participants do not feel as strongly against student-teacher relationships as the law in South Africa does. They raise a number of arguments against criminalization. They hold that student-teacher relationships are acceptable in certain circumstances, most notably when the relationship is conducted off of school premises, when the student is over 18 years old, and when the relationship is consensual. They suggest that a student-teacher relationship is acceptable if a student is over the age of consent or is mature, if there is not a substantial age difference between the two, if there is mutual attraction, the relationship is based on love and care or if the student is receiving something in return for sex. They give rights-based arguments in suggesting that students and teachers should be allowed to choose whom they date and with whom they have sex.

Sikes raised the point that the conclusion to the student-teacher sex debate is usually that “because of the power differential between teacher and pupil, a differential with its basis in authority and agency conferred by position, trust and, usually, age, all such relationships are, inevitably, wrong and exploitative” (2006: 269). Some participants in this study disrupted this commonly-held assumption. Participants challenged transgression on the basis of age by proposing that some students are mature enough for such relationships, usually suggesting that the legal age of consent should mark the boundary of inappropriateness: for example, 34.5% of participants said student-teacher sex was permissible if the student was over 18. Likewise, for these participants, while an age differential did sometimes determine appropriateness, they gave clear guidelines on what kind of differential they deemed acceptable (for example, 2-3 years or about 6 years). Seventeen percent said student-teacher sex was permissible if there was less than a ten-year age gap.

Many participants, however, supported the assumption that a power differential based on position, trust and age, classified “all such relationships [as], inevitably, wrong and exploitative” (Sikes, 2006: 269) as evidenced by the large number of participants whose answers against these relationships encompassed Transgressional themes. Significantly, while some participants were able to cite specific consequences and penalties as a reason why student-teacher relationships were wrong (e.g. break-up of marriages, pregnancy, loss of reputation), most of the participants did not appeal to any specific reason why it was unethical, unprofessional or inappropriate. This suggests that many participants who feel that student-teacher sex is wrong subscribe to legal positions and the dominant discourse without necessarily being able to support their opinion. Porteus *et al.* (2002), in a study exploring the values of stakeholders in South African education, claimed that “the value system under Apartheid propagated a strong

sense of hierarchy, a polarised conception of ‘right’ vs. ‘wrong,’ and a follow-the-rules ethic over creative expression” (p. 19). Black-and-white moral claims, accompanied by strong value judgments, such as those expressed by most participants who coded on ‘Transgression’, support this assertion.

Of particular interest regarding position of power debates were some participants’ assertions that a teacher’s position and authority had spatial boundaries and that outside of school gates a teacher was no longer a teacher, but “*a person too*”. There is some literature which has shown that students will often deny teachers are ‘proper’ people or sexual beings (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). The results of this study show an opposite view. While the argument which occurred in the isiXhosa focus group was not straightforward or unanimous, interesting ideas regarding the teachers’ roles and position were raised.

As one participant asked, “*Teaching is a profession: why is it not a problem if a school child has a relationship with someone in another profession that is not teaching?*” Participants struggled over these ideas – some claimed that teaching was just a job, others that the teacher has a vital role in growing and shaping, a position that extends into his community life or that a teacher is like a parent. While a look at the focus group excerpt suggests that the “bounded teacher” view was held by only a few, 38.3% of participants said student-teacher sex was acceptable as long as it was off school premises. This suggests that for many participants the teachers’ persona changes when he/she leaves the school property, nullifying his/her position of authority over the student and the encompassing appropriate boundaries.

Many more participants listed reasons why students and teachers should not engage in relationships. Several of these raised interesting points around coercion, suggesting that teachers use, manipulate, intimidate, and take advantage of vulnerable students. Participants referenced *quid pro quo* and hostile environment concerns. Firstly, they referred to teachers using their power to take advantage of students’ age or circumstances, bribing them with things and grades or claiming to love students while just using them. Secondly, participants argued that a relationship could not only distract a student from his or her school work, but could also change the dynamics in the classroom, severely disadvantaging other students or creating a hostile environment for students who were not sleeping with the teacher. To illustrate, in one pilot school, the research assistant conducting the pilot noticed that one of the students was not wearing school clothes, had lots of makeup on and her hair done up. She lounged, in a short skirt, on one of the chairs and refused to participate saying she didn’t have to. Later she walked

out. When the assistant asked the class what it was all about they responded saying she was sleeping with the teacher and did whatever she liked.

Shakeshaft (2004) has detailed some of the effects of “educator sexual misconduct” on targeted students, with participants detailing emotional, educational, and developmental or health effects. Students who have been victims of educator sexual misconduct tend to stay at home or miss class, not want to study, receive lower grades, and get into trouble more frequently. Many report feeling embarrassed, less confident, afraid, and confused about their identity. Of course such effects are detailed for students who have been “abused” and may not apply in situations, such as many described in this study, where students engage willingly and consensually in sexual relationships with teachers, initiate such relationships, claim to be in love, receive things they want or status for sex or are mature students over the age of consent. This is an area where more research could be focussed to tease out the effects of student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships.

Modleski (2000) warns that our responsibility in addressing student-teacher sex is not only to the students involved in such relationships, but to all students who should all be treated “as evenhandedly as possible”. Concerns of favouritism and classroom dynamics were raised by participants in this study, and such concerns must be heeded. A student-teacher relationship may not necessarily create a hostile environment for the student involved, but it is likely that it will create a hostile environment for other students in the school. Shakeshaft (2004) has noted that more research on the effects of student-teacher sexualised relationships on other students needs to be done, but cites research from workplace sexual harassment studies which shows that the climate and culture of a workplace changes in environments where sexual harassment is prevalent. Furthermore she suggests that the negative effects of a student-teacher relationship may spread to other staff and students although there are currently no studies examining these effects. This is an area for future research. In the meantime, it is worth noting that the Education Department’s responsibility to protect and maintain a conducive learning environment for all students may require the kind of blanket policy which Sikes has questioned (2006), even if it is at the expense of the liberty of the few who would be involved with a teacher. Modleski (2000) notes that some institutions have adopted student-teacher sex policies based on the issue of favouritism rather than consent.

Modleski (2000) also raises an excellent point regarding the potential for nasty reprisals once a student-teacher relationship has ended. He suggests that such reprisals could turn “consensual

sex' into *quid pro quo* sexual harassment after the fact." Importantly, if laws regarding student-teacher sex were lifted or even adjusted such as Angelides suggests (2007), in the case where a relationship had been consensual at its onset, the student would have no means of legal appeal or redress once the relationship had ended and turned sour.

### *Addressing Student-Teacher Sexualised Relationships*

There are several issues of student-teacher sexualised relationships which should be addressed at a provincial curriculum level. For example, it is a cause for concern that in poverty quintile 5 schools, from which the majority of 'Have-a-lot' SES ranked participants come, discussion of student-teacher sex is significantly less part of the curriculum than in the other school poverty quintiles and SES rankings. On the one hand it is encouraging that student-teacher sex is addressed in classes in those schools where there are more third-person reports of students and teachers having relationships (i.e. in the 'Have-not' and 'Have-enough' SES rankings) and more participants being shown sexual content by teachers. In light of the comparatively higher rates of reported sexual harassment amongst white participants, almost all of whom are in poverty quintile 5 schools, it is imperative that this should be addressed and that student-teacher sex and sexual relationships are discussed more as part of the official curriculum. In fact, across the board just under 50% of participants said that student-teacher sex was never discussed as part of the school curriculum and, given the prevalence data presented in this study, it is surprising that student-teacher sex is not discussed officially more frequently. To illustrate the point, at the end of the survey administration when discussing the legal position on student-teacher sex with participants, almost all participants were surprised that it was illegal. This lack of knowledge of their legal rights may enable teachers to capitalise on their own position of power and students' ignorance, leading to an environment where sexual assault, sexual harassment and sexual abuse can flourish.

It is strongly suggested that the Western Cape Education Department makes it a priority to include components on student-teacher sexual relationships, student-teacher sexual harassment, rights, and laws governing these relationships in the official curriculum, and to ensure that such components are addressed in the early grades. Participants themselves felt this was an appropriate way to address the issue of student-teacher sex (35.9% said it should be talked about in Life Orientation classes), but also strongly suggested that students should be offered support and that teachers should be given training about handling relationships. The WCED is ahead of the rest of the country on issues of sexual abuse in schools, it is the only district with an official policy on dealing with sexual abuse, but there is more work to be done.

The issue of student-teacher sex, both consensual and non-consensual issues and some of the dynamics raised thus far in the discussion around consent, desire, transaction, and power, is well-suited to be addressed in the Life Orientation curriculum under Learner Outcome One, Personal Well-Being (Department of Education, 2003). This component focuses on and addresses issues of self-concept, relationships, and sexual behaviour, with a focus on personal decisions and viewpoints or values regarding these issues. Studies in Africa have shown primary school students (Omale, 1999; Burton, 2005) and students in Grade 9 (Swartz, 2007) involved in sexualised relationships with teachers. While it is recommended that these issues are addressed from as early as possible, they fall neatly into the learning outcomes for Grades 10-12 which cover concepts of 'power' and 'power relations' in sexual relationships, responsible decision making in relationships that contribute/are detrimental to individual well-being, values in relationships and negative effects of abuse of power on health and well-being.

### **4.3 Analytical Research Question**

One of the questions raised in the discussion of the prevalence of student-teacher sex is whether media reports have created a "moral panic" around the issue of student-teacher sexualised relationships. Certainly in South Africa in the past two years, an increasing number of media articles have addressed allegations of student-teacher sex. The topic is increasingly prevalent in the media, but has not been accompanied by an increase in research. It is imperative to ascertain whether these cases are increasing or whether the issue just appears to be growing as a result of increased media attention. We must ask if the media has created a moral panic around student-teacher sexual relationships.

#### **4.3.1 Moral Panics**

Stanley Cohen, in his seminal work, introduced the following definition of "moral panics" (1972: 9):

a condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests: its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians, and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved, or ( more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.

Moral panics are often concerned with the behaviour of young people and/or moral deviance. In moral panics, the sudden rise of an issue in the public conscience may mobilise concern, advocacy and action around a “real” social problem. Yet there is often a gap between the “reality” of the situation and public perception of it (Ben-Yehuda, 1986).

Two factors characterise moral panics – the first is the virulent use of sensationalised anecdotal evidence which brings the issue to the fore, and the second is the use of statistics and numbers to back claims (Best, 1990). These figures are often exaggerated and broadly disseminated. This is not to say that the moral panic is entirely made-up – as Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) assert, moral panics generally flourish in circumstances where there is a latent, genuinely felt public concern around the issue already. In their words, the public genuinely feels that “a given phenomenon represents a real and present threat to their values, their safety, or even their very existence” (1994: 161). What is crucial in the theorizing on moral panics is that they serve a very clear role: to draw the line between conflicting moral universes. Ben-Yehuda notes that “creating the moral panic provide[s] a golden opportunity for actors adhering to one moral symbolic universe to fabricate an antagonistic moral universe, attack it, and thus redefine moral-symbolic boundaries between the morally desirable and the morally undesirable.” (1986: 510).

There are two ways of ascertaining whether or not media reporting has created a moral panic in the eyes of the public on the issue of student-teacher sex and sexualised relationships. Firstly, we can compare the number of articles addressing or referring to student-teacher sex in a given year with the incidence rate of relationships in the same time frame. Unfortunately, the current research does not allow us to make such a comparison. On the one hand it would entail a thorough content-analysis of all the major newspapers in the country, or at least in the Western Cape, to draw out all the articles on student-teacher sex and then to analyse the number of separate cases reported. During the same period a representative study across the country or province on the incidence of student-teacher sex would need to be conducted. In addition, it would be wise to conduct a public perception survey to ascertain the public’s opinion on how wide-spread the problem is. There is room for a follow-up study in South Africa which would address this issue directly and be able to provide comparative data on the perception and portrayal of how prevalent these relationships are with the reported incidence across the country.

The second way to address the issue of whether or not a moral panic has been created is to ascertain what public sentiment such articles have created around the issue. If, as Ben-Yehuda claims, the purpose of a moral panic is to “redefine moral-symbolic boundaries” (1986: 510), then we can ask whether this has been accomplished. What purpose are news articles on student-teacher sex serving? What sentiment has been created in public opinion as to the moral desirability or undesirability of these relationships? Such a question can be answered with public opinion surveys and a discourse analysis of news articles to establish the kinds of discourses around student-teacher sex which they are promulgating. Here too is a possible direction for future research.

## **4.4 Limitations**

### **4.4.1 Time Constraints**

The 2010 World Cup term adjustments cut into the study time, putting strain on data collection especially, and the teachers' union strikes further impeded the study timetable (Patsanza, 2010). This resulted in the sample size being reduced from 30 schools to 23. The reduced school terms also meant that the sampling frame excluded rural schools.

### **4.4.2 Scope**

Given the dearth of research in this area and the severe lack of prevalence data or any study dealing directly with this phenomena, it is believed the sample size was adequate as a starting point for exploring the dynamics of student-teacher sex in South Africa. The study results are, however, not generalisable beyond the sampling frame. Also, given the relative SES deprivation of rural areas compared to urban areas, their isolation in terms of accountability and supervision, as well as the numerous anecdotal and media reports detailing the existence of student-teacher sexual relationships in rural areas, it is imperative that future research examines outlying schools.

### **4.4.3 Methodology**

Given the private and sensitive nature of the research phenomenon being investigated, and how morally-charged an area it is, it is possible that results do not portray a highly accurate prevalence rate. The survey was administered to the whole class at the same time – students may have been afraid of classmates seeing their answers, noting what page of the survey they were spending time on, as well as the length of time they took to finish. In addition, while

anonymity and confidentiality were assured, students took this on trust and may have been afraid to be open about their own and classmates' experiences. These kinds of circumstances may have impacted on students' honesty and openness.

# **CHAPTER 5**

## **CONCLUSION**

University of Cape Town

## Conclusion

We return to Angelides' accusation that "we are sometimes more concerned with defending ideological positions, laws, and politics than we are with seeking to understand the complexity of sexual relations and seeking, genuinely, to listen to, understand, and allow for the articulation of a range of adolescent subjectivities" (2007: 358). This thesis has not provided a neat picture of student-teacher sexualised relationships – if anything, it has merely muddied the waters. It has introduced a range of behaviours, opinions and complexities which disrupt the way we have always thought of and conceptualised student-teacher sexualised relationships. The data presented in this thesis shows that there is no 'typical' student-teacher sexualised relationship.

Modleski claims that "when the topic is student-teacher sex or sexual harassment, it is the norm to talk about the exception and the exception to talk about the norm" (2000: 597). In South Africa the exceptions have been spoken about too little. This thesis has sought to move beyond the dominant discourse of 'Transgression' and 'Power' and to explore the ambit of student-teacher sexualised relationships: how often they occur, what kinds of forms they take, why they happen, and how they are perceived. I have not sought to address how such a relationship should be dealt with. Sikes asked the rhetorical question as to "whether an unequivocal blanket prohibition on pupil-teacher relationships is appropriate" (2006: 269). I have not answered this question – nor did I ever intend to. Such considerations, I believe, are not in my hands to address, although some recommendations for further research are made above. It is encouraging that there are already plans to continue this study and expand the insights gained so far.

The current research provides a platform from which to expand scope and generalisability of results in future studies. This research will contribute to the overall results of a larger study on student-teacher sex, currently being undertaken by the Human and Social Development research programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). That project will survey and interview teachers, students, and other stakeholders, including uninvolved learners, uninvolved educators, parents, School Governing Body members, police, social workers, Department of Education officials, Trade Union officials and South African Council of Educators members. It is expected that once this thesis is submitted, the HSRC will replicate the project design and survey in Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal.

It is envisaged that the current research, combined with the intended expansion of it, will also result in a workshop, hosted by the HSRC, in which a series of policy and practice recommendations will be made. Key stakeholders from teachers' unions, young people's organisations, the South African Council of Educators, the National Department of Education and the South African Human Rights Commission will be invited to participate. Included amongst these will be recommendations regarding the revision of current legislation, ways for enforcing ethical guidelines for educators and practical educational interventions for young people to assist them in protecting themselves from the practice, seeking help once they are involved and providing skills for assessing the wisdom of their own voluntary involvement.

There is much yet to be done in the field of student-teacher sex. The picture is not complete. The phenomenon is complex: it has countless voices. Its experience is nuanced; its morality, ethicality and acceptability contested. It is sometimes comparatively harmless and at other times considerably harmful. This thesis has only begun to describe all its many faces and facets. It has attempted, and one hopes succeeded, to "**make the familiar strange**" (Sikes, 2006: 266).

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# APPENDICES

# Appendix 1 Summary of Studies of Student-Teacher Sex

## 1.1 Summary of Reports from Africa

Study/Report	Area	Sample/Methodology	Key Results
Chege (2006)	Eastern and Southern Africa Region	Secondary analysis of several reports from ESAR.	Qualitative reports of sexual harassment and sexual abuse of students by teachers, teachers propositioning students. No statistics provided.
Afenyadu & Goparaju (2003)	Ghana	11 focus group discussions with in-school adolescents, out-of-school adolescents, trained teachers, and former National Service Scheme (NSS) male teachers.	33% of sexually active girls surveyed reported being forced to have sex. Teachers accounted for 5% of those forcing female adolescents to have sex. 3% of in-school girls reported having sex with a teacher. One third of the teachers knew of another teacher who had sex with a student. Focus group of female in-school adolescents suggested that 6/10 sexual relationships between students and teachers was based on mutual agreement related to marks, money or love. Coercion by false pretences accounted for the remaining relationships.
Goparaju, Afenyadu, Benton, Wells & Alema-Mensah, (2003)	Ghana	11 focus group discussions with in-school adolescents, out-of-school adolescents, trained teachers, and former National Service Scheme (NSS) male teachers.	Qualitative reports that sexual relationships between teachers and students are "common". If girls did not agree to have sex, they were coerced or their lives were made difficult in class. Reports by some participants that girls also compete for teachers' attention and enjoy it.
Dunne (2007)	Ghana and Botswana	12 ethnographic case studies	Student-teacher love affairs cited and teacher-student sexual harassment. Reports that few cases result in disciplinary action.
Gill-Marshall (2000)	Guyana	24 schools, 1,200 students (age 9-17)	2.5 % of the students reported having sex with teachers. 9.8% reported being fondled by their teachers at school. Male students were three times more likely to report having had sex with their teachers than female students.
Omale (1999)	Kenya		Anecdotal reports of teachers having sex with primary school students.
Hakijamii	Kenya	Teachers Service Commission	12,660 girls sexually abused by

Economic and Social Rights Centre (2009)		(TSC) and the non-profit making organisation Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW) joint report (sample characteristics unknown)	male teachers between 2003 and 2007. 633 teachers charged with sexual abuse over same period. Estimates that 90% of sexual abuse cases never reach the TSC.
Ruto (2009)	Kenya	70 schools, 1,279 children (ages 10-18).	16.1% girls propositioned by teachers; 17.4% yielded to the love proposal and entered into a relationship with the teacher. Of a total of 1,158 children who responded, 256 or 21% claimed to know of a girl who was engaging in sex with the teacher. 26.2 % of students surveyed knew of a girl who had been impregnated by a teacher
Burton (2005)	Malawi	Nationally representative sample of 4,500 children (3,000 girls and 1,500 boys.) 4,412 children interviewed, using a quantitative questionnaire. (Ages 9-13 and 14 <)	33% of children aged 14 years and older and 22.9% of the children 13 years and younger reported that teachers sleep with children in their school in return for better grades. 83.6% of the younger children and 33.8% of older children reported knowing someone who had been sexually victimised by a teacher in return for good grades.
Mgalla, Schapink and Boerma (1998)	Tanzania	62 schools. Head teacher and guardian interviewed. 1219 girls interviewed (ages 13-19).	9% sexually harassed by school teacher. Male teachers used rape, other forms of coercion and their position of authority to get girls to have sex.
Plummer et al (2007)	Tanzania	Unknown.	Anecdotal reports of sexual relationships between male teachers and female students in eight villages. Stories about one or two male teachers per village who in recent years had impregnated schoolgirls (four schools), had been caught having sex with pupils (three schools) and/ or had pressurised girls to have sex (three schools).
Mirembe (2003)	Uganda	11 schools.	8% of female students reported having had a sexual relationship with teachers.
Nhundu & Shumba (2001)	Zimbabwe	Retrospective case series study of reported cases of child sexual abuse. 1990 –1997 case period, study sample of 110 nonclinical case files of teacher perpetrators.	98% of the victims were girls. All perpetrators were male teachers. Penetrative sex was the most prevalent (70%) type of sexual abuse.
Shumba (2001)	Zimbabwe	Content analysis was used to generate data from the files of reported perpetrators of child abuse.	212 sexual abuse cases, 33 physical abuse cases and one emotional abuse case were reported. Majority of perpetrators (65.6%) had 'sexual intercourse' with their pupils;

			26% wrote 'love letters' to them; 10.9% were involved in 'fondling (breasts, buttocks, thighs, private parts), kissing or hugging'; 1.9% 'raped or attempted rape'; and 0.5% 'showed a pornographic material' to a pupil. Female perpetrators were also involved in sexual abuse of pupils
Leach & Machakanja (2000)	Zimbabwe, Ghana, Malawi	Unknown	Qualitative reports of teacher-student sex in exchange for high grades/money. Girls reticent to report for fear of blame, ridicule, victimization.

University of Cape Town

## 1.2 Summary of Reports from South Africa

Study/Report	Area	Sample/Methodology	Key Results
Medical Research Council (1998)	South Africa	11,735 women between age 15 and 49.	Among those rape victims who specified their relationship to the perpetrator, 37.7% said perpetrator was teacher or principal.
Wood & Jewkes (1998)	South Africa		Qualitative reports of girls told that if they do not agree to have sex with their teacher they will fail the school year.
Human Rights Watch (2001)	South Africa: Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Western Province	8 public schools. Interviews with 36 girls about their experiences with sexual violence and sexual harassment.	Qualitative reports of widespread serious sexual misconduct towards underage female students by teachers. Reports that teachers have raped, sexually assaulted, sexually abused, and sexually harassed girls. Threats of physical violence or corporal punishment, overt use of force or threats or force, abuse of authority by offering better grades or money to pressure girls for sexual favours or dating relationships.
Madu (2001)	South Africa	722 male and female undergraduate students of Psychology.	57 experienced sexual intercourse before age 17 with an "adult or person at least 5 years older or in a position of power over the child." 12.3% of perpetrators were teachers.
Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw (2002)	South Africa	11,735 women between age 15 and 49.	1.65% reported being raped before the age of 15. One third of rapes perpetrated by school teachers.
Abrahams, Mathews & Ramela (2006)	South Africa	Participatory action research at three schools in South Africa. 81 girls age 16 <), teachers and other relevant school personnel.	Qualitative reports of sexual harassment by male teachers at all three schools
HRC (2006)	South Africa	Unknown	WCED: 1-4 cases reported a month of sexual abuse or sexual harassment of students by teachers. TVEP: 1227 victims of sexual abuse (students). 8.58% of cases perpetrated by teacher.
Swartz (2009)	Western Cape	Multi-year Ethnography. High-school students in Langa school.	Teacher-student sex common. Spoken of as "open secret".

## Appendix 2 Ethical Clearance

### **2.1 University of Cape Town Humanities Ethics Committee Electronic Approval**

(Note: The attached is a copy of email correspondence from my supervisor, Jacques de Wet)

from Jacques De Wet <Jacques.DeWet@uct.ac.za>  
to Valerie Anderson <valerie.duffield@gmail.com>  
date Fri, Mar 26, 2010 at 9:41 AM  
subject Re: WCED Approval  
mailed-by uct.ac.za

Hi Valerie

I sent your proposal to Owen Crankshaw, the head of the Faculty Ethics committee, for ethics approval. I phoned him this morning and he confirms that he has read the proposal but hadn't had an opportunity to email me his response. Our decision is to give you the go-ahead on condition that the usual ethical issues of anonymity and confidentiality of your respondents are upheld and that you explicitly state this on your questionnaire. Furthermore, in addition to obtaining permission from the Education Department and school principals, you are required to solicit each student's consent before they participate in the study.

There are a number of flaws in the survey questionnaire which I'd like you to sort out before you proceed. The main concern is that a number of the questions require students to give more than one answer from a list of possible answers. This will create major problems for you when you get to data capturing and analysis. I strongly recommend that you change these questions. Phone me on 021-6504638 to discuss how best to do this. The other problem is a broader issue of causality and you should read more on the topic to guide you in your analysis and how you treat your results. This is important matter, but not as urgent as the first one mentioned above.

Yours...Jacques

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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error, please notify the author. If you are not the intended recipient of the e-mail you may not use, disclose, copy, redirect or print the content. If this e-mail is not related to the business of UCT it is sent by the sender in the sender's individual capacity.

## 2.2 Western Cape Education Department Permission to Conduct Study

Navrae  
Enquiries **Dr RS Cornelissen**  
IMibuzo  
Telefoon  
Telephone **(021) 467-2286**  
IFoni  
Faks  
Fax **(021) 425-7445**  
IFeksi  
Verwysing  
Reference **20100412-0061**  
ISalathiso



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**Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement**

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**Western Cape Education Department**

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**ISEbe leMfundo leNtshona Koloni**

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Mrs Valerie-Claire Anderson  
131 Die Rand  
Dan Pienaar Street  
STELLENBOSCH  
7800

**Dear Mrs V. Anderson**

### **RESEARCH PROPOSAL: STUDENTS WHO HAVE SEX WITH TEACHERS: A PERSPECTIVE FROM THE WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT STUDENTS.**

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. The programmes of Educators are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **12<sup>th</sup> April 2010 to 30<sup>th</sup> September 2010.**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr R. Cornelissen at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as submitted to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

**The Director: Research Services**

**Western Cape Education Department  
Private Bag X9114  
CAPE TOWN  
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Ronald S. Cornelissen  
for: **HEAD: EDUCATION**  
**DATE: 12<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

University of Cape Town

# Appendix 3 Participant Access and Confidentiality

## 3.1 Letter Requesting School Access



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA - UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

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131 Die Rand  
Dan Pienaar Street  
Stellenbosch  
7600

[Valerie.duffield@gmail.com](mailto:Valerie.duffield@gmail.com)

[Date]

[School Address]

Dear [Principal],

### Conducting research at [Name of School]

I am a South African currently working towards my MPhil Development Studies at the University of Cape Town. My research concerns the prevalence and circumstances of students who have sex with teachers at a high-school level. This topic has emerged from a consideration of the ongoing National Department of Education's moral regeneration movement and values in education initiative, and the research forms part of a larger research undertaking currently in the proposal stage with the Human Sciences Research Council. As such, the research will contribute to the overall results of that project. The implementation of professional codes of ethical practice and the refining of policy and legal frameworks to protect children and youth are critical features of this study.

I have sought and obtained permission from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct research in schools, a copy of which I have provided for your records, but would now like to request your permission to administer a survey to a home class of the 2010 Grade 12 year group. I will be conducting this phase of the research during [date], 2010. If you and your staff were able to accommodate me, I would be most grateful for the opportunity to spend time in your school conducting my research. I believe that my work will entail minimal disruption to your school's formal programme. If it is possible, I would like to:

- Describe the study to learners and invite them to participate
- Send home consent forms with the selected home class to be signed by the participants and their parents/guardians
- Administer a 20 minute survey to the selected participants.

I will of course be happy to provide a copy of the completed thesis to the school.

While conducting my research I will be under the dual supervision of the University of Cape Town and the Human Sciences Research Council. If you have any queries regarding this research please feel free to contact me or either of the following people who serve as supervisors of my research:

Dr Jacques P de Wet  
Department of Sociology  
University of Cape Town  
Rondebosch  
7701  
South Africa  
Telephone number : +27 21 650 4638  
Email: [dewetj01@yahoo.com](mailto:dewetj01@yahoo.com)

Doctor Sharlene Swartz  
Child, Youth, Family and Social Development  
Human Sciences Research Council  
Cape Town  
8000  
South Africa  
Telephone number: +27 21 466 7874  
Email: [sswartz@hsrc.ac.za](mailto:sswartz@hsrc.ac.za)

I eagerly await your response to my request.

Yours sincerely

**Valerie Anderson**  
*Masters candidate*

University of Cape Town

### 3.2 Participant Confidentiality Agreement



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131 Die Rand  
Dan Pienaar Street  
Stellenbosch  
7600

[valerie.duffield@gmail.com](mailto:valerie.duffield@gmail.com)

Dear Student,

#### The 'iTshala' Project

I would like to invite you to take part in a project I am doing about young people and their experiences and opinions about student-teacher sex. The project forms part of my studies at the University of Cape Town. It's a really important project to make sure that young people's voices, opinions, and thoughts are heard and recorded for when schools and government make policies about education. The study will run until September 2010. In order for you to take part I need your permission and your parent or guardian's permission.

#### Your part

- Complete a survey
- Treat the survey seriously and answer carefully and truthfully
- Keep everything that's asked in the survey confidential.
- Keep your answers to the survey confidential

#### My part

- Nothing you say to me will be right or wrong, I will be interested in everything you tell me.
- Nothing you tell me will be shared with anyone in a way in which you will be identified.
- Your answers in the survey will not be shared in a way in which you will be identified.
- I will use what you tell me for my University work but will not link your name to anything you say.
- If you are uncomfortable about any questions I ask you, you don't need to answer them.

I really hope you would like to participate. Please sign the attached form and get your parent/guardian to sign and bring it back to me if you would like to take part.

Thank you and looking forward to working with you.

Signed by candidate

**Valerie Anderson**  
*Youth Researcher*

*To be completed by the participant*

*What's involved:* You will be asked to complete a survey and demographic questionnaire. This should not take longer than 20 minutes. Both the school and the Western Cape Education Department have given their permission for this study to be conducted.

*Risks:* Some of the questions may make you feel uncomfortable. No-one will know your answers to the questions. However, you may withdraw from the study if you are very uncomfortable.

*Benefits:* You will not receive any direct benefits, but the information will hopefully be used to inform policy and educational decisions.

*Costs:* Participation will not cost you anything but your time. Participation in this study will not interfere with your studies and you will not be penalised if you do not participate.

*Payment:* You will not receive any payment.

The nature and purpose of this project has been explained to me and I agree to participate. I undertake to do my part. I understand that I am under no obligation to participate and I have the right to withdraw from the study. I also understand that Valerie will gladly answer any questions that arise during the course of the project.

**Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ **Telephone number** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Your Signature**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Today's Date**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Your date of birth**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Name and Signature of Guardian (if under 18):**

\*\*\*\*\*

*To be completed by the researcher*

I have discussed with the above participant the procedures, explicitly pointing out potential risks or discomforts. I have asked whether any questions remain and have answered these questions to the best of my ability.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Researcher's Signature**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**

If you have any questions please contact Valerie Anderson at  
valerie.duffield@gmail.com or 084 608 1978

### 3.3 Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement

#### Confidentiality Agreement

Research Assistant

The nature and purpose of this research has been satisfactorily explained to me and I agree to participate in this research project as a research assistant. My responsibilities will include translation of survey and questionnaire instruments, ethics forms and confidentiality agreements; administration of surveys; data capture. I will maintain the strictest confidentiality regarding the content of the research.

**Name:**

**Contact Details:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Assistant's Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signed at** \_\_\_\_\_ **on this** \_\_\_\_\_ **day of** \_\_\_\_\_ **2010.**

*Witness 1:* \_\_\_\_\_

*Witness 2:* \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Investigator**

I have discussed with [Name] the above procedures, the requirements of the position and the extent of confidentiality to be maintained. I have asked whether any questions remain and have answered these questions to the best of my ability.

**Name:** *Valerie Anderson*

**Contact Details:** *131 Die Rand, Dan Pienaar Street, Stellenbosch*

**Investigator's Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signed at** \_\_\_\_\_ **on this** \_\_\_\_\_ **day of** \_\_\_\_\_ **2010.**

*Witness 1:* \_\_\_\_\_

*Witness 2:* \_\_\_\_\_

### **3.4 Under 18 Reporting Information Hand-out**



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If you are under 18 years and a teacher has had sex with you, shown you pornography or made you do sexual acts, the teacher has committed a crime. In this study, our biggest concern is protecting you from harm. If you tell us specifically about a teacher who has had sex with you, shown you pornography or made you do sexual acts, the law says we must report this. We will call *Childline South Africa* for you. Childline will then contact a registered social worker in the area who will investigate and tell the South African Police Service (SAPS).

If you would like us to call *Childline* for you and report abuse, call or sms Valerie or Babalwa on **0846081978**. We will NOT tell your school, your teacher, or your principal that you have called us. We will ONLY tell a counsellor at *Childline*.

University of Cape Town

### 3.5 All Participants Reporting Hand-out



IF YOU ARE UNDER 18 YEARS AND A TEACHER HAS HAD SEX WITH YOU, SHOWN YOU PORNOGRAPHY OR MADE YOU DO SEXUAL ACTS, THE TEACHER HAS COMMITTED A CRIME.

WHAT TO DO...

CHILD ABUSE is when a child (anyone under 18 years) is hurt by an adult or an older child sexually, physically or emotionally.

#### SEXUAL ABUSE

Has an adult or another older person done any of these things to you:

- Touched you in places on your body that are covered by your swimming costume (your private parts)?
- Done something to you that made you feel uncomfortable or ashamed/embarrassed/confused?
- Told you to keep what has happened a secret?
- Asked you to look at pictures that make you feel funny or embarrassed or ashamed?
- Threatened to hurt you or someone you love if you tell on him or her?
- Asked you touch him or her in a way that you don't like?
- Taken pictures of you without your clothes on?
- Talked 'dirty' to you or asked you to say dirty words?
- Flirted with you, pretended that you are girlfriends or boyfriends?
- Are you scared of a particular adult because of what he or she does to you?
- Have you tried to tell someone about this and they have not believed you?
- Do you know the difference between Good Touch, Bad Touch, and Confusing Touch?
- Has an adult who has touched you on your private parts, blamed you or told you it's your fault?
- Don't try to cope on your own.

PHONE CHILDLINE on **0800 055 555**  
(Free if you phone from a landline)



IF YOU ARE OVER 18 YEARS AND A TEACHER HAS HAD SEX WITH YOU, SHOWN YOU PORNOGRAPHY OR MADE YOU DO SEXUAL ACTS **AGAINST YOUR WILL**, THE TEACHER HAS COMMITTED A CRIME.

#### WHAT TO DO...

RAPE is forced sexual intercourse. The key word here is "forced". Rape involves force and violence, or the threat of force and violence. No one has the right to force you to have intercourse against your will. It is an act of violence and a terrible abuse of power. If you have been raped, the most important thing to realise is that it wasn't your fault. You should seek support and attention immediately. Don't think about protecting the person who raped you. You are the person who needs help and protection. Rape is a crime. It is terrifying. Rape can happen to anyone of any age, male or female, boy or girl. You can be raped by a stranger, on a date, by someone you know, even by a family member. If you have been raped you are probably feeling:

- frightened
- dirty
- ashamed
- depressed
- angry
- degraded
- confused
- embarrassed

If you need to talk to someone about rape, call LifeLine. A counsellor will listen to you and put you in touch with people who can help you further. Remember it is not your fault. You can heal from this experience, with support and care.

PHONE LIFELINE HELPLINE on **(021) 461 1111**

## Appendix 4 Research Instruments

### 4.1 Focus Group Schedule

1. How did you find the survey?  
*Prompt:* Interesting, boring, too long, frustrating
2. Were any of the questions confusing?  
*Prompt:* Which ones? Why?
3. Were any of the questions too long?  
*Prompt:* Which ones?
4. Do you think any of the questions were unnecessary?  
*Prompt:* Which ones? Why?  
*Probe:* What about race question?
5. Were you uncomfortable answering any questions?
6. Do you think most people would be uncomfortable answering these questions?
7. Do you think most students would answer honestly?
8. What do you understand by the terms:
  - a. 'student-teacher sex'
  - b. 'sexual activity'
  - c. 'sexual content'
9. Do you think this issue is a problem in South Africa?
10. On questions 9 and 13, do you think there are any options missing?
11. If you were me, what kinds of things would you want to know about student-teacher sex?
12. Are there any other questions you think I should ask in the survey?

## **4.2 Vignettes**

### **Vignette 1**

Durban - Five Durban teachers accused of sexual misconduct have been suspended, the KwaZulu-Natal education department said on Thursday.

The male teachers were accused of sexual harassment against female pupils as young as 15 in exchange for money and alcohol.

About 20 students alleged teachers were frequently having sex with female pupils in the science laboratory, and had even consumed alcohol with them. The girls would allegedly receive R100 after sex. There were also allegations that some of the girls were romantically involved with the teachers. Another claim was that one pupil had dropped out of the school after being impregnated by a teacher.

Maphisa said all the claims were being investigated.

#### **Questions**

- 1. What are your initial reactions to this story?*
- 2. What if the teachers were female and the students were male?*
- 3. What if the students were older?*
- 4. What if the students were getting food? Grades?*
- 5. What about the girls who are romantically involved with the teachers?*
- 6. What should happen to a teacher who impregnates a student?*
- 7. If the teachers are found guilty, what should happen?*

## ***Vignette 2***

The Mpumalanga education department is investigating cases of sexual misconduct against teachers at five schools. But some pupils are not happy about the investigation.

Julia Mashego, 15, (not her real name) a Grade 10 pupil, yesterday said despite the investigation she would not end her relationship with her teacher because there were “fringe benefits”.

“My teacher supports me financially. That is useful because I live with my grandmother who uses her pension for booze. The teacher pays for my clothes, lunch and school fees,” Mashego said.

Another pupil said she had two children with her teacher.

“The teacher is married and has children with his wife but without him I cannot do anything for myself. If you suspended or expelled him because of our affair you will have destroyed me too,” said the 18-year-old girl.

Sowetan has learnt that teachers at the schools have refused an independent inquiry and instead suggested that the school governing bodies handle the investigations.

### **Questions**

1. *What are your initial reactions to this story?*
2. *What if the teachers were female and the students were male?*
3. *What do you think about the student who is getting clothes, lunch and school fees?*
4. *What are your thoughts about the student who has children with the teacher?*
5. *Who should deal with this investigation? The school? School governing body? Department of Education? The Government?*

### ***Vignette 3***

A Port Elizabeth family has laid a complaint with police after they found out their 15-year-old daughter was allegedly having an affair with her teacher at one of the city's top schools.

The parents of the Grade 9 pupil yesterday told of their shock after their daughter admitted that she had been having a sexual relationship with her grade head – apparently after he had pursued her for 18 months.

On Wednesday, they laid a criminal complaint of statutory rape against history, geography and social science teacher, 38.

According to the family of the teen, who cannot be named because she is a minor, the relationship started when the teacher, who is the girl's grade head until she matriculates, took a special interest in her last January, as she was thought to be depressed after missing a school outing.

Teacherly concern soon turned to flirting. "He would keep me after lessons and ask silly questions, or he would drop his keys and brush his hand up against my leg," said the shy brunette. In July this year, he allegedly started phoning her and sending her text messages.

The girl said that this week, teachers had overheard a group of pupils talking about the affair and had reported the matter to the principal.

#### **Questions**

1. *What are your initial reactions to this story?*
2. *What if the teacher was female and the student was male?*
3. *What if the student were older?*
4. *What if the students were getting food? Grades?*
5. *If the teacher is found guilty, what should happen to him?*
6. *What should happen to the student?*

### 4.3 Pilot Survey (Draft)



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*For official use only*

WCED District	Site	Quintile	Status	Date
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Please tell us about yourself

- How old are you? Years \_\_\_\_\_  
Months \_\_\_\_\_
- What is your gender?  Male  Female
- How do you identify yourself?  
 Black  
 White  
 Coloured  
 Indian  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Home language  
 Xhosa  
 English  
 Afrikaans  
 Zulu  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- How would you describe the place where you live? (Choose ONE only)  
 Shack  
 Informal Settlement  
 Backyard Dwelling  
 Traditional house/Hut  
 Flat  
 House with inside toilet  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- We have the following items in our home. (Choose ALL that apply)  
 Bicycle  
 Television  
 Electricity  
 Car  
 Tap water  
 Telephone (Mobile or Landline)

7. Which of the following is true of your home? (Choose ONE only)

- We don't have enough money for food
- We have enough money for food, but not other basic items such as clothes
- We have enough money for food and clothes, but are short for other things
- We have enough money for food and clothes, and also a bit for extra things
- We have more than enough money for food, clothes and extra things

Thank you! The following section gives you a statement and asks you what you think. Sometimes it will ask for ONLY ONE answer and sometimes it will ask for MANY answers. Please answer carefully.

8. It is okay for a learner to date an educator (not having sex) (Choose ONE only)

- Yes
- No
- It depends

a. If you ticked 'no', why is it not okay for a learner to date an educator?

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b. If you ticked 'it depends', when is it not okay for a learner to date an educator?

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9. Which of the following statements do you agree with

- It is never okay for an educator to have sex with a learner
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if it is consensual (e.g. the educator and the learner both agree to it and were willing)
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the educator does not specifically teach that learner
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner and educator are in love
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner is over the age of 18
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner is over the age of 16
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner initiates the relationship
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if there is less than a 5 year age gap
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner's parents/guardians know about it and are not opposed to it

- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if they use protection (e.g. like a condom or birth control pills)
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the educator is male and the learner is female
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the educator is female and the learner is male
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner if the learner receives something in return for sex (e.g. airtime, money, better grades, etc.)
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner as long as no one finds out
- It is okay for an educator to have sex with a learner off of school property

10. Do you know of any learners in your school who have experienced the following? (YOU MAY CHOOSE MORE THAN ONE)

- Dated an educator (but not had sex)
- Had sex with an educator
- Had oral sex with an educator
- Kissed an educator
- Been a victim of sexual assault by an educator (e.g. rape, attempted rape, physically forced to do something sexual)
- Paid or given favours to someone for sex
- Been paid or received favours from someone for sex.
- None of the above

11. Is educator-learner sex ever discussed by educators at school? (Choose ONE only)

- Often                       Sometimes                       Rarely                       Never

12. Is educator-learner sex ever discussed by learners at school? (Choose ONE only)

- Often                       Sometimes                       Rarely                       Never

13. Is educator-learner sex ever discussed as part of the curriculum at school (e.g. in Life Orientation or other classes)? (Choose ONE only)

- Often                       Sometimes                       Rarely                       Never

14. What is the reaction amongst learners when a learner-educator relationship is made known?

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15. What is the reaction amongst staff when a learner-educator relationship is made known?

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16. Do you think sex between learners and educators should be illegal? (Choose ONE only)

- Yes                       No                       Don't know

You are almost done! The last part of the form asks you PERSONAL questions about sex. Please be honest in your answers. We will tell no one about what YOU have put down, but we need honest information to help OTHER young people. Here are some definitions for this section:

Definition of "sex": penetrative sex

Definition of "sexual activity": any activity which sexually arouses one or both partners, except for penetrative sex.

Definition of "sexual content": images or descriptions of nudity, sexual activity or sex.

17. Which of the following statements best describes your love life? (Choose ONE only)

- I am not in a relationship at the moment
- I am in a relationship with one person at the moment
- I am in a relationship with more than one person at the moment

18. Have you ever had sex?

- No
- Yes

19. If you ticked 'yes', how old were you when you first had sex?

\_\_\_\_\_ years old

20. Which of the following statements best describes your sex life? (Choose ONE only)

- I have never had sex
- I have had sex in the past but I am not having sex with anyone at the moment
- I am having sex with one person at the moment
- I am having sex with more than one person at the moment

21. Which of the following best describes the FIRST time you had sex? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- I have never had sex
- I was willing
- I was forced
- I raped someone else
- I was convinced
- I was tricked
- I was raped
- I forced someone else
- I didn't know what was happening
- I would prefer not to say

22. How many people have you had sex with in the past year?

\_\_\_\_\_ people  I have never had sex

23. Do you think you will be able to say no to having sex with someone who is offering money or a gift? (Choose ONE only)

- I will not be able to say no
- I may be able to say no
- I will be able to say no
- I don't know if I will be able to say no

24. Do you think you would be able to say no to having sex with a educator? (Choose ONE only)

- I will not be able to say no
- I may be able to say no
- I will be able to say no
- I don't know if I will be able to say no
- It depends on which educator it is

25. Has an educator ever made you feel uncomfortable by saying or doing something sexual? (Choose ONE only)

- Yes
- No

26. If yes, please describe what it was they said or did to make you feel uncomfortable.

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27. Has an educator ever shown or sent you sexual content via any of the following? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- No
- Yes, via
  - Mxit
  - Sms
  - Email
  - Phone Call
  - Facebook
  - Myspace
  - Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

28. Has an educator ever communicated with you via any of the following? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- No
- Yes, via
  - Mxit
  - Sms
  - Email
  - Phone Call

- Facebook
- Myspace
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

29. If yes, please could you say what it was about?

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30. Have you ever had to do something non-academic for an educator in exchange for any of the following? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- No
- Yes, for
  - Airtime
  - Money
  - Better grades (e.g. the educator gave you a better mark than you should have gotten)
  - Protection
  - Transport
  - Status
  - School fees
  - Food for your family
  - Material things you need
  - Material things you want
  - Other (please specify)

31. If yes, please could you say what you had to do?

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32. Which of the following are true for you (TICK ALL THAT APPLY. PLEASE ANSWER CAREFULLY)

- I have dated an educator (but not had sex with the educator)
- I have been touched in a sexual way by an educator
- I have had oral sex with an educator
- I have shown naked pictures of myself to an educator
- I have kissed an educator
- I have been sexually assaulted by an educator (e.g. rape, attempted rape, physically forced to do something sexual)
- I have paid or given favours to someone for sex
- I have touched an educator in a sexual way
- I have been paid or received favours from someone for sex.
- None of the above

33. I have had sex with an educator (Choose ONE only)

- With one educator
- With two to three different educators
- With more than three different educators
- Never

34. If you have had sex with an educator, which of the following applied? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- It was consensual (e.g. you agreed and were willing to do it)
- It was forced
- The educator threatened me
- It was rape
- We were in love
- The educator did not specifically teach me.
- We used protection.
- The educator was male
- The educator was female
- I was over the age of 16
- I was over the age of 18
- I was under the age of 16
- I initiated the relationship
- The educator initiated the relationship
- There was more than a 10 year age gap
- There was less than a 5 year age gap
- My parents/guardian knew about the relationship
- My parents/guardian were not opposed to the relationship
- I did it because I was afraid of getting lower grades if I didn't have sex with the educator
- I did it because I was afraid of corporal punishment
- I did it because I was afraid I would be embarrassed if I didn't
- I benefited from the relationship

35. If you ticked 'I benefited from the relationship', what did you receive in return for sex? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- Airtime
- Money
- Better grades (e.g. the educator gave you a better mark than you should have gotten)
- Protection
- Transport
- Status
- School fees
- Food for your family
- Material things you needed
- Material things you wanted
- Feeling loved
- Other (please specify)

36. If you have had sex with an educator, where did your relationship take place:

- In a class room
- On the school property
- At my house
- At the educator's house
- At a friend's house
- At a club/party/bar/tavern
- Other. Please describe \_\_\_\_\_

37. Have you ever reported a sexual relationship with an educator?

- Yes       No

38. If you ticked 'yes', whom did you report it to? \_\_\_\_\_

39. What was done about it? \_\_\_\_\_

CONGRATULATIONS ON FINISHING AND  
THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY!

University of Cape Town

#### **4.4 Revisions to the Draft Survey**

References below that are delineated by PQ# refer to the Pilot Survey Question, while Q# refers to the question in the final survey version.

On PQ1 age was refined to exclude months, after participants' answers revealed confusion and non-standardised answering, and the final version only asked for age in number of years (Q1). PQ4 home language responses were collated and in the final version appear as a closed-set of response options with an "Other (please specify)" option included. PQ5 (Years in Grade) was deemed unnecessary since a count of standard deviations from mean age in grade could serve a similar pragmatic purpose, thus this question was deleted. PQ8 (Okay to Date Teacher) was refined to be unambiguous and "to date" was changed to "to go out with (date, not having sex)". Open-ended response options PQ8a and PQ8b were found to be confusing and were collapsed to Q7.

The set of response options for PQ10 (Learners in Your School/Sexual Activity) was considered too restrictive and thus was expanded to include more options of sexual activity as well as sex (Q9). Response options from PQ29 and PQ32 were collapsed into fewer categories and included in a follow-up question to PQ9 (Q19). The question, "Is teacher student sex discussed at school" (PQ11) was expanded to three questions (Q12, 13 and 14) to determine whether it was discussed between teachers, between students, or as part of the official school curriculum. Answers to PQ12 and 13 were too presumptive and were thus excluded from the final version. Two questions asking whether there should be legal codes prohibiting (PQ14) or controlling (PQ15) student-teacher sex were collapsed and simplified to "Should student-teacher sex be illegal?" (Q15), after students expressed confusion over differentiation between the two original questions. Questions dealing with sexual experience (PQ16-21; Q16-21) were left as is. PQ22 and PQ23 were reworded so there was no confusion over double-negatives (Q22 and Q23).

Responses on PQ25 ("What did a teacher do or say to make you feel uncomfortable?") were analysed, collated and in the final version appear as a closed-set of response options with an "Other (please specify)" option included (Q25). Two separate questions asked if a teacher had shown or sent sexual content (PQ26 and PQ28) and these were collapsed to one question in Q26. Response options were collapsed and categorised under "Personally", "Telephonically", "Electronically" and "Other". PQ27 ("Has a teacher ever communicated with you...") had no face value and so was deleted. PQ29 ("Have you ever done something non-academic for a

teacher...” was also considered too vague and off-topic and so was deleted. PQ30 (Ever had sex with teacher) was expanded to add more distinction (i.e. with one teacher, 2-3 teachers, more than three teachers – Q29).

Some response options on close-ended questions were not deemed to be mutually exclusive or exhaustive. These were altered and categories were collapsed and where necessary an “Other (Please Specify)” or “None of the above” option was included. Responses on PQ33 (Reported Relationships) were analysed, collated and in the final version appear as a closed-set of response options with an “Other (Please Specify)” option included (Q33). Participants in the focus groups felt that it would be useful to know where the relationship took place thus a question asking this was formulated with a closed set of responses (Q33). Two additional questions were added-in asking participants what they thought should be done about student-teacher sex (Q36) as well as a filter question for honesty (Q38).

University of Cape Town

## 4.5 Final Survey Instrument



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

*For official use only*

WCED District	Site	Quintile	Status	Date
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### Please tell us about yourself.

1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your sex?  Male  Female
3. How do you identify yourself?  
 Black  
 White  
 Coloured  
 Indian  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your home language  
 Xhosa  
 English  
 Afrikaans  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
5. How would you describe the place where you live? (Choose **ONE** only)  
 Informal Settlement  
 Township  
 Suburb  
 Rural  
 Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you! The following section gives you a statement and asks you what you think. Please answer carefully.**

6. It is okay for a student to go out with (date, not having sex) a teacher (Choose **ONE** only)  
 Always okay  
 Sometimes okay  
 Never okay  
 It depends

7. Please say why you gave the answer you did to Question 6:

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8. It is okay for a teacher to have sex with a student if, (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- It is consensual (e.g. the teacher and the student both agree to it and are willing)
- The teacher does not specifically teach that student
- The student and teacher are in love
- The student is over the age of 18
- The student is over the age of 16
- The student initiates the relationship
- There is less than a 10 year age gap
- The student's parents/guardians know about it
- They use protection (e.g. a condom or birth-control pills)
- The teacher is male and the student is female
- The teacher is female and the student is male
- The student receives something in return for sex (e.g. airtime, money, better grades, etc.)
- As long as no one finds out
- It is off of school property
- It is never okay for a teacher to have sex with a student

9. Do you know of any students in your school who have experienced the following? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Dated a teacher (but not had sex)
- Been touched in a sexual way by a teacher
- Paid or given things to someone for sex
- Had oral sex with a teacher
- Had vaginal sex with a teacher
- Had anal sex with a teacher
- Shown naked pictures of themselves to a teacher
- Kissed a teacher
- Been sexually assaulted by a teacher (e.g. rape, attempted rape, physically forced to do something sexual)
- Been paid or received things from someone for sex.
- None of the above

10. How many teachers in your school do YOU THINK are having/have had sex with students?

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11. Do you know of any students in your school who have done something sexual for a teacher in exchange for any of the following? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Material things they NEEDED (money, food, clothes, airtime, school fees)
- Material things they WANTED (money, clothes, airtime)
- Better grades (e.g. the teacher gave them a better mark than they should have gotten)
- Protection
- Status
- Love and care
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

12. Is student-teacher sex ever discussed by teachers at school?

- A lot                       A little                       Never

13. Is student-teacher sex ever discussed by students at school?

- A lot                       A little                       Never

14. Is student-teacher sex ever discussed as part of the curriculum at school (e.g. in Life Orientation or other classes)?

- A lot                       A little                       Never

15. Do you think sex between students and teachers should be illegal? (Choose **ONE** only)

- Yes                       No                       I don't know                       It depends

**You are half way! The next part of the form asks you PERSONAL questions about sex. Please be honest in your answers. No-one will know what YOU put down, but we need honest information to help OTHER young people.**

**Here are some definitions for the next two sections:**

**Definition of "sex" : Oral sex, vaginal sex, anal sex**

**Definition of "sexual content" : Images or descriptions of nudity, sexual activity or sex (not part of school curriculum).**

16. Which of the following statements best describes your love life? (Choose **ONE** only)

- I am not in a relationship at the moment
- I am in a relationship with one person at the moment
- I am in a relationship with more than one person at the moment

17. Have you ever had sex?                       No                       Yes

18. If you ticked 'yes', how old were you when you first had sex? \_\_\_\_\_ years old

19. Which of the following statements best describes your sex life? (Choose **ONE** only)

- I have never had sex
- I have had sex in the past but I am not having sex with anyone at the moment
- I am having sex with one person at the moment
- I am having sex with more than one person at the moment

20. Which of the following best describes the FIRST time you had sex? (Choose **ONE** only)

- I have never had sex
- It was consensual (e.g. I agreed and was willing to do it)
- I wanted it (e.g. we were in love; I initiated it)
- I was forced (e.g. I was physically threatened or raped)
- I forced someone else (e.g. physically threatened or raped someone else)
- I was tricked
- I didn't know what was happening
- I would prefer not to say

21. How many people have you had sex with in the past year?

\_\_\_\_\_ people       I have not had sex in the last year       I have never had sex

22. Do you think you will be able to say no to sex with someone who is offering money or a gift? (Choose **ONE** only)

- I will not be able to say no
- I may be able to say no
- I will be able to say no
- I don't know if I will be able to say no

23. Do you think you would be able to say no to sex with a teacher? (Choose **ONE** only)

- I will not be able to say no
- I may be able to say no
- I will be able to say no
- I don't know if I will be able to say no
- It depends on which teacher it is

**You are nearly finished! The last part of the form asks you personal questions about your relationship with teachers. Please answer very carefully and honestly. This survey is CONFIDENTIAL. No-one at your school will ever see your answers. No-one will know what YOU put down, but we need honest information to help OTHER young people.**

24. Has a teacher ever made you feel uncomfortable by saying or doing something sexual? (Choose **ONE** only)

- Yes       No

25. If yes, what did the teacher do that made you feel uncomfortable? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Looked at my body
- Touched me
- Made a sexual joke
- Asked me private questions about my sex life
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

26. Has a teacher ever shown or sent you sexual content via the following? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Personally (face-to-face)
- Via Phone (Mxit, sms, mms, phone call)
- Electronically (Email, Facebook, MySpace)
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- A teacher has never shown or sent me sexual content

27. Which of the following are true for you: (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- I have dated a teacher
- I have been touched in a sexual way by a teacher
- I have paid or given things to someone for sex
- I have had oral sex with a teacher
- I have had vaginal sex with a teacher
- I have had anal sex with a teacher
- I have shown naked pictures of myself to a teacher
- I have kissed a teacher
- I have been sexually assaulted by a teacher (e.g. rape, attempted rape, physically forced to do something sexual)
- I have been paid or received things from someone for sex.
- None of the above

28. Have you ever done something sexual for a teacher (**excluding** oral sex, vaginal sex, or anal sex) in exchange for any of the following? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Material things you **NEEDED** (money, food, clothes, airtime, school fees)
- Material things you **WANTED** (money, clothes, airtime)
- Better grades (e.g. the teacher gave you a better mark than you should have gotten)
- Protection
- Status
- Love and care
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- You didn't receive anything

29. I have had **sex** with a teacher (Choose **ONE** only)

- With one teacher only
- With two to three different teachers
- With more than three different teachers
- Never

30. If you have had sex with a teacher, which of the following applied (Think about the most recent relationship you have had with a teacher)? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- It was consensual (e.g. I agreed and was willing to do it)
- It was forced (e.g. I was physically threatened or raped)
- I wanted it (e.g. we were in love; I initiated it)
- The teacher did not specifically teach me.
- We used protection (e.g. a condom or birth-control pills)
- The teacher was male
- The teacher was female
- The teacher initiated the relationship
- There was less than a 10 year age gap
- My parents/guardian knew about the relationship
- I was afraid (e.g. of getting lower grades, of corporal punishment, of being embarrassed)

31. What did you receive in return for sex with a teacher? (Tick **ALL** that apply)

- Material things I NEEDED (money, food, clothes, airtime, school fees)
- Material things I WANTED (money, clothes, airtime)
- Better grades (e.g. the teacher gave me a better mark than I should have gotten)
- Protection
- Status
- Love and care
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- I didn't receive anything

32. If you have had sex with a teacher, which of the following applied:

- I was under 16 years
- I was over 16 years, but under 18 years
- I was over 18 years

33. If you have had sex with a teacher, where did you have sex (Tick **ALL** That Apply):

- In a class room
- On the school property
- In the teacher's car
- At my house
- At the teacher's house
- At a friend's house
- At a club/party/bar/tavern
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

34. Have you ever reported a sexual relationship with a teacher?

Yes,

- To the Principal
- To another teacher
- To the Governing Body
- To your parents
- To the Police
- To someone you trusted
- I have never reported a sexual relationship with a teacher

35. After reporting, what was done about it?

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36. What do you think should be done about this topic of student-teacher sex?

- Nothing
- It should be researched more
- It should be talked about in Life Orientation Classes
- Students should be offered support
- Teachers should be given training about handling relationships
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

37. Which of the following is true of your home? (Choose **ONE** only)

- We don't have enough money for food
- We have enough money for food, but not other basic items such as clothes
- We have enough money for food and clothes, but are short for other things
- We have enough money for food and clothes, and also a bit for extra things
- We have more than enough money for food, clothes and extra things

38. Please think carefully about the answers you have given in this survey. How honest have you been?

- Very honest
- Mostly honest
- A little dishonest
- Completely dishonest
- I never tell lies

**CONGRATULATIONS ON FINISHING AND THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY!**

## Appendix 5 Debates on the Inclusion of Racial Categories in South African Research

Recently there has been a push in academic circles to remove racial classifiers from social research. Authors arguing to remove racial nomenclature claim that continued use of racial terms reinforces and reifies 'race' as a biological or cultural category (Nobles, 2000; Mare, 2001). Erasmus (2005), in his chapter *Race and Identity in the Nation*, gives an excellent treatment of these and other "race" issues and debates in South Africa.

Those arguing to retain the categories claim that 'race' is still the greatest indicator of socio-economic difference in South Africa (Seekings, 2008; Kotze & Steenekamp, 2009; McFarlane & Kane-Berman, 2009). Richter, Norris, Pettifor, Yach and Cameron have argued for keeping the Apartheid terminology of race classification because "it carries the legacy of decades of oppression and discrimination, the effects of which are still evident" (2007: 504). The apartheid classification of race ('black', 'coloured', Indian and 'white') remains the primary predictor of living standards and poverty (McFarlane & Kane-Berman, 2009). Thus, some authors still use the racial nomenclature for comparative purposes with previous research (Myer, Ehrlich & Susser, 2004). 'Race' is often used as a proxy for socio-economic status and as a useful comparative independent variable "for monitoring inequities and facilitating the appropriate distribution of public resources" (Myer et al., 2004: 117). For some, tracking 'racialised' experiences, treatment, and outcomes "is necessary to track disparities and to inform policy-making to achieve greater social justice." (ASA, 2003: 4)

In Jeremy Seekings' discussion of the ongoing salience of race, he claims that both cultural diversity and economic inequality have "racial characteristics" (Seekings, 2008). The Apartheid racialised identities and divisions exacerbated inequality, income distribution and access to education. Swartz paints the picture of racialised socio-economic disparity when she writes, "redistributive practices have created a new black elite and a growing black middle class, leaving 50 percent of South Africans living below the poverty line. In 2002, 17 percent realised 72 percent of all income earned, while the poorest 50 percent realised only 3.3 percent... While class is an important feature of this stratification, it is equally significant to note that black people alone (almost exclusively) live below the poverty line" (2009: 25).

## Appendix 6 Quantitative Analysis Codebook

Primary Lenses	Sub-codes	Brief Definition	Full Definition	Examples
Transgression		Moral, ethical and legal codes and penalties	References to “what others will think”; wrong on the basis of consequences; wrong on the basis of defined/undefined moral, ethical, legal, professional code;	
	Codes: Moral	Reference to moral codes/debates		“It’s just wrong”; If the teacher is married; sex outside of marriage; multiple-partners and cheating
	Codes: Ethical	Reference to ethical codes/debates		Code of school; Professionalism; It’s unethical
	Codes: Legal	Reference to legal codes/debates		It’s illegal; law of country; age of consent; rape
	Consequences	References to consequences it would have, either for the student or for the teacher		Will fall pregnant; will detract from school work; teacher losing job; HIV infection
	Character	Themes surrounding loss of character, respect, dignity or reputation.		Will be called names; will lose status or respect
Power		Control, exploitation, manipulation consent and coercion	References to abuse, using each other, changing classroom dynamics	
	Coercion	References to a teacher using his/her power or life experience to coerce a student into a relationship.	Key words: ‘use’ or ‘using’, ‘manipulate’, ‘intimidation’, ‘vulnerable’, ‘take advantage’ and ‘intentions’.	Teacher has more experience and knowledge, should know better, uses then leaves student, “playing around”
	Control: Student			Student initiates, seduction, uses teacher just to get things (also Capital)
	Consent	References to students’ ability to consent to a relationship	Key words: age, difference in age, maturity	Age differential, maturity, emotional maturity, ability to make decision, knowledge of consequences
	Classroom Dynamics	References to ability of the student involved in a relationship with		Other students unfairly disadvantaged, negativity in the classroom, favouritism, teacher not teaching,

		a teacher to concentrate on his/her schoolwork in the classroom, as well as other student's being unfairly disadvantaged		students not concentrating, distracted, physical affection in classroom, jealousy
	Condoms			Who has power to decide if they are used or not
Capital		Exchange, transaction, and materiality of sex	Items coded as Capital where they expressly reference agency on the part of students in negotiating sexual relationships for grades, money, etc.	Motivating factor: to get Initiating agent: student
Desire		Romance, love, pleasure, agency and sexual attraction		
	Love and Attraction	References to love, willingness, sexual attraction, care		Love, 'have feelings',
	Choice	References to teacher and student's right to decide whether what they are doing was right or wrong, and whether they wanted to go out. Appeals to broader human rights.		Agency, "right to choose", no-one can decide for them, freedom of choice
Other				
	Roles	References to explicit roles of teacher and student		Teacher is there to teach; teacher is like our parents; teacher must be role model; student goes to school to learn

## Appendix 7 Excerpt from isiXhosa Focus Group Discussion

Pupil 1: Exploring this concept that teachers are not teachers outside school gates. I disagree with this.

Pupil 2: But it is like that.

Pupil 3: If a teacher is a teacher out of school premises it means you are a pupil even out of school premises.

Pupil 4: If you see a teacher at a party then if he is still a teacher he can tell you to go home but you need to set him straight and tell him that it's not school now and the teacher is not a teacher out there he is just there to have some fun himself.

Pupil 1: We shouldn't take it like that, really consider the role of a teacher in the community and it is not good if he is in a relationship with a pupil.

Pupil 5: Teaching is a profession, why is it not a problem if a school child has a relationship with someone else in another profession that is not teaching?

Pupil 1: A teacher is someone who plays such a vital role in growing us and shaping who we are, if there's a shift and things turn around and you are in a sexual relationship with a teacher, how does that look? What does it say?

Pupil 6: There's no shift or turn around, see it as falling in-love with someone, you love them, you ask them out and you are in a relationship. Other people may see it as a shame but when you are outside of school you are not the students' educator. The teacher is a person and a "homey" like anyone else.

Pupil 7: At the end of the day, teaching is just his job.

Pupil 1: You say teaching is his job then it is clear that if he is an educator he cannot approach students. A teacher is like a parent.

Pupil 8: Sometimes you can just fall in-love with a teacher just from the way they do things like understanding your situation when you can't hand-in or just listening to you and knowing your situation and also small things like if they let you play with their phone, you can make them fall in love with you. But on the other hand, I support your point, teachers are graduates and professionals and when they graduate I'm sure they take a vow or sign to be in line with a certain educator's code of conduct that would not allow them to sleep with pupils. To serve children and in terms of nation building student-teacher relationships are wrong.

Pupil 9: But when they get to school all of that changes.

Pupil 10: What is wrong with that? And what if the teacher is at another school and you study at another school? Surely, it's not the same thing.

Pupil 11: Could the teacher not wait for you to finish school and then pursue the relationship?

Pupil 12: No he can't wait, he wants you now and if you make him wait you run the risk of him finding someone else.

Box 1 isiXhosa Pilot Focus Group on the Ethics of Student-Teacher Sex