

https://dspace.org/

Educators' experiences of school violence.

Pahad, Shenaaz

2011-03-23
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/9206

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 3
RATIONALE 3
RESEARCH AIMS 6
OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS 7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 9
INTRODUCTION 9
DEFINING SCHOOL VIOLENCE 9
SCHOOL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 12
History of school violence 12
Current policies and interventions against school violence 15
Prevalence rates of school violence in South Africa 16
SCHOOL VIOLENCE IN LOW INCOME COMMUNITIES 18
EDUCATORS AND SCHOOL VIOLENCE 20
Educators as perpetrators 20
Educators as victims 23
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEARNERS AND EDUCATORS 25
IMPACTS OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE ON EDUCATORS 26
SYNOPSIS OF LITERATURE 30
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 32
The Micro-system 33
The Meso-system 35
The Exo-system 36
The Macro-system 37
The Chrono-system 37
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS 38
School Violence 38
Violence 38
Educator 38
Learner 39
CHAPTER 3: METHOD 40
INTRODUCTION 40

RESEARCH QUESTIONS....40
RESEARCH DESIGN....40
PARTICIPANTS....42
DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES....43
DATA ANALYSIS....44
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS....46
ISSUES OF REFLEXIVITY....48
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION....51
EDUCATORS' DEFINITION OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE....51
Physical violence....51
Emotional violence....57
Sexual and gender-based violence....64
Victim-perpetrator relationship....67
Location....76
FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO SCHOOL VIOLENCE....80
Individual factors....80
Familial factors....87
School factors....94
Community factors....103
Societal factors....104
EFFECTS OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE....108
Effects on educators....109
Psychological Impact....109
Physical Impact....117
Spiritual impact....118
Effects on learners....119
Effects on the school....121
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION....129
INTRODUCTION....129
SYNOPSIS OF FINDINGS....129
STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY....136
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH....137
References....140
APPENDICES....162

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the study and its rationale. This is followed by the research aims of the study. The chapter concludes with an outline of the balance of the report. With the intention of exploring educators' subjective experiences of school violence, this research plans to gain an understanding of the definition and the impact of school violence. This study will also allow further examination of the educators experiences where they were victims or perpetrators of school violence.

RATIONALE

South Africans have been inundated with media reports of school violence over the past decade. Headlines such as "Schools turned into crime zone" (Mthumbu, 2008, p. 5), "3 die in school stabbings" (Mapumulo & Kotlolo 2008, p.4), "Classrooms becoming war zones" (Bailey 2008, p.4), "Educator severely beaten by a senior pupil" (Bailey 2008, p.4) and "Pupils wanted an orgy of death" (Ajam, 2008, p.1) have emerged in newspapers, airwaves and thoughts creating fear in schools.

Research has also shown that school violence is a serious problem in today's society (Blaser, 2008; Burton, 2008; De Wet, 2007b, 2008, 2009; Van der Westhuizen & Maree, 2009). School violence is a growing phenomenon. In South Africa almost one in four learners, and one in ten educators, report having experienced violence on or near school premises (Burton, 2008). Statistics show that a total of 15.3% of all learners have experienced some form of violence while at school (Burton, 2008). This translates into approximately 1 821 054 school learners throughout the country.

As a result of school violence parents have become increasingly concerned about the safety and well-being of their children while they attend school (Furlong & Jimerson, 2006). Society maintains that school is supposed to be a safe place for children to learn and grow (Furlong & Morrison, 1994), not a place of violence and fear. However, statistics, the media and informal reports suggest otherwise. A study by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SSAIR) also found that only 23% of South African learners felt safe at school (Blaser, 2008). This finding was consistent with a study by the Centre for Justice and Crime

Prevention (CJCP) in which 58.1% of educators and 85.5% of learners reported that they felt unsafe at school (Burton, 2008).

However, children are not the only victims of school violence. Educators have also become targets of violence in schools both locally and internationally. In the United States, 8% of secondary school educators reported being threatened with injury by a learner (Dinkes, Kemp, & Baum, 2009). Interestingly though, the group that spends the most time with children (educators) has been relatively understudied (Fisher & Kettl, 2003).

For this reason, this study has significant potential to address a poorly-researched topic in South Africa. According to UNESCO there is a global lack of research on educators' experiences of violence at schools (Burton, 2008), particularly in low-income countries (Liang, Flisher & Lombard, 2007). Research in the field of school violence therefore seems both timely and necessary. Although school violence is a national issue, it appears as if the Department of Education (DoE) has little or no comprehensive data on violence in schools (Burton, 2008; Van der Westhuizen & Maree, 2009). Burton (2008) further acknowledges that educators may offer some insight into the issue considering that learners spend most of their time with educators, and that they themselves are often at risk of being involved. However, little research has been undertaken on educators' experiences of school violence from a qualitative perspective. Nor has there been a focus on all forms of violence against educators (Burton, 2008). In trying to contribute to the existing knowledge base on educators' experiences of violence at schools, this research uses an exploratory interpretive approach to examine educators' subjective experiences of school violence within their school. With regards to this study, educators from schools in Alexandra will be approached to share their experiences of school violence. Special focus will be placed on their understanding of school violence, their perception of their experiences of school violence and the impacts on educators, learners and the school.

The impact that school violence is having on individuals, the school system, and society, is another reason the researcher has decided to undertake such a study. In South Africa existing research suggests that educators and other school employees may be at an increased risk of theft, verbal threats, physical injury and psychological harm (Burton, 2008). Other than the personal toll that violence may take on educators, those who worry about their safety may have difficulty teaching and may leave the profession altogether (Nesane Nesane, 2008).

Schools have become places where violence is commonplace and the impact on learners, educators and administrators cannot but be profound (Steffgren & Ewen, 2007). Research has also found that exposure to school violence impacts negatively on one's development, school performance and social functioning (Furlong & Jimerson, 2006). Therefore, this study is crucial because of the potential impact it could have on the safety and violent behaviours of learners, educators, administrators and society.

According to Trackman (2008) a culture of violence exists in South Africa which historians have related to Apartheid. During Apartheid, violence was often used as a means to an end for many (Ward, 2007). With the transition into democracy, many promises were made and few were delivered, especially to the poor (like the people of Alexandra). Inequalities and segregation still exist in current day democratic South Africa. Some believe that learners have grown up with the idea that violence is the only means of transformation and for this reason, perpetrate violence in schools, at home and the Alexandra community. While learners appear to have internalised the violence of the Apartheid past, the new generation of young people, highly conscious of their individual rights, have not been concerned with change for all. Learner attitudes have changed and the value attached to education has diminished. One could infer, based on the negative accounts that learners no longer hope for a change which creates a better life for all; they now hope only to help themselves.

Schools with highest rates of school violence will be focussed on in this report. In South Africa these generally are government schools in low income communities, with few resources and significant inadequacies (Kamper, 2008). In particular, this study will focus on the community of Alexandra in Johannesburg. This study explores educators' experiences of school violence only in the community of Alexandra. It could, however, provide worthwhile information on school violence in low income communities in general. Alexandra reflects a low-income community or township with poor infrastructure, overpopulation, vastly inadequate services and a multitude of socio-economic problems (Baskin, 2007). This community's physical infrastructure consists of 500 000 people living in houses, flats, hostel complexes and informally constructed shacks. Recent figures report an unemployment rate close to 60%. Almost 50% of people over 20 years of age are not formally educated and there is a regular increase in an already high crime rate (Wilson, 2002).

Based in Alexandra, this study will allow others to become aware of the poor circumstances that educators and learners in a low-income community experience every day. Further documentation of these findings, could provide valuable information which highlights some of the causes and consequences as well as the legacy left by Apartheid. More specifically, information gained from this research could give rise to opportunities to find solutions to an ostensibly deteriorating education system.

Worsening of working conditions, especially in low income communities because of school violence, have caused many educators to leave the profession resulting in educator shortages (DoE, 2005). For this reason, in particular, this study is important because of its qualitative exploratory nature which allows the experiences and perceptions of educators to be examined. Most studies around this topic area have used quantitative measures (see Burton, 2008; De Wet, 2006, 2007; Du Plessis, 2008) which have prevented them from exploring educators' subjective evaluations and experiences of school violence. This study attempts to address this gap.

For this reason, embarking on this qualitative study and the consequent findings of this study will positively benefit the South African education system and its research field. By providing a better understanding of this issue of school violence, the DoE can work towards ensuring the safety and well-being of educators and school employees. Evidence provided by this study with regard to the contributing factors, defining characteristics, impacts and experiences of the educator population could therefore assist the government and NGOs by creating interventions, policies and programmes to counter school violence. However, should this study merely stimulated further research it would also have achieved its goal.

RESEARCH AIMS

This study aimed to explore South African educators' subjective experiences of school violence within their school. Numerous media reports suggest that school violence is on the increase and educators are being scapegoated for this long standing problem in South Africa. For this reason, this study intended on focusing particularly on school violence directed at educators in low-income communities where resources are scarce. And in doing so, the subjective experiences' of secondary school educators from several government schools in the low-income community of Alexandra were investigated. By analysing the trends found

within their responses, the researcher was able to explore educators' perceptions of the meaning and causes of school violence. This study also examined the emotional, physical and behavioural impacts of school violence on educators. In particular, the study aimed to convey the experiences of educators where they were victims and sometimes perpetrators of school violence and uncover their understandings of their incidents of school violence.

By drawing together the experiences, understandings and knowledge of educators this study aims to assist in providing information to formulate interventions or prevention strategies against the victimisation of educators and learners in schools.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The following is an outline of the structure of this research report.

Chapter 2 presents an appraisal of the literature reviewed related to the topic of school violence in South Africa, focusing specifically on educators and its interrelatedness. It begins by introducing Bronfenbrenners ecological model which has been used as the conceptual framework of this study and will be carried through all chapters of this research report. An overview of school violence in South Africa including the current prevalence rates, the role of educators in school violence either as victims or perpetrators and the relationship between learners and educators will be discussed. This chapter then concludes with a review of the impacts of school violence on educators.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the research report. This includes an outline of the research design, sample, data collection techniques, procedures carried out in the study and method of data analysis. The final section of this chapter provides a discussion of ethical considerations followed by the study as well as the researcher's reflections regarding the research process.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the findings of the research. The data gathered has been divided into themes and sub-themes. This is then presented under three broad themes: educators' definition of school violence, factors that contribute to school violence and the effects of school violence. Numerous sub-themes falling within the region of these three themes will also be discussed.

Chapter 5 is the concluding section of the report, which will provide a synopsis of the findings of this study. The overall findings from the three themes will be discussed in relation to literature on the topic. This chapter then concludes with a debate on strengths and limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide an examination of existing literature on school violence. The chapter begins by discussing a definition of school violence, critiquing previous definitions and offering a current satisfactory description. The literature review then evaluates school violence within the South African context. Special focus is placed on how schooling has evolved with the history of Apartheid to its current state by examining education policies, national challenges, interventions and prevalence rates. Following this, the literature on school violence in low-income communities is addressed in an attempt to contextualise the study further. The subsequent sections consider the position of South African educators as victims, as perpetrators and the impact which school violence has had on them over the years. The literature review also introduces the theoretical framework of the study which is based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model. By means of this framework, school violence can be understood as the product of multiple levels of influence on behaviour. The chapter will conclude with the operational definitions used in the research report.

DEFINING SCHOOL VIOLENCE

The definition of 'school violence' has caused much controversy over the years as a common characteristic among the definitions cannot be determined (see MacDougall, 1993; Flannnery, 1997; Furlong & Morrison, 2000; Hanke, 1996). Since clear parameters of the term cannot be delineated, assessing rates of school violence and establishing trends can be both difficult and confusing. Merely comparing studies of school violence may further this problem (Tait, 2004). Furlong and Morrison (2000) claim that over the past decade the development of the term school violence has generally been overlooked. Today the concept of school violence is regarded as more comprehensive because it includes illegal and violent acts that hamper development, performance and undermine the school environment (Furlong & Morrison, 2000). Although school violence is a multidimensional construct, there is currently no definitive statement about its precise dimensions because definitions often lack comprehensiveness and reflect author bias (Furlong & Morrison, 2000). Clark (2002)

therefore recommends that new definitions of school violence should be used as a basis for investigation rather than as a description of physical and emotional behaviours. Following this thinking, 'school violence' could thus be understood as a blanket term that has little precision from a scientific point of view.

In South African law, "violent acts involve both physical and nonphysical harm" that may end in damage, pain or terror (De Wet, 2007b, p. 12). However, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO) violence is the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation" (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002, p. 5). Applying this definition to the school context typically refers to learner-on-learner, learner-on-educator, educator-on-learner and educator-on-educator acts of violence. Other scholars define violence as "the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person" (Elliot, Hamburg & Williams, 1998, p.31). Similarly, Snyman (1992) refers to school violence as assault consisting of force directly or indirectly and "threatening another with immediate personal violence in circumstances which lead the threatened person to believe that the other intends and has the power to carry out the threat" (p. 439). On the contrary, MacNeil and Stewart (2000) comprehend school violence as any intentional verbal or physical act resulting in the receiver feeling pain while under the supervision of the school. MacDonald, Gilmer and Collings (1996) describe school violence in a corresponding manner as any behaviour which "seriously disrupt[s] the safe learning environment of the classroom or school" (p.83). Kondrasuk, Greene, Waggoner, Edwards and Nayak-Rhodes (2005) suggest that violence against school employees is no different. Here violence is defined as "the physical harm (e.g. hitting, pushing, throwing objects at, or damaging property of the employee) or threats of harm, towards employees of schools" (p. 639). On the other hand, Greene (2005) claims that violence is considered 'school associated' if it occurs on school grounds, while travelling to or from school or during school-sponsored events. The Centre for the Prevention of School Violence (2002), advocates that school violence is understood as "any behaviour that violates a school's educational mission or climate of respect or jeopardizes the intent of the school to be free of aggression against persons or property, drugs, weapons, disruptions, and disorder" (para.3). O'Moore (1990) offers the most comprehensive definition when he characterises school violence as either an

individual or collective act in which another or others may be physically, sexually or emotionally abused. He describes physically abusive behaviour as when one

> "directly or indirectly ill-treats, injures, or kills another or others; which may involve pushing, shoving, shaking, punching, kicking, squeezing, burning or any other form of physical assault, …emotionally abusive behaviour [as] verbal attacks, threats, taunts, slogging, mocking, yelling, exclusion, and malicious rumours [and] sexually abusive behaviour [as consisting of] sexual assault or rape (O'Moore, 1990, p. 114).

As is evident from the above overview, attempts at defining school violence have varied extensively. Some definitions have been described as being too narrow, limiting the act of school violence only to physical acts, whereas others have been considered too broad and thus require narrowing to analyse the school violence problem. Similarly, the victims referred to in many of these definitions tend to be learners yet this is not always the case. Traditional approaches to school violence also seem to ignore hidden crimes, such as educator-on-learner 'love relationships'. In addition, definitions of school violence frequently do not include the denial of humanity through the violation of one's human rights (Stuart, 2000). Furthermore, conventional definitions of school violence also neglect harmful institutional practices, such as acts of gender discrimination, racism or other discrimination (Stuart & Lanier, 1998). Lastly, minor acts of aggression in the playground are often not considered by existing definitions as being forms of school violence.

For this reason, myopic definitions of school violence have been criticised and a more expansive, integrated definition appears to be needed. In order to come up with a more inclusive, consistent definition, dimensions of the definition need to be reconsidered. Firstly, by replacing the term 'force' with 'power' and then suggesting that violence is the use of power to harm another will allow for varying victim-perpetrator relationships which can be individual or collective acts and are not limited to learner-on-learner violence or educator-on-learner violence (De Wet, 2007b). Furthermore, replacing 'force' by 'power' allows forms of discrimination like sexism, ageism and racism to be considered as violence (Stuart, 2000). This suggests that harm can take on numerous forms: psychological, physical, emotional, spiritual and behavioural. With regard to location, a new integrated definition requires that interconnections between the school and the wider society of which it is a part be taken into account as theory emphasises that an outburst in the school is merely one manifestation of more systemic societal problems (Stuart, 2000). Recent school violence incidents have also

extended beyond the confines of the school grounds. The severity of acts of school violence can range from minor incidents to major incidents and this needs to be reflected in the definitions of the form.

For this reason, a much broader approach to defining school violence is required. Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological model provides such an approach as it proposes that school violence operates on five different levels: a micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chrono-level. However, for the purposes of this study, school violence will be defined as any act where an individual or collective exercises power over others in school-related settings in the form of physical, sexual or emotional abuse resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, spiritual damage, rape, mal-development or deprivation (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006; Crawage, 2005; Kandakai et al., 1999; O'Moore, 1990).

SCHOOL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

History of school violence

In looking at the history of school violence in South Africa, it should be acknowledged that violence among young people is not a new phenomenon. The system of Apartheid directly and indirectly encouraged violence in schools. Apartheid was both a "violent repression in itself and spawned violent resistance" (Mnyaka, 2006, p. 8). State sponsored violence was a constant feature of the Apartheid regime and schools have long been sites of violence for many children (Vally, Dolombisa, & Porteus, 1999). Young people were used by the Apartheid government to maintain its oppressive policies and other young people were actively involved in the liberation struggle, both as perpetrators and victims (Seekings, 1993). Such legitimisation of violence provided an ideology of violence for many. For this reason, present-day violence in education in South Africa must be understood with reference to this history of political and economic disadvantage and patterns of inequality in society (Vally et al., 1999). Hamber (1999) expanded on this when he explained that "South Africans have a long history of socially sanctioning the use of violence to solve problems" (p.114). Thus, in looking at the history of violence in schools and relevant psychological research, we may come to an understanding of the role the past has played on current conditions.

The 1976 uprisings saw many students taking to the streets in the Johannesburg township of Soweto to protest against Bantu Education, which enforced a regulation requiring that one-half of all high-school classes be taught in Afrikaans (Kallaway, 1991). Many youths abandoned schools in droves; with some vowing to undermine the schools' ability to function. As retaliation to Apartheid education, learners organised widespread boycotts, strikes and rallies, damaged many schools, attacked learners and educators who tried to attend school and made it increasingly difficult for administrators to maintain normal school activities (Vally et al., 1999). A harsh police response to this resulted in the deaths of more than 1000 people, most of whom were under the age of eighteen (Byrnes, 1996). "Liberation before education" became their battle cry (Byrnes, 1996).

Research by Frankel (1993) and Klaasen (1990) suggests that many children emerge from violent experiences with a preference for violence themselves. Current violent acts in schools and society could be seen as a result of continued exposure to violent role models during political conflict (such as Apartheid), discipline from parents and other authority figures and the general acceptance of violent conduct as a means to an end (Ward, 2007). However, Grusec (1992) suggests that reciprocal determinism elicits the development of violent behaviour in children. Put more simply, children's behaviour shapes the appearance of the social environments to which they are exposed and in turn those environments alter the children's behaviour (Ward, 2007). In a more recent study by Burton (2008) it was found that learners imitate their experiences in their homes and the broader community in the school setting as well. Based on this finding, children's development of violent behaviours "can only be understood by exploring the ecology of context in which children grow up" (Ward, 2007). According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model violence is recognised as a result of the interplay between the different interconnected environments that influence human development and behaviour (Astor, Pitner, & Duncan, 1996).

The discrepancies in education among racial groups were glaring during Apartheid; teacher: pupil ratios in "primary schools averaged 1:18 in white schools, 1:24 in Asian schools, 1:27 in coloured schools, and 1:39 in black schools"(Byrnes, 1996). Furthermore, "97% of all teachers in white schools had teaching certificates" whilst only "12% of teachers in black schools were certified" (Pillay, 1990, p.40). Similarly, the number of matriculants emerging from the school system showed a highly skewed distribution in favour of whites. Although

the number of black matriculants had increased significantly, this figure was still disproportionately small in relation to the size of the population (Pillay, 1990).

When the new democratic government came to power, it worked to rectify these imbalances in education. There was a chronic shortage of classrooms in black or 'previously disadvantaged' schools and learner-educator ratios were unacceptably high (Vally et al., 1999). Major accomplishments in education have occurred such as the improvement of access to primary and secondary schooling, with the passing of the Education Amendment Bill in 2006. This bill exempts poor learners from paying school fees and prevents the exclusion of learners who cannot afford school fees, resulting in a near total enrolment in primary schooling and 86% enrolment in secondary schooling (DOE, 2006). The enhancement of educators' qualifications by reducing the number of underqualified educators from 36% in 1994 to 26% in 1998 and better learner-educator ratios were established through the redeployment and post-provisioning strategies in favour of areas of greatest need (DoE, 2001). However, the legacy of Apartheid education remained (Mogano, 1993). In spite of the changes, many schools' conditions worsened creating "pits of hopelessness and despair" (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000, p. 295).

Education Minister, Naledi Pandor, said that that there are not enough schools available for the learners, in fact, 152 schools without classrooms and over 400 'schools' under trees (South Africa the Good News, 2005). Schools continue to be chronically under-resourced and conditions in the classrooms in rural areas are still appalling (Pandor, 2005). The Schools Register of Needs shows that 16.6% of learners are without toilet facilities and 15% of the toilet facilities are not working; 35.5% of schools have no access to any form of telecommunications while 42.9% of schools have no electricity and only 8% of South African schools have access to the internet (Shisana & Badcock, 2005). It has also been reported that there is an insufficient number of educators for schools (Phurutse, 2005). A recent report released by the HSRC showed that 55% of our current educators expressed a desire to leave the teaching profession (Shisana & Badcock, 2005). As a result, one can see from the above statistics that the South African education system is still suffering from the inadequacies left by Apartheid.

For this reason, it can be hypothesised that the continued unmet basic needs and democratic promises with the Apartheid legacy of violence as the socially sanctioned mechanism for

resolving conflict and for attaining change have created the perfect recipe for increased levels of violence in schools. Accordingly, new policies and interventions were introduced to counter violence in schools.

Current policies and interventions against school violence

In reaction to the violence in schools, a flurry of legislation was passed after 1994. These laws and regulations were aimed at the protection of children in general and, specifically, children as learners. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the South African Constitution have both created special rights for children as victims and perpetrators of crime (Redpath, 2007). Article 19 of the UN Convention obliges government to take all measures possible to protect children from violence and abuse, while Article 40 provides special rights for children accused of crimes (Redpath, 2007).

In South Africa, The Child Care Act of 2005 and Section 10 of the South African Schools Act of 1996 provide for the protection of learners against physical and mental harm (DoE, 2005; DoE, 1996). Beckmann, Foster and Smith (1997) state that the intention of section 10(2) of SASA appears to be to prohibit the infliction of corporal punishment on learners by school authorities which is in keeping with the Constitution of The Republic of South Africa. The Constitutional right of persons, generally embodied in section 12(1)(c) and (e) and 28(1)(d) of the Constitution that states

> to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources [and] not to be treated or punished in a cruel or inhuman or degrading way [and] children in particular' to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation. (Republic of South Africa, (Republic of South Africa, 1996)1996, para.11)

Similarly, the Occupational Health and Safety Act 85 of 1993 acts as a foundation for all employers to provide safety (Department of Labour, 1993). It states that every employer with more than 20 staff must appoint a health and safety representative, form a health and safety committee and that the committee must meet every three months. In relation to schools, the principal of a school is deemed to be a CEO for the purposes of this act and must therefore provide safety to all its educators and learners (Department of Labour, 1993).

Partnerships between government and the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector have also been developed to counter school-based crime and violence. Youth violence prevention programmes in schools, such as the CSVR's Safe Schools programme, which is a result of the partnership between the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the DoE, aim to create schools in which the occupants have a low risk of physical and emotional injury. These programmes recognise that crime and violent behaviour are products of societal problems and that safety in schools could not be the schools' private responsibility, but that communities needed to get involved as well Other partnerships have also been created with the Departments of Safety and Security and of Social Development, Business Against Crime, and the CJCP, to focus on eliminating crime and violence in schools (DoE, 2009).

In trying to get communities involved, NGOs have thus implemented programmes and projects in communities of need. Bridges or the Sarah Fisher Organisation implemented a prevention programme focussing on drug and alcohol abuse (Griggs, 2005). The Khanya Family Centre introduced a project to resolve social issues in the community (Griggs, 2005). The Public Health Programme/School for Public Health built on educators' skills in classroom (Griggs, 2005). Following suit, the Copes Organisation started the Community Violence Project; while the Centre for Peace Action introduced a Safe Schools Programme (Stevens, Wyngaard, & Van Niekerk, 2001).

Some of these projects have proven more successful than others, yet they all had their weaknesses (Griggs, 2005). Attempting to address crime and violence in schools, many of these organisations chose to address social issues within the community or school. Numerous projects focussed on educating and training educators, learners, school management and DoE officials (Griggs, 2005). However, others targeted social problems such as crime, HIV, racism, gender violence and trauma through increasing dialogue and policy improvement and formulation (Stevens et al., 2001). Positive behaviour modification is also addressed by many NGO programmes. In spite of this, not one project has proven to be entirely successful as prevalence rates continue to rise as discussed in the next section.

Prevalence rates of school violence in South Africa

Recent statistics from the South African Police Services suggest that nationally crime is on a slight decrease whereas media reports of school violence seem to be increasing (SAPS,

2009). The SSAIR concluded that South Africa's schools are the most dangerous in the world after they found that only 23% of South African learners said they felt safe at school in a recent study (Blaser, 2008). This finding was consistent with a study by the CJCP in which 58.1% of educators and 85.5% of learners reported that they felt unsafe at school (Burton, 2008).

In recent years, there has been a host of media reports of shootings, stabbings, rapes and robberies in South African schools suggesting that school violence is simply on the increase (see De Wet, 2009). As indicated by Burton (2008) 15.3% of learners reported experiencing at least one violent incident in the last year. This extrapolates to 1 821 054 learners in South African schools who have been victims of violence while at school. Furthermore in the 2002 Youth Risk Behaviour survey, 37.3% of high school learners admitted to having participated in one or more physical fights within the last 6 months (Reddy, et al., 2003). The Youth Risk Behaviour survey also found that 28.2% of national male high school learners carried a weapon (such as a gun, knife, panga or kierrie) (Reddy, et al., 2003). With reference to sexual assault or rape, approximately 31 per 1000 learners or 116 847 secondary school learners had experienced such acts at school while 59 per 1000 or 222 386 secondary school learners reported to being robbed at school (Burton, 2008). 41% of the high school population admitted to being bullied in the last month of which 42.3% were female (Reddy, et al., 2003). In another study by the CJCP, Leoschut (2009) found that more than 50% of the learners received corporal punishment from educators or principals.

Provincial rates of school violence seemed to correlate with the context of the province. According to Burton (2008) and the 2002 National Youth Risk Behaviour survey, the Free State was estimated to have the highest rates of assault as well as physical fights and robbery. The Western Cape topped reports of threats of violence and the number of high school learners that carried weapons. Most thefts were reported in KwaZulu Natal secondary schools while Gauteng recorded the highest levels of sexual assault (Burton, 2008). In the 2002 National Youth Risk Behaviour survey, the Northern Cape topped the scales when it showed more than half (56.7%) of its high school learners being bullied in the last month (Reddy, et al., 2003).

One of the challenges of school violence is the lack of adequate data and statistics within South Africa, hence the reliance on media reports for information. However, the findings of a

study by Thomas Blaser endorsed media reports of school violence as part of a growing pattern of violence and disorder (Blaser, 2008). In much the same light, Burton (2008) acknowledged that educators may offer some insight into the issue through the data gathered from educators. For this reason, the findings of this study could improve the understanding of school violence, as a result of educators' experiences.

SCHOOL VIOLENCE IN LOW INCOME COMMUNITIES

Bronfenbrenner (1979) alleges that the circumstances that a community finds itself in have a domino effect on the social structures within that community. Using the variable of school violence, Bronfenbrenner's theory was applied and examined in the township of Alexandra which was the site of the present study. Research has shown that children who are raised in impoverished families and neighbourhoods have an increased likelihood of engaging in aggressive or violent behaviour (Miller, 2008; Shaw, Winslow, & Flanagan, 1999). Stevens and Lockhat (1997) expanded this idea when they asserted that the consequences of social transformation had not only affected the macro-level but affected individuals at a micro-level as well. And this was evident from the sense of identity confusion many black adolescents were experiencing. Several other authors articulated the adverse consequences that befell many black individuals due to their sociohistorical circumstances. In communities where there were higher unemployment rates, individuals engaged in self-damaging behaviour such as substance abuse (Wilson & Ramphele, 1989). Similarly, the lack of educational services and material resources have also led many black individuals to reflect poor academic performances and to give up hope for social upliftment (Reynolds, 1989). Burton (2008) corroborates this view in his assertion that

> a school located in a [community] that is characterised by high crime rates, a neglected physical environment and a transient population is likely to be characterised by many of the same factors, and will constantly be fighting the encroachment of these characteristics (p. 54).

Within these low-income communities, there are many opportunities for learning and engaging in violence. The presence of gangs and illegal markets, particularly drug distribution networks, in these communities provide high levels of exposure to violence and sometimes positive reward for serious violent activity (Elliot, 1994). With regard to the ecological model, community factors have been found to have a powerful influence on and

within impoverished environments, which tend to result in negative social problems (Astor, Pitner, & Duncan, 1996). Miller (2008) further suggested that a low-income community's social conditions are faced with many inadequacies; the unemployment rate is high, there is a lack of resources and learners are surrounded by substandard schools and housing facilities that contribute to feelings of hopelessness and the belief that society does not care. For this reason, violence can then become an expression of anger, frustration and alienation that these children struggle with on a daily basis (Veltkamp & Lawson, 2008). One could thus hypothesise that many black adolescents were met with fewer options in post-Apartheid than during Apartheid (Stevens et al., 2001). This has resulted in an abundance of "gangsterism, substance abuse, antisocial behaviour and emerging ethnic separatism" (Stevens et al., 2001, p. 254). In a South African study profiling effective leadership in high poverty schools, it was found that learners who moved from rural areas to urban environments often fell prey to abductions by gangsters (Kamper, 2008). The parents typically had a very low self-esteem, and a strong negative inclination towards school, due to their own unhappy school experiences. Unemployment was rife in high-poverty areas, and the battle for survival (in an environment of violence and drug abuse) was such that parents often had little interest in school matters (Kamper, 2008). According to principals, the roles of educators in impoverished communities also needed to change and be broadened to counsellors and caregivers, often resulting in the misuse of their powerful roles and sometimes the exploitation of either learners or educators because of them (Kamper, 2008).

Alexandra reflects a low-income community or township with its context of massive population density, vastly inadequate services and infrastructure and a host of socio-economic problems (Baskin, 2007). The physical infrastructure of this community has the potential to carry 70 000 people whilst estimates place the actual population at close to 500 000 living in houses, flats, hostel complexes and informally constructed shacks (Baskin, 2007). According to the 2001 census, only 65% of households have access to piped water and almost 50% of people over 20 years of age are without schooling, one of the highest incidences in the province (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Unofficial figures report an unemployment rate of close to 60%; almost triple that of Gauteng's average of 21%. (Wilson, 2002). With reference to crime, "83% of residents thought that crime had increased since 1994, and that the most common form of crime was car-jacking (28%), followed by rape (27%), housebreaking (18%), murder (17%), and child abuse (6%)" (PPT Pilot Projects, 2004, p. 6). One could then conclude that Alexandra's high school violence rates are a ripple

effect of the social conditions of its broader community. Statistics from the National Schools Violence Study reiterates this idea, when they found 21.4% of learners reported to have been exposed to lots of fights and 26.2% reported to have been exposed to lots of crime (Burton, 2008). This behaviour can be observed in both the home and school environments and suggests a possible relationship between violence in the community and violent victimisation of South African learners and educators.

However, Shafii and Shafii (2000) showed that the degree of social cohesion present in a community to act for the common good reduced youth crime through 'informal social control' that is exerted by adults of the community on adolescents. The low-income community functions on a basis of trust and puts a great emphasis on moral and social support of their members (Hartwig, 2000). In this light, one could come to the conclusion that the community environment has a vast influence on the school environment and the individual.

EDUCATORS AND SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Educators as perpetrators

Reports of educators perpetrating violence against learners, as one would expect, are much lower than portrayed in the media. However, the number of reports does still suggest that this is a situation that warrants concern (Burton, 2008). Two primary abusive actions define the way in which educators violate learners: through physical abuse and through sexual assault (De Wet, 2007b).

Physical violence such as corporal punishment towards a learner is clearly an issue principals have to deal with. In an educational setting, "corporal punishment has generally been defined as the intentional infliction of pain in an effort to change behaviour" (Hart, 1998, p. 245). Despite the fact that corporal punishment has been banned from classrooms in South Africa, research shows that educators continue to "hit, spank or cane learners for wrongdoings" (Leoschut, 2009, p. 41). In South Africa, just over 51.4% of learners continue to be caned or physically punished at school, with 70.1% of primary school learners and 47.5% of secondary school learners reporting some form of corporal punishment (Burton, 2008). The Human

Rights Watch in De Wet (2007a) revealed that at least 65 countries permitted corporal punishment as a method of school discipline and that children may be spanked, slapped, caned, strapped or beaten by educators as a result of misbehaviour, poor academic performance or "sometimes for no reason at all" (p. 74). In the United States, the practice of corporal punishment is still legal in 20 states and is widely used in many school systems (NCACPS, 2007). It is further estimated that 1000 to 2000 children die every year in the USA from corporal punishment (Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Accordingly, the U.S.Department of Education (2008) claims that 223 190 public school learners were subjected to corporal punishment in the 2006-2007 school year. While other sources, such as the American Academy of Paediatrics (AAP, 2000) suggests this is a conservative estimate as they approximate corporal punishment to be administered between 1 and 2 million times a year. This suggests that despite corporal punishments' poor outcome, developed countries continue to use it as a means of behaviour modification.

An extension of corporal punishment is physical maltreatment in schools which includes unsanctioned forms of discipline including "hitting, slapping, spanking, punching, kicking, pinching, shaking, shoving, choking, use of various objects (wooden paddles, belts, sticks, pins, or others), painful body postures (such as being placed in closed spaces), use of electric shock, use of excessive exercise drills, or prevention of urine or stool elimination" (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006). According to De Wet (2007b) 27.1% of South African educators knew of colleagues who committed physical violence against learners.

Another form of educator violence that has only recently begun to receive attention from researchers is psychological maltreatment of learners by educators. These can include educators' use of screaming, sarcasm, threats and ridicule to control learners (De Wet, 2007a). However, relatively little is known about the extent to which educators psychologically maltreat learners in the South African school setting. De Wet (2007a) uncovered that 42.5% of educators knew of colleagues verbally abusing learners. More research on educator-on-learner violence exists in the USA. Casarjian (2000) suggests that educator psychological abuse was found to be the strongest predictor of learner self-reported psychological and physical aggression toward the educator. To date though, most research exists within the field of physical and psychological maltreatment by parents or caregivers (Maas, Herrenkohl & Sousa, 2008). Whitted and Dupper (2005) proposes that this could be a result of educators' unwillingness to allow researchers to examine this problem. For instance,

when researchers have been granted permission to observe this phenomenon educators modify their behaviour because of their presence (Whitted & Dupper, 2005).

Another problem arose when researchers tried to determine the prevalence of this specific type of maltreatment in schools or to compare and contrast research findings since psychological maltreatment has been defined in multiple ways. The International Conference on Psychological Maltreatment of Children and Youth tried to address this issue when it led efforts to establish a universally accepted definition of psychological maltreatment (Hart, 1998). This resulted in the psychological maltreatment of children and youth being defined as "actions of omission and commission which are judged on the basis of a combination of community standards and professional expertise to be psychologically damaging."(Hart, 1998, p.2). It was further established that these acts are often committed singly or in a collective by individuals who are in a position of power over the child (Samivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Oosterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Researchers also suggest educators commonly use psychological maltreatment in combination with other punitive disciplinary practices as a way of exerting control (Whitted & Dupper, 2005).

Sexual relations between learners and educators have also become more common in recent years (De Wet, 2008). Studies suggest that sexual harassment of schoolgirls by educators is common throughout the world, to varying degrees (Pinheiro, 2006). In fact, in schools across South Africa, thousands of girls of every race and economic group are encountering sexual violence and harassment that impede their access to education, according to Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch World Report, 2001). However, this is not unexpected in a country dubbed the 'rape capital' of the world (Abrahams, Martin, & Vetten, 2004). In 2008/2009 the South African Police Services reported 71 500 sexual offence cases which the MRC estimates may be up to nine times that of the reported statistics (Sigsworth, 2009). Hence, the real sexual assault figures in South Africa are closer to 643 500 per year. Furthermore, Gauteng was established as being the province with the highest sexual offence cases reported at 19 106 (Sigsworth, 2009). With regard to schools, a study by Burton (2008) found 8.4% of secondary school learners and 9.5% of primary school learners reported being sexually assaulted by educators. However, it could be hypothesised that these rates are an underestimation, as in the same study it was suggested that sexual assault of learners was less likely to be reported. Similarly, studies have found that in South Africa victims of sexual violence are met with much cruelty after reporting their victimisation often resulting in their

leaving schools for periods of time, changing schools or quitting school entirely; while the educators accused of abusing them remain within the safety of the school (Pinheiro, 2006). Evidence from the Human Rights Watch Report reiterates this finding when they suggested that very few educators were expelled from the teaching profession for the abovementioned transgressions and that most were merely transferred to another school re-enforcing the culture of silence (De Wet, 2008). Many learners also introduced 'love relationships' referring to relationships between educators and learners in which learners would often engage in sexual relations and substance use with educators (Burton, 2008). Despite the serious consequences of sexual harassment for victims, perpetrators and educational institutions it is clear that the culture of silence has prevailed. Accordingly, Leach (2003) found that many cases of sexual violence only came to light if a female learner became pregnant by an educator. According to Pinheiro (2006), educators often see the sexual harassment of learners - most often girls - as a normal part of school life, and therefore ignore it. However, recent interventions by governments to stop the abuse of children are tackling this issue. One could then presume that this violence enacted on learners, generates the potential for retaliating violence to be enacted towards educators.

Educators as victims

A national study in 1955 by the U.S. National Educational Association's Research Division recorded two particularly undesirable issues: violence committed against educators and the increased use of drugs by learners (De Wet, 2007b). More than 50 years later, violence against educators is a common occurrence (Tait, 2004).

A 2003 report on school crime and learner safety found 19% of public schools reported that learners disrespected educators on a daily basis and 13% of public schools' educators experienced verbal abuse from learners on a daily basis (Bon, Faircloth, & LeTendre, 2006). In South Africa, learner on educator violence is as high as 58% in secondary schools (Burton, 2008). Similarly, in New Zealand, a survey found that more than a third of secondary school educators experienced some form of bullying or harassment on a weekly basis, 12% of the 583 respondents suffer daily, 97% of educators experienced bullying at least once a year, 80% at least once a term and 52% at least once a month (De Wet & Jacobs, 2006). According to a survey in Ontario, 38% of educators in Ontario have been bullied by their learners. Of those bullied, 82% have been subject to repeated class disruptions or repeated disrespectful

behaviour, 40% had their personal belongings or property vandalised and 27% had been threatened or physically assaulted on more than one occasion and 11% received repeated racial, sexual or religious slurs (De Wet & Jacob, 2006). In 2001 in New South Wales, an incident of school violence resulted in 42 educators requiring medical attention after being assaulted by learners (Australian Education Union, 2003). Likewise, a Jamaican study by Gardner, as per De Wet (2007b) revealed that 39% of the respondents indicated that educators were often threatened by learners with physical violence while 21 % were actually attacked by learners. However, examination of adult bullying in the workplace seems to suggest that learners are not the only perpetrators of educator bullying. A survey by National Association of School Masters and the Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT) in 1995 states convincingly that the great majority of those accused of bullying behaviour in schools towards an educator, were colleagues of the educator such as head teachers, principals, deputy head teachers or heads of department (Terry, 1998).

In spite of the studies above, research on learner-on-educator violence, educator-on-educator violence, principal-on-educator violence and parent-on-educator violence is limited. In South Africa this is especially a problem as rates of victimisation of educators increase. However, literature investigating schoolyard bullying seems to be a well-developed area in school violence research. Olweus (2003) stated that an individual "is being bullied or victimised when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions" (p.17). These negative actions may be carried out by words (verbally) through threatening, taunting, teasing and calling of names or physical actions such as hitting, pushing, kicking or pinching (De Wet & Jacobs, 2006). They may also be carried out by making faces, dirty gestures, intentionally excluding someone from a group or refusing to comply with another person's wishes (De Wet & Jacobs, 2006).

The victimisation of educators through bullying, according to Olweus (2003) can be explained by the 'asymmetric power imbalance' to explain the bullying situation. This idea of a relationship of power imbalance between victim and perpetrator was further specified by Einarsen (2000) with the victim having difficulty defending him or herself (Dzuka & Dalbert, 2007). In the same way that one of Smith and Thompson's (1991) three distinguishing features of bullying is that the bully is stronger than the victim or is perceived to be stronger. Bacchii, Esposito and Affuso (2009) advanced this idea when they claimed that "bullying is widely defined as a systematic abuse of power" (p. 17). Hence, the power imbalance between

victim and perpetrator (and in this case the victim being the educator) has been highlighted by a number of researchers.

Pervin and Turner (1998) argue that that disempowering of an educator may be a result of disruptive learner behaviour. Disruptive learner behaviour includes a refusal to obey requests and commands, noisiness, showing off, teasing, disturbing other learners, learners leaving their seats without permission, talking out of turn, making improper noises, not paying attention, storming out of the class, as well as more serious offences such as swearing or mocking the educator, ignoring the educator, making personal comments about the educator, damaging the educator's property and physical violence toward the educator (De wet & Jacobs, 2006; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Prinsloo, 2005). Disruptive learner behaviour seems far more probable a cause of educator bullying than the idea of 'asymmetric power imbalance'.

In the end, the lack of research around this subject does inhibit one's understanding of it and underplays the alarming rate at which educators are becoming victims of violence. Research exploring this area can only be of great benefit. One can then see the importance of interpersonal relationships as a prerequisite for the learner-educator interaction.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEARNERS AND EDUCATORS

The social climate of the school is an important factor in determining the intensity of violent behaviour in school (Twemlow, Fonagy, & Sacco, 2002). And the relationship between learners and educators plays a primary part in influencing that social climate. For this reason, Oosthuizen (1997) believes that educators should consider themselves *in loco parentis.* The principle of *in loco parentis* requires that educators take on responsibilities as the learners' parent during school hours by helping them understand their worlds, equipping them with the tools for adulthood, motivating them, maintaining discipline and encouraging a class atmosphere conducive to effective teaching and learning (Mashaul, Steyn, Van der Walt, & Wolhuter, 2008). Van Brummelen (1994) asserts that educators' pedagogy profoundly affects their relationships with their learners; and that good educators took into account the learners' background, emotional needs, learning styles and development stages.

The importance of a good relationship between learners and educators was reiterated in a study by Furlong, Morrison, Austin, Huh-Kim and Skager (2002) high school learners (many

with histories of gang involvement) in the Los Angeles area were interviewed about their perceptions of educators. The learners characterised educators into three categories: "1) strict and distant, 2) inconsistent and afraid and 3) tough and caring" (Furlong et al., 2002, p.15). They expressed that 'tough and caring' approach by educators made them feel genuinely cared for and encouraged to succeed. These learners described educators as 'picking on' them and challenging them but also using appropriate, consistent and fair discipline methods (Furlong et al., 2002). According to the learners' experiences, educators who were found to be 'tough and caring' were fewer in number than those who were 'inconsistent and afraid' (Furlong et al., 2002). Despite the findings, the results could not necessarily be extrapolated to the present study as the study was done in a wealthy community in the United States unlike the low-income community of Alexandra in South Africa.

Shafii and Shafii (2001) agreed with this idea that schools where management and educators work together have lower rates of violence because they have clearly enforced rules, are able to manage behaviour in their classrooms and are engaged enthusiastically in their roles. They later warn that "without training in learning to work cooperatively to achieve common goals among diverse groups of people…tensions will be unavoidable"(Shafii & Shafii, 2001, p. 294).

Farrington and Welsh (2007) took this further by proposing that levels of trust between learners and educators can be an important indicator of the overall health of a school and can itself be a predictor of delinquency levels within schools. South African researcher, Burton (2008) tested this hypothesis in The National Schools Violence Study through the learners' ability to report violence to an educator. He found that while reporting levels of violence were quite low, educators were most often the people to whom learners (as victims) reported their experiences (Burton, 2008). Much research on the educator-learner relationship exists, yet it focuses on the learning style between them and often reviews the international population (Twemlow, Fonagy, & Sacco, 2002). In terms of the ecological model, this relationship is essential to the prevention of school violence and warrants further research worldwide as it can have a tremendous impact on both learners and educators; which this study addresses later in this research report.

IMPACTS OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE ON EDUCATORS

Few studies exist that describe the variety of reactions that may follow exposure to school violence. However, examination of existing research and studies in related areas offer some possible effects of school violence on educators. In 1978, Bloch became one of the first researchers to investigate this issue (Buck, 2006). Through observing the reactions of educators who sought treatment following physical assaults, he developed the idea of 'Battered Teacher Syndrome' (BTS). This syndrome described educators' constant exposure to violence in schools as resulting in symptoms that are akin to the DSM-IV TR criteria for PTSD (APA, 2000). Unfortunately, this concept of 'Battered Teacher Syndrome' (BTS) has not been developed since its appearance in the literature during the 1970s (Buck, 2006). Surprisingly though, a recent study by Steffgren and Ewen (2007) characterised BTS as a combination of anxiety, disturbed sleep, depression, headaches, elevated blood pressure and eating disorders.

With the hope of addressing some of the many limitations in existing literature, Ting, Sanders and Smith (2002) developed a Teacher's Reactions to School Violence (TRSV) scale. However, the results focused upon scale development rather than the effects of experiencing school violence (Buck, 2006). Preliminary findings deduce that individuals who experience direct exposure to violence may result in psychological distress, numbing or dissociation, but due to the small sample the study could not differentiate between direct and indirect experiences (Ting et al., 2002).

This professional numbing is often related to educators' experiences of stress or burnout. Kyriacou (1987) defined educator stress as "the experience by an educator of unpleasant emotions, such as tension, frustration, anxiety, anger and depression, resulting from aspects of his [or her] work as [an educator]" and burnout as the "syndrome resulting from prolonged [educator] stress, primarily characterised by physical, emotional and attitudinal exhaustion" (Kyriacou, 1987, p. 146). Subsequent studies about burnout over the last 20 years have examined the experiences of nurses and physicians as well as educators, social workers, police officers, and psychotherapists (e.g., Buck, 2006; Farber 1991; Maslach & Jackson, 1984, 1986; Pines & Aronson, 1988). The theorists above concluded that burnout is a multidimensional construct comprising three independent and related facets: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduced personal accomplishment. With regard to educators, this is when they can no longer give of themselves to learners as they did before; when they develop negative, callous attitudes towards learners and feel as if they are

ineffective in helping them. Criticisms, threats, intimidation and sexual harassment have also been linked to educator burnout (Buck, 2006). These psychological forms of violence often result in the educator feeling a reduced sense of control; which if threatened can lead to the educators own identity being challenged resulting in stress and potential burnout (Buck, 2006).

Maslach and Jackson (1981) suggested that stressful experiences in the work environment can result in altered emotional responses, a change in how one views the world, and a change in one's feelings of accomplishment and worth. However, Buck (2006) suggested that the shattering of basic assumptions about the world alters one's view of oneself as well as one's ability to cope after exposure to trauma. This alteration in behaviour and outlook may then develop into a trauma response such as PTSD (Crawage, 2005).

Carlson and Dalenberg (2000) propose that the degree to which an individual is affected by a traumatic experience, is based on that experience's intensity, nature and duration because these aspects affect the individual's feelings of control and his or her perceptions of the event as negative. In the case of school violence, an incident that resulted in death or injury would likely result in more distressed educators than an incident of theft or intimidation (Buck, 2006). In addition, studies on criminal victimisation have shown that experiencing direct victimisation can have serious psychological repercussions (e.g., Buck, 2006; Frieze, Hymer & Greenberg, 1987; Norris & Kaniasty, 1994). Coincidently, Neely (2003) maintains that educators who have been involved in or witnessed school violence can exhibit symptoms of PTSD. These symptoms include "fatigue, head and stomach pains and hypertension." (Neely, 2003, p. 42). This clinical syndrome also displays other psychological symptoms of anxiety, depression, loss of control, guilt, sleep disturbance and obsessive dwelling on the crime (APA, 2000). Victims may also experience self-blame, flashbacks and re-experiencing of the incident, accompanied by shame for not noticing warning signs of the crime, social withdrawal and avoidance of places associated with the crime incident (APA, 2000). Some educators have also been reported to bring weapons to school to protect themselves (Kadel, 1999).

One may thus deduce from the material analysed that educators are seriously impacted by violence in the schools in which they work. These physical and psychological responses coupled with the daily ritual of maintaining order within their classrooms can lead to burnout

and in some cases attrition where educators leave the profession. Dienstbier (1989) suggests that prior experiences with stressful life events may serve to make an individual 'tougher' or more resistant to subsequent stressful life events. This suggests that those who have experienced school violence become resilient to its effects. For Dawes, Tredoux and Feinstein (1989) while some learners in the township schools emerge from exposure to violent school events resilient others become aggressive, cynical and hardened. However, a recent survey in the United Kingdom found that 47% of educators admitted they lost sleep when stressed, 45% said they turned to comfort eating to deal with it, about 42% said they cried, 29% said they turned to drink, 16% admitted to turn to smoking to cope while only 13% said they took exercise to deal with stress and 2% said they turned to drugs (Willey, 2008). Therefore it can be said that educators often made use of maladaptive coping strategies. Consequently, it has been agreed by research that educators are heavily impacted by school violence, especially in the schools that they work (see Buck, 2006).

According to Hoffman (1996) violence or the threat of violence has a direct impact on the way educators and learners work together in the classroom. For instance, if an educator is stressed or is experiencing burnout, then she or he is less likely to engage the class or provide motivation for a child who is struggling (Buck, 2006). As a result, school violence can be perceived as affecting educators' quality of teaching. Fisher and Kettl's (2003) results concur with 56% of educators believing that "violence or threat of violence had a direct impact on the quality of teaching they were able to provide" (p. 81). Many educators in South African township schools admitted to feeling fearful to attend school, often resulting in demotivation and the inability to focus on performing their job (Crawage, 2005). Key researchers warn that violence in the workplace must be seen as an important social problem because it can have an impact on retention, absenteeism, performance at work and can worsen the educator shortage faced by many Western countries (Ingersoll, 2001; Waddington, Badger, & Bull, 2005). The educator attrition rate seems to be increasing year after in the US. Data compiled through the TFS show evidence of this in the 1991-1992 year attrition rates were at 13.2% but has increased in the 1994-1995 year to14.3% and to 15.7% in the 2000-2001 year (McPherson, 2005). At the end of the 2004 school year, 17% of the primary and secondary educators (approximately 621 000) left the public and private schools where they had been teaching (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). As more educators are threatened and become victims of violent learner behaviour, the existing problem of increased attrition rates becomes worse when these teachers elect to resign and or leave the profession of teaching. Current research

on educator attrition shows that 30 to 50 % of teachers leave the profession within the first five years (Brunetti, 2001; Gritz & Theobald, 1996; Smith & Smith, 2006). In South Africa, the current rate of attrition is about 20 000 per year, for a variety of reasons including discipline problems and violence in schools (DoE, 2005). These rates are even higher in low income areas where educators are more likely to leave in the first five years because of inferior working conditions (Smith & Smith, 2006). Given the current state of education in South Africa it should be no surprise that many educators choose to leave the profession.

Based on the literature reviewed above it is clear that school violence has a tremendous impact on the educators in multiple areas of their lives. In reference to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, school violence tends to impact educators' micro- and macro-systems, which will be explained in the following section.

SYNOPSIS OF LITERATURE

Definitions of school violence have caused much controversy over the last decade as a homogenous definition for school violence does not exist. According to Furlong and Morrison (2000) this has resulted in inconclusive statistics since merely comparing findings is problematic. For this reason, a standard definition is crucial for accurate figures which could lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon of school violence. A better understanding of school violence could thus inform prevention strategies and interventions to counter school violence.

In South Africa, violence in schools is not a new phenomenon as the Apartheid system often encouraged violence in schools. As a result, Harber (2001) believes that people have learnt that violence is a solution to one's problems. Psychological research holds that social learning, reciprocal determinism or the interplay between different environments in which the individual lives are some of the causes for school violence. However the history of school violence suggests that it may be a result of a combination of factors. Despite the promises of "a better life for all", many continue to experience the inequalities of the past (Mbeki, 1999). Today these are evident in the poor conditions in schools. It could therefore be hypothesised that the continued unmet basic needs and democratic promises with the Apartheid legacy of

violence as the socially sanctioned mechanism for resolving conflict and for attaining change have created the perfect recipe for increased levels of violence in schools (Mogano, 1993).

Even though current policies and interventions have been established in order to address the issue of school violence; not one intervention seems to be totally effective. However, this could be a result of the lack of research and monitoring of these policies and interventions as well as the magnitude of broader systemic issues. Consequently, school violence seems to have increased in prevalence rates across the country.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Burton (2008) school violence in low-income communities, such as Alexandra, can be accounted for by the interplay between individual characteristics, the wellbeing of the family structure, social circumstances of the community, societal beliefs and the school. However, more research on violence in other types of communities needs to be undertaken as it could fill the gap in this theory.

Another area in which more South African studies could be undertaken is that of educators and school violence. More specifically educators are perpetrator and victims. According to literature educators inflict harm through the use of corporal punishment and psychological maltreatment. Yet, in recent years sexualised behaviours between staff and learners has also become more common (De Wet, 2008; Jones, Moore, & Villar-Marquez, 2008). On the other hand, not much research exists on the notion of educators as victims. This could be to conceal to these transgressions against educators and maintain social repute. In South Africa, however, the victimisation of educators is becoming a real problem (see De Wet, 2007b); which has been understood as being associated with unbalanced power relations. A lack of research inhibits understanding of such atrocities and the creation of interventions.

The relationship between learners and educators is regarded as being the most pivotal in determining school violence behaviour (Ripski & Gregory, 2009). Research also shows that it is an important factor in determining the severity of violence in schools (Twemlow et al., 2002). In South Africa, there is little research on the relationship between educators and learners. However, the National School Violence study did find that learners often reported experiences of victimisation to the educators first (Burton, 2008). This implies that the learners often trust their educators for support.

One field that has been saturated with research is the impact of school violence. Over the years research has shown that school violence has tremendous physical, emotional and spiritual effects on learner and educators (see Crawage, 2005). Symptoms of burnout, PTSD, depression, physical illness and fear have been known to be experienced by some (see Buck, 2006; Crawage, 2005; Ensink, Robertson, Zissis, & Leger, 1997); while others have engaged in even more violence, substance abuse, attrition and absenteeism (Farber, 1991; Kadel, 1999; Nesane Nesane, 2008). However specific literature in South Africa is not common.

To conclude, literature on school violence in South Africa is growing. However, more research is needed as relying on international studies is not adequate. South Africa has a very unique population and circumstances and therefore this gap in the literature should be exploited in order to make a meaningful contribution to improving South African society.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), there is no single causative factor for violence (Krug et al., 2002). This also applies to school violence. Research has shown violent acts are caused by differing variables and experiences. And with the turbulent history of violence and inequality, South Africans have been exposed to a diverse array of variables that may contribute to school violence. Based on this thinking, an individual's violent reaction should be considered relative to their personal, familial, school, community and societal experiences to avoid misleading and incorrect interpretations (Krug et al., 2002). Within the popular media there is frequently a tendency to attribute findings related to violence in certain countries and cultures to a 'national character', a 'cultural acceptance of violence' or to other simplistic uni-dimensional causal explanations (Krug et al., 2002). However, as this study was set in the multifaceted community of Alexandra the entire ecological environment should be considered in order to understand an individual's development. For this reason, a social ecological approach was used as the theoretical framework for this study.

The social ecological approach evolved largely in response to the inadequacies of the individual perspective of human development and the need to consider multiple factors at different ecological levels (Dalton, Elias, & Wandersman, 2001). Originally based on the work of Lewin (1953) this model was described as an approach for conceptualising and studying the development of the child. Over the years, there have been several adaptations of

the Social Ecological Approach; however the most utilised version is Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory. Founded on Lewin's idea of the person, the environment, and the continuous interaction of the two; this theory looks at development within the context of a system of relationships that form an individual's environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). These systems or complex 'layers' of environment each have an effect on the individual in an interdependent way (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Visser, 2007). Bronfenbrenner (1979) identified four environmental systems that frame all human transactions and influence human development: the micro-system, the meso-system, the exo-system and the macro-system; which describe influences as intercultural, community, organisational and interpersonal or individual. Bronfenbrenner (1979) has added another system, the chrono-system which takes into account history and time which shapes one's development. Therefore behaviour can be seen as a result of the interactions between individuals and the contexts that they are exposed to.

According to Kelly (1966), Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach is based on four different principles: the interdependence of systems, adaptation, the distribution of resources and succession. All four principles work interrelatedly influencing parts of the system to impact the individual. Hence, "a change in one part will cause a change in other parts" (Visser, 2007, p. 104). As environments are not static but continuously changing (succession) individuals often engage in (adaptation) a process to cope with the available and changing resources of their environment as all communities have different sets of resources (Hawe & McClaren, 2005).

Research over the years has found that violence is a particularly complex phenomenon that has roots in the interaction of many factors (Krug et al., 2002). Astor, Pitner and Duncan (1996) maintain that ecological issues are at the core of concerns about violence, particularly those in low-income urban communities. Thus using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model to gain an understanding of school violence as a result of complex interactions between individual, familial, school, communal and social factors is fundamental to this study.

The Micro-system

This system encompasses the relationships and interactions an individual has with that individual's immediate surroundings. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), a micro-system is "a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics" (p.22). The micro-system consists of many interpersonal relations or influences such as family, friends, school or social clubs. However, in the interpersonal sphere there are also many components of the individual, including psychological and cognitive factors, like personality, knowledge and beliefs (Gregson, 2004). As a consequence, the individual is constantly shaped not only by the environment but by any encounter or other individual they come in contact with.

At this level, relationships have bi-directional influences. In other words, a child's school may affect his beliefs and behaviour; however, the child also affects the behaviour and beliefs of the school. Bronfenbrenner (1979) illustrates how bi-directional influences occur among all levels of environment, however he believes it is strongest and has the greatest impact on the individual at the micro-systemic level.

With regard to violence, research has shown that an individual's personality and acquired biological deficits may contribute to their violent tendencies (Krug et al., 2002). Elliot, Hamburg and Williams (1998) identifies anti-social personality disorders, conduct disorder, ADHD, impulsiveness, neurotoxin exposures and serious head injuries as some of the factors that predispose individuals to violent behaviour. Low self-esteem, lack of support and low frustration tolerance also influence individuals to act more violently. Therefore it can be suggested that mental illness, neurological injuries and specific personality characteristics cause learners to be more vulnerable to violent tendencies. Other characteristics include age, gender, education and income (Krug et al., 2002).

Familial rearing and discipline has a tremendous influence on a child's behaviour. In fact, research has shown that children who come from homes where parental discipline is inconsistent or extreme, which lack communication, contain domestic violence, are unstable and do not operate as a family unit show a marked deviance in their behaviour (De Wet, 2007b). Van den Aardweg (1987) found that poor parental involvement, lack of supervision and absenteeism may also result in learner violence.

Individuals developing in overburdened or impoverished communities tend to have very limited support systems; in many cases school being the only safe one. Hence, these impoverished circumstances often leave educators feeling helpless or overwhelmed by the responsibility placed on them (Astor et al., 1996). Thus educators can begin feeling disempowered, frustrated or overburdened sometimes leading to educator-on-learner violence or educator-on-educator violence.

Lower rates of misbehaviour, according to studies on school violence, were found in schools that possessed an encouraging school environment, optimistic perceptions of the school and educators with more work experience (Kandakai, Price, Telljohann, & Wilson, 1999). Consequently, schools that operated as authoritarian institutions where learners' rights, needs and feelings were neglected or suppressed and where educators or learners were prevented from acting independently or challenging dominant beliefs were merely seen as perpetuating the school violence problem (Harber, 2004). Furthermore, regular violent and abusive behaviour towards children (such as corporal punishment) often becomes normalised and subsequently reproduced by them in their own relationships with others (De Wet, 2007b). On the other hand, difficulty around educational management, such as inappropriate curriculum, substandard teaching and insufficient classroom management left learners feeling demotivated and frustrated often resulting in some form of school violence (Pinheiro, 2006).

The Meso-system

This refers to the patterns of interactions and relationships between two or more micro-systems in which the individual participates (Astor et al., 1996). In other words, relations between the micro-system of a family and the micro-system of their school constitute a meso-system. Meso-systems undertake numerous different forms that include in Bronfenbrenner's opinion

> other persons who participate actively in both settings, intermediate links in a social network, formal and informal communications among settings, and, again clearly in the phenomenological domain, the extent and nature of knowledge and attitudes existing in one setting about the other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25).

Pertaining to school violence, the meso-system explores how close relationships (with family, friends, intimate partners and colleagues) increase the risk of an individual being a victim or

perpetrator of school violence (Krug et al., 2002). Research suggests that individuals in stressful environments with little support often are at greater risk of committing or experiencing school violence (Astor et al., 1996). Similarly, parents of learners who have had negative personal experiences with the school system are more inclined to enact school violence by sabotaging their experience of the institution (Duncan & Burns, 1994). The lack of communication between the two micro-systems also increases the child's chances of violence, in that parents don't inform educators of new stressors in the child's life that could explain her/his troublesome behaviour or educators don't expect parents to monitor learners' homework or support their discipline techniques (Sexton-Radek, 2005). Accordingly, Bronfenbrenner stated that the more rich the medium of communication in this system, the more influential it is on the micro-system.

The Exo-system

An exo-system refers to the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings. In this system an individual does not have direct contact or influence over the system (Visser, 2007). However, the decisions made in those exo-systems may have far-reaching effects on the individual. According to this study this refers to the community influence. Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains that this system "[does] not involve the developing person as an active participant" (p. 25). A few examples of these are stressful events in parental employment, school board decisions, and incidents in an educator's personal life or changes in the parent's network of associates.

The community consists of a web of many organisations and interpersonal relationships. Even though it is larger than the meso-system, it is considerably smaller than the particular nation or culture it falls within. This system does not have to be associated with any physical or spatial relationships either, as it could involve membership in special interest groups or political affiliations (Sexton-Radek, 2005).

De Wet (2007c) found that the most frequent community causes for school violence were living conditions as a result of poverty, unemployment, too many different racial and ethnic cultures and overcrowding. Other researchers concurred with this finding that this system has been known to exert influence on impoverished settings (Gabarino & Dubrow, 1992). In fact, Astor et al. (1996) found parental unemployment, conflictual school board policies, high rates

of educator burnout and attrition and the lack of resources as having a negative effect children's development. The presence and membership of gangs, easy access to dangerous weapons as well as the use and distribution of substances were also found to lead to school violence (De Wet, 2007b).

The Macro-system

This represents the larger societal factors that help create a climate in which particular behaviours are encouraged or inhibited (Krug et al., 2002). The values, economy, the laws, the cultural understandings, political events, family customs, structure of education, shared history and symbols, the media and religious beliefs of the society or community all fall within the macro-system domain. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) this system refers to the "consistencies, in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro-, meso-, exo-) that exist, or could exist, at the level of subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies" (p. 26). As such, the macro-system influences are more easily visible than the other factors, mainly due to the magnitude of the impact they have.

Some aspects of the macro-system are experienced rather directly. For example, many researchers believe that the culture of violence is brought directly into people's homes on a daily basis through the depiction and glorification of violence in the media, fostering a general acceptance of violence in schools (De Wet, 2007b). The media's influence is seen as pivotal in this model as it plays a significant role on all levels, by communicating information and assisting in the development of expectations for all individuals. The belief that violent actions are synonymous with masculinity among many males has seen the increase in violence among male learners and educators (De Wet, 2007a). South Africa's violent history has also been identified as perpetuating violent behaviour in education and society in general.

The Chrono-system

This is the fifth system of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological systems theory which encompasses the dimension of time as it relates to an individual's environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). A chrono-system includes change and consistency over time, in both the person and the environment in which that person lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Elements within this system

can be either external, such as the sociohistorical circumstances of Apartheid, or internal, such as the physiological changes that occur with the aging of an individual (Santrock, 2008). The social conditions of inequality in all areas of life in South Africa caused much violence within schools and society and fashioned the use of violence as acceptable and perhaps, today, even inevitable in the absence of clear anti-violence standards and norms. Based on this idea, as individuals got older they may have reacted differently to environmental changes and may have been more able to determine how that change would influence them.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

In this section, some of the terms in the research report are defined so as to provide conceptual clarity as to their use in this study.

School Violence

School violence is defined as any act where an individual or collective exercises power over others in school-related settings in the form of physical, sexual or emotional abuse resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, spiritual damage, rape, mal-development or deprivation (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006; Crawage, 2005; Kandakai et al., 1999; O'Moore, 1990).

Violence

Violence is defined as the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual" to harm another individual, group or community with the consequence of injury, death, psychological harm or deprivation" (Krug et al., 2002, p. 5).

Educator

The term educator refers to any person whose occupation requires them to teach, educate or train others. According to (SACE, 2002) an educator is an individual who assists learners, mostly in a school, but it may sometimes include other contexts like family, religious or community settings. However, one should note that the terms teacher and educator are used interchangeably by the participants.

Learner

The term learner is defined according to the South African Schools Act of 1996, as any person receiving education or obliged to receive education in terms of the Act. This education is bestowed by an educator which often occurs in a school environment but not always.

CONCLUSION

The ambiguity around the definition of school violence has limited research and intervention in the field of violence in schools. For this reason, the current study sought to investigate this issue by focussing on what educators perceive to be and experience as incidents of school violence. With South Africa's destructive history and the violent legacy of Apartheid, the effect on many communities and the education system is not surprising. Against this backdrop, violence in schools has become commonplace in South African. However, since the new government came to power there has been a determined effort to eradicate these inadequacies using the Constitution of South Africa, legislation and policies. But this has not put a brake on violence in schools and as a result many NGOs along with the government have set up interventions to counter it. With the highest rates of school violence occurring in government schools in low-income communities it was only natural then to locate this study in the township of Alexandra –a multicultural community. Therefore, the selection of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model as the framework of this study complements the context, purpose and the literature documented within this field of study.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focussed on evaluating existing literature in the field. However, this chapter presents the methodological framework employed to carry out this study. This chapter comprises the research questions, research design, data collection and data analysis procedures. Ethical considerations and reflexivity of the researcher will also be discussed.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research questions guiding this study are:

1. How do educators understand school violence?
2. What are educators' experiences of school violence?
3. How does school violence affect educators?

RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Neuman (1997) research should explore "socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (p.68). Attempting to achieve this, this study used the interpretive research paradigm to explore educators' subjective experiences of school violence in Alexandra. By seeing the social world as a process that is created by individuals, the interpretive paradigm is able to focus on the "meanings that particular experiences, events and states hold for participants" (Lyons & Coyle, 2007, p. 35).

According to Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) interpretive studies assume that people create and associate their own subjective and intersubjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena through retrieving the meanings participants assign to them (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006b). With regard to this study, educators are making sense of their feelings and

experiences of violent incidents directed at educators as they occur in their world. The interpretive approach is also committed to studying meaning and human phenomena in context (Paudel, 2005). Hence, the research was conducted on participants who experience school violence as part of their 'everyday' working environment. Moreover, Huberman and Miles (2002) deem this to be an advantage of the interpretive approach as it allows the researcher to gather information directly from the participants as individuals who reflected on the actual events in a manner that makes it possible for the researcher to document. Therefore, a 'thick description' of the participant's experience can be obtained (Merriam, 2002).

Since this research has an interpretive nature, the analysis of the data is influenced by both personal and theoretical thinking (Creswell, 2003). For this reason, qualitative research insists on a reflexive process so as to allow the researcher to examine his or her own biases (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006).

The study made use of a qualitative data collection method to gather information which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. According to Cresswell (2003), "qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem" (p. 18). A qualitative research approach is often undertaken when there is a lack of theory or an existing theory fails to explain a phenomenon adequately, much like school violence in South Africa (Merriam, 2002). With the goal of describing and understanding rather than precise explanation and prediction of human behaviour, the qualitative researcher collects data in face-to-face situations by interacting with selected participants in their natural settings (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This method of inquiry can be interactive or non-interactive. For this study it was interactive as semi-structured interviews were employed as the instrument of data collection. Because qualitative research holds that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world and that there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux; semi-structured interviews were used to allow the exact experiences and perceptions of educators to be examined (Merriam, 2002). In trying to examine the data, this study utilised thematic content analysis as a data analysis technique.

According to Merriam (2002), qualitative researchers often undertake a qualitative study because of the lack of existing theory to explain the phenomenon adequately. This was also

the case in the present study since there is insufficient literature on educators' experiences of school violence. However, the literature which does exist is quantitative and does not provide adequate information to grasp the issue of school violence. Therefore, the researcher used both an inductive and deductive process. In gathering data to build concepts, hypotheses or theories on school violence the research undertook an inductive process (Merriam, 2002). However, the researcher also was guided by existing literature and theory on the topic of school violence. Based on the information above, an interpretive qualitative research design was used by this study as the researcher strived to understand how people make sense of their experiences.

PARTICIPANTS

Quantitative sampling aims at representativeness, while qualitative research demands that the data to be collected is rich in description of experiences (Patton, 2002). Given that this study was qualitative, a sampling technique that selected participants that could provide a rich source of experiences was needed. Non-probability purposive sampling was, therefore, utilised to 'handpick' participants on the basis of the characteristics the researcher required. According to De Vos, Strydom and Delport (2005), the purposive sample is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of elements that contain the most characteristic, representative or typical attributes of the population. For this reason, the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in the selecting of information-rich cases for in depth study (Mertens, 2005).

Due to transformation within the South African education system the researcher chose to carry out the study in government schools within the community of Alexandra. The specific Johannesburg government schools were 'underperforming schools' at the time (based on their matric pass rates) and located in a low-income community with higher levels of social problems.. As a result, educators from several government schools in the community of Alexandra were then approached to volunteer to participate in the study. The researcher also happened to be part of a community intervention project at these schools as well. Babbie and Mouton (2001) assert that there are no rules for sample size in qualitative research and the number of participants should be guided by the purpose of the research.

According to Mertens (2005) the advantage of using purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to hone in on people or events which they believe will be critical for the research. It also aids the aim of this study to explore the quality of the data not the quantity because this research process is one of 'discovery' rather than testing of hypotheses (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). On the contrary though, this sampling technique does not allow for representativeness within the population. One selection criterion included at least 5 years of teaching experience on the part of the educator to ensure the possibility of more profuse data. There were no gender or age specifications so either sex and any adult could participate in the study. The final group of participants consisted of 12 participants of which 5 were male and 7 were female. All participants fell within a 30-60 year age range, providing the depth of experience required for this study.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

A letter was distributed to the principals of the selected schools explaining the nature of the study and asking permission to approach educators and request their participation in an interview. The Gauteng Department of Education was also contacted for permission to conduct research in the particular government schools. Once permission was granted, interested participants were given an opportunity to volunteer to participate in the study. Convenient times and places for the interviews were then arranged with the participants. Most of the interviews took place in the offices of the participants and the school staff room while others invited me into their home or a quiet place outdoors. After informed consent (see Appendix C) and consent to record the interview (see Appendix D) were obtained; one hour semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the participants. The semi-structured interviews were audio recorded for accuracy purposes and to make analysis easier for the researcher.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviewing is a data collection method that is known for its capacity to gather a rich body of information through its flexible structure and interactive nature. The use of semi-structured interviews to establish "a human-to-human relation with the respondent" (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 57) reiterated the study's desire to understand rather than explain educators' experiences of school violence. With semi-structured interviews, a set of questions

is designed to guide the schedule of the interview rather than dictate it (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). The interviewer is then able to cover pre-determined subject matter, promote spontaneous conversation, explore and clarify other areas on the topic and facilitate new deeper thoughts within a guided process. In other words, the interviewer is "freer to probe interesting areas that arise and can follow the participant's interests or concerns" (Lyons & Coyle, 2007, p. 42).

This type of data collection method was also utilised because of its compatibility with thematic content analysis; the chosen data analysis technique for this study. In addition, semi-structured interviewing is an effective and well-established data collection method for the South African population claimed Stevens (2008). Therefore, in order to avoid premature theoretical analysis and to build rapport with participants to gain full descriptions of each educator's experience of school violence, the same initial set of questions were used with all of the research participants (educators). This initial set of questions (see Appendix E) explored the basic components of school violence and educators' experiences of these. The first question focused on educators' reason for teaching and history within the profession so as to build rapport and establish their interest in the profession. The following questions addressed issues such as the educator's understanding of school violence and his/her opinion on violence against educators. They also addressed the educator's own experiences of school violence, their perception of their colleagues' experiences and how school violence has affected them- looking specifically at the psychological, physical and spiritual impacts.

DATA ANALYSIS

This study aimed to explore the themes that emerged from educators' experiences of school violence either as victims, observers or perpetrators. In order to elicit and explore these themes, the study employed thematic content analysis as a method of data analysis. Thematic content analysis usefully summarises key themes of a large body of data to offer a 'thick' description of its similarities and differences (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Kelly, 2006a). This qualitative analytic method frequently goes further by interpreting various aspects of the research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

According to Lyons and Cole (2007) there is no clear point when data collection stops and analysis begins with qualitative research, however the process of analysis comes into being

when the researcher starts to become aware of patterns and issues of potential interest in the data. With thematic content analysis, background reading can form part of the analysis process, especially if it helps to explain an emerging theme. However, this is a highly controversial topic as many believe that this engagement with literature could develop one's analysis by making one aware of the more subtle features within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This study, however, made use of both inductive and deductive coding as the researcher allowed the codes to emerge from the data and used literature to guide them.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) and supported by Terre Blanche et al. (2006a) thematic content data analysis develops through six phases. In this study, all six phases were completed by the researcher in order to gain findings.

The first phase of thematic content analysis involved the researcher familiarising herself with the data through transcribing, reading and re-reading it. Some researchers acknowledge transcribing as the most significant phase in the data analysis within the interpretive qualitative methodology (Bird, 2005, p. 227). However, the aim of this phase was to expand and interpret the data to find the underlying information beneath the material. During this phase, the researcher also noted her initial ideas to help with the next phase of analysis which involved generating a set of codes (Terre Blanche et al., 2006a).

As soon as phase one was completed, the second phase began which involved the production of the initial codes from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Coding refers to "the creation of categories in relation to data; the grouping together of different instances of datum under an umbrella term that can enable them to be regarded as 'of the same type" (Corbin & Strauss, 2007, p. 159). However, codes should not be mistaken with themes which are much broader and will be created in the next phase. During this phase the researcher read through all the transcripts, coding every piece of material with the aim of finding potential patterns in the data.

The third phase began once all the data had been coded and a long list of different codes was identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This phase involved collating and sorting of the codes into potential themes (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). The researcher emerged with six potential themes from the data extracts which included defining school violence, causes, effects on educators and learners, safety, support and roles. Throughout this process all themes and

codes were checked by the supervisor for verification purposes. A thematic map was then utilised to check if the themes formed a coherent pattern at the level of collated extracts and the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

These potential themes and sub-themes were then reviewed, making up the fourth phase of data analysis (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Acknowledging that the thematic content process of analysis is not linear instead recursive, the researcher found herself moving back and forth throughout the phases trying to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The potential six themes and numerous sub-themes were then grouped under the core research questions and renamed: educators' definition of school violence, factors that contribute to school violence, the effects of school violence, educators at risk, support for educators as victims and the role of the educator. All themes and codes were further checked and verified by the supervisor. This data analysis method was very time consuming as it developed over a long period thus allowing the researcher to generate rich descriptions of each research participant's experience (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The fifth phase continued this process of refinement of the themes and sub-themes which were then presented in the chapter titled, '**Results and Discussion'** . These themes and sub-themes were then presented under the central research questions: educators' definition of school violence, factors that contribute to school violence and the effects of school violence.

Phase six involved the final analysis and writing up of the research report. A concise, coherent, logical account of the participant's experiences in accordance with literature was provided within and across all three research questions.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research was conducted in accordance with the protocols and procedures specified by the University of Witswatersrand Ethics Committee, the Department of Education and the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). For this reason, the researcher first sought permission from the Gauteng Education Department and the University of Witswatersrand Ethics Committee for the above research and only contacted the relevant institutions once permission had been granted. The researcher's ethics clearance protocol

number is MACC/09/004 IH. Staff at the various schools were addressed on the research by the researcher and then given an opportunity to volunteer as participants of the study.

Participants were given a thorough individual verbal explanation of the nature and purpose of this study (HPSCA, 2008). In addition, an information sheet detailing the purposes of the study as seen in Appendix B was distributed among the participants. The researcher clearly explained that there were no benefits or direct risks for participating in the research (HPSCA, 2008). In keeping with autonomy, participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Kelly, 2006b). Given the qualitative nature and sensitivity of the research topic, participants were informed that complete confidentiality could not be guaranteed, however safeguards would be put in place to ensure the confidentiality of participants. These included having all identifiers (including educators' gender and grade level) retracted from the transcripts or the research report and relabelled 'participant' instead (HPSCA, 2008). In trying to ensure autonomy and anonymity, any items research participants did not wish to include in the study were excluded (Blasé & Blasé, 2003). However, some direct quotations would be used in the research report. Participants were also informed that audiotapes were transcribed and processed by only the researcher. All audiotapes, typed transcripts and any other personal documents were kept in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research report being assessed (HPSCA, 2008). Participants were debriefed on their experience of the interview upon completion. Finally, participants were informed that should any participant suffer psychological distress as a result of participation in this study, contact details for relevant and free counselling services would be provided. In the event of psychological distress, participants would be given a letter of referral and assistance in contacting these free counselling services on request. However, no participants expressed the need for further counselling assistance.

Consent forms were used in order to obtain written permission to conduct and audio record the interviews (see Appendix C and D). This also ensured that all the above terms were first agreed upon by the research participant before any interviews took place. Participants were also informed that they would be given access to the research report should they wish to view it upon completion of assessment of the research report.

ISSUES OF REFLEXIVITY

According to Bhana and Kanjee (2001) the researcher's experiences are no more or less important than the participant's and are acknowledged as a real contributor to the research process. For this reason, an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of the researcher remaining 'outside of' their subject matter while conducting research is needed. This process is referred to as reflexivity and is essential for researchers to practice if qualitative research methods are utilised (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). According to Eagle, Hayes and Sibanda, (2006) it requires social scientists to be of the opinion that the researcher's demographic and personal attributes play some part in extracting of research data. The researcher consciously acknowledged the impact that her age or young appearance, her race, the fact that English was her first language, her gender and her relationship with the school could have on findings.

The age or young appearance of the researcher was commented on by several of the participants upon their first meeting. In some instances, the foregrounding of the researcher's young age seemed to impinge on the interviews which often prevented rapport and trust being built. It could be hypothesised that this was a result of the participants not feeling the researcher could understand their situation as she was still young. This resistance to the interview process was evident from the patronising statements directed towards the researcher at times.

Similarly, racial and cultural differences between the participants and the researcher seemed to distract many participants, with some losing focus on the topic and asking the researcher personal questions. One participant kept 'othering' the researcher by his presumption of her race. In other words, the researcher was mistakenly assumed to be 'white' by some of the participants. However, this was understandable as Alexandra is predominantly populated by the 'black' population.

Language differences between the researcher and many participants often hampered their communication. As the researcher is first language English speaking she found this to be a challenge with certain participants who had a limited command of the English language. It was also hypothesised that language may have influenced the findings in that some

participants could have misunderstood questions or were not able to explain properly what they meant.

Gender differences between the researcher and the participant being interviewed were made very apparent by the learners and other educators. When the researcher interviewed male participants she would often be subjected to comments and behaviours with sexual innuendos from learners who passed by the office. The researcher also experienced female participants as generally more open and generous with their experiences as educators. Some female participants seemed to account this to many male educators being perpetrators of school violence which the researcher corroborated due to her personal experience at the schools.

The researcher's regular presence as a consequence of involvement in a community intervention at one of the schools influenced interactions with some participants. These participants were experienced as more open to disclosing their experiences and trusting of the researcher. However, this familiarity with the researcher allowed the participants to ask the researcher many personal questions.

The researcher found that the issues above influenced the interviews with participants. However, through making use of her therapeutic skills, she was able to put participants at ease without disclosing too much personal information and could obtain a rich collection of data.

In general, the use of semi-structured interview questions seemed to work well as participants often lost focus of the topic or question asked. In addition, the researcher chose to use a qualitative data collection method as it gave a richer understanding of the research topic of school violence. Finally, the researcher does acknowledge the influence of her subjectivity on the findings. It is possible therefore that every characteristic of the researcher (educational, cultural, historical and even personality) may influence the analysis and interpretation of the research data. However, caution was taken and the varying arguments and opinions of the supervisor were considered at all times.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the study made use of an interpretive research paradigm to explore educators' subjective experiences of school violence in Alexandra. This paradigm was also utilised in an attempt to understand the school violence phenomena through the meanings participants assigned to them. Non-purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select criteria the participants needed to possess. As a result, 12 educators from various government schools in Alexandra were selected. Using a qualitative data collection method, semi-structured interviews were carried out to address the research questions around educators' experiences of school violence. In analysing the findings, thematic content analysis was chosen as the data analysis technique. However, ethical issues and reflexivity of the researcher were considered throughout every process of the study as they could influence the eventual findings.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis and a discussion of those results. Several themes emerged from the findings which were explained under the three central research questions: 1) educators' definitions of school violence; 2) factors that contribute to school violence, and 3) the effects of school violence. These themes were further divided into sub-themes. For each theme, direct quotations from the interviews and relevant literature are used to support the findings.

EDUCATORS' DEFINITION OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE

This study aimed to gain an understanding of educators' experiences of school violence. In **Chapter 2** of this research report, it was argued that school violence is a multifaceted construct that has evolved in use and meaning over the past 10 years. To assume a homogenous or uniform understanding of school violence is to exclude those forms of violence that are tacitly concealed (Burton, 2008). Through an analysis of the transcripts, differing meanings of the term 'school violence' emerged from participants' narratives and it became evident that the way in which an individual defines school violence impacts not only on their understanding of the issue but also their experience of it. For this reason, definitions of school violence became a central question in the study. This section presents the participants' views about the defining characteristics of school violence. Three components of this definition were found in the data, which were categorised as the types of violence experienced, the victim-perpetrator relationship and the location of violence.

Physical violence

This section presents participants' accounts of the characteristics that constitute physical violence in the school context. Throughout this section, the participants' experiences will be used as evidence to establish an understanding of physical violence as a form of school violence. In particular, this section examines the ways in which fighting, corporal punishment and the use of weapons were distinguished separately as forms of physical violence.

Fighting

In terms of research on physical violence, assault stands out as being the most common form of violence occurring in schools (Burton, 2008). According to findings by Burton (2008), one in twenty learners (5.8%) reported being assaulted at school in 2008. This study, conducted in schools throughout South Africa, found that most male participants described school violence as being physical in nature which included acts of assault and bullying. It was also established that these acts occurred between both educators and learners. This **victim-perpetrator relationship** will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Other research in South Africa also established that physical fighting/assault is the form of violence most frequently identified by educators, although most reported incidents involved physical fighting between learners (Swart & Stevens, 2002). Sheras (2002) explained this could be because physical violence is the easiest form of bullying to identify as the actions of the perpetrator are overt. Participant 8's statement is a prime example of such when she explains that an educator was slapped by a learner. The use of the learner's hands to inflict harm is quite easily identifiable as a form of physical violence against the educator.

> One educator was once uh klapped by a learner.
>
> (Participant 8)

> They are always um beating up or rob them of their monies, at time you find that that the grade 8s in particular when they want to go to the toilet.
>
> (Participant 12)

Other forms of bullying are often labelled as physical because they are used as a means to commit other acts of violence. Participant 12 attempts to illustrate this idea when he suggests that learners are physically assaulted in order to steal. This will be discussed in more detail in the section pertaining to **moral crimes**. The definition for assault has also added to this confusion when it defined physical violence as not including the use of weapons (UNESCO, 2009). Trying to separate acts of physical fighting and the use of weapons may prove difficult, as physical fighting may start with fists and kicking between learners but is very likely to progress into the use of weapons. Agreeing with this idea, participant 9 communicated her experience of physical fights at school as always ending up with the use of weapons; suggesting that physical violence occurs on a continuum.

> It would be fight, there there a lot of fighting among themselves. The fighting between learners…It begins with the you know fists and all...but it actually ends up with bricks and weapons.
>
> (Participant 9)

Fighting, bullying, assault are just a few of the names this physical form of violence has been called causing much confusion as to what it includes and precludes. However, it was established that differing forms of violence cannot be separated completely as they often work with one another. Corporal punishment as a manner of physical violence is often met the same definitional confusion.

Corporal punishment

In an educational setting, corporal punishment has generally been defined as the "intentional infliction of pain in an effort to change behaviour" (Straus & Mouradian, 1998, p. 355). However, this definition could bring confusion with many mistaking it for physical assault. As noted by Maree and Cherian (2004), corporal punishment as a social practice has existed for centuries in South Africa. Corporal punishment often has been condoned under the pretext that it is a form of discipline. It is frequently also described as an aspect of parental and educator duty, as well as being seen to be character building. Corporal punishment also is considered to be a part of religious teaching. For this reason, the criminalisation of corporal punishment in South African schools has elicited much debate with some educators applauding the move while most condemn it. A high school principal in Daveyton depicted the prohibition of corporal punishment as 'the government castrating teachers by taking away their powers to use corporal punishment" (Sunday Times, 13 October 1996). The issue of corporal punishment seemed to be a contentious issue with the participants as well. Some participants heralded the government for banning it saying it promoted violence, while others criticised the government for its banning alleging that it increased learners' disrespect of educators and reduced their fear of consequences for their actions. Participant 6 described corporal punishment as being physical in nature because it involved hitting individuals in a violent manner in order to relieve anger and achieve a positive behavioural reaction which does not necessarily occur. In view of this description, participant 6 defines corporal punishment as a form of physical violence.

> So you know violence it it it it does not sort anything out so hence I support the corporal punishment being uh taken out of schools. Cause the less violence we have, the less… even myself you know, I avoid hitting my boys you know because the the anger does come sometimes, they irritate me but I avoid hitting them because violence it means I'll be saying to them violence works.
>
> (Participant 6)

Participant 9 furthered the debate against corporal punishment when she alluded to the idea that it is not the lack of corporal punishment that is the problem, but rather the lack of effective alternatives to dealing with an educator's anger.

> Um corporal punishment I'd say it would happen or you try to do that when you get fed up with the children.
>
> (Participant 9)

Based on participants' experiences, the use of corporal punishment as a last resort has not proven to be effective. In fact participants 8 and 9 felt the use of corporal punishment by an educator put one at greater risk of victimisation by learners. As a result, corporal punishment can be described as a factor in the perpetration of the cycle of violence.

> If you want to apply corporal punishment they will retaliate.
>
> (Participant 8)

> Because they will turn up against you, so that's taking a risk to apply corporal punishment
>
> (Participant 9)

However, regardless of one's position on the matter, corporal punishment is an illegal act and educators found enacting it may face arrest (Dawes, De Sas Kropinwnicki, Kafaar, & Richter, 2005). It must be acknowledged though, that corporal punishment is still rife in South African schools. A recent South African study by Leoschut (2009) found that a total of 51.7% (more than half) of the sample (4391 participants) indicated that their teachers or principals hit, caned or spanked them for incorrect behaviour. The study also found corporal punishment was highest in the Eastern Cape, with three out of four (76.6%) youths surveyed from this province indicating that they had been hit, caned or spanked for wrongdoings by educators and principals at their schools (Leoschut, 2009). Participant 8 confirmed this when she admitted that corporal punishment still occurs in the school where she is employed.

> It happens in our school…But not publicly, in a private way.

(Participant 8)

Breaking the silence of the continued use of corporal punishment in schools, shows that physical violence is still an accepted means of discipline. One could then hypothesise that corporal punishment is just another weapon of school violence.

The use of weapons

Weapon use in South Africa is not an unusual practice. In fact, firearms are the leading cause of violent death in South Africa with approximately 48% of 18 545 murders and 80% of attempted murders in South Africa being fire-arm related (Action for a Safe South Africa, 2008). According to the 2007 National Injury Mortality Surveillance System, the leading external cause of death for cases of homicide in the "15-24 age group was sharp force injury (46.7%) followed by firearms (31.7%)" (MRC/UNISA CVILP, 2008, p. 7). In Johannesburg alone, 47.6% of individuals in the 15-24 age group were killed by firearms (MRC/UNISA CVILP, 2008, p. 31). Hence, the use of weapons in school violence is not that implausible. In this study, the participant's opinions on the matter of weapons in school violence are depicted in the quotes below.

> Well school violence is when kids come with uh unwanted weapons like knives, like guns, like anything which is which can be harmful to other kids, like sometimes when they talk or they fight teachers, or they fight among themselves, they can always take out the instrument and use it to to the other person so which is not correct and right.
>
> (Participant 2)

> They give you the weapon; I was just going to stab him.
>
> (Participant 12)

There was consensus that the presence, use and exchange of weapons are a pivotal component of school violence. This is corroborated by Leoschut's (2009) findings that 8% of the youth aged between 12-17 carried weapons. The 2002 South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of found that during the last 6 months 9.2% of learners had been threatened or injured someone with a weapon such as a gun, knife, panga or kierrie on school property (Reddy, et al., 2003). Similarly, more male (11.9%) than female learners (7.1%) had threatened or injured someone with a weapon at school (Reddy, et al., 2003). Participant 12 gave an account of a learner saying, "I was just going to stab him", reflecting the fact that youth in South Africa see violence as an inconsequential behaviour. Incidents where

participants were either threatened or harmed through weapon use are shared below. Most participants described a feeling of shock when exposed to the weapon which often left them feeling very helpless. Participant 9 blamed the inadequate laws for the presence, use and exchange of weapons in an already turbulent environment such as school.

> We went to break then this young man jumped the wall and then brought the screw driver, he stabbed the other one with the screw driver at the back but it wasn't that bad.
>
> (Participant 8)

> He just came in holding a gun, I was writing and then I looked back, I found him holding, pointing the gun at me, and when I said what are you doing, he says well I'm just joking. I said how can you joke with a gun, what if the bullet triggers out and then you shoot and you kill me, what are you going to say? Will you say that you were just playing. What will be your explanation? Because I was not even aware, I was facing the board writing.
>
> (Participant 2)

> I want to tell you a story of a young boy that I taught, it was in 19 in 2000 in 1999. One day he kicked the door, he came in the class then he said to me I want to, I want to address the learners. Then I said to him but I'm teaching. He said to me yes I know you are teaching. Then instead of talking to me he just went to the learners with the gun in his hand and said give me money, give me money in Zulu. Gipi mali, gipi mali, gipi mali. So I I didn't leave the class thinking of the learners. Then he left the classroom.
>
> (Participant 8)

> There are some children bring the guns eh eh weapons to school, but then the law against the law, whatever is that they should not be searched.
>
> (Participant 9)

In fact, weapon use in school violence has become such as problem that some schools now make use of handheld metal detectors to attempt tackling this problem (Bronaugh, 2010). The Western Cape Department of Education was the first to roll out handheld metal detectors to 109 violence prone schools in the province (SABC News, 2009). Participant 9 alluded to the need to search learners for weapons when they entered the school premises to increase safety and reduce weapon carrying. However, the easy access of learners and educators to weapons, especially guns, in schools and the introduction of the use of handheld metal detectors to identify the carrying of weapons have led to the adaptation of weapons and the increase in other forms of violence, such as emotional, gendered and moral crimes (Merton, 2006).

Emotional violence

This section examines the participants' accounts of emotional violence and their understanding of factors that encompass this form of school violence. Based on the participants' experiences, emotional violence will be considered as a form of school violence that consists of verbal abuse.

Verbal abuse

Colloquially verbal abuse is a catch-all term for emotional abuse, however it consists of name calling, racial slurs, swearing and gossiping (Booren, 2007). The identification and consequences of verbal abuse has always been a contentious issue since trying to measure the effects of verbal abuse or evidence of its use is virtually impossible. As a result, verbal abuse has merely been frowned upon and is generally discounted as human nature (Eliasson, 2007). Verbal abuse generally consists of two common practices: "the intent to harm and the target's interpretation" (Eliasson, 2007). However, Infante (1995) refers to verbal abuse as "verbal aggression" characterising it as behaviour with a message and intention to attack a person's self-concept in order to deliver them psychological pain. In keeping with this idea, verbal abuse requires the speaker to use language consciously, rather than merely as habit or how one talks on certain occasions (Eliasson, 2007). The findings in this study were no different. When participants spoke of verbal abuse they often referred to cases of 'gossiping'. Gossiping is a form of verbal abuse that seems to be a significant problem in schools that is perceived as contributing to other types of school violence. It can have many negative effects which will be discussed at length later in the **effects of school violence** section. Participant 1 spoke very passionately about the issue of gossiping conveying that it is a real problem amongst educators as it can sometimes prevent other educators' advancement. The constant gossiping, by some educators has influenced other educators as well as learners to instigate more gossiping around the school. In addition, participant 1 emphasised that gossiping is actually contributing enormously to the demise of a positive school climate.

> Other educators may actually influence educators and learners…behind other people's backs just trying to gossip… moving from one office to the next just gossiping.
>
> (Participant 1)

> You'd find that they hard working but you don't get the promotions on what circumstances. On circumstances somebody is talking badly in the office...
>
> (Participant 1)

> The gossip of educators as cliques that one is actually killing the school.
>
> (Participant 1)

In speaking of gossiping, participant 1 made constant reference to educator-on-educator verbal abuse. Participant 4 reinforces this when he exposes the issue of educator-on-educator verbal victimisation as a likely form of school violence by revealing his own experience of a senior manager abusing his powers and verbally mistreating him. This unprofessional conduct was experienced by participant 4 on another occasion when he was forced to relinquish his office on two occasions with no explanations; only to find out later that others' gossiping had caused a principal to mistrust him. These incidents of verbal abuse could be a symptom of the deterioration of the relationships between educators.

> You in a particular department and then your senior management, he is not communicating with you very well, he is just commanding you to do A, B, C in not in a proper manner. Then you turn and tend to become a violence, then because that is an emotional abuse, he is just abusing his or her powers of his employee. He's supposed to talk to you in a professional manner.
>
> (Participant 4)

> I was forcefully removed by the principal without any apparent reason because when I questioned her, why are you taking me out of the office? That is where I stay, because of underground gossips that are going around the school, yes. She feel, she felt that she doesn't like me therefore I was moved out of my office. That was another way of violence. If a person takes you out of there without giving you reasons, it is undermining you as a professional and it was not for the first time.
>
> (Participant 4)

Lack of respect towards educators on the part of learners also emerged as a component of participants' experiences of emotional violence. Participants were in agreement that learners have minimal respect for educators and that this often results in the victimisation of educators verbally. Participant 11 and 6 exclaimed that learners did not respect educators or other learners, and would often behave in a rude disrespectful manner towards them. Participant 11 suggested that this may be as learners feel educators did not have the social status or material possessions that learners aspired for.

> They simply don't see a educators as someone very respectful… maybe it's because um we are not wearing fancy clothes, we are not driving these fancy cars or what we in fact no longer um role models as such
>
> (Participant 11)

> Learners being rude and emotionally abusive that happens often.
>
> (Participant 6)

According to Leoschut (2009) children and youths who are victimised at school are more likely to be bullied emotionally rather than physically. In fact research shows that 17.8% had been verbally teased or insulted; 11.5% had people at school threaten to say things about them that would stigmatise them; and 8.3% had been forced to do something against their will that they knew was wrong" (Leoschut, 2009, p. 49). Despite the fact that these results relate to learners, participants' views show that the same is true for educators.

Participants 2 and 9 shared personal experiences where they had become victims of violence by different perpetrators. This suggests that verbal abuse is far more complex. It cannot be explained away as 'human nature'. In fact, it has been suggested that verbal abuse is more related to power dynamics in relation to the individuals involved. However, this will be examined in detail further in the report in the **factors that contribute to school violence** section.

> You would stand there like a statue. You'll keep telling them to keep quiet, the other one who is just seated next to me, they will start talking and chatting and if it's hitting each other and just enjoying in your presence. You know you try to talk to them they will not want to listen. You know you try to tell them to do their work, they will not do their work. This envelope here this kids were supposed to bring, it's only about 5 or 6 out of a class of about 25. I mean what do you do?
>
> (Participant 2)

Verbal abuse is considered the most frequent form of school violence, however it has been mostly overlooked and ignored by adults (Sheras, 2002). Schools, educators, parents and even other learners have often neglected the impact of such behaviour on individuals which has often led to its vast increase and acceptability in society. However, the effects on individuals has been found to have ramifications in other areas of school life, such the participation in "moral crimes".

“Moral crimes”

“Moral crimes” emerged as another form of school violence from the participants during the interviews. The researcher employed this label to encompass theft, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, absenteeism and gambling. Some of these acts may be illegal behaviour for youth to engage in, however the researcher felt that the manner in which the participants were intending them was morally accredited rather than unlawful. Two participants explained their understanding of school violence touching on issues of substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and absenteeism which encompass so-called “moral crimes”. During participant 10’s explanation she implied that substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and absenteeism often led to other forms of school violence. In other words, learners who engage in substance abuse frequently cause physical fights with other learners or educators. Similarly, teenage girls who fell pregnant and continued to attend school were repeatedly teased by male learners who were then punished by the girl’s older boyfriends either within or outside the school grounds. The skipping of class was also seen as a violation of educators’ personal rights as they felt disrespected. However, these will be addressed later in the **factors that contribute to school violence** section of this research report. Participant 8 concurred with her colleague when she described school violence as consisting of various forms of violent behaviour such as fighting, emotional bullying, substance abuse and a lack of respect for educators.

> School violence to me it is drug abuse, school violence to me is teenage pregnancy. It is and I am going to explain those things that I am touching on now and as I’ve said it is drug abuse, its teenage pregnancy and then bunking classes and the actual fighting that is to me it’s school violence. When I say drug abuse – drug abuse it ends up making the very same child to start fighting the other child in the classroom and uh when they fight you become in the middle of it and most of the time you cannot even know where it has started whether the perpetrator or the other person is on the wrong side and most of the time when you look at their issues you do not want to teach them that the other one is wrong, the other one is right. You want them to look at the problem and solve the problem, so that is school violence drug abuse that results to the fighting and I said to you school violence again is teenage pregnancy if you can look at our environment these days eh most of the girls comes to school pregnant and they end up fighting with our boys because the boys are going to start saying all this funny names giving them names and they end up not being satisfied because they go outside and they tell their boyfriends. The boyfriends come to school or even their brothers and it starts being a very small thing but it grows out to be a very big thing and you’ve got to be involved again because you’ve got to try and protect whoever is being attacked at their point of view. Yes, and dodging of classes why do they dodge again that is another school violence every time you are part of that and it’s part of educator harassment you end up feeling very harassed when they dodge the classes.

(Participant 10)

> Whereby learners are fighting in school, whereby learners are bullying each other and uh, ah, maybe where where they are violating these substances like eh drugs and so forth, to me that is eh school violence. Even the bullying like maybe learners who are not respecting educators. That is school violence.
>
> (Participant 8)

Research on youth violence confirms that these "moral crimes" are a major problem in South Africa. The 2008 National Youth Lifestyle Study revealed that substance abuse is widespread with alcohol being the leading substance of abuse, followed by tobacco use and marijuana (Leoschut, 2009). Research also shows that 74.3% of individuals admitted to first using marijuana at the age of 15 while 25.6% started before this age; 11% of youth between the ages of 12-17 used alcohol in the month prior to being interviewed, suggesting regular alcohol use (Leoschut, 2009). Due to the ages of these youth it can be hypothesised that most of these acts (substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, theft, absenteeism and gambling) were related to school since between the ages of 12 and 17 one spends most of one's time at school. Therefore these "moral crimes" can be regarded as examples of school violence.

With regard to teenage pregnancy, more than one in five (22.3%) young women reported falling pregnant between the ages of 15 and 16 years, while fewer than 2% had been under the age of 15 when they had their first experience of pregnancy (Leoschut, 2009). According to Macleod (2001) the depiction of teenage pregnancy as a social problem comes from the idea that in conceiving, the teenager displays 'adult' functions, such as reproduction, which disrupts the 'transitional' nature of adolescence. In other words, the pregnancy of a teenager exposes the transgression of the child/adult boundaries as well as her sexuality (Macleod, 2001). On the other hand, participants perceived teenage pregnancy as either influencing other female learners or prompting violence amongst learners who disapprove of the pregnancy of their schoolmates and disapprove of their boyfriends.

According to some participants, absenteeism by learners or educators also emerged as a "moral crime". Participant 9 was very vocal about this issue exclaiming that very few learners attended school, often resulting in them under-performing academically. This was further expanded by participant 9, when she conveyed that it was not only learners who were not attending class or school but educators too. Educator absenteeism was having tremendous effects on the performance of learners as well as the physical and emotional wellbeing of

educators. Male educators were identified as being the main culprits for such dishonest behaviour as they frequently arrived late at school, would loiter in the streets during school hours or did not arrive at all.

> Very little children are at school from morning until 2'o clock but then at the end of the day you may find that the children are in a grade where they still can't read and write and write they can be in grade 7
>
> (Participant 9)

> You'll find that in a school there are 5, 6 teachers who are not at school a day. It is discouraging and the children are just sitting there for a whole week there is no one at the school and you can't and I decide to get sick and I do.
>
> (Participant 9)

> Males are mostly reluctant to come to school; will come late to school and they know no one will say anything. They stand in the streets even though the time, it is time for them to be at school but they wouldn't be at school and freely and without any fear
>
> (Participant 9)

On the other hand, participant 5 acknowledged absenteeism as being more of an interrelationship between learners and educators. Learners would sometimes not attend class leaving educators frustrated and unmotivated. However, educators frequently did not attend either, resulting in learner "unruliness". According to Crawage (2005) absenteeism amongst staff sometimes contributed to discipline problems.

> You become discouraged and some of, some of the time you find that if they. It's eh the way it happen, it's happening, you'd find that some of them is uh the learners who are supposed to be in class and they are not in class, you are in class, you are teaching and you can see there are learners who are not in class. They are outside... When you are in class you not teaching it also affects the results because you cannot teach while other learners are not learning. Absenteeism is not only educators. Absenteeism is not only learners. Eh eh bunking of classes that's the cause of everything because you know sometimes learners they are afraid to be in class because they are sub… they are afraid of this huge boys who are in class.
>
> (Participant 5)

Pinheiro (2006) corroborated this when he concluded that over the last few years absenteeism has been regarded as undermining educators, learners and sometimes the school due to the resultant decreased performance of the learners and the school.

Other participants shared their experiences of learners partaking in 'moral crimes' either within the premises of the school or outside. Participant 12 mentioned that theft is a high occurrence in his school while participant 4 and 11 speak of substance abuse and gambling as common forms of violence he has experienced.

> These big ones they they steal, you leave your files in class they steal them.
>
> (Participant 12)

> We do see incidents around the community where learners are now involved in liquor and drugs, you see and in gambling, we do have those other corrupt violence that are caused by other circumstances, yah, but in our case we do have a case where learners are gambling and they are fighting.
>
> (Participant 4)

> Eh mostly educators come from male eh male students because um they are the ones who are more troublesome not maybe because they are smoking dagga they are just doing these drugs some some eh they come to school and they'll be drunk you see
>
> (Participant 11)

However, participant 11 throws a spanner in the works when he alleges that educators are more likely to be involved in substance use nowadays. No data exist around this area of school violence.

> But the this nowadays the ones who are we are we are teaching now a days they are more in drugs you see.
>
> (Participant 11)

Participant 5 agrees with participant 11 that educators are perpetrators of moral crimes when she contends that educators' judgment of learners' behaviour influenced their treatment of the learner. If the learner was regarded as a wrongdoer, educators were likely to criticise this learner more than a learner that was not regarded as a wrongdoer. Research suggests that, despite its illegality wrongdoers are more likely to receive corporal punishment from educators and principals (Morrell, 2001). However, this is examined further in the **physical violence** section. Participant 2 lamented educator's role as perpetrators of school violence when she queried what exactly educators were teaching learners through the acceptance of moral crimes.

> You know that these boys are drug users or whatever. Sometimes when she comes with a problem already you have judged the boy, she is wrong so that is why these boys they don't respect you because sometimes she knows that I am telling the truth

> even people saw me as somebody who is got truth in their heart, somebody who's explaining eh eh eh the story fairly the way it has happened but because I'm a educator I don't like this child then I condemn him before the story is being told to me. So after sometimes when you talk, you find that now the boy that you were condoning that is wrong it is the one that is right. So that is why the boy and the educator they won't be the same.
>
> (Participant 5)

> What are we teaching this kids? Are we saying its fine for you to become a mother when you are still at school? Who is going to be looking after your kid? Who is going to… and with what money? And even if the government can maybe give them the grant and how much and for how long are they going to survive? I know of one student in my class last year, she had about 3 kids, is it 2 or 3… before she could finish her grd12. You just tell me what type of people, what type of a community are we bringing up?
>
> (Participant 2)

The idea of identifying stealing, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, absenteeism and gambling as "moral crimes" is a contentious issue. However, the depiction of these already "immoral" acts in society as acts of school violence was seen as placing the beliefs of dominant cultures, religions and governments into the school environment. In a country of many different beliefs, the researcher felt that the term "moral crimes" best suited these acts.

Sexual and gender-based violence

Issues around sexual and gender-related violence were raised by all the participants; however there seemed to be varied experiences and perspectives related to gender-based violence or lack of understanding of gendered issues. According to Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006) contexts where there are heavily asymmetrical gender relations or where gender violence may be considered 'normal' and culturally prescribed, people routinely exposed to these forms of violence come to accept them as an inevitable part of their daily lives, including in school. A study by Wood and Jewkes' (1998) in a South African township confirmed this idea when it was found that sexual assault, rape and coercive sex had become the norm in heterosexual relationships amongst learners. However, Participant 12 shared a contradictory experience when he emphasised the vast array of such gender violence cases he had encountered.

> Between the learners there's rape and all those thing how how are the female learners um educators affected often um is there some sort of sexual under tone to some of the violence towards educators.
>
> (Participant 12)

Often sexual and gender-based violence can take the form of sexual harassment, assault or exploitation with the intention to harm or humiliate someone because of their gender or sexuality (UNESCO, 2009). Some girls are raped (De Wet & Jacobs, 2006). Research has also shown that there is a widespread practice of blaming girls who are victims of violence (Pinheiro, 2006). Participant 12 further substantiated his point by relating an experience where a young female learner had tried to end an already abusive relationship with her male partner only to be struck with a metal pole on the school premises within full view of other learners.

> I heard this one the boy and girl, the girl came and reported it to me um this boy um had just beaten up with a heavy iron-bar, she was actually limping, then I came and say what the problem is now? Um my boyfriend...she said we um were just talking then um then I decided to break up the affair because of this and that that I said okay that fine you did that but did you discuss maybe before were were there some problems. The girls said no enough is enough; he has been abusing me for a long time. Then he beats her up like that.
>
> (Participant 12)

This idea that males were generally the perpetrators of school violence seemed to be the consensus among the participants. In their portrayal, males were often identified by their sense of fearlessness and lack of respect. Participant 5 reiterated this idea by conveying that female-on-female violence was a rare occurrence relative to the frequency of male-on-female violence. In fact, findings of the Learner Incident and Injury Surveillance System (LINCISS) study indicate that males are twice as likely to be perpetrators of violence as females (Swart & Stevens, 2002). However, this does not mean that female-on-female or female-on-male violence does not occur or that females are not perpetrators of school violence. According to a school survey by Swart, Seedat, Stevens and Ricardo (2002) approximately half of the male population (434) and female population (494) of learners reported having been involved in a physically violent dating relationship either as a perpetrator and/or victim. In the same study, more male respondents than female respondents reported the prevalence of sexual coercion and physical violence in their dating relationship as well (Swart et al., 2002). However, research shows that generally more females tend to report being victims of sexual/gender based violence than males (Dawes et al., 2005). This could be the outcome of patriarchal

differences that run though South African society, in terms of which men are perceived as more dominant and powerful.

> Particularly boys. With girls I'd never, I'd never experienced any violence.
>
> (Participant 8)

> So I think with males they they have no fear at all and no respect
>
> (Participant 9)

Gender-based violence, according to UNESCO (2009), may take on psychological, physical or sexual forms. However it always entails the enforcement of power imbalances between the sexes. Unbalanced gender relations could thus be the reason why participants often dismissed or downplayed the existence of educators engaging in sexualised behaviours with learners although research and anecdotal reports within the school verified its existence. Pinheiro (2006) corroborated earlier research when he suggested that the reason educators ignored some of the sexual harassment toward learners was because they saw it as a normal part of school life. Therefore, gender-based violence could be perceived as merely reinforcing gender inequalities, stereotypes and socially imposed roles.

> The rumours that maybe the male educators are sleeping around with the learners or something like that but it is just the rumours, I really don't know that I can say that this educator did this and that.
>
> (Participant 7)

> It was clear that now the educator was involved in love with a school kid.
>
> (Participant 1)

For this reason, participant 1 ardently argued that he was not convinced that kind of sexualised behaviours between educators and learners is suitable. Despite the fact that most of the participants negated the idea of sexualised behaviours between educators and learners, the researcher had observed some inappropriate relations between female educators and male learners and male educators and female learners while carrying out her research. For instance, a female educator would allow male learners to hug her and nuzzle their heads in the female educator's breasts. On another occasion male educators were seen holding hands and embracing female learners. However, all sexualised behaviours are not as evident as these. Instead, some sexualised behaviours tend to be quite normalised in the school context such as patting learners on the back or shoulder and hugging the same gender learners if they become upset; therefore these should not be included in the defining factors of school violence. Even

though girls are often more vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence, boys, too, are at risk, of school violence raising questions about the victim-perpetrator relationship.

Victim-perpetrator relationship

This section refers to the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of violence, which is a defining characteristic of school violence. Research reveals that where the perpetrator is known, it can facilitate some action being taken against the perpetrator (Burton, 2008). In many school violence situations, the perpetrator is known but the incident may not be reported out of fear of stigmatisation or revenge. The school violence descriptions by participants fit various typologies: learner-on-learner violence; learner-on-educator violence; educator-on-learner violence; educator-on-educator violence and parent-on-educator violence all of which will be addressed below.

Learner-on-learner violence

Known as the most common form of violence in South Africa, learner-on-learner violence refers to violence where a learner is both a perpetrator and victim (De Wet, 2007b). Recent statistics supported this belief when they showed that between 83-93% of secondary school learners identified the perpetrator of school violence as being a fellow classmate. As a consequence 18.6% admitted that they felt unsafe in school as they feared their classmates (Burton, 2008). All participants of the study were in agreement that learner-on-learner violence is a significant problem and a standard daily occurrence in school.

> It's very rife of late because you would hear a kid who stabbed another kid maybe with a even a pair of scissors. Usually they use pair of scissors for good reason or good purposes.
>
> (Participant 2)

Some participants went further to say that common everyday activities between learners usually ended in violence and that the presence of an educator did not prevent learners from engaging in violence. Furthermore, the use of an everyday implement such as a pair of scissors as a weapon indicates the gravity of school violence. This is discussed in greater detail in the section on ***the use of weapons***. Nevertheless, the LINCISS study noted that 144 cases were reported of which 47% of cases were associated with physical fighting or assault

and 19% of these incidents involved the use of an instrument or weapon (Swart & Stevens, 2002).

Learner-on-learner violence has increased in intensity over the last decade, according to participant 9. This form of violence often resulted in injury warranting medical attention, and requiring the presence of the police. Wounds sustained are often fatal. In addition, violence has started to spill out of the school grounds which reflects Benbenishty and Astor's (2005) idea that community violence often encroaches on school and vice versa. Another characteristic of learner-on-learner violence that has changed, according to participant 12, is that it is becoming more visible as learners sometimes commit harm to other learners in full view of educators.

> It has become bad, extremely bad that's maybe going to a high school because it's happening right here where children become violent. You know when they play, in no time they'll be fighting and threatening each other and telling you will not go out of school. I will find you outside the gates of school and when you call them, you try and inter intervene then the child becomes angry with you and them tells you where to get off.
>
> (Participant 9)

> Some learners will actually slap other learners in front of an educator and then you can see see the mark here where the one was slapped.
>
> (Participant 12)

An example of a serious incident was described by participant 12, where some boys jumped the school wall and forced a particular learner to leave the school with them, only later to kill him and set his body alight.

> One of our school boys he was attending class. Some guys jumped the wall it was early in the morning about past nine. I don't know exactly what happened in there because I was up in those classes, it's just some 7 or 8 years ago. I can't know what exactly happened but um they were taking him out of the school through the wall, they made him jump the wall for these thing that happened over the weekend we don't know, he was killed, and his body was set alight.
>
> (Participant 12)

> I'm leaving the learners playing and end up stabbing each other.
>
> (Participant 11)

> The one that I have reprimanded some 30min before had attacked the other learner with um bar-iron and he was bleeding all over the place...because he didn't want to give me his pen.
>
> (Participant 12)

Other learner-on-learner incidents include learners stabbing one another and causing serious bodily harm with weapons in order to gain a sense of power.

Learner-on-educator violence

Learner-on-educator violence has become a common occurrence in recent years with 58.1 % of secondary school learners feeling unsafe at school (Burton, 2008). The participants of this study agreed with this finding, admitting that they or colleagues of theirs had been victims of violence where learners were the perpetrators. These incidents consisted of either physical or emotional victimisation of the educators. Participant 7 recalled a clash between a learner and an educator where the learner later assaulted the educator.

> Learners assaulting me, but not just trying to not physically wise, just insulting me calling me names from behind the walls of, behind this certain glass.
>
> (Participant 11)

> Last year we had one of our colleague she fought with a learner that side and the learner promise her, in fact the learner beat her, beat her up, yes.
>
> (Participant 7)

Participant 11 conveyed a similar experience where he had been intimidated by a learners' friends because the learners felt threatened by his position at school. It was suggested by many participants that being threatened by learners is one of the risks of being an educator today.

> One of my colleagues was threatened by a learner with a gun.
>
> (Participant 8)

> There are these learners who are to telling me to telling me they don't like schooling and when they are here it is as if maybe you are forcing them to do this work, then after school when you walk around they will call their friends and say maybe intimidate you then it says you should you are an enemy.
>
> (Participant 11)

The issue of gender specific victim-perpetrator roles was discussed with participants who could not reach consensus. A few participants felt that violence towards female educators was more verbal whereas violence towards male educators was more physical in nature. However, this did not mean that female educators were not victims of physical violence or that male

educators were not victims of emotional violence. Instead, the complexity of gendered roles prevented one from associating a specific gender to either the victim or perpetrator roles. It was found that the general experiences of participants reiterated this opinion.

> We had a case of a lady teacher who was trying to reprimand a learner and they it was a physical fight. When a lady teacher was trying to reprimand a learner who was a boy then it was a physical fight.
>
> (Participant 4)

> But with male educators sometimes you'll find that the boys, student boys are the ones mostly who confront one another with the educator. But if it's boys against the female, boys don't respect the females. But because females are educators some of them they fear these boys.
>
> (Participant 5)

Learner-on-educator violence has had negative effects on the resignation rate of educators over recent years. Educator attrition rates in South Africa have been as high as 13% in the last few years (HSRC, 2005). This will be discussed in greater detail later under the **effects of school violence** section. Participant 1 described an incident where a fellow educator was chased by a mob of learners after a female learner accused him of having sexual relations with her. Even though the educator left the school fearing for his safety, the allegation was never established as truth.

> Learners came here and then they gathered all around the five five schools. And then they came to our school, kicking the gates in the leg particularly. Now they are the the union had to respond by supporting that eh teacher now there was no misunderstanding amongst learners, teachers and parents but now that temperament is better. But if that teacher had done that he shouldn't have done it, he shouldn't do it there are ways to… What actually happened uh, he was driven off by learners.
>
> (Participant 1)

However, some participants acknowledged that the high rate of sexual abuse by educators has given learners the power to make false claims in an attempt to victimise the educator. An article by Paton (2010) suggested that more than 4000 complaints were made against teacher and school support staff in 2006/2007. Since then research has shown that only 1 in 20 allegations ever led to criminal conviction implying that 19 in 20 were in fact false (Paton, 2010). However, this is not fact and could merely be a result of a lack of sufficient evidence.

> But the district the matter was taken over by the district but the district came and said no eh while that educator was expelled from school he was not actually expelled. What actually happened, he was driven off by learners
>
> (Participant 1)

> I didn't have safety at eh the certain high school. Learners want to beat me up or kill me.
>
> (Participant 1)

Based on the interactions with the participants, the statistics for learner-on-educator violence could be higher than is reported, as educators expressed that they experience a certain amount of embarrassment when they were victimised by learners. Furlong and Chung (1995) suggest that this could be as victims of bullies (educators) may be selected as they were perceived to be a vulnerable group because their poor social skills and nominal support networks at school. The lower rate of learner-on-educator violence could be accounted for by the lack of assistance from authorities when educators became victims of violence. As a result, educators felt it futile to report such incidents.

Learner-on-educator violence seems to contradict the traditional power dynamics between learners and educators. These unbalanced power relations could be a reflection of the changing times and conditions which educators are now operating in. Public consensus comprehends this as a result of the increased rights of learners which consequently decreases the rights of educators. This ever-decreasing power differential between these two groups then results in more victimisation of educators. On the other hand, Foucault (2004) understands this behaviour as the educator showing weakness and learners then engaging in behaviours to disempower the educators for at least a moment. Hence, learner-on-educator violence could be seen as an exaggerated translation of these power dynamics much in the same way as educator-on-learner violence.

Educator-on-learner violence

Educators are not only victims of learner abuse; some of them are the perpetrators of violence against learners. According to school violence literature, educators violate learners through two primary abusive actions: physical abuse and sexual assault (De Wet, 2007a). Both of these issues were raised by participants in the present study. However, emotional abuse seemed to feature as the most significant for participants of the study. This could be a result

of educators trying to conceal illegal behaviours (such as physical abuse and sexual assault) that are occurring in South Africa schools.

In speaking of physical abuse the participants only made mention of physical discipline, also known as corporal punishment. The 2005 CJCP Youth Victimisation study has shown that corporal punishment is still practiced, despite it being banned in South Africa (Burton, 2005). Corporal punishment by educators is also said to be far more severe and prevalent in lower income areas (Clacherty, Donald & Clacherty, 2005).

As indicated by the media, sexual relations between educators and learners are one of the most common forms of educator-on-learner violence in South Africa (De Wet, 2007b). However, this needs to be engaged with caution due to the potential for media sensationalisation around such issues. Participant 4's experience is a prime example of the ill effects of media sensationalisation. According to participant 4, many "innocent" educators are often "implicated by association" for the wrongdoings of a few "corrupt" educators; which often leads to educator attrition and turnover.

> We had case that will always disturb you emotionally, and that one particular teacher has done something particular to a learner and then it affects us, we might feel now the school is going to be on the media's spot, in the papers on the radio and on SABC, you feel that you wanna leave because people they look at you in a different way; that you are the same person that has done that, you belong to the same team who are corrupt actually. You feel like leaving and then get another better school and work there. Possibly.
>
> (Participant 4)

With regard to emotional abuse, participant 5 addressed the matter of educators making use of emotional abuse towards learners as a means of disciplining them or showing them who was in control. This was consistent with De Wet's (2007a) depiction of emotional abuse as a discipline technique that is based on fear and intimidation and characteristically includes "screaming, sarcasm, threats and ridicule to control learners" (p.14).

> Because we condemn them until they go out of the school, condemning them... But there is no way where we show them the good about themselves.
>
> (Participant 5)

> With us the way we talk to these kids we abuse them
>
> (Participant 5)

For this reason, educator-on-learner violence is often downplayed by others and society, as it is still seen as an educators' role to discipline learners. Foucault corroborated this thinking when he professed that the school structure is a surveillance system in society that "was integrated into the teaching relationship" (Foucault, 1978, p. 175) and helps control and regulate the behaviour of the learners. By the same token, educator-on-educator violence has also been downplayed; to prevent the educational system from being discredited.

Educator-on-educator violence

The *Code of Professional Ethics* for educators holds that educators should commit themselves to do all within their power to exercise their professional duties and act in accordance with the profession (SACE, 2002). This code further states that educators should act in a proper becoming manner that does not bring the teaching profession into disrepute (SACE, 2002). Educator-on-educator violence is a contravention of this code as educators are violating their colleagues' constitutional rights. Participants have been in consensus regarding the inappropriateness of educator-on-educator violence with participant 1 condemning it totally. According to several of the participants in the present study, educator-on-educator violence can be understood as an inability of educators to exchange their views in a civilised manner, a misunderstanding amongst educators or an attempt to undermine each other. Participant 9 went as far as to suggest that educator-on-educator violence is a result of intolerance.

> To me I condemn it totally it's not good. It's better for both educators to sit down and exchange their views but sometimes even if you can exchange, it will happen that it will reach the extreme where now the viol… is a violence between a educator and a educator. It is nice to me if it's being done indoors rather than where other learners do see because we are the light to this kids that's why I'm saying at the same time I don't condone it, I condone it I don't really like to see a educator and a see educator being violent but it thing is we grew with it.
>
> (Participant 1)

> We also have violence taking place among educators when they don't understand each other then violence will erupt but they are not fighting physically. It's just about abusive or it becomes an emotional violence.
>
> (Participant 4)

> The educators that were fighting you know, it's an issue of like undermining each other…you find that one educator thinks they are better than the next educator.

(Participant 6)

> It does not surface as being physical mostly but there is a lot of violence in educators themselves, intolerance I would rather put it that way. I understand it better because if I say there is a lot of intolerance amongst educators, there there's a lack of communication, no openness to each other, and no desire to work as a team.
>
> (Participant 9)

Participant 4 voiced the issue of victimisation of educators when he confessed to feeling unsafe amongst certain colleagues. This fear could be accounted for Burton's (2008) finding that 58.1% of educators feel unsafe generally while at school. Support amongst educators is brought into question by this statement that will be discussed later in the **factors that contribute to school violence** section.

> I only feel unsafe when I'm threatened by my colleagues or staff those are the people who know me.
>
> (Participant 4)

Even though several participants felt educator-on-educator violence was not of great concern, some participants did share experiences of violence among educators to show the severity and intensity of some of these acts. Participant 12 presented an account in which a simple disagreement between female educators turned into a physical brawl. This experience shows how educators can actually lose their sense of judgement.

> They were just talking, maybe disagreements and um such things. All of a sudden they were just fists fight, um two ladies just fighting um at the home and all those things. I um separated them, they kept on pushing me around and um fighting, and I um took them to the staff room, tried to separate them, they over powered me, and kept on fighting one another until I managed to get man power to separate them
>
> (Participant 12)

Another incident was reported by participant 2, in which educator-on-educator violence resulted in the fatality of three or four educators.

> We had a teacher here whose sister was killed in another school because I'm told one was gossiping over so and so and one of the teacher, it was a colleague, just came in a gun, just shot any person who was there…I think about 3 or 4 teachers just were killed by a fellow colleague because of the talks which have been spreading.
>
> (Participant 2)

This experience reiterates the seriousness of educator-on-educator violence and the impacts this can have on educators, a topic which is discussed at length in the **effects of school violence** section.

Parent-on-educator violence

Parent-on-educator violence also emerged as an issue in the findings. However, some participants did not regard this as a significant problem. Those participants who did voice the idea that parent-on-educator violence was a major concern said that physical assault towards educators by parents was a less common occurrence than verbal violence by parents. It was always ascertained that parent-on-educator violence usually occurred at the end of the year when learners did not pass. Unfortunately, not much research exists on this subject. However media reports, such as "Angry father viciously attacked and head-butted a Grade 12 learner at school situated in an affluent neighbourhood" (Cloete, Van der Merwe, & De Wet, 2008) or "Several parents turned violent at a Northern Cape school" (Moeng, 2008) and informal anecdotes, have exposed this form of school violence.

Participant 5 believed that parent-on-educator violence increased learner on educator violence as parents' disempowering of educators merely amplified the learner's lack of respect for educators.

> Sometimes a learner can go out to the parents and say educator X did this to me. And the parents then without any understanding will come in here and fight a educator and say don't do this to my child, don't say this to my child without asking what happened…
>
> (Participant 3)

> That is why these children they can…They don't see us, they see us as nothing. If a parent can come here and shout at you in front of the child, who are you going to be in front of this child? You are going to be nothing.
>
> (Participant 5)

Even though much research does not exist on the topic, it could be hypothesised that the victimisation of educators by parents was a legitimate issue as it taught learners that they too could victimise educators when they needed; thus perpetuating school violence. The victimisation of educators has contributed to the downfall of the authority of educational institutions in society.

Location

The location of school violence emerged as an issue which is integral to the conceptual understanding this phenomenon. For many years, research has defined school violence as being violence that occurs within the school premises (Greene, 2005). However, most participants felt that school violence had broadened its area of occurrence. The consensus amongst participants was that school violence occurs both on the school premises and outside the school premises. In questioning how violence occurring outside of the school premises could still be regarded as school violence, Participant 9 explained that an issue between different parties may start inside the school but the actual physical violent act may only occur outside of the school premises. Likewise an issue may begin outside of school and then be dealt with at school as indicated by participant 11. This speaks to the inter-relationship and interdependence between schools and communities which is congruent with Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework. According to this framework, a individuals are products of complex interactions and different environments to which they are exposed and within which they live their lives (Burton, 2008). Following this thinking, school violence is a result of violence external to the school in the community or violence in the school is the cause for external violence in the community.

> It starts at school and one is promised that you are not to sleep there; you'll definitely be out of the school.
>
> (Participant 9)

> Most of the time these learners they have these fights in the around the school premises…if they they show that that thing of that violent behaviour it is because of some of the thing which are from outside.
>
> (Participant 11)

Despite the spill over of violence from the community, many of the participants in the study felt safer inside the school than outside the school premises. This was further explained by participants 8 and 2 when they alleged that educators were seen as easier targets outside the school premises. In fact, learners would often arrange for unknown perpetrators to strike educators once they left the confines of the school. Some learners would proudly tell educators that they would be harmed when they were outside the school premises.

> Sometimes you will feel unsafe but I don't remember feeling threatened in class or maybe in the staffroom...I can only feel unsafe when I leave the school premises. That's when I can feel unsafe because in most cases wha… what these learners do, they talk to people from outside that they can wait for you outside the school premises.
>
> (Participant 8)

> So you you see like I'm telling you now that it is much safer at school than when you are home. But you know when they know where you stay
>
> (Participant 8)

> And they say ma'am we are going to get you. When a person says I am going to get you, a person can get you anywhere anyhow. I mean we as teachers we move around anytime anywhere. If I want to go for shopping I can go to shop anywhere.
>
> (Participant 2)

> Sometimes they can tell you that ok; I'll get you after school
>
> (Participant 2)

However, this does not mean that educators are not victims of school violence on the school premises, but rather that participants felt they were more exposed and vulnerable when they exited the confines of the school. According to the study by Burton (2008) fewer than three in five educators (58%) felt that other educators felt safe when teaching at school; hence 42% of educators felt that other educators felt unsafe when teaching at school. Depending on one's perspective when looking as these findings, it could be hypothesised that they contradict the popular belief that schools are unsafe and havens for violence.

Recent research has also shown that within the confines of the school, there are particular areas where violent behaviour is more likely to occur (Swart & Stevens, 2002). Participants refer to these as the "learners' territory" which structurally sets up the power imbalance within the school; with the learners making rules and the educators accepting them.

> At school I feel unsafe, and a little bit when I'm outside, I feel much more vulnerable because of what I practise here, not because of discipline you you see these guys, these little ones they take offence when you enter into their territory
>
> (Participant 12)

The findings in this study show that participants regard the toilets as being the most common area for learner-on-learner violence to occur. This finding corresponded with the CJCP's study which found the toilet area in schools to be most feared by learners (Burton, 2008).

However, the LINCISS study contradicted these findings when it found the classroom to be the area where most incidents occurred followed by the playground (Swart & Stevens, 2002). Many U.S.studies corroborated the LINCISS study's findings when they found violence to occur in more crowded, unsupervised locations such as classrooms, hallways, stairwells, cafeterias and buses (Warner, Weist & Krulak, 1999).

According to Burton (2008) learner-on-learner violence seemed to occur mostly in the toilets as many schools located the girls and boys toilets immediately next to one another, thus making them easily accessible for boys to harass girls entering their toilet or leaving their toilets. Another study in Durban, also found that these highly 'risky" spaces were also extremely gendered (Pinheiro, 2006). Male learners and educators are said to have many spaces where females are strictly prohibited and their transgressions are allowed. However, female learners and educators were not as fortunate to have private spaces (including the toilets) where they were not policed or intruded upon by males. Participants 12 and 8 confirm these findings when they alleged that the toilets were where violent behaviour was occurring and that it involved some kind of unbalanced relationship (as discussed earlier in the research report) which was either gender-based or age-based.

> You see these boys who are always going to the toilets and do some um dagga smoking.
>
> (Participant 12)

> They are saying that when they go to the toilets they are searched by the older learners and then they take money, those who bring their cell phones they take they even take their cell phones
>
> (Participant 8)

The participants have described many incidents of school violence occurring both inside and outside the school premises. However, the participants often experienced these incidents of school violence in very different manners. One such example was the incident where a colleague of several participants was victimised by three learners; having his car vandalised and being shot at. The vandalism of the car by the three learners, the presence of a gun as well as the attempted shooting of the educator was confirmed by all four participants whereas the exact location of the incident, the time and the reason for the incident seemed to differ among a few participants.

> I remember one I think it was two years back 2007 whereby one educator was threatened with a gun but outside the school premises but though the um thing started inside the school premises whereby the educator tried to reprimand the learners, two boys were smoking dagga um behind the school wall, the school classes the educator tried to reprimand then he became um more serious that the learners threatened the educator with a gun but outside the premises just after school.
>
> (Participant 11)

> I once got into violence when a young boys wanted to shoot a educator here at school. And when I saw that gun, I thought it was a cigarette lighter…last year… ja, and they came to me and said to me we are having this gun you know…we are going to shoot one of the educators and I just look at them and I said ag man, stop…go and play outside there…to my surprise the following day, the educators car…they got up on the educators car and they took a knife, stabbed the wheels and you know they they broke the car. They did. And they missed that educator with a bullet. But it didn't happen here at school it…they started fighting here at school…and they followed him at home.
>
> (Participant 10)

> A educator it was um after lunch and um he was just trying to push them to class and a few of those boys um resisted, he was not thinking they had some other ideas, they jumped the wall those four boys they left the school sometime it happen at 1:30 they jumped the wall and came back into the school yard and they went to his car and they jumped on top of his cars bonnet…they were just provoking and one of the colleagues saw what was happening, he saw what was happening, it was like this had taken some maybe drugs or alcohol we don't know and then one of the educators informed me about that, they told him not to um go out of the the staffroom and chase them away because they were a little bit violent the boys went out of the yard, we thought that they went home but they were standing at the corner…Come school out he want to, he went home… They followed him, once he was somewhere there he got a call to say um that they were vandalising his car and then when he came back it was the same boys and then a fight broke out then, he was trying to restrain them from taking his car. Unfortunately one of the guys pulled out a gun and they shot at him um they missed.
>
> (Participant 12)

> So some of the people said no we've seen err 3 boys err trying to…They they they've actually stabbed the the tyres of his car then you know he didn't think that it could be these learner. All of a sudden he found that these are 3 learners that he was reprimanding here then they pointed a gun to him so this was reported to the police. You know sometimes it is difficult…there's nothing we can do as a school.
>
> (Participant 8)

From the argument above, the location of the violence can definitely be seen as a defining characteristic of school violence. Whether these are inside or outside of the school premises, these locations which are imagined to be threatening, in fact, are threatening as research shows that violence does seem to be more prevalent in specific areas of the school such as the toilet, classrooms and open grounds (Burton, 2008). Hence, interventions attempting to

reduce specific forms of school violence could target the usual locations relevant to that type of violence.

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO SCHOOL VIOLENCE

To gain an understanding of school violence, the interplay of historical, sociocultural and psychosocial forces in the school setting needs to be explored. Research has shown that violence is often a result of multiple factors that are interconnected (Krug et al., 2002). In this section, the factors that contribute to school violence will be considered in relation to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model which was reviewed in **Chapter 2** of this research report. The findings of this report will be systematically explained as individual factors, familial factors, school factors, community factors and societal factors. However, due to the nature of the research questions, special focus will be given to the school factors. Throughout this section one should remember that these factors are based on educators' perceptions and experiences and must be understood within this context. Participant 12 very clearly articulated the general view of participants; that school violence is a result of 'damage' in the system which is comprised of various interrelated parts such as the community, the family, the school and the individual.

> Now if now there is a there there some kind of damage in the system it affects the others now in this case we are talking about community whereby it does not play its part, because we've got the school here you've got the the the family the whole family. Then there's a larger community who incorporates all of us here have got to play our part now if the school, the school are bad I give you my assurance 100% the school is playing its part, all the schools are playing their parts. But now when they leave there, the school polices the kids. They go to another world. Whatever morals or values that we ah try to um implicate in them they simply evaporate in the school premises. Then again when they come back on Monday we still have to start that again, manners and respect. When I see these little ones like, I see just kids, somebody else who as old or as young as me, when they see them they see we…their secret friends. You see how that's the problem now starts
>
> (Participant 12)

Individual factors

Participants' perspectives on the individual-level causes of school violence will be presented in this section. Krug et al. (2002) regarded these as the "biological and personal history factors that an individual brings to his or her behaviour" (p. 12). More specifically, this section focuses on the characteristics that emerged from the data, such as age, mental health

and the attitude of the individual that increases the likelihood of being a victim or perpetrator of school violence.

Age

Age does seem to play a role in predisposing one to school violence behaviour either as a victim or a perpetrator. Researchers have found that school violence varies with the learner's age (De Wet, 2007b). 52.4 percent of youth in South Africa between the ages of 15 and 24 years old are considered to have died as a result of violence (Leoschut, 2009). Participant 5 reiterated this idea that age was a contributing factor when she disclosed that school violence was occurring because the various aged learners in one class often made it difficult to control the learners.

> You teach different levels in one class...sometimes I can't control this older one...So the younger ones will take that advantage. I won't have control of the class.
>
> (Participant 5)

In addition, many participants admitted to experiencing the younger or grade 8 learners to be more violent. These findings were similar to the LINCISS study in which 44% of learners injured in incidents of school violence were in Grade 8 and 24% were in Grade 9 (Swart & Stevens, 2002). However, as participant 8 explained this does not mean that older learners are less violent. Furlong and Morrison (2000) found that certain types of aggressive behaviours are higher among younger high school learners (such as fighting) while weapon use and substance abuse seemed to occur during the later high school years. It could thus be hypothesised that maturing in age changes the behaviour learners engage in.

> And if I may tell you, violent learners are learners from grade 8 to grade 9. From grade 10, 11 and 12, yes very few learners are violent.
>
> (Participant 8)

> Minor incidents where girls are coming fighting probably because we have a shortage of chairs and they will fight, "that is my chair I came first that is my chair", the new ones grade 8s.
>
> (Participant 4)

> You go to school and you know, like the grade 8's, and you say who the hell is this that does not err respect me
>
> (Participant 6)

Congruent with the finding that perpetrators tended to be the younger learners, participants 12 and 9 also found victims tended to be younger individuals. Grade 8 learners were particularly susceptible to physical attacks and robbery. International experience supports this view, a national study on school violence in Israel supported this when it found that younger learners reported higher rates of victimisation and that victimisation tended to decrease with age (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005).

The age of educators also played a role in their predisposition to school violence. Participant 9 explained that younger educators were not exempt from school violence from learners. In fact, results from both an American and South African study revealed that the age of learners is an important variable with regard to learner-on-educator violence (De Wet, 2007b). The same study also concluded that secondary school educators were more likely than primary school educators to be victims of violent crimes (De Wet, 2007b). A later study by De Wet (2007a) developed this when it found that "educators who were 30 years and younger were identified as the group with the highest incidence of verbal and physical learner-on-educator, as well as educator-on-educator violence" (p.26). Quantitative research reiterated this when it revealed that younger educators were more prone to reporting school violence than their older colleagues (De Wet, 2007a). Benefield (2004) and Rigter and Broadbent (2000) obtained similar results in their studies.

> They are always um beating up or rob them of their money's, at time you find that that the grade 8's in particular when they want to go to the toilet.
>
> (Participant 12)

> So what uh you saying that um younger teachers have a little more difficult because there's a lack of respect from the learners
>
> (Participant 9)

Hence, as evidenced by the participants, age could be a contributing factor for school violence as it tends to influence the behaviour of the individuals involved.

Attitude

Participants introduced the idea of the attitude of the learner or educator as being a contributing factor to school violence. For years, cognitive-behavioural theorists have suggested that violent and aggressive behaviours result from maladaptive beliefs (Beck, 1995). According to Allen (2005) maladaptive beliefs that lead to violent or aggressive behaviour are often a result of negative early experiences that have become established and influence one's thoughts and behaviours on a daily basis. A regulation of these thoughts results in the formation of one's attitude, which in turn manipulates the behavioural outcome. Participants 10 and 3 corroborated this finding when they raised having an 'angry' outlook as being a causal factor of school violence. They further added that this anger was often a result of failure in either their family or school areas of life.

> They are making them angry and you've got double anger, you've got anger from home then you get another anger from school. Yes, and you grow up being a very angry person.
>
> (Participant 10)

> Maybe he or she may have been in the same grade for three years then he ended up being confused, don't know exactly why he was here, so she doesn't know he is confused because sometimes the anger also comes in cause if you find out that the learner is in the same grade for the period of three or four years then he ended up confused not knowing what to do. The anger is also there, not only is he angry over the other learners he may also be angry on teachers.
>
> (Participant 3)

Krug et al. (2002) suggests that excessive or uncontrolled anger is a risk factor for violent or aggressive behaviour. Therefore the management of anger could prevent school violence. The findings of this study reiterate this idea when they imply that one's attitude and feelings affect the participant's behaviour. Participant 10 held the belief that the learners who were perpetrators of violence often had a negative attitude towards education. She disclosed that these participants admitted to not loving education and that this often left educators frustrated and hopeless in the situation. Participants 8 and 5 confirmed learners' attitude as being central to the manner in which they approach their school work and crucial to whether or not they respect their educators. These participants revealed that they were victimised by learners when they were disrespected through rude behaviour. When learners were unable to complete the workload, they tended to blame the educators. On the other hand, participant 5 revealed that this disrespect by learners of their elders seems to extend beyond the confines of the school and into their homes to their caregivers. This thinking endorses Harber's (2004) view

that the school environment merely reproduces societal violence; however this is still a contentious issue.

> Most of the time those learners who are bullying the others have no interest in education and stuff. They don't love education so they lack motivation...
>
> (Participant 10)

> I know exactly that I've given a homework and I'm expected to find my homework today. We mark the homework or maybe we do the class work and we have a certain edu… so if we do I let learners just play and do that and that then there will be violence. When I stop the learner what am I going to say. Why why are you making noise? Because you are not teaching us.
>
> (Participant 8)

> But there are those who who listen but there are those who'll tell you straight that even my mother can't stop me when I am doing this
>
> (Participant 5)

The behavioural consequences were often different, claimed participant 9 and 4 who further added that this was a result of the person's attitude. They recalled some individuals as becoming filled with anger and then launching into a physical fight whereas others became emotional often verbally abusing another.

> Obviously badly but it depends on the kind of person if you are, if you going to take it and fight on and say I know this is right, what I'm saying is within my right
>
> (Participant 9)

> others reacted in a different way, others react in a different way, they become emotional and they filled anger the a fight might start there but not a physical fight, the fight might be of words probably, scolding in front of the learner or in front of the other staff members.
>
> (Participant 4)

Based on this thinking, some of the participants appear to suggest that one has a certain amount of choice or agency in enacting violent behaviour. Thus perpetrators of violence who often blamed their bad behaviour on a lack of choice were in fact lying. This is illustrated by participant 6, who asserted that one always has a choice in how to behave.

> Cause there's always a choice. Cause when you have done something wrong, you begin to remember or you look back and you say I had a choice
>
> (Participant 6)

This attitude of an individual taking no responsibility for their actions was also found to be a causal factor of school violence among participants. Participant 2 was adamant in her opinion

when she recounted experiences with learners saying that many of them did not take responsibility for their actions and this put them at risk of victimising others. Some did not do any work, attend class or fulfill basic academic requirements but expected to pass at the end of the year. Others continued to act like little children thinking they would never grow up or have to accept responsibility for their actions. The failure to consider the consequences of their actions also emerged in other research studies (du Plessis, 2008).

> You know our kids are not disciplined I must say. They are not disciplined they just don't care about themselves, they don't care about their lives, I guess even this issue of the government, just giving rights to almost everything. Rights for me, they also go with responsibility. If I'm given this right, yes, I must exercise it but at the same time I guess I also need to exercise the responsibility towards that right. So unfortunately about our kids, they are simply told about their rights and they are hardly responsible of certain consequences which they do, certain issues which they do and they forget that at the end of the day, everything they do it has consequences at the end of the day. I I wish they could be taught or be given the the the the rights and also be given the responsibilities that when you are given this you do not have to abuse it. So at the end of the day the the they don't differentiate their rights and also the responsibility they feel it is their right.
>
> (Participant 2)

> They think that they will remain kids forever, but as you grow up…I know of one student in my class last year, she had about 3 kids, is it 2 or 3… before she could finish her grade 12. You just tell me what type of people, what type of a community are we bringing up?
>
> (Participant 2)

> Even the lazy of the laziest who don't want to do their work they think and expect miracles to happen. Uh they need to work hard in order to get the pass or the fail, but kids of this day and age, they no longer care about their school work. Like right now the boy that you've just seen now coming in
>
> (Participant 2)

In the end, one's attitude and the influences thereof have a lot to do with the choices one makes. With regard to violent and aggressive behaviour, Allen (2005) claims that individuals at risk of such behaviour tend to over-generalise, take one negative aspect as truth and make global judgements of their self-worth. This is referred to as maladaptive thinking (Beck, 1995).

Mental health

The mental health of individuals was also raised as a basis for violent and aggressive behaviour by individuals. It is well known that one's mental state influences one's judgement

causing one to react with abnormal behaviours (Barlow & Durand, 2009). According to Paul (2005) certain mental disorders are characteristically associated with violent behaviour; specifically conduct disorder, ADHD and depression.

Participants 6 and 10 were adamant in their belief that those who were mentally unhealthy were causing school violence as those who were mentally healthy could not perform some of these acts. Participant 6 saw violence as a shortcut to finding solutions which was a result of one's inability to find other solutions to problems.

> So as long as there's a problem there then we we just, we'll have a society that you know is dysfunctional like we have right now. We'll have a society where people look for shortcuts in in in finding solutions. Violence is a shortcut. When when you hit someone it just means that your mind has reached a wall. You can't think anymore... So you you you, but it also comes from the states of being mentally unhealthy because if you if if you are healthy mentally then you won't look for shortcuts.
>
> (Participant 6)

> But a a a mental unhealthy learner is a danger to a society, not just a mentally unhealthy learner, an adult as well you know an an educator. We've seen, you know, fathers raping their kids. That is, that's a a serious mental unhealthy state you know...
>
> (Participant 10)

Crawage (2005) suggests that the ability to comprehend and "give meaning to the experience of school violence and adjust...is vital to the mental health and survival of the [individual] in a township" (p.28). A recent study by the Leoschut (2009) implies that mental health problems are evident in schools when 26.4% of the participants had reported feeling sad or depressed for long periods of time while only 5% had ever seriously considered suicide. According to the Rehm and Sharp (1996), depression in youth manifests itself somewhat differently to adulthood often overlapping with other diagnostic criteria. Thus one must be careful of not attributing some behaviours (such as aggression) to a depressive condition. However, research has shown that irritability is one of the most significant features of depression in adolescents (Hamman & Rudolph, 1996). Hence, there is a close link between irritability, depression and aggressive behaviours (Paul, 2005). One could then hypothesise that mental health is a contributing factor to violent or aggressive behaviour found in school violence. However, this must be considered with caution as mental illness merely predisposes one to aggressive behaviour. It is not a definite cause.

Familial factors

Parental and family factors are viewed as being central in the development of violent individuals (Warner, Weist, & Krulak, 1999). Unanimously research maintains that the family has immense potential to shape an individual's behaviour and range of experience (Gorski & Pilotto, 1993). Thus the family environment and dynamics should be the primary undertaking when one is trying to understand school violence. Familial factors emerged as a central theme in the data in which violence was linked to child rearing, parental involvement and domestic violence. For this reason rearing, parental involvement and domestic violence will be discussed on in this section.

Rearing

The power of early parent-child attachment created within warm and supportive family relationships, along with high levels of parental care during early childhood, are important in building the resilience of the individual (Pinheiro, 2007). Hence, inappropriate rearing could contribute to violent and aggressive behaviour (Crawage, 2005).

Based on the statements below, participants were in agreement that children were not being reared correctly at home and that this lack of rearing by their parents was contributing to their violent behaviour at school. Trackman (2008) confirmed this finding in her earlier study when she found that educators emphasised that a lack of interest in parents rearing their children was contributing to lack of respect for others. Moreover, participant 5 thought that others conveyed a belief that rearing was the work of educators and the school. However, this is not the case. In fact, developmentally the nature and style of the parenting model is understood to be as significant as the child's physical environment (Burton, 2008). In other words, those who exhibit violent parenting styles are more likely to raise children who are violent.

> We are frustrated with this violence because you know even this kids their moral behaviours it starts at home. This violence starts at home and if ever at home nothing is being done and we are waiting for the school to do something we won't end it. Because you know education starts at home.
>
> (Participant 5)

> So there is no proper teaching right from home.
>
> (Participant 9)

> We can teach this kids when they are here they come here to learn but as far as behaviour is concerned I know there is life orientation at school, there are guidance at school but the the main guidance starts within the home because even if we can talk here at school, you'll find that the learner will end up that my mother can't tell me what you are telling me now so it's difficult for us.
>
> (Participant 5)

Participants 3 and 11 reiterated the importance of being raised with respect and discipline at home as a deterrent to violent behaviour. However, as stated above, discipline must be practiced at an appropriate level otherwise it can have contradictory effects (Pinheiro, 2006). According to a study by Burton (2008), physical punishment in homes still remains very common. Approximately one in five secondary school learners (20%) reported that they were caned or hit when they did something wrong (Burton, 2008). The context or environment also seems to influence rearing practices as Roberts and Morotti (2000) discovered harsh and punitive methods of discipline were more often employed by low-income parents with increased stress levels. In addition, McCord (1996) found that parental affection and good discipline were less likely to have been experienced by violent offenders than non-violent offenders. Youth violence research confirmed a strong link between violence in adolescents and poor attachment between parents and children (Krug et.al, 2002).

> let me start here, I cannot only say this violence is only learner against learner, I think some stage sometimes we'll find out that a learner doesn't want to be told by a educator and then the educator has to take some steps then only to find the learner will say "I don't to" it goes back to the family issue to say how are they raising the learner cause now it's about respect, it's about respect.
>
> (Participant 3)

> Um I really don't know if this is from home or from um where I, I just where they are staying um there is, there is not enough discipline there, so that that behaviour at home they bring that behaviour here here at school
>
> (Participant 11)

This influence of parental and familial relationships was reinforced by the participants' experiences of learners mimicking their parents' 'improper' behaviour. Participant 10 proposed that learners' desire for rearing from parents often led them to imitate their parent's behaviour. Teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, violent behaviours and gun possession were some of the 'improper' behaviours participants believed learners adopted from their parents.

> If a person comes from home not knowing what he wants to do in life and he ends up doing the very same thing the kids are doing the pregnancy, the drugs and other things and we need to be very aware that immediately people do does the wrong thing
>
> (Participant 10)

> Some parents are part of of this violence whenever think of being here is some parents or elderly people give their … learners drugs.
>
> (Participant 9)

> The child then gets involved in drugs, will obviously be violent at the end of the day and the parents are don't make follow up on their children, do not observe their children, do not see them as long as they have pushed their children to school
>
> (Participant 9)

> The gun belongs to his uncle, he has asked him to carry the gun for him and then he must take it home.
>
> (Participant 2)

Research by Farrington (1998) suggested that a mother who had her first child at an early age, possibly as a teenager was more likely to raise violent children. The family structure and level of cohesion were also considered factors for later aggression and violence (Farrington, 1998). Participant 5 suggests that learners who are protected by their parents were more likely to carry out violence in schools as their parents were often in denial about their children. In addition, participant 5 implied that parents who were overly permissive, protective or indulgent of their children are more prone to problematic behaviours and school violence towards educators. However, this finding seemed to contradict youth violence research that suggested that low levels of family cohesion predisposed one to violence and aggression (Warner et al., 1999).

> We do see parents coming to schools because they hear only the one side of the story about their kids. There are those learners who are highly protected by their parents and that thing the thing that brings violence into the school because when the child is at school that protection is not there.
>
> (Participant 5)

> So most of the kids you'll find that they are self highly protected from home. Their mothers don't want to listen about what their kids are here at school. They want us to treat their kids the way they treat them so sometimes the violence starts there because when you are here, the child, you don't give him a name, you just say that I am going to treat you like other learners. So that is why because when they are at home they are such protected.
>
> (Participant 5)

Goldenberg and Goldenberg (1996) disagreed with this finding when they alleged that families with excessively high cohesion have ineffective control of their children's behaviours. As a result, these individuals can engage in different forms of school violence such as substance abuse. Based on the participants experiences it appears that ineffective parenting practices such as over-parenting or under-parenting through the failure to monitor and supervise, employing harsh and punitive discipline practices or not being able to carry out discipline and offering little parental involvement or too much, are viewed as impacting negatively on learners' development, behaviours and ability to cope.

Parental Involvement

The lack of parental involvement as a factor that contributes to school violence also emerged among the participants. Defined by Kruger (2002), parental involvement refers to the active and supportive participation of parents as partners and allies of the educator with the primary drive to educate the community in an individual and/or collective manner in order to achieve overall education. However research by Krug et al. (2002) found that the absence of parental support can affect children's social and emotional functioning and behaviour. Thus the overwhelming reaction by participants regarding the lack of parental involvement in learner's education does seem to indicate a mounting issue. In fact, participants have gone as far as to suggest that parents don't care about their child's behaviour until their child has been involved in a serious incident; although participant 9 alleged that parent's didn't come even if their child was involved in a serious matter.

> The school violence begins at home I would say. It's the parent who…I mean it would be better to say we don't care but who do very little to educate their children so that the school becomes an extension of their own, they do very little. Uh they won't even come to school, they don't attend parents meetings. They do not come to school when they are summoned to your child does something drastically wrong.
>
> (Participant 9)

> So you give them work and they don't do. You call their parents, you you make a child to be you know to to be eager to learn and whatever but he doesn't do. The parent then forgets, doesn't care.
>
> (Participant 5)

> So we when you call the parents, they don't care.
>
> (Participant 8)

> The parents they, not that much involved unless if it happens to be one of his I'm child which who whose been involved that let's say that particular incident.

(Participant 11)

Issues around living with other family members, the lack of parents and the unavailability of parents possibly due to work commitments need to be considered as other explanations for the lack of parental involvement. Therefore, it could be hypothesised that educators' negative perceptions of parents as malicious or negligent creates further reluctance by parents to become involved in school activities. The findings of this study corroborate the findings of Richter, Norris, Swart and Ginsburg (2006) which found that children from rural areas were less likely to live with their parents or have daily contact with either a mother or father than children from the city. Rojek and Jenson (1996) offered another explanation when they suggested that single-parent families are characterised by inadequate supervision and discipline, economic difficulties and a lack of control of children. In line with this thinking, research by Mkhondo (2005) found that the absence of a father figure can play a significant role in the future behaviour of a juvenile.

Despite participants' negative feelings towards parents, they did seem genuinely to want parents to be more involved in the guidance of their children while at school. All participants, accordingly, suggested that in order for the school to function successfully and eradicate school violence, parents needed to become involved. The National Education Policy stressed parental involvement when they recognised parents as official partners in governance of their children's schools (DoE, 1996). During the interview, participant 5 recommended that parents who were unemployed should come to school and ensure that the learners attend school. She further added that it was difficult to mould these learners without any support from parents as educators. In a similar manner, participants 9 and 6 advocated the teaching of good values from parents and devotion to fundamental family units. However, with the transformation of 'the family unit' in South African society one must caution against pathologising anything unlike the traditional family unit.

> If each and every parent, they are those who are not working. If they can say they are coming with their scalftins, they sit here at school. They make sure the learners they enter into this gate... But the parent was drinking a beer.
>
> (Participant 5)

> It needs parental involvement in that. As a parent at home you have to assist you're your kids and you must teach your kids good values so that now when they come to school…they come to school they come ready to study.

(Participant 9)

> I cannot go to all their houses inviting educators to come. You call a meeting, staff meeting.. You call a parents meeting as a principle calling a… you'll see only not even a handful, even a quarter. A little you know few parents are at school. Parents are making us to run this school. Very hard. Because we don't get any support. The support that you can get it when you you you do something to the kids, you'll see them coming to you running. That is why they leave teaching. They are not protected.
>
> (Participant 5)

> The family units is is in is in tatters. You know ya and its, there's a problem. There is no basic family units now. Now as I'm talking of Alexander for instance a lot of kids there they don't stay with their parents. You'll find that their parents are somewhere in in you know, in other provinces in Limpopo in err northern province, wherever. So now there are very few family units there. Even those that appear as if they are family units its uhm the parents are not married. Err it's what you call 'ommaslogani' you know, so where there is no commitment, so a person can abuse another person because they know that they are not committed to them.
>
> (Participant 6)

Regardless of the nature of the family unit, participants above strongly suggest that parents should become more involved in their children's education either by coming to school and ensuring that their children attend school, feel supported and protected or teach them good values at home. According to Elliot (1994) a strong bond with parents is a protective factor. Based on the evidence above it can been established that parental involvement could have a substantial positive influence on a child's behaviour as well as assist in reducing school violence by collaborating with educators in guiding their children. However, an individual's parental circumstances at home must be considered in relation to the specific case.

Domestic violence

Participants identified domestic violence as a contributing factor to school violence; with numerous participants sharing stories of learners witnessing violence at home. In the literature, "violence in adolescence and adulthood has also been strongly linked to parental conflict in early childhood" (Krug et al., p. 33). Burton (2008) also found that learners who had been exposed to violence within their home also reported having experienced violence at school. This suggests that there is some relationship between one's exposure to domestic violence and school violence. Participant 10 further suggested that this victimisation of learners through the exposure of violence often left learners angry and that this anger was one of the causes for the demise of "the black society". One participant declared that the

community in which the study was taking place is violent and contains many incidents of school violence and domestic violence.

> Alexandra is a violent society, there's a lot of rape, there's a lot of you know physical abuse at home… parents fighting each other. There was a learner in my class in grade 8 who used to hit kids at the beginning of the year and I called him and I said does you, does your, does your father hit your mother? You know he said no but then fortunately there is a educator who stays not far from the learner who knows, who knows the learner. And then the educator said the father hits the mother always you know so obviously that learner will come to school and you know hit others.
>
> (Participant 6)

> I think parents fight a lot in front of their children… it brings this anger in people's life…there are a lot of factors I think that are affecting the black society that brings this downfall.
>
> (Participant 10)

> So that child he's got he's got anger so that anger must be pushed to another ones and another ones is because of family backgrounds…the father was hitting the mother yesterday. When she comes to school she doesn't talk to us. But deep down you can see that this child is not like yesterday. .. So it contributes.
>
> (Participant 5)

Research has also suggested that constant exposure to violence, victimisation and criminal behaviour can predispose one to delinquency as well as an increased likelihood of victimisation in later life (Krug et al., 2002).

> the mother just burst into tears and she told me you know what that most of the time that child is very intelligent you can see that, but most of the time he doesn't finish his tasks and most of the time his books are lost you know and it's when I found from the mother that they don't even sleep sometimes, their father would come … their father is an alcoholic the father would just chase the boys up and down and they would sleep at 4 o'clock in the morning.
>
> (Participant 10)

Participant 10 shared her experience with the mother of male learners who were being victimised at home by their drunk father on a daily basis. According to participant 10 one of these boys was a learner in the participant's class and often acted carelessly , which she regarded as a form of school violence. This experience was consistent with findings of the study by Burton (2008), which found that more than one-third (35%) of learners who reported exposure to violence at home had also been victims of violence at school. For this reason, domestic violence could be considered a contributing or predisposing factor of school violence.

School factors

The school has often been viewed as a dangerous setting where learners can reproduce societal violence. This view brings the management of the school and the social circumstances of the school into question. For this reason, school factors will be discussed as a possible contributing factor for school violence.

School Management

All participants agreed that school management issues contributed to school violence occurring in schools. According to Warner et al. (1999) school or classroom management styles play a role in influencing the amount of aggression exhibited by learners and educators.

> Um that sometimes it it a is caused by mainly um the school management.
>
> (Participant 11)

Therefore, further examination of factors related to school management is needed in research to understand potential causes and outcomes of violence within schools. Many believe the leadership of the school environment is a good place to begin (Crawage, 2005).

Leadership

The leadership or lack thereof by principals was perceived as resulting in their not fulfilling their roles. Many participants attest that the leadership favoured certain individuals and that this was the cause for much of the violence at school but none admitted to being a favourite. Participant 1 was adamant that this became a problem when the principal gave credit to individuals who didn't deserve it or promoted people based on their qualifications rather than their ability. The promoting of friends was acknowledged by other participants during the interviews however, the interviewer did experience those who perceived themselves as excluded from the favouritism to be the ones that were vocal about this crooked leadership. It was further added that women tended to be favoured more than men, suggesting a gender undercurrent to this inappropriate management. For this reason, perceived favouritism could be understood as an emotional abuse in addition to gender abuse as educators were undermined on an emotional level as well as for their gender. A study by Blasé and Blasé

(2003) on principal mistreatment of educators conceptualised abusive conduct as a model comprised of three levels of aggression. Favouritism fits in Blasé and Blasé's (2003) level 1 where acts are indirect and comprised of moderate aggression (such as discounting teachers' thoughts, needs, and feelings and isolating and abandoning them; withholding or denying opportunities, resources, and offensive personal conduct).

> Yah, you find that the management favours a certain group of educators and other are not favoured.
>
> (Participant 4)

> And then the very principal in the long run she she she instead of giving credit to the person who helps him.
>
> (Participant 1)

> That that's when the problem comes. Maybe and then you'll find the person with totally a degree. Then he's employed because he has a degree. But now when I'm going to class, now that particular person is not able to do that.
>
> (Participant 1)

> The direction and then the plan. Because now before before that the women followed eh favouritism, but now the favouritism it got it got better
>
> (Participant 1)

Participant 4 recalled an incident where he was violently removed from his office on two occasions without any reason by the principal. On enquiry, participant 4 was informed that he was disliked by the principal and thus moved. As Blasé and Blasé (2003) argue, this maltreatment could be categorised as a level 2 offence, which entails direct and escalating aggression (such as spying, sabotaging, stealing, destroying teaching aids, making unreasonable work demands and both public and private criticism of educators).

> I was forcefully removed by the principal without any apparent reason because when I questioned her, why are you taking me out of the office? That is where I stay, because of underground gossips that are going around the school, yes. She feel, she felt that she doesn't like me therefore I was moved out of my office. That was another way of violence.
>
> (Participant 4)

Participants 2 and 12 also revealed that educators often fought to gain positions of power or promotions. Participants spoke of other educators sabotaging them, destroying their reputation or making them really unpopular. Blasé and Blasé (2003) referred to this as a level 3 mistreatment resulting in direct and severe aggression, such as lying, threatening,

unwarranted reprimands, unfair evaluations, forcing educators out of their jobs, preventing educators from leaving or being promoted, sexual harassment and racism.

> Ya I think it does, it does exist. I mean especially because we are human beings, I think among teachers you might find that it is caused by the positions and staff, maybe if somebody feels that the principle favours the other person than me and therefore when they are interviews or there are provisional posts x teacher x is preferred than teacher so and so
>
> (Participant 2)

> they want to be strong and they they controlling the section of the school, and you coming alone, you destroy that, and then you become unpopular.
>
> (Participant 12)

Participant 10 agreed with the idea that leadership was imperative to the management and control of victimisation at school. Furthermore, this participant felt that current leadership at the school provided educators with support when needed. However, the poor allocation of resources such as counsellors worked against the current management's campaign. On the other hand, participant 10 was able to acknowledge that management did have some negative attributes that contributed to school violence. One such attribute is the continual acceptance and use of corporal punishment regardless of its illegality as revealed by participant 8.

> We've – we just have a new principal and he's so wonderful … he gives each and every one of us support … but there … he still has those negative elements that which you know, when he starts speaking, ag this one … ag that one, so that's why I am saying we need counsellors more than any other thing … I think the people who can give us the support are the … although sometimes the … again it has to come from an individual … I am saying we need it but maybe it's me whose seeing that we need this but they don't … they feel they don't need that. People has this concept that when they go to counsellors, they call them shrinks, ja … they are not … forget that each and every one of us is abnormal … anyway …
>
> (Participant 10)

Participants of the research also felt that the focus and involvement from the Department of Education contributed to school violence. Research has shown that the school's curriculum and policies must be consistent with the learners and educators' interest, needs and style of teaching (Warner et al., 1999). A new focus is needed by the Department of Education asserted participant 10 where educators can act as school representatives to work in accordance with the Department of Education. Participant 12 concurred that the Department of Education needed to change their policies since merely 'condoning' learners to the next grade, even though they are unable to cope, was causing learners and educators to become

frustrated, often resulting in school violence. As a result, learners feel no need to work in class as they will be 'condoned' to the next grade anyway; thus disrespecting the educators, themselves and the education system.

> Ja, I … I think we need to have another focus. The department of education not only … trying to you know when they sit down and do plans for … for the schools, I think they need to invite other educators and see if they cannot come with a programme that will eh eh eh eh govern the schools in the correct way. They shouldn't sit in the office and do things that they want to be activated and I think … they are too there is a lot of gap between the offices and the educators. They don't know what is happening here – even if they say we've got facilitators, I don't think they know what is happening here. Ja … and sometimes we do have school representatives. The can take one representative and per … let's say not per school because the schools are got too many schools … ja, and have them when they sit down and do the problems and see that if it cannot make a difference, ja, in the schools. I even … even the way they check their work … to me I … I don't know. Ja.
>
> (Participant 10)

> As I've indicated before it is not enough is not is not really enough it's not enough. They do get but it it it's not that enough, that's why you find that most of us educators we get so frustrated
>
> (Participant 11)

> You've got a lot of people to concentrate in, on I mean to say, but now you find that this this um group of um learners who are here on honeymoon they are just visiting and at the end of the year we are doing what you call limit the retention of, these that are possible possible failures then you say I've got these kids then they say do of each bring that, then she comes condoned to the next grade um then it is fine, the actual person who is doing the work in here has a programme that um according to assessments sometimes you can't even assess that particular learner
>
> (Participant 12)

> not a single one does pass they they were been pushed by the department all the time when the analysis is done the rest of the results done, they say you are underachieving forgetting the other ones who we been pushing these kids through.
>
> (Participant 12)

The lack of support for educators also emerged as an issue, with participant 9 exclaiming that there is nothing to protect the educators against school violence from others. Research corroborated this when it found learners and educators felt alienated in schools with high levels of violence (Warner et al., 1999). Participant 12 reinforced the Department of Education's deficiency through the lack of policies that protect educators.

> You know so it is not handled, nothing is in place to protect that, to protect the educators against violence
>
> (Participant 9)

> Support, support in in the terms of um having those polices, but we talk about physical support
>
> (Participant 12)

In the end, the lack of support for educators by the school, leadership and the Department of Education are perceived as having contributed to school violence against educators.

Earnings

All participants raised the dismal earnings as a primary reason for leaving the profession. More and more educators are leaving the government schools and taking up positions in private schools (Nesane Nesane, 2008). Many of the participants felt that the increased risk of harm, escalating workload due to the Department of Education policy changes, and the appalling conditions in which educators now work, deserves a far better salary. Some participants went as far as to suggest that the poor earnings were a form of violence towards educators as it made them struggle to survive, reduced their worth as educators and generally was a marker of disrespect towards them. This disrespect through the poor salary was perceived to have caused learners to now disrespect educators as well.

> They must be better off than us. But I think the rate and also the gage when you try to gage it the gap is quite much. And in most cases teachers struggle to live, they struggle to survive
>
> (Participant 2)

> Yes. So money part of it, violence and quite a number of um factors that affect… if you could go to any teacher I guess and ask if I were to offer you a job now, even if I can give you R8 000 or R10 000 or whatever you are paid now would you quit if you can go to any teacher right now he'll say yes I can quit immediately because it's not safe, it's not nice anymore, the monies that we are paid it's not really enough. Yes like the p… people I've have to school who are doing uh the the the BComs and stuff, they are way ahead of me. I guess life is all about growing up. You know in life you need to reach a certain stage where your life is not the same as when you first begun. When I started teaching, when I would not expect to have a car immediately nor a house nor whatever.
>
> (Participant 2)

> We need to earn and get that respect that we deserve as people that are working for people. As people that are contributing to the ethos or the community. But of late we do not really get that much. Our payments in the papers like I'm saying if you can open any paper within a week you'll find a lot of stories, a lot of things issues about teachers, I guess that is not fair enough for anything that a teacher does gets exposed and anybody has to know about it

(Participant 2)

> There are many um so many things money is the first one
>
> (Participant 12)

Educators' discontent with their earnings in recent years, has led to South African educators engaging in strikes and protest marches with a view to securing better salaries (Blaine, 2010). However, the slight increases educators have received have been met with much dissatisfaction adding to the educators' sense of disrespect towards them, minimal worth and frustration. As a result, many of these protests have become violent suggesting the only way to achieve change is through violence. It could, thus, be hypothesised that educators may be exercising their frustration on the learners; causing more school violence.

Substance use

Research over the years has confirmed a link between substance use and violent behaviour (Bennett & Holloway, 2005). Hence, when the participants suggested that substance use contributed to school violence it came as no surprise. A recent study by Leoschut (2009) found that substance abuse was widespread; with alcohol being the most prevalent form of substance of abuse among youth followed by tobacco use and then cannabis. This was consistent with the finding in a study undertaken in the township of Alexandra which suggested that learners from Alexandra often had easy access to these substances (Langa, 2005). It was also found that individuals who had ever consumed alcohol or used drugs were significantly more likely than those who had never used any of these substances to have been the victim of any crime (Leoschut, 2009). Participant 12 supported these findings when he explained how learners would go to the toilets to smoke marijuana and that this was definitely a contributing factor for school violence. Participant 8 concurred with the colleague that substance abuse was a contributing factor to violent behaviour and often led to other learners being robbed to sustain the habit. Langa (2005) found that the use of a mixture of mandrax and cannabis, also known as "white pipes", has also been increasing in use in the community of Alexandra.

> What can I say, these these um I I think that that they use and abuse of the substances in the school yard it would also contribute a lot.
>
> (Participant 12)

> You see these boys who are always going to the toilets and do some um dagga smoking.
>
> (Participant 12)

> You know when these learners come in the morning before they go to the toilets, they are just ok. If one learner can ask permission to go for the toilet and the other one will follow when they come back. Ah you won't like them.
>
> (Participant8)

> This learner do drugs but in most cases learners who do drugs, other ones who are problematic, yes they are very violent. I mean if you don't have money to buy drugs, what is he going to do? He has to rob other learners.
>
> (Participant 8)

The location of use and the age of learners were also raised by participants 8 and 12 who experienced the toilets as being the usual location for such school violence behaviour. In fact, research has shown that the toilet area is perceived as the most unsafe location in the school; this has been discussed in much greater detail earlier in this chapter (Burton, 2008). In Leoschut's (2009) recent study she found the young age at which learners initiated substance use to be of great concern; suggesting substance induced violence or victimisation was often found among younger learners.

> Sometimes they a bring um alcohol that we don't know about and then you find out it is these little ones they go to the toilets
>
> (Participant 12)

Easy accessibility of these substances has increased their use, as indicated by the CJCP (2009). Participant 8 and 9 revealed that the selling and distribution of substances has been experienced as another contributor of violence; with parents, learners and even educators engaging in such behaviour often making it very easy to move substances in and out of the school environment.

> Because of violence…Because sometimes it is not only eh by parents or educator to educator or learners. Even outsiders, they do come to our school to come and sell some stuff to learners and we are not able to identify those people who come to school.
>
> (Participant 8)

> No I've just mentioned one thing that drugs are easily smuggled in and out that that is crucial and dangerous and one of the contributing factors and our behaviour, and educators behaviour.

(Participant 9)

Attempts at disciplining learners in prevention of substance abuse have led to educators putting themselves at risk. Based on the participant's experiences, many incidents of violence towards educators have begun as a result of educators trying to prevent substance abuse.

> Um one, one, one, one once felt un unsafe here in school when a I tried to prevent two boys when I found them smoking dagga
>
> (Participant 11)

The use of substances by educators to relieve stress became evident in this study and was confirmed by participants. Some participants suggested that educators engaged in substance use as a coping mechanism. No data on substance abuse and educators exists, however Leoschut's (2009) study on youth recognises the harmful effects of substance abuse on their health and perceived substance abuse behaviour to be beneficial to them in some way either by calming their nerves, helping them to relax or forget their troubles. It was also found that substance abuse in low-income areas is greater due to issues of poverty or a lack of resources (Burton, 2008).

The lack of resources

Shortages of resources were raised as a contributor to violent behaviour between learners. Participant 4 recalls learners fighting over chairs and hence starting a fight amongst new grade 8 learners. He also added that these were generally the type of incidents occurring at their school recently.

> Recently we working peacefully, without those minor incidents where girls are coming fighting probably because we have a shortage of chairs and they will fight, "that is my chair I came first that is my chair"
>
> (Participant 4)

Nesane Nesane (2008) states that the lack of resources and the lack of foresight in schools suggest that things have not changed since the abolishment of Apartheid. And it could be hypothesised that this has created feelings of disappointment, frustration and demotivation in learners and educators. Lee, Ostrosky, Bennett and Fowler, (2003) assert that schools are facing multiple barriers such as the lack of materials. At the same time, educators are being encouraged to use technology and resources to give learners the best possible education that will empower them. However, the lack of basic educational resources, as per participant 4,

prevents this from happening. As a result, violent behaviour due to feelings of frustration and a fight for resources seems a natural reaction to such challenging conditions. Similarly, the lack of resources has caused many educators to choose to leave the profession and the dramatic drop in the performance of learners and schools (Kivilu, 2004).

Lack of consequences

A central contributing factor that emerged in the interviews was the lack of consequences for violent behaviour that occurs in schools. Participant 12 maintained that this was the primary cause for more violence as learners commit acts of violence using weapons and suffer no consequences for their criminal behaviour.

> that that that is our main problem, you see these kids they do things big things, just like that one that happened… these weapons they do such things it um only ends here amongst us, and um that is the end of the story.
>
> (Participant 12)

He added that this lack of consequences were often a result of a misconstrued understanding of 'ubuntu', alleging that it is taken too far. Participant 8 and 12 testified that this feeling of 'ubuntu' often led to acts of violence not being reported or dealt with internally resulting in insufficient consequences for the violent actions. According to Burton (2008), levels of reporting incidents of violence in secondary schools were low for all crimes except assault where 64.8% of crimes were reported.

> but I take it was um, it was solved internally, never went out.
>
> (Participant 12)

> We were disappointed that the learner was not expelled from the system, he was not expelled from school. He was moved from that school to the other school.
>
> (Participant 8)

> that we should actually hand over some of the things to the police
>
> (Participant 9)

Not agreeing with the other participants, participant 9 suggested that there were consequences causing the role of educators to change. Now educators are required to report the behaviour of learners and sometimes educators as well to the police; which puts them at great risk of

victimisation for vengeance. Hence, the actions of school members and different community members could play a role in contributing to school violence.

Community factors

The community environment in which the individual resides along with the other factors (individual, familial, school and societal) systemically exposes them to situations that may lead to school violence (Krug et al., 2002). Schools are located in communities thus the characteristics of the community often encroach on the school environment (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005). Burton (2008) corroborated this relationship between violence in the neighbourhood and violent victimisation for South African learners. This confirmed Hirsch and Gottfredson's (1994) theory that the largest correlates of school disorder are attributes of the school population and the community context.

Participants in the study seemed to reinforce this idea, when they criticised the community for not supporting the school in its efforts against school violence. One participant accused the community of contributing to the school violence by overlooking learners' violent behaviour and not enforcing consequences for their actions. Participant 12 makes mention of an incident where an educator was shot at by three learners and none of them received punishment for their behaviour. One could then hypothesise that the lack of consequences would not reduce school violence but rather amplify it as learners know that no punishment will follow as a consequence.

> You see the community tends they all turns a a blind eye to those things in the sense that that incident of the educator um that was shot at I was very much shocked when I discovered that the parents when at the police station they wanted us to make some kind of to to ensure that those learners are not locked in them I said no we'll we'll talk as adults about this is, but I just just didn't understand, that what kind of parent could do such a thing, say or so such a thing just just let's say you see this just an example, of the seriousness of the, the nature of the offence.
>
> (Participant 12)

Inaction by the community was also found when learners bunked school and participated in substance abuse in full view of the community. Participants felt that by allowing learners to participate in these behaviours, the community was tacitly condoning their behaviour and assuming no responsibility for them as members of the community.

> You see like when a kid jumps the wall we expect those adults to help us to bring them in, when these kids do some dagga smoking we expecting the community to help us to push them to school, or to report them.
>
> (Participant 12)

Participant 5 raised the issue of poverty within the community as being a contributing factor to school violence. The APA (1994) declared poverty to be a significant factor for increased violence exposure and victimisation. This is consistent with an ecological perspective that believes a community's social circumstances influences an individual's exposure to violent behaviours of victimisation (Astor et al., 1996). Thus the inaccessibility of food, as presented by participant 5, can be seen as a source for violent behaviour to occur. In a recent study, educators referred to this as an inherent anger due to the psychosocial factors that the community faces (Trackman, 2008).

> Some other ones it's because of poverty. She never ate in the evening. She's not eating now. You know she is hungry. So when she sees other kids eating it affects her
>
> (Participant 5)

De Wet (2007c) corroborated the findings of the participants above, when she maintained that the most frequently cited community causes of school violence were the deterioration of living conditions as a result of poverty, unemployment and overcrowding.

Societal factors

This section presents societal conditions that may create conditions conducive to school violence. Participants highlighted the influence of the media, the outlook of the new generation, and the history of Apartheid as societal/macro level factors that play a role in the cause of school violence. Participant 10 emphasised society as performing a central role.

> Like like I said before that the society plays a very very important role.
>
> (Participant 10)

Media

De Wet (2009) suggests that the media has generated unrealistic fears of school violence. However, research over years has found a link between violence in the media and violent

behaviours (see UNESCO, 2007). According to Krug et al. (2002) most evidence to date indicates that exposure to violence on television increases the likelihood of immediate aggressive behaviour and in the longer term contributes to serious violence. Participant 5 agreed with this research when she conveyed that learners' violent behaviours were often an attempt to replicate what they had seen on the television. The media's portrayal of violent behaviour as a usual way to solve problems has also encouraged young people to carry weapons and use of violence as a means of protection.

> you see some other things are these movies that they see in TV. They also contribute because they want to be those people. They want to be seen. They are not seen in class because they don't know, education is hard for them. But when they are at school sometimes she can act as if she's in the movie hitting other learners. You see... That violence then it erupts.
>
> (Participant 5)

However, in recent years some of the media have attempted to empower victims by exposing perpetrators of violence and raising awareness of the violence against children. As participant 2 states this campaign against the abuse of children has sometimes led ordinary, innocent educators to become persecuted and disrespected by others and the community.

> Let's say if a teacher has abused or touched or whatever a child at school, you know it's so exposed like you know it has been done by any ordinary person who does not have respect in the community, like I'm saying, when we grew up when we when we were going to school in our community, teachers we used to be well respected…But of late you know the community has the audacity of coming to chant against the teacher.
>
> (Participant 2)

According to Ntyintyane (2008), "violence is a social construct" and therefore the manner in which it is constructed in society will influence the way it will be perceived (p. 9). And with media reports suggesting South Africa to be the most violent country in the world, it could be hypothesised to contributing to violence in schools. After all, schools are merely "microcosms of South African society" (De Wet, 2009, p. 58).

A new generation

According to Stevens and Lockhat (1997) the impact of social influences on identity formation is far more complex than had been originally conceptualised since Apartheid has

presented black adolescents with barriers to developing their identity. Participants conclusively agreed with this when they admitted that there has been a drastic 'attitudinal' change in the new generation of learners. Research found that black adolescents often adopted the 'Coca-Cola' culture, in the ever-changing context of South Africa (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). Participants further felt that this change was negative and was also harmfully affecting their school performance. Kivilu (2004) has observed a recent decrease in academic results, especially matric pass rates.

Many participants also felt that school violence was increasing in prevalence and that this was increasing the risk to educators.

> It has changed drastically. The kind of learners we have now, they just don't and there's very little learning going on in in our schools.
>
> (Participant 9)

> In the olden days when I still when I started teaching there was no violence…but these years it become worse and worse and worse every day and it is not a good thing. It puts educators lives at risk.
>
> (Participant 8)

Some participants felt that an increase in school violence, especially towards educators, was a result of a growing disrespect for educators amongst the new generation. Participant 3 emphasised that this lack of respect was affecting their respect for education simultaneously. Concurring with this idea, participant 5 explained that this lack of respect was causing learners to act with disregard to their performance. However, participant 3 and 5 felt that this disrespect for education and educators was a consequence of learners' exploitation and misunderstanding of their newly gained rights. It was further alleged that learners were using these rights to disempower educators and resulting in more educators leaving the profession.

> Their respect it's like no more in this generation so they don't differentiate between them and the educators, it's like we are at the same age and stuff like that. You can't tell them, they will say who are you we are talking he is talking and she is talking, it's like that. There are some situations where a learner and educator don't see eye to eye because of according to my own understanding it's part of respect because during our time we use to respect educators so this days it's no more…the time that we are living in, the issue of rights and stuff maybe to say our learners not only in this school but generally in South Africa, maybe our government needs to intervene to say how do we bring back those moral issue to our learners to make them understand how important is their respect, how important is their education. Obviously, for me they go hand in glove, education and respect, because once you don't respect an educator

> obviously you gonna treat him like "ay this educator, I'm not afraid of him and stuff" you'll answer the way you like because it's part of respect, "he'll say educator I've got a right" if you follow it nicely, you'll find out that he doesn't understand what that right means.
>
> (Participant 3)

> Because this children they've got all the rights even if they are wrong. They've got all the rights. At the moment the child can get here and they can…she can abuse me…verbally abuse. There's no way I can go and report the child and the child cannot be chased away from school because she has verbal abused me. But if a educator has a verbal abuse I can even be taken to court, I can even be chased away from teaching that is why it's one of the things that make educators to go away from teaching because they are not protected.
>
> (Participant 5)

> You know that sometimes we are blaming, we blame Apartheid education… I didn't like it the way it was being done, but sometimes somewhere I find there are advantages. They used to tell me that tomorrow we are going to write...I will go and read, I read what I've been taught. I go to the class knowing what I'm going to write, and I write and I pass. But with these kids with this NCS it's the opposite. They can come to the exam room not knowing what they are writing, but you have given them timetable.
>
> (Participant 5)

The issue of children's rights within the school causes much controversy in African culture because children grow up with the belief that they have no rights of their own (Shumba, 2003). However, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations all human beings, including children, have rights and these rights should be respected (Shumba, 2003). Participants unanimously agreed that the perception of change in the attitudes of this new generation of learners is a contributing factor for the disrespect of education and educators.

The idea of a new generation suggests that a developmental change from a previous generation has occurred, thus drawing on the chrono-system. According to Ward (2007), the chrono-system reflects the passage of time and accompanying developmental changes in both the children and the systems with which they have contact.

Many participants agreed that time has contributed to the increase in school violence for two reasons: the violent history of Apartheid and a change in attitude. Vally et al. (1999) suggest that the high level of violence in schools reflects a complicated combination of past history and recent stresses at individual, school, and community levels in a society. In other words, despite Apartheid being dismantled as a legislated system, for most South Africans the

objective material conditions have not been altered significantly since the 1994 elections (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). Apartheid has taught many that using violence as a means to find solutions is an acceptable practice (Ward, 2007). Trackman (2008) went as far as to say that violence has become a usual part of life and that a "culture of violence" has normalised it as a means to an end in society (p. 45). Within the new generation, a change has been noticed in the attitude towards the education system, the family unit and educators due to the increase of the rights of individuals. Participant 5 reiterates this idea saying that often people blame Apartheid for the faults in today's learners yet before democracy learners seemed to care about their performance by motivating themselves to work hard to pass. Today however, learners just don't seem to care. Thus time has contributed to the change in behaviour frequently resulting in various forms of school violence.

> You know there's north… you know, we used to you know, I I even get the class and tell them that you know that sometimes we are blaming, we blame eh eh Apartheid education. I don't know I I I didn't like it the way it was being done, but sometimes somewhere I find there are advantages. They used to tell me that tomorrow we are going to write Afrikaans. I will go and read, I read what I've been taught. I go to the class knowing what I'm going to write, and I write and I pass. But with these kids with this NCS it's the opposite. They can come to the exam room not knowing what they are writing, but you have given them timetable. When they are there, they are issuing papers. They ask me what are they writing. So you can see that that child didn't read yesterday.
>
> (Participant 5)

Using Bronfenbrenner's Ecological theory in collaboration with the experiences of the educators, allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of the factors that have contributed to school violence. In the following section the participants' perceptions of the impact of school violence on the relevant micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono-systems will be discussed concentrating on the educators, learners and the school.

EFFECTS OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Popular discourse has claimed that the impacts of school violence are limitless (Burton, 2008). However, lack of research around this area could be the reason for such a finding. For this reason, establishing the effects of school violence on learners, educators and the school could have tremendous effects in trying to prevent them and change the perception of school violence as causing irreparable harm. This section outlines the possible effects on educators, learners and the school paying special attention to educators' psychological, physical and

spiritual effects. However, it is important to bear in mind that these consequences are not inevitable (Pinheiro, 2006). During the interviews, participants 5 and 9 were firm about school violence's negative effects on the learners, the educators and the community.

> Violence in schools it's it's it's something that is uncalled for because mentally it disturbs learners. It disturbs educators eh it disturbs teaching eh I can also say eh mentally the child, the child it it it it affects the child you know physically, mentally because it it harm. It's not something that it it can give you eh eh um a joy, it's something most of the time that gives you… something you know that's not good at all. It's something that changes the moral behaviour of a child. A child can be good but when coming to violence he changes there and there.
>
> (Participant 5)

> No, it's not good it's not good at all. It's affecting learners, it's affecting teachers, and also the community. So the school violence it's not a good thing at all.
>
> (Participant 7)

Effects on educators

Little research exists on the effects of school violence on educators. However, media reports indicate that vast amounts of educators have been affected by school violence in recent years (Bailey, 2008; De Beer, 2008; Naidu & Maluleka, 2008; Prince, 2008). For this reason, the following section will explore the manner in which participants viewed educators as having been affected by school violence; looking specifically at the psychological, physical and spiritual impacts.

Psychological Impact

Stress

Stress is defined as a situation, event or amalgamation of situations in which the individual perceive the demands as exceeding his or her capacity to respond in a comfortable manner (Smith & Carlson, 1997). According to Hansen and Sullivan (2003), stress can result in mental and physical effects such as anger, anxiety, tension, frustration or depression. Consensus was held by all of the participants that school violence has produced excessive amounts of stress within their lives.

> You see and that make uhm the the educators educators work to be more and more um stressful.
>
> (Participant 11)

As a consequence of excessive stress, many participants have engaged in alcohol use as a means to cope with the everyday stress of working as an educator in such volatile conditions. Research has shown that there is a clear link between occupational stress and alcohol use (Saunders, 2007). Myburgh and Poggenpoel (2002) found that the behaviours of educators in township schools who were experiencing stress, manifested in alcohol abuse, absenteeism or dysfunctional relationships. Participant 11 admitted that he abused alcohol to forget about the incidents of school violence.

> You see some some some of us turn to those incidences you see you know why, you see now this is causing me stress, you can take these kids to the principal! You see those things and um, it it does because when you you actually consume you every day. Then you go to your family they don't expect you to come home every day, um even if taken some beer unless, you drinking in front of them that's maybe alright but if you come from the shebeen every day then it causes some kind of problems. The the main one is hopelessness and in most most educators the educators don't want to see themselves in the system.
>
> (Participant 12)

> You you can't ask that person. Maybe they drink because of the stress
>
> (Participant 8)

> Yes some some have resorted to to to to just drinking not not not that much but they have resorted to just and then we have one or two beers I just forget about what has happened ah at school.
>
> (Participant 11)

Research has shown a relationship between stress and psychological problems in an individual's life (Crawage, 2005). Hence, participant 8's revelation that other educators have resorted to different 'ignoble' coping mechanisms to relieve their stress did not come as much of a surprise. However, the researcher did experience the participant's demeanour around the topic of behavioural coping mechanisms to be one of shame. This could be hypothesised as being perceived as an inability to cope and thus a failure as an educator. As most of these participants were male and considering the patriarchal society that we live in, it could be assumed that feelings of failure as a man also arose. However, participant 8 spoke to the idea that stress is a reality for many educators and even though each presents differently; the consequences tend to be negative.

> Maybe they absent themselves from school because of the stress that they experience. L… it is like you know we we don't take stress the same way.
>
> (Participant 8)

Consistent with the participant's experiences, Smith and Carlson (1997) have found a link between stress and unfavourable individual outcomes. Other than the physical effects mentioned above, psychological outcomes such as depression, anxiety, suicide attempts and PTSD have featured as consequences of stress induced by school violence (Crawage, 2005). Participant 12 reinforced these symptoms when he illustrated the occurences of school violence as consuming his everyday life.

Trauma

Trauma-like symptoms comprise of an individual experiencing a traumatic event (such as a violent incident) that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat of physical integrity of self and or others and a response of helplessness, intense fear or horror (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

A majority of participants described symptoms of trauma when describing their feelings and behaviour due to the occurrences of school violence. Re-experiencing, avoidance and hyperarousal are three symptoms which have to be present for at least a month before a diagnosis of PTSD can be made (APA, 2000). Participant 5 explained how violence affected her functioning as an educator and led her to be mentally and physically haunted by the experience. She added that if this violence was received from a learner, it would crush her dignity and leave her demoralised. On the other hand, participant 12 spoke of a 'hypothetical' traumatic event and how it would affect other parts of his life, making him feel hopeless and therefore wanting to avoid any such feelings or re-experiencing in order to maintain his sense of masculinity. Speaking in a similar light, participant 7 described the experience of harm to her colleagues which caused her constantly to worry that she was going to be victimised in the same way and the feelings of sadness, fear and helplessness generated as a consequence. She also added that this was affecting her daily functioning as an educator since she avoided attending class. Corresponding with this idea of trauma, Gwaitney (1987) purports that an individual does not need to endure physical injury or pain in order to be traumatised or develop PTSD like symptoms.

That's already affected me for the rest of my life. As long as that boy is there…

(Participant 5)

We are basically um I feel that um if we are exposed so if if one is exposed it is traumatic number one. Number two it also causes family problems you you know, you know you feel hopeless sometimes if you are been exposed to such you are, it is obvious that that you are a educator you maybe want to be um more masculine or um you just to um erase to what has happened to you at work.

(Participant 12)

Ok let's let's let's say I'm the violence… um I'm affected by a violence as a educator. I don't think to me it will be good. Really it's it's going to affect me for the whole day. It's going to disturb me as far as teaching is concerned. And it depends on when where is this violence com… Coming from. If this violence is coming from a learner, I don't think really it will give me dignity for the rest of my life here at school. I think it's going to discourage even if I can be here. I can be here physically but mentally it's going to haunt me for the rest of my life.

(Participant 5)

No I think when I say it affects us is that you cannot just sit there and see if some people are suffering because of one, two three then it means it goes, you going to get hurt. That one, the one that was fighting with err a learner, it really affected me. I hurt to see my colleagues fighting with a learner and then maybe I thought that the justice has not been done maybe I thought the learner had to be expelled from the school because really who is the next victim? Maybe it's me, I don't know, who is the next victim? Then if, even if I say we are safe but not 100 % safe because I don't know maybe I'm the next person, so that's why I'm saying it affects us. For doing your work, you cannot do your work when you are not happy about something but we have to that's why I say even if there is violence or fighting that side, we need to go there because we are here to work. If we don't want to go there then what will happen, they'll call me maybe at the office and say period one, two, three you were not in class why?

(Participant 7)

Based on the participants' experienced symptoms, all participants could have been diagnosed with some form of trauma (either acute or complex PTSD) however original causes were inconclusive due to external circumstances of their context. According to Swart (1997) both chronic and acute incidences of stress result in South African townships due to the milieu of poverty, the effects of Apartheid, unemployment and abuse.

one year whereby one of my colleagues was threatened by a learner with a gun. I I I can't remember what was the reason for for the parent but then in fact she had to undergo counselling for that.

(Participant 8)

An educator receiving counselling after experiencing a traumatic event was only mentioned by participant 8 suggesting that educators either do not have access to such services, did not make use of them or felt the situation wasn't severe enough to need such assistance. Investigation by the researcher found that participants had recently received access to telephonic counselling by the Department of Education. However the majority of educators did not know about such a service while few felt their situation wasn't sufficiently grave to access counselling assistance. Many traumatised participants also spoke of feeling a lack of motivation to perform their job, and for educators school violence has almost guaranteed this.

Motivation/Performance

Every participant that disclosed being affected by school violence experienced de-motivation and an inability to perform sufficiently in their capacity as an educator. In accordance with McPherson's (2005) theory a "sense of failure can often occur among educators working with emotionally and/or economically deprived children" thus leading to 'educator dissatisfaction' (p.25). Participant 4 acknowledged his inadequate performance in class and in relationships as a result of feelings of apathy combined by the stress of being a victim of violence and external life stressors. In much the same way, participant 5 asserted that the norm of school violence (constant threat of violence when she attended school and absence of learners from class) had left her disenchanted about teaching. Participant 2 meanwhile, confessed a happiness to leave the profession as teaching learners was no longer enjoyable and she had no motivation to do such work. This lack of motivation to perform could be explained by the participants constantly fearing for their safety. Research by Vettenberg (2002) found that educators feeling unsafe in front of their classes tended to show a reduced commitment to their educational task.

Later, participant 4 also admitted that the appalling income often left him feeling un-recognised as a professional. Many other participants reiterated a similar feeling to the researcher often presenting the salary as 'laughable' for the extent work they need to do. .

> We are victims of violence because you, you you you you get stressed. You are coming home from a family stress then come get another stress here at school. Therefore you are affected, your performance will be affected. When whenever you supposed to deliver the matter in class or teach the learners it does affect you, you

might find that you are no longer having a good relationship with that particular person or the particular management team or a particular group of educators does definitely affect you, you will never be able to perform.

(Participant 4)

Hey you know with other educators what I can say is um most of the time they are affected because you know when you, you know that when you go to school you are going to see learners fighting. It's obvious it's something, you know it's sort of a norm... A norm... It's something that is happening most of the time. You become discouraged and some of, some of the time you find that if they. It's eh the way it happen, it's happening, you'd find that some of them is uh the learners who are supposed to be in class and they are not in class, you are in class, you are teaching and you can see there are learners who are not in class. They are outside...

(Participant 5)

What has affected me and acts me directly, in this profession, the teaching profession is the question of salary who is not determined by the management, yeah that one not that affects me. Yeah definitely, because I feel I'm not being recognised and my service is not being recognised.

(Participant 4)

But I think of late I had anything that I could get hold off, I think I can quit as in yesterday. It's not a place for one to enjoy anymore. We also have a lot of teachers which decide not to come to school maybe because they don't have money for transport or money for whatever or just don't feel like coming to school because you know there's nothing really that motivates you.

(Participant 2)

Participants 5, 9 and 11 alleged that their inadequate performance as educators affected the performance of learners and consequently prevented them from fulfilling their deliverables as an educator to teach learners. The idea of a diminished performance has been highlighted by the media and Department of Education statistics. However this cannot be attributed to the performance of educators alone as it is only one of the factors learners face in education today (Keeton, 2010).

Even if he doesn't write I don't question him. But I question them. So my teaching is being affected also.

(Participant 5)

it does, it affects teachers in the sense that teachers don't perform well. I mean the clear indication is in our results

(Participant 9)

Yes as a educator I I I may not able to deliver what what I'm supposed to do

(Participant 11)

As a final point, school violence has affected the performance and motivation of educators, causing participants to feel apathy, a reluctance to attend class and generating constant worry about their safety which has resulted in a general desire to leave the profession of teaching.

Attrition

Attrition is experienced in all professions. In the education profession, it is believed that some attrition rates are natural and expected as educators retire or progress to administrative positions (McPherson, 2005). However, in recent years attrition rates have suggested a crisis in the educational sector. This has caused the South African government to declare a shortage of educators. As stated earlier in this chapter, in the last few years the HSRC (2005) found educator attrition rates in South Africa to be as high as 13%. Participants in the study felt that attrition rates were on the increase as more educators were threatened by the prospect of becoming a victim of school violence. Not being able to protect oneself, issues around 'low' salaries and no longer having the emotional and physical capacity to work in such an aggressive environment were some of the reasons participants justified the high attrition rates. Participant 4 asserted that "it actually does affects [us]...others they don't show it but it does affect us".

> Mainly it's because of yes, the violence, no protection, we are not protected and um basically the salaries.
>
> (Participant 9)

> So you can know some other educators that's why they leave teaching, you cannot even protect yourself.
>
> (Participant 5)

> Yah, it actually does affect people as such as we are many as teachers, others they don't show it but it does affect us, the others feel they are tired they wanna leave this school, leave their job, yes it definitely does affect us but it affects in such a way that others they no longer have that spirit of working, it does also affect the service delivery in the classroom.
>
> (Participant 4)

In order to tackle this issue a distinction needs to be made between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' attrition (McPherson, 2005). This could provide clarity as to the high attritions rates. Questioning whether educators were being forced to leave the school, had requested a

transfer to another teaching position or voluntarily chose to leave the profession could provide clarity on the impact of school violence on educator attrition. According to Donovan (2000) one of the primary reasons educators request to move to another school is stress due to the lack of training in classroom discipline. In many cases, Donovan (2000) revealed that educators have been "told to handle their own problems" when they referred the learner to the principal (p. 3). Many participants in the study complained of not wanting to work in their specific school anymore as they felt dissatisfied with the school's working conditions. Participant 2 reminisced about an educator that had left the school due to being victimised by a learner at school; showing the impact school violence has had on educators in the past. Participants 1 and 7 verbalised their hope to be redeployed to another district or to be laid off with a package. One participant acknowledged that school violence was a problem in most schools in South Africa and that he had tried to leave the school for years as school violence and the changes in the management of the school have affected his initial easy-going nature. Participant 12's comments suggest that searching for greener pastures and leaving the school or the profession in general may not always improve one's situation as an educator or human being. However, in not doing so one is also faced with the possibility of despair.

> Most of the educators are complaining that I just want to leave the school and go work in a different school or something like that or oh I just want to leave the school and go do this. If maybe they can redeploy, I want to be the first one on the list so that they can redeploy me. I don't wanna work here anymore because people are dissatisfied.
>
> (Participant 7)

> I'm still hanging in there, I'm still fine but if maybe they can say we want to redeploy you then I'll go.
>
> (Participant 7)

> But leaving the the the school at the moment if somebody can say leave now and go to another school, I won't mind. Or leave now and go to whatever work and get your package I can do it
>
> (Participant 1)

> Since then she left teaching, I'm not sure where she is, whether she's teaching somewhere else or whether she stopped teaching or what is happening with her life, I really cannot tell
>
> (Participant 2)

> In fact um what I have um realised is that it is not only, it is the whole of South Africa where um school violence is um is a problem. I have tried, I'm still trying to leave the profession, I am still trying even now. Not only violence, just by um the uneasiness. I am no longer that um person that I um used to be before, because of these many

> things, I've got a lot of paper work, just filling these papers just do this, and when one looks at most of these thing that I needed from the department.
>
> (Participant 12)

> And so on. So ya it it will definitely make you to to look for other venues definitely. Ya it it, educators are are are fearing for their lives and uhm with with uh you know, their pay not being appetising why would you stay in a place which is not err safe, you know, when when there is an alternative. Ya you better go there. Ya why not.
>
> (Participant 6)

> People feel that they would rather keep a low profile than say anything to keep their jobs, but no one feels safe to leave the job because there are no jobs, but I think with teachers today if there was an option very few people would remain in teaching. We'd all wish to to leave teaching.
>
> (Participant 9)

Given the poor salaries, the prevalence of school violence, poor administrative support and ensuing job dissatisfaction, participants 6 and 9's statement that all educators would leave teaching if they had the option seemed to sum up the current state of the teaching and impact on educators.

Physical Impact

Participants only declared a few incidents of physical impact to educators. It could be assumed from this that participants either did not suffer many physical effects or that they chose to continue the 'conspiracy of silence' regarding the physical abuse and victimisation of educators by colleagues and learners. Research has shown that physical impacts are the most obvious and may include mild or serious wounds, bruises, fractures, deaths or suicide (Pinheiro, 2006). It was also suggested that unplanned pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections due to sexual assault be considered a physical effect of school violence (WHO, 1998). However, this is a contentious issue as most studies did not regard this as a physical impact (Pinheiro, 2006).

With regard to this study, all three participants that did disclose physical effects seemed to suffer from varying degrees of hypertension (high blood pressure) as a result of the fighting at school. Participant 7 complained of not being able to relax while participant 1 describes fainting due to overwhelming anger towards his colleagues' victimising behaviour. Participant 12 expressed hopelessness in relation to the physical effects of school violence, saying "I'm sick I'm sick of what is happening in [our] bodies.

> No its bad, it's bad because it affects us cause you find that maybe that particular person you may be close to him or her then if maybe there is something like fighting and all those things and then it means you going to be affected as well, you are going to be affected you can't just relax when your friend is suffering from they are fighting they are fighting and all those things.
>
> (Participant 7)

> You see you've got um people suffers from um high blood you know those those many times when um cases is reported and they hear if if the um accident you you find them saying that um now I'm sick just sick not that sick of what is happening in their in the bodies you find all of us is just against this and we try day all means but um and it also it also affected um a lot of um my my colleagues.
>
> (Participant 12)

> Then this eh one lady who stays around here, then I went to her and she assisted me, she said now you nearly collapsed because that day I was highly affected. After telling that you're your kids after telling your mother after telling the church that you do not.
>
> (Participant 1)

The researcher found that school violence can impact on educators physically in three ways: by causing serious bodily harm that needs medical assistance; by developing chronic diseases such as hypertension, panic attacks and migraines, disability; and death. However, all the psychological, physical and spiritual effects occur simultaneously with one another (apart from death).

Spiritual impact

Spirituality has a range of meanings, which are often concerned with the spirit or soul. Individuals often speak of 'a spiritual approach to life', 'spiritual fulfilment', 'spiritual values' and 'unearthly love'; however these do not clarify a singular meaning for spirituality but rather various meanings for the concept (Allen, 1987). This varied understanding of spirituality was highlighted in the diverse responses from participants. Yet, an increasing number of studies indicate that those who are more spiritual tend to experience a greater sense of well-being and life satisfaction, cope better with stress and are less likely to commit suicide (Simpson, 2005). Consequently an impact on that spirituality, due to school violence, could have a negative influence on educators' well-being. Participant 1 disclosed the physical effects he suffered, after much disappointment and anger due to emotional violence from his colleagues, as a spiritual experience. He also added that he consequently partook in a ritual

cleansing in order to improve his spirituality by the removal of his anger and disappointment. On the other hand, participant 6's take on spirituality tended to be more religious, disclosing that she was not affected by school violence due to the strong Christian faith. However, this steadfast spirituality could be a result of religious intolerance to questioning the occurrences in life or religion's reductionist rationalisation of misfortune to 'Gods will'. Participant 11 felt his spirit and passion for teaching had been diminished by school violence and no longer felt inspired to be an educator.

> They they just prayed for me they have done cleansing for me and then I was, I was shivering.
>
> (Participant 1)

> Mmm for me ay because I'm a, I'm a born Christian you know I think err being in god for me has been my source of strength because uh you know nothing effects me you know, I'm always a jolly person, I'm always a smiling person because uh god is enough for me to keep smiling. I don't need anyone to, you know to to give me a smile. But then for others it it then it just bounces back to to to uhm to the state of mental health because uh you know as I, as I say nothing effects me. Whatever a person does you know I just, my my my, you know my religion says it's not the person, it's it's the spirit behind the persons, it's the force behind the person.
>
> (Participant 6)

> Um let me say spiritually because I, I becoming more and more let's say discouraged I feel like no longer interested to be a educator more so then there's no support like even those not necessarily that I should get I should get paid a little better but just support ah if the department can bring in some of the people just to come and say motivate motivational speakers or some sort just so maybe the learners can change.
>
> (Participant 11)

It was evident that school violence has negatively impacted the participants' spirituality. According to Ryan (1998) a lack of spiritual beliefs places individuals at a greater risk of experiencing pain and feelings of rejection as they search for their meaning in the world. Thus, it could be suggested that spirituality is a source of hope, meaning and purpose, particularly during difficult times such as victimisation at work.

Effects on learners

Years of research have suggested that the impact of school violence on learners is overwhelming (see Allen, 2005; Burton, 2008; Byrnes, 1996; Crawage, 2005; Lorion & Saltzman, 1993; Olweus, 1978; Pinheiro, 2006; Sexton-Radek, 2005; UNESCO, 2009).

According to Burton (2008), violence experienced during youth impacts negatively on the cognitive development of the individual as well as the individual's social behaviours. Victimisation of learners is said to have long-term impacts including low self-esteem, depression, isolation, peer relationship problems, school avoidance and truancy or dropping out due to fears of violence (Allen, 2005). Furthermore, violence and victimisation during youth is said to increase radically an individual's predisposition to delinquency, conduct disorder and criminal behaviour (Sexton-Radek, 2005).

As this study focused on educators' experiences of school violence, it was found that participants did not mention much information about the impacts of school violence on learners. However, participants 5 and 12 concurred that learners were affected by school violence. Participant 5 said they would often become quite quiet and stopped writing when violence did occur while participant 12 founds certain learners would react with fear to the presence of bigger boys.

> And another thing is um it also effects learners because if immediately you are teaching and there is something that's happening when its quiet now it go back to normal, still you can see that it effects affected them. They will no longer writing like the way they were writing, even their quietness, they will be quietness but you will find that the learners are not are not are not are not writing. You can you can see that they are affected someway somehow.
>
> (Participant 5)

> And coming to school because of um this that that boy his making life difficult, those ones who are bigger and been in class the second time it it does affect them in a way and then even with us we are been disrupted you find that um somebody when is, you find that somebody in class they are afraid of that one, and that there's some kind of disorder in class.
>
> (Participant 12)

> But the language that I am using to the child it effects him. So when she goes out of the door, she just got that thing of even at school the educator knows me as I'm a thug so the child won't change.
>
> (Participant 5)

Participants 5 and 10 also felt school violence impacted learners' academic performance. It is well documented that both victims and perpetrators tend to get lower marks than other children (Olweus, 1978). Participant 5 articulated that learners' academic decline was often a consequence of their not attending school and bunking classes due to the fear of being bullied

by bigger learners. Research by Pinheiro (2006) confirmed that a relationship existed between bullying, the absence of bonding with other children and absenteeism.

> It is … it to me … school violence has destroyed even capable kids. As I said violence to me it's not just the school violence it's the emotional violence, it has destroyed a lot of brilliant successful children to nothing, ja.
>
> (Participant 10)

> When you are in class you not teaching it also effects the results because you cannot teach while other learners are not learning. Absenteeism is not only educators. Absenteeism is not only learners. Eh eh bunking of classes that's the cause of everything because you know sometimes learners they are afraid to be in class because they are sub… they are afraid of this huge boys who are in class. Sometimes a person who is supposed to be in class, such a tiny little lady whom they don't even see as if she's an elder. They see him if its age, um their age. So a child who is in class, she becomes affected . Yes what I'm saying is you'll find eh eh eh a lady like you as young as you are… You are in class, you are a qualified educator. But when we look we find that you are at the same level with these kids but not age wise.
>
> (Participant 5)

Learners in township schools participating in acts of school violence may also impair their functioning in other ways. These include externalising behaviour disorders, substance abuse, through social, behavioural and health problems and even suicide (Ensink, Robertson, Zissis, & Leger, 1997). Regardless of recent research endeavours, attempting to reduce the effects of school violence on learners still needs much work, as is evident from learners' continuous acts of violence.

Effects on the school

Very little is known about the impact of school violence on schools, yet violent and aggressive behaviour both in and outside the classrooms have turned the perception of these life-long institutions of education into unsafe havens of crime (Burton, 2008). This section attempts to illuminate the impact of school violence on schools by addressing the effects on the management of the school, safety, performance and role of the educator.

Management of the school

School violence has placed a large focus on the management of schools. As a consequence, management of schools has changed so as to address issues of school violence better

(Leoschut, 2009). Participants 1 and 2 are employed at different schools yet they both felt that school violence has caused schools to introduce new systems to deal with the consequences of learners' or educators' violent behaviour. Participant 1 mentioned greater communication between various stakeholders, including parents, to find ways to improve matters in the school. Participant 7, on the other hand, spoke about a core plan where parents and school management decide whether to transfer troublesome learners to other educational institutions where they could be better managed. Not considering the effectiveness and efficiency of these new systems or interventions, it must be acknowledged that school violence has produced some active communication between the different ecological systems.

> Through SGB's or the through the principal and class educator and then that particular child comes, as he comes we we we we discuss the matter and the parents gets involved, and then we since then it becomes, since we the the the new system of introducing parental involvement within a a school things, matters are improving.
>
> (Participant 1)

> No they are better because we are tried to sort their core plan by taking out all those boys who were causing the trouble then we tried to refer them to the schools or other institutions or we call their parents to discuss the matter with them so that they can see that their children are not thinking properly or something like that cause they were mad, they something like maybe there's a devil in the school or something like that.
>
> (Participant 7)

In spite of these changes, the greatest impact school violence has had on the school is the awareness it has created around the inefficiencies of school management. In many cases, media sensationalisation in reporting school violence has beneficially exposed victimisation and abuses of learners and educators (De Wet & Jacobs, 2006). School violence has also forced the Department of Education to change the curriculum in terms of discipline and academic standards due to the poor performance of learner and educators (Kivilu, 2004). Paperwork around the procedures of documenting incidents, as participants 12 and 5 reveal, is another factor that the Department of Education introduced to refer learners for counselling assistance and ensure educators are following protocol. According to the participants, these efforts have not reduced incidents of school violence nor have they changed the efficiency of school management. In fact, participant 11 admits that school violence has only exposed the Department of Education's perceived disregard for educators' and learners' well-being by the lack of support provided to school violence victims. Findings in Trackman (2008) implied that school violence against educators was often silenced by authorities due to their inability to address this problem.

> There there's no support as such in the department they they would only act after a certain incident they will just keep on saying we support you we support you but they only come in once something ah has been reported but as long as nothing was reported they just stay put, they don't come here eh check or yeah just to check if there is anything maybe the educators are not ah satisfied with like that violence they won't come here just ask how is the situation here how are the learners behaving what is finals here how is finals here no they don't do that properly come in once there is that where a learner has stepped another or the learner has killed the other learner only only do then they bring in ah some counsellors for one two days or they come back after another one.
>
> (Participant 11)

> Now what I'm saying what um the the department is doing by telling us to go to all these workshops about school management giving us all these um forms and papers. The core matter, what we are here for, does not not not take place as it's suppose to be, as one feels demotivated. But it's like I'm wasting my time.
>
> (Participant 12)

> May you please fill in the 4:45 because the 4:45 means the Department of Education form to show that you've been trying to help this kid.
>
> (Participant 5)

It can be concluded that school management has been influenced by school violence sometimes positively and sometimes negatively. School management have introduced several measures in an attempt to deal with the school violence, some of which are perceived as superficial, redundant and incapable of improving the situation. In summary, management's attempts to improve the image of schools in society by preventing school violence have failed in the eyes of the participants.

Safety

No participant in this study believed schools are safe places anymore. This could, in part, be attributed to media reports and recent research. As a result, learners, educators, the government and ordinary citizens no longer hold the perception that schools are safe.

> No the school is not safe
>
> (Participant 5)

> No, especially of late, it's not safe
>
> (Participant 2)

> Ya so many times we feel unsafe. Ya
>
> (Participant 6)

> Yes. Yes it's it's quite rife within our school and all the neighbouring schools and even many other schools. A lot of things are happening within the schools, yes. To the point that you feel schools are not as safe as they used to be before because I can come hit and kill, they can even kill each other, go to the point or the extent of killing each other which is not right and not safe.
>
> (Participant 2)

In fact, for many learners school appears to be an environment that elicits feelings of anxiety, with 85.5% of 12 787 secondary school learners surveyed indicating feeling unsafe while at school (Burton, 2008). Price contradicted this belief, suggesting that at the core, schools are safe places for learners (UNESCO, 2007). He added that in many cases educators and staff protect learners from violence and often schools are safer than learners' homes. However, Burton (2008) seemed to challenge this when he was found that 96% of secondary school learners felt safe at home; suggesting that the safety of the school continues to be a contentious issue and that school violence has impacted its image.

Performance

The decline in academic performance of learners in recent years (Keeton, 2010) and the increase in school violence (Burton, 2007) suggest that school violence is affecting learners' academic performance, which in turn is negatively impacting the school.

A few participants introduced the idea that school violence was negatively influencing learners' academic performance. Participants 11 and 5 claimed that school violence was preventing effective learning from taking place and thus learners who did not pass often blamed educators for their failure. The impact of school violence on educators was suggested by participant 9 to be the reason that effective learning was not occurring as affected educators could not provide effective teaching.

> Yes of course it's a problem because um obviously they're they're there'll be no um effective learning if there is violence there
>
> (Participant 11)

> Because he cannot finish um ya he did not finish his um his schooling so they they blame, so they just just say the blame should be on me
>
> (Participant 11)

> But that is why end of the day that boy she become eh eh um eh confused and eh eh deprived of learning but end of the day they will say that the educator is depriving the learner yet the educator is afraid to confront the learner.
>
> (Participant 5)

> So once there is this violence amongst educators themselves it goes down to children, very little is being learnt at all schools.
>
> (Participant 9)

> The results wouldn't be this bad if the educators themselves were ok if the educators were ensuring that there's no violence between educator and children. Then the learning would be a normal one
>
> (Participant 9)

Participant 9 revealed that performance has also been declining as educators' fear of being harmed by learners has prevented them from enforcing learning and thus causing learners to fail. According to Vettenberg (2002), feeling unsafe generally has negative effects on educators' performance which in turn negatively affects their learners' academic performance.

> Though not 100%, but we would be operating at the level as of the rate pass of 60, 80%, but that does not exist. It shows this fear amongst teachers, fear of teachers, fear of the learners, you have to do what the teachers want. Learners don't do their work there is nothing that you can do.
>
> (Participant 9)

The constant fear of school violence has left many educators sick because of stress or absence due to fear, as stated above. School violence has detrimentally impacted educator performance and attendance, and has indirectly caused learners to lose out on opportunities to be taught. Participant 12 confirmed such behaviour when he related an experience where learners who attempted working were intimidated and bullied by other learners because their educator was absent.

> Or we've we've got a meeting for whatever other reason where a educator is absent from school, and then this one who is trying to do his work or her work somebody intimidates them, that is some kind of violence you you trying to be smart, I have not done the class work the whole work you doing it, then um those bullies in class they took their their lunch boxes they pinched their money's and all those things
>
> (Participant 12)

School violence could be seen to cause a decline in the academic performance of learners and the deterioration of educators' teaching ability. This can result in a school's ranking decreasing.

The role of an educator

The role of the educator is to educate learners and provide them with guidance (SACE, 2002). However, participants have suggested that this role has changed and school violence has influenced the change in the educator's role. Participant 1, who was very frustrated, asserted that the role of an educator is not all-encompassing nor is it to teach learners morals and values but it is to educate learners about academics. Although participants 5 and 12's mentioning of their 'youth dialogue' and 'policeman' responsibilities other than their teaching role as an educator does seem to reveal how the role of an educator has changed as a result of school violence.

> We are not doctors here and we are not nurses. We are not whatever, we are not whatever. We are not psychological or psychiatrists, we are not what, we are educators. Now it's for educators to teach their kids how to, I mean for parents to teach their kids the the good values from from small so that now when they come to school they come ready to study.
>
> (Participant 1)

> With me here at school. I am a coordinator of a youth dialogue.
>
> (Participant 5)

> But now I'm doing police work
>
> (Participant 12)

The idea of an educator as a role model is no longer relevant, verbalised participant 11, since educators do not reflect the image of wealth and power. Thus, learners have lost respect for them, making them more susceptible to school violence.

> Ya they they they simply don't see a educators as someone very respectful um I don't know… maybe it's because um we are not wearing fancy clothes, we are not driving these fancy cars or what we we we in fact no longer um role models as such
>
> (Participant 11)

Participant 8 summed up the impact school violence has had on the role of the educator when she admitted that when she is in her classroom teaching she is also playing the role of an investigator, policeman and psychologist trying to read the behaviour of the learners so as keep herself out of danger. For this reason, participant 8 leaves her door open nowadays so that she may exit as fast as possible should violence occur. She added that she also feigns teaching by almost disconnecting from the learners, fulfilling her role and then leaving..

> Let me tell you when I teach, I always leave the door open so that when they, anything happens I can be able to run as fast as I can.
>
> (Participant 8)

> I come to class, I pretend as if they are not there. And then I will teach, leave them. Teach and leave them.
>
> (Participant 8)

As one can see from participant 8's behaviour, educators have been affected by school violence but so too has the relationship between educators and learners. The educators' role has been forced to change causing them to broaden their skills to protect themselves better; making them more functional than vocational. A change in the school environment which is evident from the violent and aggressive behaviour towards educators has caused the role of the educator to change.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings of the research as obtained from interviews with the participants of this study. On the whole, educators' experience of school violence continues to be a contentious issue as each participant has a differing perception to the next. With regard to educators' definitions of school violence, they were found to be characterised by varying forms of violence: physical, emotional, sexual or gendered and "moral crimes". These types of school violence are also dependent on the relationship between the victim and perpetrator. In recent years, the range of violent relationships seems to have evolved and broadened to include learner-on-learner, learner-on-educator, educator-on-learner, educator-on-educator and parent-on-educator violence. However, the location of the violent act also seems to influence the legitimacy of the violence being classified as school violence. Factors that contribute to school violence was also raised by the participants who generally seemed to

understand it in relation to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model; which views school violence as a result of the interaction between multiple interrelated systems. The micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chrono-systems also known as individual, familial, community and societal were explained in relation to the research participant's context of Alexandra and how time has influenced them. This research found that in South Africa the societal influences such as the new generation's newly found rights and communal constraints such as the social circumstances of the community (in this case poverty), combined with time influences such as the history of Apartheid put the community of Alexandra at great risk of school violence as they constrain the individual and familial factors of the individual. This chapter concludes by looking at the impact that school violence has had on its victims. The effect on educators, learners and the school was addressed and seems to show deterioration in the performance, attendance, physical well-being of the individuals and the school, belief in the system and respect for the institution of education on the whole. Hence, school violence has started to show a domino effect on many areas of society. This impact could have larger ramifications on the future of society, as schools are thought to be a microcosm of the workings of society.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented and discussed the findings of the research. Based on the analysis, this chapter will provide conclusions followed by recommendations and areas that require future research. The strengths and limitations of this study will also be considered.

SYNOPSIS OF FINDINGS

The primary purpose for this study was to investigate educators' subjective experiences of school violence within their school focusing particularly on school violence against educators themselves. For this reason, the subjective experiences of secondary school educators from several government schools in the low-income community of Alexandra formed the basis of this study. With the objective to explore educators' understandings of school violence and through analysing the trends found within the data, this study also sought to explore how educators were becoming victims of school violence and the emotional, physical and behavioural impacts school violence is inflicting on educators. The information gained could thus aid prevention strategies against the victimisation of educators in schools. Consequently, an outline will be discussed below utilising the research questions, findings and literature in accordance with the theoretical paradigm of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Theory.

Educators' understandings of school violence

Throughout the years, assessing rates of school violence and establishing trends were both difficult and confusing because of inconsistent and varying definitions; and merely comparing studies of school violence only increased this problem (Tait, 2004). Even today school violence is regarded as a multidimensional construct, yet there is no definite description about its precise dimensions because definitions often lack comprehensiveness and reflect author bias (Furlong & Morrison, 2000). As a result, the current study explored the definitions and characteristics of school violence from the perspective of educators. Through the experiences of educators at two Alexandra high schools, participants provided varying characteristics and definitions of school violence. However, in trying to distinguish

between the various acts that constitute school violence it was found to be quite difficult as they often are inter-related.

According to the findings, all the male participants described school violence as being physical in nature indicating a very conventional understanding that violence must be physical. However, in this study physical violence was only one form of school violence which consisted of acts of fighting, corporal punishment and weapon use. Attempts to define these acts of physical violence were often met with difficulty as they were sometimes used interchangeably. In other words, weapons were used during fights or corporal punishment. The UNESCO Teachers Guide addressed this same issue when attempting to define assault (UNESCO, 2009).

Corporal punishment being characterised as physical violence was met with great controversy by participants of this study as well as other studies (see Burton, 2008; Leoschut, 2009) even though it harbours a similar definition as physical harm it can take on psychological forms of maltreatment. Hart (1998) defined it as "the intentional infliction of pain in an effort to change behaviour" which many believe is justifiable as its intention is to discipline learners (p. 245). In fact, the intention to discipline learners exemplifies it from assault and this study found allowed educators to continue using corporal punishment even though it is illegal in South Africa.

Emotional violence is considered to be the most frequent form of school violence. However because it is not as covert as the physical forms of school violence it has been mostly overlooked and ignored by adults (Sheras, 2002). The present study concurs with this finding when it found verbal abuse to consist of behaviours such as gossiping, swearing, name calling and general verbal aggression. As a result, one can understand how schools, educators, parents and even other learners reduce this form of school violence to unprofessional conduct, lack of respect and verbal aggression.

'Moral crimes' also emerged as a form of school violence from the participants; pertaining to acts of theft, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, absenteeism and gambling. Even though some of these acts are considered illegal the manner in which the participants referred to these acts suggested that they conceptualised them as moral infringements.. Recent statistics confirmed that these issues are a significant problem in South Africa among school-aged

youth (Leoschut, 2009; Pinheiro, 2006). According to findings, teenage pregnancy is understood as school violence as it often caused male and female learners to fight amongst one another. However, Macleod (2001) grasped teenage preganacy as a teenager displaying 'adult' functions which disrupted the nature of adolescence. Substance abuse was also flagged as causing learners to act violently, although it was implied that educators are more likely to be involved in substance use nowadays even though no data exists on this issue. Gambling amongst the learners at schools is another activity on which no research exists, yet participants of this study maintain that it almost always results in violence as contenders play for high monetary stakes. Absenteeism from both learners and educators as a form of school violence was a perplexing finding until participants revealed its serious performance and violent implications (learners fighting due to lack of supervision). Pinheiro (2006) confirmed that absenteeism has been regarded as violating educators, learners and sometimes the school due to its effects on the performance of the learners and the school. In the end the study holds that 'moral crimes' will always be a contentious issue as they plant the beliefs of dominant cultures, religions and governments into the school environment.

Gender and sexual types of violence were also explored as one form of school violence as the study found that participants had difficulty differentiating between gender violence and sexual violence. Given the exceedingly high rates of sexual violence in South Africa (De Wet, 2008) it was also surprising that most of the participants of this study found incidents of this nature to be quite infrequent. Dunne et al. (2006) explained this to be the case in contexts where gender violence may be considered 'normal' usually because of cultural prescription. Further exploration suggested that this could also be a result of the normalisation of sexual assault, rape and coercive sex in South African townships (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Similarly, these results could have been attributed to patriarchal dominance and asymmetrical gender relations due to gender inequalities, stereotypes and socially imposed roles in South Africa (Harber, 2001). The researcher's observation of some inappropriate relations between female educators and male learners and male educators and female learners while carrying out her research reiterated the importance of defining appropriate and inappropriate school behaviour.

The most unexpected finding though was the idea that school violence is a conventional behaviour when it was suggested that exposure to school violence is a risk that educators undertake nowadays when pursuing a teaching career. For this reason, the characteristic

relationship between the victim and perpetrator has certainly changed with the inclusion of new typologies of school violence relations such as learner-on-educator violence; educator-on-educator violence and parent-on-educator violence (De Wet, 2007b). Even though learner-learner violence is still the most common form of school violence in South Africa, research such as this study seems to be breaking the silence on these other victim-perpetrator relationships. Hence, acts of violence against educators are proving more prevalent in recent studies. Difficulty in discriminating between apparent victims and perpetrators also emerged from this study especially when educators were the victims of violence. The LINCISS study reiterated this finding when it found acts of retaliatory violence between individuals in the school context (Swart & Stevens, 2002).

The location of the violence is a fundamental characteristic in defining school violence. Over the years school violence has been regarded as acts of violence that occur within the school grounds (Greene, 2005). However, this study found that school violence extends beyond the borders of the school as many acts may arise within the school but the violence is only enacted outside the school premises. As a result, the process of distinguishing school violence from commonplace acts of violence has become even more complex. According to Bronfenbrenner, school violence is a product of complex interactions between the other systems (such as the individual, family, community and society) (Visser, 2007). In terms of this thinking, violence from the community spills over into the school in the same way that school violence spills over into the community much like Bronfenbrenner's principle of interdependence.

This study further corroborated other South African research when it identified the toilets as being the 'hot-spot' for learner-on-learner violence located within the school premises (Burton, 2008; Warner et al., 1999). Nevertheless, the learners and educators indicated that they feel safer at school rather than outside the premises. According to the participants, educators are more vulnerable to violence outside the premises of the school than inside.

Further inspection by the researcher found that the participants often experienced the same incidents of school violence in very different manners suggesting that one's perception of an event plays a key role in defining it. Hence, adding yet another complication to the process of defining school violence.

Factors that contribute to school violence

Research over the years has shown that violence is often a result of multiple factors that are interconnected (Astor et al., 1996; Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Krug et al., 2002).

At a micro or individual level, the study found that age does seem to contribute to violent behaviour in schools. In fact, the lower grade learners were perceived to be more aggressive and thus were frequently involved in the perpetration of school violence. Similarly, Swart and Stevens (2002) found that most learners involved in reported incidents of school violence were in Grades 8 and 9. Younger educators were also discovered to be perceived as being more at risk of victimisation as well. De Wet (2007b) reiterated this when she found educators 30 years and younger to have the highest incidence of learner-on-educator and educator-on-educator violence. Attitudes of anger, negativity towards school, lack of options and irresponsibility were also found to make individual's more susceptible to violent behaviour. Similarly, the mental health of an individual was found to make individuals more vulnerable to school violence. Research has implied a close link between irritability, depression and aggressive behaviours; suggesting depression predisposes one to violent behaviours (Paul, 2005).

The importance of healthy parenting styles when rearing children and parental involvement was found to be crucial in preventing acts of violence perpetrated by learners. In other words, human behaviour is pivotally influenced by one's relationships often causing them to adapt to their situation (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005). More specifically at the familial level, harsh and punitive parenting styles moulded individuals who were more receptive to violent behaviours. Participants also revealed their experiences of learners mimicking their parents' 'improper' behaviour as a contributing factor to school violence. Goldenberg and Goldenberg (1996) corroborated this allegation when it found inappropriate parenting or over or under parenting to be a risk. It was also suggested that individuals who are exposed to domestic violence were also at risk of enacting violence themselves which is akin to the idea of "abuse breeding abuse" (Cooper, 2006).

In the school sphere mismanagement (through unprofessional, unethical and illegal behaviour) was viewed by participants as having played a part in the perpetration of school violence. This study discovered that educators perceived certain educators being "favoured"

by leaders over other educators. As a result, these "favoured" educators were viewed as being frequently promoted over other educators. Many participants implied that the Department of Education's inability to penalise educators, principals or learners for their transgressions was often justified by the notion of "*ubuntu*". The lack of respect and support of educators was also raised by participants of the study when talking about their earnings. They suggested that not feeling valued or appreciated for what they did put them at risk of violent behaviour. Substance use and abuse by learners, educators and parents was also perceived to add to one's potential to become violent in the school environment. Furthermore, the frustration due to the continuous lack of resources even after Apartheid has ended could be hypothesised as having created feelings of disappointment, frustration and demotivation in learners and educators. According to Nesane Nesane (2008) with regard to resources and vision in schools things have not changed since the demise of formal Apartheid.

The social circumstances of the communities (with regard to poverty, crime and violence) and sense of responsibility to do the right thing is another factor that the study found increases the risk of violence in schools occurring. Participants of this study agreed that the community's lack of support and responsibility to the school reinforced the violence in schools. The low-income community of Alexandra faces a multitude of socio-economic problems such as almost 60% unemployment, high rates of crime and violence, overpopulation and poor infrastructure (Baskin, 2007). The communal findings were thus found to be consistent with Bronfenbrenner's principles of interdependence, succession and distribution of resources (Visser, 2007). In keeping with the ecological model, schools are located in communities; thus the characteristics of the community often encroach on the school environment (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005).

With regard to the societal or macro influence, this study found that disrespect from the new generation of learners due to their misunderstanding of their newly gained rights along with constant exposure to violence through the media definitely plays a role in their risk of violent behaviour at school.

Alongside all of these systems is the chrono-system, which the participants of this study revealed to have contributed to the increase in school violence. Research and this study have implied that the violent history of Apartheid has taught many to use violence as a means to find solutions is an acceptable practice and therefore made individuals more inclined to

violence. Some participants went further by implying that the newly gained rights of individuals have also caused a negative change in attitude towards the education system.

Effects of school violence

Traditionally research has concentrated its efforts on the effects of school violence on learners (De Wet, 2007b). However in keeping with Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model, this study sought to explore the consequences of school violence as interdependent on one another. For this reason, the study investigated the impacts of school violence on the learners, educators and the school. Special focus was placed on the impacts of school violence on educators both physically, emotionally and spiritually as this is a relatively unexplored area in South Africa. Literature on this issue also seemed to be more overseas based as incidents against educators often go unreported in South Africa and thus cause one to rely only on informal reports. This study seems to be consistent with this finding in that all incidents were reported by the victims, perpetrators or their colleagues.

Based on the participants' accounts, consensus was held that school violence has produced excessive amounts of stress within their lives resulting in educators engaging in 'atypical' behaviours to cope. Bronfenbrenner understands this process as adaptation, whereby people attempt to cope by drawing on the available resources in their environment (Visser, 2007). Alcohol abuse, absenteeism, substance abuse and dysfunctional relationships are some of the behaviours that resulted which were consistent with Myburgh and Poggenpoel's (2002) findings. Trauma like symptoms were also described by a majority of participants regardless of whether they were involved in the incident or not. Nevertheless, research has shown that an individual does not need to endure physical injury or be involved in the incident to be traumatised or develop PTSD like symptoms (Gwaintley, 1987). These symptoms as well as the constant threat of school violence has left educators feeling burnt out, depressed and lacking motivation to perform in the classroom. Hence, attrition rates and the desire to leave the teaching profession seem to be on the rise according to the participants. Recent calls for more educators by the Department of Education reiterate this finding (HSRC, 2005). In a low-income community such as Alexandra where resources are depleted already and unemployment rates are high, many educators cannot afford the luxury of leaving their teaching jobs (De Wet, Mathee, & Barnes, 2001). Only a few physical effects were experienced by educators due to school violence which could be a result of the difficulty in

making such conclusive links between one's physical health and school violence or the shame of admitting to being a victim. Much the same was found with regard to school violence negatively impacting participants' spirituality; however Ryan (1998) suggests that a lack of spiritual beliefs places individuals at a greater risk of experiencing pain and feelings of rejection as they search for their meaning in the world.

Research over the years has proclaimed that the impact of school violence on learners is immense (see Allen, 2005; Byrne, 1994; Burton, 2008; Crawage, 2005; Lorion & Saltzman, 1993; Olweus, 1978; Pinheiro, 2006; Sexton-Radek, 2005; UNESCO, 2009 ;). However, this study found that the effects on learners could not seen independently as they formed part of a system and a change in one part often caused a change in another.

Very little is known about the impact of school violence on schools, yet violent and aggressive behaviour both in and outside the classrooms have turned the perception of schools into unsafe havens for crime and not places of education. Hence, new systems have been introduced to try and tackle this problem (Leoschut, 2009). This study found that participants experienced some of these changes to be redundant and superficial; reiterating the perceived lack of support and commitment from the Department of Education by participants. Links between school violence, inefficient management and the poor performance of schools have also been suggested by this study; however more research needs to be done in this area. School violence has also affected the roles of educators, with a majority of participants indicating that learners no longer respected them as they no longer saw them as role models due to their poor working conditions. This study also found that educators now fulfilled the roles of parents, the police force and then only finally as educators; which often put them at greater risk of becoming victims or perpetrators of school violence.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The most significant strength of this study is that it has contributed to the existing knowledge base on school violence, which in South Africa is very limited. With the dramatic increase in school violence over the last few years; local organisations and the government have responded by implementing interventions to reduce the acts of violence in schools. This study could contribute enormously to future interventions by offering a new perspective on the

problem. By immersing herself in the school context, the researcher was able to interact directly with the educators under study and examine their experiences of school violence. It addressed the meanings educators had assigned to school violence around matters of the definition, the factors that contribute to school violence and the impact it is having on the educator, learner and the institution of school. The exploratory nature of the study was also perceived as a strength as it allowed noteworthy themes to emerge through the narratives of the participants involved thus producing rich, detailed data. However, the exploratory focus of this study could be understood as a limitation as well because it is not focussed on specific types of educators or schools.

The qualitative approach to the research is considered a strength as the field of school violence has rarely been studied qualitatively, therefore permitting the researcher to get a more detailed and in-depth analysis of individuals' subjective experiential understanding of school violence. The smaller sample of qualitative research can be both positive and negative as it permits the researcher to obtain more extensive data, however, it can make it difficult to generalise the results to the whole population. For instance, this study was located only in a low-income community with educators of African descent. Findings in a community with a different economic and cultural profile may be very different. Another limitation of this study is that thematic content analysis approach that was utilised. This method involves the researcher designating patterns and issues of potential interest in the data which can be subject to some researcher bias. Qualitative research is additionally limited by its time consuming nature due to the extensive and detailed analysis of data required.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on this study, it is recommended that more research on school violence in South Africa be conducted on a larger scale as well as on a smaller scale with particular focus on a community, school or issue. Regular large-scale investigations should be conducted so as to monitor the extent of the problem by updating the rates of incidents experienced by learners and educators. Qualitative and quantitative research should be administered as both provide very different perspectives on the school violence problem which could fulfil very different needs within the gaps of this subject area. Through the experience of this study, the researcher has recommended a few areas of future study.

When investigating, the researcher found that most research on school violence in South Africa was located in low-income communities; yet media reports indicate that school violence occurs in affluent communities as well. Pillay and Ragpot corroborated this when they conducted research over six months in 33 public schools across Gauteng and found that there were no discrepancies in the violence in more affluent schools (Serrao, 2008). However, current literature holds that children who are raised in impoverished families and neighbourhoods have an increased likelihood of engaging in aggressive or violent behaviour (Miller, 2008) and that the characteristics of the community encroach on the school environment (Burton, 2008). For this reason, a comparative study between school violence in low-income community schools and more affluent schools should be considered to reconcile this argument.

Another relationship that should be explored is the interpersonal relationship between educators and learners. Literature on this topic suggests a strong correlation between learner-educator relations and the classroom climate (Moos, 1979). In fact, an American study found that a 'tough and caring' approach by educators made learners feel genuinely cared for and encouraged to succeed unlike a 'strict and distant' or 'inconsistent and afraid' approach (Furlong et al., 2002). As indicated by the ecological model, this relationship is crucial in the prevention of school violence and warrants further research, especially in South Africa. A better understanding of the educator-learner relationship can have a tremendous impact on both learners and educators. For this reason, the researcher suggests that a similar study to the current one be undertaken that explores learners' proposals for solutions to school violence. A stakeholder analysis will allow for the researchers to gain an understanding of behaviours, intentions, interrelations and interests so that future interventions may be more effective (Varvasovsky & Brugha, 2000). In addition regular studies on the effectiveness of interventions, policies and administration of schools and the education system should be addressed so as to maintain what is working and modify that which is not. Based on the projects already carried out on school violence, not one has proven to be entirely successful as prevalence rates continue to rise (Griggs, 2005).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study explored educators' subjective experiences of school violence within two schools in Alexandra. Information gained from the participants, relevant literature as well

as Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological theory were then utilised in addressing the study's research questions. A synopsis of these findings was then discussed and significant discoveries highlighted. The strengths and limitations of this study were also addressed as a cautionary for later studies. One such strength was the fact that the research added to a growing body of literature which could guide future interventions. Its exploratory qualitative nature made it unique and allowed for new issues to arise from the participants themselves. However, this also resulted in the sample being quite small and the finding subjective. For this reason, the researcher recommends that future studies be conducted on a large scale with particular focus on a community or school. Due to the misinformation that only low income schools experience school violence, the researcher suggested that a comparative study between school violence in low-income community schools and more affluent schools should also be considered. Similarly, a lack of South African research on the relationship between educators and learners should be addressed as it could add tremendously to the creation and success of interventions. As a result, regular monitoring research should be undertaken to check the effectiveness of interventions, projects and policies.

References

American Academy of Paediatrics. (2000). Corporal Punishment in Schools. *Pediatrics, 106* (2), 343.

Abrahams, N., Martin, L. J., & Vetten, L. (2004). An overview of gender-based violence in South Africa and South African reponses. In S. Suffla, A. Van Niekerk, & N. Duncan (Eds.), *Crime, Violence and Injury Prevention in South Africa: Developments and Challenges* (pp. 40-64). Cape Town: Medical Research Council-University of South Africa.

Action for a Safe South Africa. (2008, October 22). *Unsafe in any hands.* Retrieved March 11, 2010, from http://www.safesouthafrica.org.za/unsafe-in-any-hands.html

Ajam, K. (2008, August 23). Pupils wanted an orgy of death. *Saturday Star*, p. 1.

Allen, K. (2005). Cognitive prespective to violence expression. In K. Sexton-Radek (Ed.), *Violenc in schools: issues, consequences and expressions* (pp. 49-72). Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Allen, R. E. (1987). *Oxford English Dictionary* (7th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

American Psychological Association. (2000). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Washington DC: American Psychiatric Association.

Astor, R. A., Pitner, R. O., & Duncan, B. B. (1996). Ecological approaches to mental health consultation with teachers on issues related to youth and school violence, educating children in a violent society. *The Journal of Negro Education, 65* (3), 336-355.

Australian Education Union. (2003). *Damage control.* Retrieved May 3, 2009, from Australian Education Union: http://www.aeufederal.org.au/Publications/AE/Spr03pp16-19html

Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bacchini, D., Esposito, G., & Affuso, G. (2009). Social experience and school bullying. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 19*, 17-32.

Bailey, C. (2008, August 23). Classrooms becoming war zones. *Saturday Star*, p. 4.

Barlow, D. H., & Durand, V. M. (2009). *Abnormal psychology: An integrative approach* (5th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Baskin, J. (2007). *A review of the Alexandra Renewal Project.* Johannesburg: ARP.

Beck, J. S. (1995). *Cognitive therapy: Basics and beyond.* New York: The Guildford Press.

Beckmann, J. L., Foster, W. F., & Smith, W. J. (1997). *Analysis of South African Schools Act 1996.* Johannesburg: SAEMP.

Benbenishty, R., & Astor, R. A. (2005). *School violence in context: Culture, neighborhood, family, school and gender.* New York: Oxford.

Benefield, J. (2004). *Teachers – the new targets of schoolyard bullies?* Retrieved March 15, 2010, from http://www.ppta.org.nz/cms/imagelibrary/100894.pdf

Bennett, T., & Holloway, K. (2005). *Understanding drugs, alcohol and crime.* United States: Open University Press.

Bhana, A., & Kanjee, A. (2001). Epistemological and methodological issues in community psychology. In M. Seedat, N. Duncan, & S. Lazarus (Eds.), *Community psychology, theory, method and practice.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bird, C. M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learner to love transricption. *Qualitative inquiry, 11* (2), 226-248.

Blaine, S. (2010, February 12). *Teachers insist on strike option.* Retrieved from Business Day: http://www.businessday.co.za/articles/Content.aspx?id=93573

Blasé, J., & Blasé, J. (2003). Breaking the silence: Overcoming the problem of principal mistreatment of educators. *Journal of Educational Administration, 41* (4), 367-422.

Blaser, T. (2008, February 5). *South African schools most dangerous in the world – only 23% of pupils safe - 5th February 2008*. Retrieved November 20, 2009, from http://www.sairr.org.za/press-office/archive/south-african-schools-most-dangerous-in-the-world-2013-only-23-of-pupils-safe.html/?searchterm=school statistics

Bon, S. C., Faircloth, S. C., & LeTendre, G. K. (2006). The school violence dilemma. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 17* (3), 148-157.

Boonzaier, F., & Shefer, T. (2006). Gendered research. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaaier, & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 3-11). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Booren, L. M. (2007). *An exploration of the relationship between students and teachers perceptions of school safety and the importance of safety strategies.* Washington: Washington University.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3* (2), 77-101.

Bronaugh, C. (2010, March 16). *Making schools safe and drug free zones.* Retrieved April 20, 2010, from http://www.capegateway.gov.za/xho/pubs/news/2010/mar/195916

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. *International Encyclopedia of Education, 3* (2), 1643-1647.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brunetti, G. J. (2001). Why do they teach? A study of job satisfaction among long-term high school learners. *Teacher Education Quarterly, Summer*, 49-74.

Buck, C. A. (2006). *The effects of direct and indirect experiences with school crime and violence on high school teacher burnout.* Philosophy. Georgia: Georgia State University.

Burton, P. (2008). *Merchants, skollies and stones experiences of school violence in South Africa.* Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Burton, P. (2007). *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in South Africa.* Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Byrnes, R. M. (1996). *South Africa, a country study.* Washington: U.S.Government Printing Office.

Carlson, E. B., & Dalenberg, C. J. (2000). A conceptual framework for the impact of traumatic experiences. *Trauma, violence, and abuse, 1*, 4-27.

Casarjian, B. E. (2000). Teacher psychological maltreatment and students' school-related functioning. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 60*, 12A.

Center for the Prevention of School Violence. (2002, May). *Just what is" school violence"?* Retrieved April 2, 2009, from North Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: http://www.ncdjjdp.org/cpsv/pdf_files/newsbrief5_02.pdf

Clacherty, G., Donald, D., & Clacherty, A. (2005). *Zambian children's experiences of corporal punishment.* Pretoria: Save the children Sweden.

Clark, J. T. (2002). *The prevalence of school-related violence: An overview of statistical and perpetual data.* Arizona: University of Arkansas.

Cloete, H., Van der Merwe, H., & De Wet, T. (2008, August 8). Skolegeweld skok. *Volksblad*, p. 1.

Committee on the Rights of the Child. (2006). *General Comment No. 8: The Right of the Child to Protection from Corporal Punishment and Other Cruel or Degrading Forms of Punishment.* United States: Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Cooper, D. J. (2006). *Abuse breeds abuse: Pulled from a life of destruction.* United States: Publish America.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2007). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crawage, M. (2005). *How resilient adolescent learners in a township school cope with school violence: a case study. Unpublished PhD Thesis.* Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Dalton, J. H., Elias, M. J., & Wandersman, A. (2001). *Community psychology: Linking individuals and communities.* Belmont: Wadsworth.

Dawes, A., De Sas Kropinwnicki, Z., Kafaar, & Richter, L. (2005). *Corporal punishment of children: A South African national survey.* South Africa: United Nations.

Dawes, A., Tredoux, C., & Feinstein, A. (1989). Political violence in South Africa: Some effects on the learners of the violent destruction of their communities. *International Journal of Mental Health, 18*, 16-43.

De Beer, J. (2008, September 27). Polisie na skool toe vuiste klap. *Beeld*, p. 5.

Department of Education. (1996). *South Africans Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Education. (2001). *Education in South Africa: Achievements since 1994.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Education. (2005). *Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005.* Pretoria: Government printers.

Department of Education. (2005). *Teachers for the future: Meeting teacher shortages to achieve education for all.* South Africa: Department of Eduucation.

Department of Education. (2006). *Education Amendment Bill, No. 3 of 2006.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Education. (2009). *Education.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Health and Human Services. (2000). *Corporal punishment of children.* Retrieved December 12, 2009, from http://www.religioustolerance.org/spanking.htm

Department of Labour. (1993). *Occupational Health and Safety Act, No. 85 of 1993* . Pretoria: Government Printer.

De Vos, A. A., Strydom, H. F., & Delport, C. S. (2005). *Research at grass roots.* Pretoria: van Schaik Publishers.

De Wet, C. (2007a). Educators as perpetrators and victims of school violence. *Acta Criminologica, 20* (2), 10-42.

De Wet, C. (2007b). Free State educators' perceptions and observations of learner-on-learner, learner-on-educator and educator-on-learner school violence. *South African Journal of Education, 11* (1), 60-85.

De Wet, C. (2008). Sexual harrassment in Free State schools: An exploratory study. *Acta Criminologica*, 97-122.

De Wet, N. C. (2009). Newspapers' portrayal of school violence in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica, 22* (1), 46-67.

De Wet, N. C. (2007c). Violence in schools. In C. C. Wolhuter, E. M. Lemmer, & N. C. De Wet, *Comparative Education: Education systems and contemporary issues* (pp. 248-262). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

De Wet, N. C., & Jacobs, L. (2006). Educator-targeted bullying: Fact or Fallacy? *Acta Criminologica, 19* (2), 53-73.

De Wet, T., Mathee, A., & Barnes, B. (2001). Anthropology and epidemiology: A case study of health and environment in Alexandra, Johannesburg. *Africanus, 31* (1), 75-106.

Dienstbier, R. A. (1989). Arousal and physiological toughness: Implications for mental and physical health. *Psychological Review, 96*, 84-100.

Dinkes, R., Kemp, J., & Baum, K. (2009). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2009.* Washington: National Centre for Education Statistics.

Donovan, B. (2000, December 8). *Union head: New teachers need training.* Retrieved April 6, 2009, from http://www.gallupindependent.com/12-08-00.html

Du Plesis, A. H. (2008). *Exploring secondary school educator experiences of school violence.* Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Duncan, B. B., & Burns, S. (1994). A comprehensive community-based continuum of care: Overal findings from Butt-Ventura SED research project. In C. R. Ellis, & N. N. Singh (Eds.), *Children and adolescents with emotional or behavioural disorders: Proceedings of the fourth annual Virginia Beach Conference* (p. 55). Richmond: Virginia Commonwealth University.

Dunne, M., Humphreys, S., & Leach, F. (2006). Gender violence in schools in the developing world. *Gender and Education, 18* (1), 75-98.

Dzuka, J., & Dalbert, C. (2007). Student violence against teachers: Teachers' well-being and the belief in a just world. *European Psychologist, 12* (4), 263-270.

Eagle, G., Hayes, G., & Sibanda, T. (2006). Standpoint methodologies: Marxist, feminist and black scholarship perspectives. In M. Terre Blanche, & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in Practice* (pp. 438-461). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Einarsen, S. (2000). Harassment and bullying at work. A review of the Scandinavian approach. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 379-401.

Eliasson, M. A. (2007). *Verbal abuse in school: Constructing gender and age in social interaction.* Sweden: Department of Public Health Sciences.

Elliot, D. S. (1994). *Youth violence: An overview.* Queenstown: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence.

Elliot, D. S., Hamburg, B. A., & Williams, K. R. (1998). *Violence in American schools* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ensink, K., Robertson, B. A., Zissis, C., & Leger, P. (1997). Post-traumatic stress disorder in children exposed to violence. *South African Medical Journal, 87*, 1526-1530.

Farber, B. A. (1991). *Crisis in education: Stress and burnout in the American teacher.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Farrington, D. P. (1998). Predictors, causes, and correlates of male youth violence. *Crime and Justice, 24*, 421-475.

Farrington, D. P., & Welsh, B. C. (2007). *Saving children from the life of crime: Early risk factors and effetive interventions.* London: Oxford University Press.

Fisher, K., & Kettl, P. (2003). Teachers perceptions of school violence. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care*, 17(2), 79-83.

Flannnery, D. J. (1997). School violence: Risk, preventive intervention and policy. *Urban Diversity Series No.109:* New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2005). The interview: from a neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Sage book of qualitative research* (pp. 695-727). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1978). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2004). *Society must be defended: lectures at the college de France 1975-1976.* London: Penguin books.

Frankel, P. (1993). *Violence, traumatic stress and children: A short guide to therapeutic education.* Johannesburg: University of Witswatersrand.

Frieze, I., Hymer, S., & Greenberg, M. (1987). Describing the crime victim: Psychological reactions to victimization. *Professional Psychological Research and Practice, 18*, 299-315.

Furlong, M. J., & Morrison, G. M. (1994). Introdution to the miniseries: School violence and safety in perspective. *School Psychology Review, 23* (2), 139-150.

Furlong, M. J., Morrison, G., Austin, G., Huh-Kim, J., & Skager, R. (2002). Using student risk factors in school violence surveillance reports: Illustrative examples for enhanced policy formation, implementation, and evaluation. *Law and Policy, 23* (3), 271-295.

Furlong, M., & Chung, A. (1995). Who are the victims of school violence? A comparison of student non-victims. *Education & Treatment of Children, 18* (3), 282-298.

Furlong, M., & Jimerson, S. R. (2006). *Handbook of school violence and school safety: From research to practice.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Furlong, M., & Morrison, G. (2000). The school in school violence: Definition and facts. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders, 8* (2), 71-82.

Gabarino, J., & Dubrow, N. P. (1992). *Children in danger: Coping with consequences of community violence.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Goldenberg, I., & Goldenberg, H. (1996). *Family therapy: An overview* (4th ed.). Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole.

Gorski, J. D., & Pilotto, L. (1993). Interpersonal violence among youth: A challenge for school personnel. *Educational Psychology Review, 5*, 35-61.

Greene, M. B. (2005). Reducing violence and aggression in schools. *Trauma, Violence, 6* (3), 236-253.

Gregson, J. (2004). System, environmental, and policy changes: Using the social-ecological model as a framework for evaluating nutrition education and social marketing programs with low-income audiences. *Journal of Nutrition Education, 33* (1), 4-15.

Greydanus, D. E., Pratt, D. H., Spates, C. E., Blake-Dreher, A. A., Greydanus-Gearhart, M. R., & Patel, D. R. (2003). Corporal punishment: Position Statement of Society for Adolescent Medicine. *Journal of Adolescent Health , 32,* 385-393.

Griggs, R. (2005). *Lessons from crime and violence prevention in schools: Reviewing learning and good practice from eight South African interventions.* Cape Town: Open Society Foundation for South Africa.

Gritz, R. M., & Theobald, N. D. (1996). The effects of school district spending priorities on length of stay in teaching. *Journal of Human Resources, 31* (3), 477-512.

Grusec, J. E. (1992). Social learning theory and developmental psychology: The legacies of Robert Sears and Albert Bandura. *Developmental Psychology, 28* (5), 776-786.

Gwaintley, H. (1987, July). Post-traumatic stress and the EAP response. *Employee Assistance Professionals Digest* .

Hamber, B. (1999). 'Have no doubt it is fear in the land': An exploration of the continuing cycles of violence in South Africa. *Journal for Political Psychology, 7* (1 & 2), 113-128.

Hammen, C., & Rudolph, K. D. (1996). Childhood depression. In E. J. March, & R. A. Barkley (Eds.), *Child psychopathology* (pp. 153-195). New York: The Guilford Press.

Hanke, P. J. (1996). Putting school crime into perspective: Self-reported school victimisation of high school seniors. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 24*, 201-255.

Hansen, J., & Sullivan, B. A. (2003). Assessment of workplace stress: Occupational stress, its consequences, and common causes of teacher stress. In J. E. Wall, & G. R. Walz (Eds.), *Measuring up: Assessment issues for teachers, counselors, and administrators* (pp. 611-621). Tuscon: CAPS Press.

Harber, C. (2001). Schooling and violence in South Africa: Creating a safer school. *Intercultural Education, 12* (3), 261-171.

Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence. How schools harm pupils and societies.* London: Routledge Falmer.

Hart, S. N. (1998). Psychological maltreatment: Emphasis on prevention. *School Psychology International, 9* (4), 243-255.

Hartwig, G. (2000). The low income sector – the life industry's perspective. *Actuarial Society of South Africa Convention* (pp. 1-31). Cape Town: ASSA.

Hawe, P., & McClaren, L. (2005). Ecological perspectives in health research. *Journal of Epidemiology of Community Health, 59*, 6-14.

Hirschi, T., & Gottfredson, M. R. (1994). *The generality of deviance.* New Jersey: Transaction.

Hoffman, A. M. (1996). *Schools, violence, and society.* Westport: Praeger.

Health Profession Council of South Africa. (2008). *Guidelines for good practice in health care professions.* Pretoria: Health Professions Council of South Africa.

Human Sciences Research Council. (2005). *Integrated report on factors determining "educator supply and demand in South African public schools".* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The qualitative researchers's companion.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Infante, D. A. (1995). Teaching students to understand and control verbal aggression. *Communication Education,* 51-63.

Ingersoll, R. M. (2001). *Teacher shortages, teacher turnover, and the organization of schools.* University of Washington: Centre for the Study of Teaching and Policy.

Jones, N., Moore, K., & Villar-Marquez, E. (2008). *Painful lessons: The politics of preventing sexual violence and bullying at school.* London: Overseas Development Institute and Plan International.

Kadel, S. W. (1999). *Reducing school violence-Building a framework for school safety.* Greensboro: Serve.

Kallaway, P. (1991). *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Kamper, G. (2008). A profile of effective leadership in some South African high-poverty schools. *South African Journal of Education, 28*, 1-18.

Kandakai, T. L., Price, J. H., Telljohann, S. K., & Wilson, C. A. (1999). Mother's perceptions of factors influencing violence in schools. *Journal of School Health, 69* (5), 189-195.

Keeton, M. (2010, January 29). Matric results – not good enough, must do better. *Thought Leadership* .

Kelly, J. G. (1966). Ecological constraints on mental health services. *American Psychologist, 21* (6), 535-539.

Kgotleng, A., Geyer, Y., Zulu, B., & Atam, M. (2000). *Youth Violence Prevention Programme.* Retrieved March 10, 2010, from http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/projects/youth.htm

Kivilu, M. (2004). *The Matric examination: How can we find out if standards are falling?* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Klaasen, E. (1990). The impact of violence on children. In E. Klaasen (Ed.), *The influence of violence on children.* Cape Town: Centre for Intergroup Studies.

Kondrasuk, J. N., Greene, T., Waggoner, J., Edwards, K., & Nayak-Rhodes, A. (2005). Violence effecting school employees. *Education, 125* (4), 638-647.

Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, A. J., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). *World Health Organisation Report on Violence and Health.* Geneva: World Health Organisation.

Kruger, A. G. (2002). *Managing the school as an organisation: Only study guide as MEDEMU.* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Kyriacou, C. (1987). Teacher stress and burnout: An international review. *Educational Research, 29*, 146-152.

Langa, M. (2005). *Sustance abuse in Alexandra.* Johannesburg: University of Witswatersrand.

Leach, F. (2003). Learning to be violent: The role of the school in developing adolescent gendered behaviour. *Compare, 33* (3), 385-400.

Lee, H., Ostrosky, M., Bennett, T., & Fowler, S. A. (2003). Perspectives on eary intervention professional and culturally appropriate practice. *Journal of Early Intervention , 25* (4), 281-295.

Leoschut, L. (2009). *Running nowhere fast: Results of the 2008 National Youth Lifestyle study.* Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Liang, H., Flisher, A. J., & Lombard, C. J. (2007). Bullying, violence, and risk behavior in South African school students. *Child Abuse and Neglect , 31*, 161-171.

Lockhat, R., & Van Niekerk, A. (2000). South African children: a history of adversity, violence and trauma. *Ethnicity and Health, 5* (3/4), 291–302.

Lorion, R. P., & Saltzman, W. (1993). Children's exposure to community violence: Following a path from concern to research to action. *Psychiatry, 56* (1), 55-65.

Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (2007). *Analysing qualitative data in psychology.* United States: Sage.

Maas, C., Herrenkohl, T. I., & Sousa, C. (2008). Research on child maltreatment and violence in youth. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse, 9* (1), 56-67.

MacDonald, E., Gilmer, B. T., & Collings, J. S. (1996). Adolescence in residential care: A study of personality, coping styles and resilience. *The Social Work Practitioner-Research, 9* (3), 233-240.

MacDougall, J. (1993). *Violence in the schools: Programs and policies for prevention.* Canada: Canadian Education Association.

Macleod, C. (2001). Teenage pregnancy and the construction of adolescence: Scientific literature in South Africa. *Feminism and Psychology, 11* (4), 493-511.

MacNeil, G., & Stewart, C. (2000). Crises intervention with school violence problems and volatile situations. In A. Roberts (Ed.), *Crises intervention handbook: Assessment, treatment and research* (pp. 229-248). New York: Oxford University Press.

Maree, J. G., & Cherian, L. (2004). Hitting the headlines – the veil on corporal punishment in South Africa lifted. *Acta Criminologica, 17* (3), 72-85.

Mashaul, S., Steyn, E., Van der Walt, J., & Wolhuter, C. (2008). Support services perceived necessary for learner relationships by Limpopo educators. *South African Journal of Education, 28* (3).

Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Occupational Behaviour, 2* (2), 99-113.

McCord, J. (1996). Unitended consequences of punishment. *Pediatrics , 98*, 832-834.

McPherson, P. R. (2005). *Teachers leaving the profession: The influence of violent and student behaviour on teacher attrition as perceived by the school district administrators in Pennsylvania's public schools.* Pennsylvania: Baylor University.

Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. In S. B. Merriam (Ed.), *The Nature of Qualitative Enquiry* (pp. 3-17). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Mertens, D. M. (2005). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Miller, T. W. (2008). *School violence and primary prevention.* New York: Springer.

Mkhondo, L. (2005). *Vuka S'Hambe: young prisoners awakening. Project, report and evaluation.* Johannesburg: Centre for Violence and Reconciliation.

Mnyaka, N. M. (2006). *Exploring the promotion of schools in the Eastern Cape: A whole school development approach.* Pretoria: UNISA.

Moeng, L. (2008, July 24). Gang violence rocks school. *Diamond Fields Advertiser* , p. 5.

Mogano, R. (1993). *The resurgence of pupil power: Explaining violence in African schools.* Johannesburg: Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Moos, R. H. (1979). *Evaluating educational environments: Procedures, measures, findings, and policy implications.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Morrell, R. (2001). Corporal punishment in South African schools: A neglected explanation for its persistence. *South African Journal of Education, 21* (4), 291-299.

Medical Research Council / University of South Africa Crime, Violence and Injury Lead Programme. (2008). A Profile of Fatal injuries in South Africa 2007. (H. Donson, Ed.). Cape Town: Medical Research Council.

Mthumbu, B. (2008, June 2). Schools turned into crime zones. *Daily News*, p. 5.

Myburgh, C. P., & Poggenpoel, M. (2002). Teachers experiences of their social environment: Implications for health promotion. *Education, 123* (2), 260-269.

Naidu, R., & Maluleka, S. (2008, August 22). Screwdriver pupil to stay in class. *Daily News* , p. 3.

Neely, A. M. (2003). *The impact of the threat of violence on selected school districts in Texas.* Texas: Texas Austin and Massachusets University.

Nesane Nesane, M. A. (2008). *Selected school-related reasons why teachers abandon their teaching profession: An educational management perspective.* Pretoria: UNISA.

Neuman, W. L. (1997). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Norris, F. H., & Kaniasty, K. (1994). Psychological distress following criminal victimization in the general population: Cross-sectional, longitudinal, and prospective analysis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 62*, 111-123.

Ntyintyane, L. (2008, August 12). Violence in society spills into schools. *Star*, p. 9.

O'Moore, M. S. (1990). Bullying in schools: Western European education. *A Journal of Transactions, 22*(1): 92-117.

Olweus, D. (1978). *Aggression in schools. bullies and whipping Boys.* Washington DC: Hemisphere Press.

Olweus, D. (2003). *Bullying at school: What we know and what we can do.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Oostehuizen, I. J. (1997). School governance. In I. J. Oostehuizen (Ed.), *Aspects of education law.* Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Orlikowski, W., & Baroudi, J. J. (1991). Studying information technology in organizations: Research approaches and assumptions. *Information Systems Research, 2* (1), 1-28.

Pandor, N. (2005). *The National Qualification Framework Support Link.* Pretoria: South Africa Qualifications Authority.

Paton, G. (2010, May 8). Punish parents who falsely accuse teachers, say heads. *Telegraph*.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Paudel, R. B. (2005). Clinical Research in Finance. *The Journal of Nepalese Business Studies, 2* (1), 95-97.

Paul, P. (2005). Psychopathological and psychosocial factors that contribute to violent behaviour in youth. In K. Sexton-Radek, *Violence in schools: issues, consequences and expressions* (pp. 73-87). Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Pervin, K., & Turner, A. (1998). A study of bullying of teachers by pupils in an Inner London school. *Pastoral Care, December*, 4-10.

Phurutse, M. K. (2005). *Factors affecting teaching and learning in South African public schools* . Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.

Pillay, P. N. (1990). The development and underdevelopment of education in South Africa. In B. Nasson, & J. Samuel (Eds.), *Education: FRom poverty to liberty* (pp. 30-47). South Africa: David Phillip Publishers.

Pines, A., & Aronson, E. (1988). *Career burnout: Causes and cures.* New York: Free Press.

Pinheiro, P. S. (2006). *World report on violence against children.* Geneva: United Nations.

PPT Pilot Projects. (2004). *Background information for PPT Pilot Project: Alexandra township, Johannesburg, South Africa.* Retrieved March 13, 2009, from http://www.pptpilotprojects.co.za

Prince, C. (2008, July 1). 'Dangerous' school misses safety talks. *Daily Dispatch*, p. 6.

Prinsloo, I. J. (2005). How safe are South African schools? *South African Journal of Education, 25* (1), 5-10.

Reddy, S. P., Panday, S., Swart, D., Jinabhai, C. C., Amosun, S. L., James, S., et al. (2003). *Umthenthe Uhlaba Usamila - The South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2002.* Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

Redpath, J. (2007). *Parallel lines: Policies relevant to child safety in South Africa.* Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Rehm, L. P., & Sharpe, R. N. (1996). Strategies in the treatment of childhood depression. In M. Reinecke, F. M. Dattilio, & A. Freeman (Eds.), *Comprehensive casebook on cognitive behavior therapy with adolescents* (pp. 103-123). New York: Guilford.

Republic of South Africa. (1996). *Constitution of the Repubic of South Africa.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Reynolds, J. (1989). A structural model of first-grade outcomes for an urban, low socioeconomic status, minority population. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 81* (4), 594-603.

Richter, L. M., A, N. S., Swart, T. M., & Ginsburg, C. (2006). In-migration and living conditions of young adolescents in greater Johannesburg, South Africa. *Social Dynamics, 32* (1), 195-216.

Rigter, P., & Broadbent, C. (2000, December 4-7). *Violence – reality or perception?* Retrieved March 25, 2010, from http://www.aare.edu.au/00pap/rig00469.htm

Ripski, M. B., & Gregory, A. (2009). Unfair, unsafe, and unwelcome: Do high school students' perceptions of unfairness, hostility, and victimization in school predict engagement and achievement? *Journal of School Violence, 8* (5), 355-375.

Roberts, W. M., & Morotti, A. A. (2000). The bully as victim: Understanding bully behaviours to increase the effectiveness of the bully-victim dyad. *Professional School Counselling, 4* (2), 148-155.

Rojek, D. G., & Jensen, G. F. (1996). *Exploring delinquency: causes and control.* California: Roxbury Publishing Company.

Ryan, P. L. (1998). Spirituality among adult survivors of childhood violence: A literature review. *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology, 30,* 39-51.

South African Broadcasting Commission News. (2009, August 10). *Education Dept considers rolling out metal detectors at schools.* Retrieved from http://www.sabcnews.com/portal/site/SABCNews/menuitem.5c4f8fe7ee929f602ea12ea1674daeb9/?vgnextoid=40f0d4a5f83e2210VgnVCM10000077d4ea9bRCRD&vgnextfmt=default

South African Council for Educators. (2002). *Handbook for code of professional ethics.* Pretoria: South African Council of Educators.

Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2007). *Synopsis of psychiatry* (10th ed.). New York: Lippincott William & Wilkins.

Salmivalli, C. L., Lagerspetz, K. M., Bjorkqvist, K., Osterman, K., & Kaukiainen, A. (1996). Bullying as a group process: Participant roles and their relations to social status within the group. *Aggressive Behaviour* , 305-312.

Santrock, J. W. (2008). *Life-span development* (11th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

South African Police Services. (2009). *Crime Situation in South Africa.* Pretoria: South African Police Services.

Saunders, D. (2007, January 20). *Stress - The link between stress and alcohol.* Retrieved December 3, 2009, from http://ezinearticles.com/?Stress- - - The-Link- Between- Stress-And- Alcohol&id=424237

Seekings, J. (1996). The 'lost generation': South Africa's 'youth problem' in the early-1990s. *Transformation, 29*, 103-125.

Serrao, A. (2008, May 5). Violence on rise in all schools. *The Star*, p. 4.

(2005). Theoretical Foundations. In K. Sexton-Radek, *Violence in schools: cause, consequences and expressions.* Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Shafii, M., & Shafii, S. (2000). *School violence: Assessment, management & prevention* . Washington DC: American Psychiatric Publishing.

Shaw, D. S., Winslow, E. B., & Flanagan, C. (1999). A prospective study of the effects of marital status and family relations on young children's adjustment among African American and Caucasian families. *Child Development, 70*, 742-755.

Sheras, P. (2002). *Your child: Bully or victim? Understanding and ending schoolyard tyranny.* New York: Skylight Press.

Shumba, A. (2003). Children's rights in schools: What do teachers know? *Child Abuse Review, 12*, 251-260.

Sigsworth, R. (2009). *'Anyone can be a rapist...': An overview of sexual violence in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Simpson, L. R. (2005). *Level of spirituality as a predictor of the occurrence of compassion fatigue among counseling professionals in Mississippi.* Mississippi: University of Mississippi.

Smith, C., & Carlson, B. E. (1997). Stress, coping and resilience in learners and youth. *Social Service Review*, 231-256.

Smith, D. L., & Smith, B. J. (2006). Perceptions of violence: the views of teachers who left urban schools. *The High School Journal, February/March*, 434-442.

Smith, P. K. (1991). *Practical approaches to bullying.* London: David Foulton.

Smith, P. K., & Sharp, S. (1994). The problem of school bullying. In P. K. Smith, & S. Sharp, *School Bullying: Insights and Perspectives* (pp. 57-83). London: Routledge.

Snyman, C. R. (1992). *Criminal law.* Durban: Butterworths.

South Africa the Good News. (2005, April 29). *The worst legacy of apartheid is education.* Retrieved March 13, 2009, from South AFrica the Good News: http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/newsletter_archive/the_worst_legacy_of_apartheid_is_education.html

Stats SA. (2001). *Statistics South Africa Census*. Retrieved March 13, 2009, from Statistics South Africa: http://www.statssa.gov.za/SpecialProjects/Census2001/Census2001.htm

Steffgren, G., & Ewen, N. (2007). Teachers as victims of school violence. The influence of strain and school culture. *International Journal of Violence and School , April*.

Stevens, G., & Lockhat, R. (1997). 'Coca-Cola kids' reflections on black adolescent identity development in post-apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 27* (4).

Stevens, G., Wyngaard, G., & Van Niekerk, A. (2001). The safe schools model: An antidote to school violence? *Perspectives in education, 19* (2), 145-158.

Straus, M. A., & Mouradian, V. E. (1998). Impulsive corporal punishment by mothers and antisocial behaviour and impulsiveness of children. *Behavioural Sciences and The Law, 16* (3), 353-374.

Stuart, H. (2000). What is school violence?: An integrated definition. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 567*, 16-29.

Stuart, H., & Lanier, M. M. (1998). The prism of crime: Arguments for an integrated definition of crime. *Justice Quarterly, 15*, 609-627.

Swart, L., Seedat, M., Stevens, G., & Ricardo, I. (2002). Violence in adolescents' romantic relationships: Findings from a survey amongst school-going youth in a South African community. *Journal of Adolescence, 25*, 385-395.

Swart, T., & Stevens, G. (2002, June). Preliminary results and prevention implications of the learner incident and injury surveillance system. *Injury and Safety Monitor, 1* (1), pp. 5-7.

Tait, L. A. (2004). *School violence: A critical review of Canadian and American studies.* Ottawa: Simon Fraser University.

Taylor-Powell, E. T., & Renner, M. (2003). Analysing qualitative data. *Program Development and Evaluation*, pp. 1-10.

Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Kelly, K. (2006). First steps in qualitative data analysis. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for social sciences* (pp. 320-344). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Terre Blanche, M., Kelly, K., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Why qualitative research? In M. Terre Blanche, K. Kelly, & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 271-284). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Terry, A. A. (1998). Educators as targets of bullying by their pupils: A study to investigate incidents. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 68*, 255-268.

Ting, L., Sanders, S., & Smith, P. L. (2002). The teachers' reaction to school violence: Psychometric properties and scale development. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 62* (6), 1006-1019.

Trackman, V. M. (2008). *Educators perceptions of school violence.* Johannesburg: University of Wistwatersrand.

Twemlow, S. W., Fonagy, P., & Sacco, F. C. (2002). Feeling safe at school. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 72* (2), 303-326.

U.S. Department of Education. (2008). *Fast facts.* Retrieved December 7, 2009, from http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=28

United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. (2007). "Stopping Violence in Schools: What Works?". *UNESCO Expert Meeting: "Stopping Violence in Schools: What Works?"* (pp. 1-68). Paris: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. (2009). *Stopping Violence in Schools: A guide for teachers.* Paris: UNESCO.

Vally, S., Dolombisa, Y., & Porteus, K. (1999). Violence in South African schools. *Current Issues in Comparative Education, 2* (1), 80-90.

Van Brummelen, H. (1994). *Steppingstones to curriculum.* Seattle: Alta Vista College Press.

Van den Aardweg, E. M. (1987). Possible causes of school violence. *South African Journal of Education, 7* (3), 223-230.

Van der Westhuizen, C. N., & Maree, J. G. (2009). The scope of violence in a number of Gauteng Schools. *Acta Criminologica, 22* (3), 43-62.

Varvasovsky, Z., & Brugha, R. (2000). How to do (or not to do)...A stakeholder analysis. *Health Policy and Planning, 15* (3), 338-345.

Veltkamp, L. J., & Lawson, A. (2008). Impact of trauma on school violence on the victim and the perpetrator: A mental health perspective. In T. W. Miller (Ed.), *School Violence and Primary Prevention* (pp. 185-196). New York: Springer.

Vettenburg, N. (2002). Unsafe feelings among teachers. *Journal of School Violence, 1* (4), 33-49.

Visser, M. (2007). The social ecological model as theoretical framework in community psychology. In N. Dunca, B. Bowman, A. Naidoo, J. Pillay, & V. Roos (Eds.), *Community psychology: Analysis, context and action* (pp. 102-116). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Waddington, P. A., Badger, D., & Bull, R. (2005). Appraising the inclusive definition of workplace violence. *British Journal of Criminology, 45*, 141-164.

Ward, C. (2007). Young people's violent behaviour: Social learning in context. In P. Burton (Ed.), *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in South Africa* (pp. 9-36). Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Warner, B. S., Weist, M. D., & Krulak, A. (1999). Risk factors for school violence. *University of Maryland School of Medicine*, 52-68.

Whitted, K. S., & R, D. D. (2005). Best practices for preventing or reducing bullying in schools. *Children and Schools*, 167-175.

World Health Organisation. (1998). *WHO Information Series on School Health – Document.* Retrieved December 3, 2009, from World Health Organization: http://www.who.int/school_youth_health/

Willey, J. (2008). *Stressed teachers seek comfort in food binges.* Retrieved March 13, 2009, from http://.express.co.uk/posts/view/58086

Wilson, F., & Ramphele, M. (1989). *Children on the front line: The impact of Apartheid, destabilization and warfare on children in Southern and South Africa a Report for UNICEF*. New York: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Wilson, M. (2002). *Alexandra township and the Alexsan Kopano source centre.* Johannesburg: University of Witswatersrand.

Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (1998). 'Dangerous' love: Reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (pp. 317-336). Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letter to principal

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050,
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500
Fax: (011) 717-4559

Good day,

My name is Shenaaz Pahad, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. My area of focus is on educators' personal experiences of school violence focusing particularly on school violence against educators. Therefore, I would like to request permission to approach some of your educators and request their participation in an interview about their experiences of school violence. Participation is entirely voluntary and their identities as well as the name of your school will be kept confidential.

Whilst there are no direct benefits to participating in this study, this research will contribute both to the larger body of knowledge on school violence, as well as impact positively on the development, performance and social functioning of learners, educators and administrators.
If you have any questions, I can be contacted telephonically at 083 7799 543 or via e-mail at shezass@yahoo.com. Alternatively, my supervisor, Ms. Tanya Swart, may be contacted on (011) 717-4586 or via e-mail at Tanya.Swart@wits.ac.za.

Kind Regards,

_____

Ms Shenaaz Pahad

Masters Student in Community-Based Counselling Psychology

Department of Psychology, University of Witwatersrand

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050,
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500
Fax: (011) 717-4559

Good day,

My name is Shenaaz Pahad, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. My area of focus is on educators' personal experiences of school violence focusing particularly on school violence against educators. By analysing the trends found within the data, I plan to explore how educators' are becoming victims of school violence and the emotional, physical and behavioural impacts school violence is having on educators. This study also aims to explore educators understanding of violence and their awareness of others reactions to 'violence against educators'. The personal experiences' of secondary school educators from several government schools in low-income communities will form the basis of this study. Therefore, the information gained could then aid prevention strategies against the victimisation of educators in schools. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this research will entail being interviewed by me, at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will be approximately one hour long. With your permission this interview will be audio recorded in order to ensure accuracy. Participation is completely voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. Because face-to-face interviews will be used as the instrument of data collection, participants will be informed that complete confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, however safeguards will be put in place to ensure the identity of participants. All identifiers (including educators' gender and grade level) will be retracted from the transcripts or the research report and pseudonyms will be used instead. To ensure confidentiality, any items research participants do not wish to include in the study will be excluded. However, some direct quotations will be used in the research report. Audiotapes will be transcribed and processed by only the researcher. All audiotapes, typed transcripts and any other personal documents will be kept in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research report being assessed. You may refuse to answer questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point. The findings of this study will be reported in a research report, which will be submitted to the Psychology department of the University of the Witwatersrand. A summary of the research findings will be made available to you on request.

There are no perceived risks or threat of any harm when participating in this study. However, you will be debriefed on your experience of the interview process and should it be found that you have experienced any distress as a result of your participation in the study, contact details for relevant and free counselling services have been provided on this form. Assistance will also be provided in contacting these services and you will be given a referral letter.

If you choose to participate in the study please complete the Interview Consent Form, attached. I will contact you within two weeks in order to discuss setting up an interview time with you. Alternatively I can be contacted telephonically at 083 7799 543 or via e-mail at shezass@yahoo.com. My supervisor, Ms. Tanya Swart, may be contacted on (011) 717-4586 or via e-mail at Tanya.Swart@wits.ac.za.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. Whilst there are no direct benefits to participating in this study, this research will contribute both to the larger body of knowledge on school violence, as well as impact positively on the development, performance and social functioning of learners, educators and administrators.

Kind Regards,

_____

Ms Shenaaz Pahad

Masters Student in Community-Based Counselling Psychology

Department of Psychology, University of Witwatersrand

Free Counselling Services – Contact Details

Lifeline Counselling 011 728 1347

Trauma clinic 011 403 5102/3

Supervisor: Ms. Tanya Swart, 011 717 4586

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

I, _____have read the information sheet and I am aware of the nature of this study. I hereby voluntarily consent to being interviewed by Shenaaz Pahad for her study on exploring educators' subjective experiences of school violence within their school. I understand that:

Please tick

- ☐ Participation in this interview is completely voluntary.
- ☐ I may refuse to answer any questions I would prefer not to.
- ☐ I may withdraw from the study at any time.
- ☐ I understand that there are no direct risks or benefits to participating in this study.
- ☐ No information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential.
- ☐ The researcher may use direct quotes taken from my interview, in the research report, provided no information that may identify me is included.
- ☐ I will receive a summary of the research results if requested.
- ☐ The researcher will assist me in contacting relevant counselling services should I feel that I require such services as a result of my participation in this study.

Signed: _____Date:_____ _____

Appendix D: Audio Recording Consent Form

I, _____hereby voluntarily consent to my interview with Shenaaz Pahad for her study, on educators' subjective experiences of school violence within their school, being audio-tape recorded. I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts will only be heard by the researcher and her research supervisor, and will only be processed by the researcher.

- All tape recordings and transcripts will be kept in a secure location, which only the researcher will have access to.

- All tape recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E: Semi-structured interview questions

- Why did you become an educator?
- How would you define school violence?
- What do you think of violence in schools?
- As an educator, what do you think of 'violence against educators'?
- How have others reacted to acts of school violence, where educators have been victims?
- How are educators becoming victims of school violence?
- In what ways do you feel unsafe at school?
- In what ways does school violence affect your willingness to stay in your job as an educator?
- Please describe any instances, where you have been a victim of school violence.

  (were any of your belongings taken off you, did someone point a weapon at you, have you been shouted at or shamed, has someone threatened or hurt you, have you been sexually assaulted)
- How has school violence affected you (emotionally, physically and spiritually)?
- What are the other ways in which school violence has affected you?

UMnyango WezeMfundo
Department of Education

Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys

Enquiries : Shadrack Phele [MIRMSA]
Tel. no. : +27 11 355 0285

Tuesday, May 12, 2009

Ms Pahad Shenaaz
PO Box 1709
HOUGHTON
2041

Dear Ms Pahad Shenaaz

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: PROJECT

The Gauteng Department of Education hereby grants permission to conduct research in its institutions as per application.

Topic of research : "Educators' experience of school violence."

Nature of research : Masters of Arts In Psychology

Name of institution : University of the Witwatersrand

Supervisor/Promoter : Tanya Monique Swart

Upon completion of the research project the researcher is obliged to furnish the Department with copy of the research report (electronic or hard copy).

The Department wishes you success in your academic pursuit.

Yours in Tirisano

p.p. Shadrack Phele [MIRMSA]

Ms Mmapula Kekana
Chief Director: Information Systems and Knowledge Management
Gauteng Department of Education

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF DIRECTOR
INFORMATION & KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT
Room 1501 111 Commissioner Street Johannesburg, 2001 P.O.Box 7710 Johannesburg, 2000
Tel: (011) 3550505 Fax: (011) 0240 E-mail: mmapulak@gpg.gov.za or shadrackp@gpg.gov.za