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Seen and heard: listening to children and creating caring schools

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Seen and Heard:

Listening to Children and Creating Caring Schools

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the academic requirements of the degree Doctor of Philosophy.

Mark Potterton
Johannesburg, January 2014

Abstract

Bullying in schools is a worldwide problem which impacts adversely on school climates and can have negative lifelong consequences for students. Internationally there has been an extraordinary rise in interest in the phenomenon of bullying in the last three decades. Despite this world-wide interest, relatively little research has been carried out in South Africa. This study investigated the extent and nature of bullying as experienced by students in a sample of Catholic primary schools, and specifically explored the relationship between bullying and the ethos of care in these schools. Drawing on the wide literature on bullying, and a theoretical framework developed from the work of Hannah Arendt and others, the study investigated the assumption that there would be less bullying in schools where students felt that teachers showed more care and concern towards them.

A questionnaire was developed for the South African context to rapidly identify levels of bullying and care in schools. The 'My Life in School' checklist (questionnaire), originally developed by Tiny Arora, was modified and a section dealing with care in schools was added. The surveys were administered to 2 447 students, aged 9 to 14, in 16 Catholic schools, identified in a sampling design aimed to provide data which was broadly representative of urban Catholic schools in South Africa. Mission statements from the 16 schools were analysed in relation to notions of the Catholic School, and also provided the basis for consideration of school culture.

The analysis of the questionnaire, adapted in the light of students' responses, yielded four indices showing a picture of the forms and intensity of bullying and care that students experienced from other students and from their teachers. Results showed gender differences as the most striking, with some differences evident along lines of language (and possibly, therefore, race), albeit to a lesser extent. The fact that teachers continue to hit students in some schools, and that

they bully them in other ways too, is a finding that needs to be considered by the schools involved as well as Catholic education bodies.

While the regression analysis did not find a direct causal relationship between indices of bullying and care, it did show the significance of teacher behaviour – both bullying and care – in relation to student behaviour of bullying and care. It speaks to the important role of teachers in securing the wellbeing of students, and indeed to the importance of institutional culture in influencing the interactions of bullying and care.

The completely revised 'My Life in School' checklist developed in this study provides a valuable means for students to express their views on life in schools. The checklist provides a rapid means to students to assess the ethos of their schools from their perspective. Arguably, schools would be better placed to address bullying and other shortcomings and to improve school climates.

The thesis also provides a research-based contribution to literature on Catholic schools in South Africa and elsewhere.

Key words: school violence, bullying, care in schools, care and bullying, school climate.

Declaration

I, Mark Quinton Potterton, declare that this is my own unaided work except for the help given by the persons listed under the acknowledgements.

Signed this day in Johannesburg

Signature

Date

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the following people for the support they have provided in the completion of this study:

- Prof Pam Christie for supervision, encouragement and friendship.
- Prof Pieter Becker (Medical Research Council of South Africa) for the statistical help and support.
- Prof Rex Van Vuuren (St Augustine College, Johanneburg) for his comments on an earlier version of the research methods chapter.
- Prof Penny Enslin and Prof Ronnie Casella for their encouragement at the initial stages of the study.
- My colleagues Champa Goolab, Marisa Van Zyl and Brenda Culey for their help with data collection.
- My associates Peter Merkx, Hans Wennink and Pieter Van Gylswyk in the Netherlands for their interest and encouragement.
- My family for their endurance and patience.
- All the teachers and children in the schools visited.

Financial support

I am grateful to Stichting Porticus (Amsterdam) for their initial financial support to carry out the fieldwork and for the grant which enabled me to take a month off

work in 2010 and 2011. I am also indebted to Whitmore Richards Bursary for the grants received in 2009 and 2010.

Publications and presentations in support of this thesis

A book called *Beat Bullying: a guide for dealing with bullying at school*, based on the literature review, was developed and published in 2004.

An article was published with Ronnie Casella ‘Guns in schools: A closer look at accidental shootings’ and published in *SA Psychiatry Review* in November 2006.

A computer optically readable survey form was developed in 2004.

Articles on dealing with violence and bullying in schools have been published in *Catholic Education* and *The Teacher* (in 2007, 2008 and 2009).

An editorial on school violence was published in the *African Journal of Psychiatry* in November 2008.

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Abbreviations used

AIDS: Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome

CaSPA: Catholic Schools Proprietors Association

CIE: Catholic Institute of Education

CSVR: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DOE: Department of Education (Now known as the Department of Basic Education)

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

SACBC: Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference

SASA: South African Schools' Act

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

A note on language used

I have chosen to use the word student when referring to child who is learning in school as apposed to the more popular term learner or pupil. In South Africa it has become common practice to refer to teachers as educators; however I choose to use the word teacher.

Introduction

Schools exist to change young people. The young people should be different – better – for their experience there. (Sizer & Sizer, 1999: 103)

An encounter[1]

A sobbing boy runs past me in the unlit corridor. He doesn't greet and avoids making eye contact. I chase after him to find out what is wrong. He covers his face with his hands and keeps saying: 'I can't say anything, I can't talk, Sir'.

I realise that he isn't going to talk and leave him with a friend. I find someone else to try and establish what is going on. Reluctantly, after some assurances he says: 'It's 'night court' Sir'. 'What's 'night court'?' I ask. 'I can't say' he replies. It is around 9.30 pm and I find myself running through the silent passages of the boarding house searching for this so called 'night court'.

It is Sunday night and many of the boys have not yet returned to the boarding school from their weekend break. I see a light coming from the end of one of the passageways. My heart is racing as I approach the door. I hear raised voices coming from the room and I quickly open the unlocked door. A small tearful boy is perched at the edge of a chair that has been placed on a table. A naked light bulb illuminates the interrogation-like scene. Two final year students hover sticks in hand over the boy. A group of around six or seven other older boys lurk in the shadows – the jury.

'What's going on here?' I shout.

'It's 'night court', Sir'.

[1] This incident took place in 1987 in a Boys' Boarding House at a High School on the West Rand.

'Night court?' I reply in a raised voice - my heart pounding faster. 'It's not on the programme!' I add. I make a mental note of who is in the room, many of them prefects, and send them all off to bed. I briefly console the somewhat shaken boy and take him to his room.

Early next morning I make my way to the senior housemaster's house to report the incident. He casually replies: 'Oh 'night court', yes, I know about 'night court'. Only the seniors are allowed to conduct this court. It's where they sort out discipline problems and youngsters that don't toe the line.'

I find it difficult believe what I am hearing. This veteran, respectable, well-educated senior teacher casually condoning what I see as cruel behaviour. 'You encourage this behaviour?' I asked.

'Don't be so sensitive', he replies. 'Boys will be boys. They need a way to sort things out - to show who is in charge. It's harmless, Mark. Leave the matter alone, the principal knows this happens and he encourages it, as long as no one gets hurt.'

This encounter took place over twenty years ago when I was a housemaster in the boys' boarding house. I was a first-year teacher in an all white coeducational high school Krugersdorp, and this was one of many such incidents I witnessed at the school during that year. A state of emergency was in force in the country and thousands of black children were detained in prisons across the land - many in a prison near our school. South Africa was highly militarised and as teachers we had to carry out regular bomb searches at school. On Thursdays most male staff dressed in their military attire and paraded over cadets, while female teachers taught the mandatory 'Moral Preparedness' curriculum.

I struggled a lot with the views of my colleagues at the school during that year, and desperately wanted to be in an environment where a sense of justice prevailed and teachers acted more justly towards students. I was troubled by the attitudes of some of my colleagues towards children. Years later, I reflected on the incidents at the school in the light of Hannah Arendt's (1994) analysis of the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem. Eichmann was judged for his role in the murder of millions of people; he was not directly responsible for the murders, but did ensure that the victims were shipped to their deaths. Arendt saw in Eichmann 'the banality of evil', which, for her, was an insight into a person who never thought about what he was doing. She struggled to understand Eichmann's inability to reflect on what he had done, both at the time of engagement in the actions he was being tried for, and at his trial in Jerusalem.

While the experience of violence by students at school can hardly be compared to that of the victims and survivors of the holocaust, there are some aspects of 'the banality of evil' that are relevant to situation described in the opening of this chapter. School environments and the people in them can be cruel places, particularly when the people in them fail to reflect on the consequences of their actions.

Violence in South African schools remains a real challenge, nearly two decades after the end of apartheid. The almost daily reports in the popular press[2] document incidents of violence in schools which range from bullying, to rape, to stabbings[3] and shootings. Reports of violence relate to Catholic schools as well

[2] During the time this study was carried out, Gugu Mbonambi reported in Durban that police investigated charges against two students who had allegedly assaulted a classmate at Kenmont School. In 2009 Doreen Premdev[2] reported that five cases of assault in schools had been investigated by Chatsworth police, and that school bullies 'rule by fear'.

[3] In 2008, I reviewed the newspaper articles that documented an incident in Krugersdorp where a final year student went on a rampage using a samurai sword and slashed the throat of another student, and then went on to wound another student and attack two support staff at the school. Some of the newspaper articles suggested that the culture of violence that prevailed in the school was a contributing factor in this situation (Potterton, 2008).

as state schools. For example, Angelique Serrao[4] reported the case of a 14-year-old boy who had been severely bullied at St Benedict's College in Johannesburg and was suffering from post-traumatic stress and depression. What was disturbing about the Serrao reports was that the bullying took place in a Catholic school and that school did not appear to deal adequately with the claims made by the victim, and the victim eventually left the school.

School bullying or peer victimisation is a worldwide problem in schools, as Smith et al (1999) and Rigby and Johnston (2006) point out. As other leaders in this field of research recognise (Jimerson, Swearer & Espelage , 2009) this type of violence has serious social and health consequences for victims who are repeatedly bullied. Recent research in South Africa also leaves no doubt that bullying and other forms of school violence are a very real issue in South Africa.[5] For example, a study carried out in Cape Town and Durban by Liang, Flisher and Lombard (2007) found that of 5 074 Grade 8 and 11 students surveyed,19.3% were victims of bullying. Greeff and Grobler (2008) investigated bullying in Bloemfontein among Grade 4 to 6 students (n = 360) and found that 56% of students were victims of bullying. In a study which documented the experience of school violence in South Africa, Burton (2008) surveyed 12 794 primary and high school students and found that 15.3% of students had experienced some sort of violence at school

As Christie (2008: 191) notes, schools have many purposes which include systematic teaching and learning, active participation in the world and individual development. Christie also argues that schools play an important role both formally and informally, and that the classroom common space is an important space for developing individual identity in relation to others. If, as Sizer and Sizer

[4] *The Star*, p.1, 16 July 2009

[5] The variation in the results emerging from these studies highlights possible problems of definition and the scope of bullying. Bullying, as I will explain in more detail in chapter two, fits into a continuum of violence. Collins (2008) for example argues that violence can vary from a slap in the face to a massive organised war.

(1999: 103) point out, schools exist to change young people, how can we be sure that they change them for the better, particularly in relation to violence and the ability to reflect on their actions?

This study pays specific attention to schools as organisations; the role they play in responding to violence, such as bullying, and creating conditions for care. As organisations, schools develop their own cultures based on the values of the people associated with them[6] (Deal & Kennedy 1982; Geertz 1973; Prosser 1999). Schools are not neutral sites (Christie 2008: 25), and the role played by schools in shaping the values of students is important. Schools transmit values through their everyday activities, both intentionally and unintentionally. In the words of Sizer & Sizer (1999: 18):

> To find the core of a school, don't look at its rulebook or even its mission statement. Look at the way the people in it spend their time - how they relate to each other, how they tangle with ideas. Look at the contradictions between words and practice, with the fewer the better. Try to estimate the frequency and the honesty of its deliberations...Judge the school not on what it says but on how it keeps.

Harber (2002) notes that despite the benefits that schools provide to both individuals and to society, they do not necessarily uniformly provide good and positive experiences to individual students. He notes that students are more often the victims of violence than perpetrators thereof.

One of the central questions explored in this study is whether there is likely to be less bullying in schools where teachers show more care and concern towards

[6] The complexity of school culture is dealt with in more detail later in this study. However, I should point out that the approach is influenced by the work of Geertz (1973) who sees cultural resources as a central ingredient to human thought, and who argues that symbols function to synthesize people's ethics – the tone, character and quality of human life.

students.[7] The theme of care in South African schools is receving a great deal more attention now than when this study was initiated. One reason for this change in orientation in some schools is the high numbers of orphans and vulnerable children in South African schools as a result of the impact on HIV.[8] Another driver in the implementation of 'safe and caring schools' in South Africa has been Unicef's global Child-Friendly Schools Framework (Unicef 2010), which was originally conceived as a means of translating the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the South African constitution. [9] This change in focus towards care is also underpinned by research which has shown that when caring relationships are present in a school, there is a decrease in absenteeism and better discipline and increased learner performance (Collier 2006). Conversely, other studies have shown that many students who drop out of school give as their reason teachers and schools not caring about them (Schussler and Collins, 2006).

In this thesis, particular emphasis is placed on the views of students. I was first alerted to the importance of the student's perspectives in education by the work of Rudduck et al *(*1996) where the authors argued that for the most part, student voices are seldom heard and taken seriously in the debates about education. This is ironic since students spend most of the time in schools but are provided

[7] Rigid discipline in schools and an authoritarian regime can reduce positive relationships and responses in a school and be opposed to good human rights practice and inclusion (Carter, 2002: 35)

[8] The HIV and AIDS pandemic is directly affecting millions of children and young people all over the world. A UNAIDS report on the global HIV and AIDS pandemic states that in heavily affected countries, HIV and AIDS have reduced life expectancy by more than 20 years. It has also slowed the economic growth of most nations and increased household poverty. In sub-Saharan Africa alone, the pandemic has orphaned nearly twelve million young people under the age of 18. As at 2007, the region accounted for 67% of all people living with the virus and 75% of all AIDS-related deaths. Young people aged 15-24 account for an estimated 45% of all new HIV infections worldwide.

[9] The UNICEF framework defines the provision of quality education in a holistic way and has six broad themes: the school should be effective, rights based, gender responsive, health seeking and promoting, safe and secure and partnership oriented. Grantham-McGregor et al (2006: 60) argue that disadvantaged children are likely to perform poorly in school and consequently perpetuate the cycle of poverty. Poor schooling means low income in the workplace, low income means being unable to care for a (large) family, especially in schooling and healthcare, so the cycle of poverty starts once again, with the next generation.

the least amount of time to talk about school.[10] Rudduck and Flutter (2000: 84) showed that students were particularly interested in changing structures that limit their agency:

> Students of all ages ask for more autonomy, they want school to be fair and they want students as individuals and as an institutional group, to be important members of the school community.

Rudduck and Flutter (2000) developed a model which showed that the regimes of school develop through structures and relationships which shape student attitudes towards learning and their views of themselves. They argue that school cultures that reflect students' values tend to foster a greater commitment towards learning[11].

Placing more emphasis on the views of students in school may assist in moving beyond the search for technical solutions to problems, enabling instead a greater focus on the real moral and social problems in the school. As Nieto (1994: 395) puts it:

> Reforming school structures alone will not lead to substantive differences in student achievement, however, if such changes are not also accompanied by profound changes in how we as educators think about our students, that is, in what we believe they deserve and are capable of achieving.

[10] In an important paper Sonia Nieto (1994) also considers the views of students in school reform. Nieto contends that too many school policies and practices act as roadblocks to effective learning. Schools need to build on rather than break down what students bring to school. Nieto was surprised by the depth provided by the students: 'The insights provided by the students were far richer than we first thought' (1994: 397).

[11] A focus on students does not mean that their ideas need be final and conclusive - this would be a romantic perspective. Rudduck and Flutter (2000) recognise the limitations of student views, for instance on the curriculum. They argue that students are often ready to comment directly on aspects of the curriculum, such as what they find interesting or engaging, but not on the content itself. They feel that more can be done to develop a language to talk about learning and about students so that they can contribute more fully.

Nieto concludes that students are asking that we not only look critically at social structures but also at individual attitudes and behaviours.

An approach to research

The work of Hannah Arendt provides the basic theoretical assumptions of this study, in particular her analysis of violence and her account of the capacity for human action. Arendt provides an account of a plural society in which human beings have the capacity to make and keep promises, and she argues also that human actions change thought. Using Arendt, schools are viewed as places of human action, and as such can model appropriate values and behaviour.

This particular study focuses on sixteen urban Catholic schools in Gauteng province and considers the religious dimension of the schools and what role this plays in creating a caring school environment. The research set out to assess the extent of low level violence like bullying in schools in relation to levels of care present in schools. In particular, I wished to explore the proposition that schools with higher levels of care might have less violence in the form of bullying incidents at school. A survey instrument was developed to investigate the incidence of bullying in schools, as well as to assess the levels of care in a school, from the perspective of students.

The following *broad* questions guided the research:

- What is the extent of bullying and other forms of low-level violence in the schools?
- What forms does bullying take place, and what effects do gender and age have on children's perceptions of bullying?
- Is there a relationship between the prevalence of bullying and school ethos (particularly an ethos of care in schools)?

The sampling design aimed to provide data which was broadly representative of urban Catholic schools in South Africa. At a general level the data was derived from 2 447 students across Gauteng. At a more specific level it was based on the perspectives and practices of 16 schools. The ages of the students in the study ranged from 9 to 14.

In exploring the possible relationship between care and bullying, the study provides insights into a dimension of the culture of Catholic schools not considered in South Africa before.

Organisation and content

This brief introduction provides a general background of why this study was undertaken and situates it in the South African context. The problem being addressed is identified and the aims of the study are outlined. The significance of this particular study is briefly touched on.

Chapter two provides an overview of literature in the area of school violence and bullying and on care in school. The theoretical approach is discussed, and particular attention is paid to the area of school ethos or climate, and bullying. Focus is also placed on the main methodologies and research approaches that have been used in this field of research.

In Chapter 3, research methodology is discussed and an account of research procedures is presented. This includes discussion of the research sample, the schools in the research, and ethical considerations. An overview is provided of the development of the instrument and the initial trials conducted. The statistical procedures used for analysis are also considered as well as issues of suitability, reliability and validity of the instrument.

The results of the study are discussed in chapter four. The quantitative survey data is examined alongside the qualitative data collected from open ended survey questions.

The findings are further analysed in Chapter five. In considering the two central concepts of the thesis – bullying and care – the chapter looks at the importance of teachers alongside interventions to improve school climate.

The main conclusions arising from this study are summarised in chapter six, and areas for further investigation are also identified.

Chapter 2
Review of the literature

> Violence has many roots, but it seems obvious that people who feel cared for and who have learned to care for others will be less likely to engage in violent acts (Noddings, 2002: 38).

A central question explored in this thesis is the relationship between violence (specifically bullying) and care in schools. This chapter provides a theoretical framework for investigating this issue. I begin with a brief consideration of the approach taken by Hannah Arendt in her brief comments on education. I then examine theoretically the broad notion of violence and the extent and nature of violence in South Africa, before examining a specific form of violence, namely bullying in schools. Next, I explore the notion of care in schools and whether or not this might be expected to have an impact on the reduction of violence such as bullying in schools. Finally, I turn to consider the situation of Catholic schools in South Africa in relation to the themes of bullying and care.

Arendt and education

Theoretically this study draws on the work of Hannah Arendt. As a political philosopher Arendt did not write much on education. However, as mentioned earlier, Arendt's comments on violence provide a starting point for my investigation of this topic, and her notion of responsibility in education provides a basis for considering the notion of care in schools.

In her book *The Human Condition* (1998), Arendt distinguished between the *vita activa* (active life) and the *vita contemplativa* (contemplative life). Each term for

her represented a vision of how life should be lived. She noted that philosophy traditionally viewed itself as following the *vita contemplativa* and aiming to experience the eternal. In introducing the term *vita activa*, Arendt aimed to offer an alternative: attaining the immortal. The *vita activa* comprises three human activities—labour, work, and action—which correspond to three basic conditions under which humans live. Arendt pointed out that the 'human condition' and 'human nature' are not synonymous. She drew a distinction between the two by explaining that if humans were to colonize the moon or some other planetary body they would live under new conditions. Their human nature, however, if there is such a thing, would remain intact. Human nature is located within human beings and the human condition is not.

As Topolski (2008: 260) observes, Arendt 'rarely wrote about children, or childhood, choosing instead to focus on the political realm created by adults'. In 1961 Arendt wrote about education in *Between Past and Future*, and in this essay she focused on the crisis of standards and authority in American education, and why this was an issue in the political realm. Arendt (1961: 176) observed that education plays a role in all political utopias, involving persuasion and often dictatorial intervention based on the absolute authority of adults. In America, she argued, education plays a particular role to Americanize children and their parents, because America is a land of immigrants. She observed: 'Though a crisis in education may affect the whole world, it is characteristic that we find its most extreme form in America, the reason being that perhaps only in America could a crisis in education actually become a factor in politics' (Arendt 1961: 175). Topolski (2008: 266-267) argues that Arendt's analysis of education is not political, as Arendt contends that she speaks as an interested citizen who is concerned about the politicising of education.

Arendt's perspective on education is particularly valuable for this study from four points of view. Firstly, her belief that school should not be politicised and used by government to indoctrinate children is important. It also has particular relevance

when dealing with school violence, since the phenomenon of violence in schools is often used to score political points.

Secondly, Arendt's view of school being a safe place for children to learn in and develop in is important. Her notion of safety mainly relates to ideas, but includes the notion of *care*:

> Human parents, however, have not only summoned their children into life through conception and birth, they have simultaneously introduced them into a world. In education they assume responsibility for both, for the life and development of the child and for the continuance of the world. The responsibility for the development of the child turns in a certain sense against the world: the child requires special protection and care so that nothing destructive may happen to him from the world (Arendt, 1961: 185-186).

Thirdly Arendt's view of the child and school is very important. She contends that the school is not the 'world' and that it 'must not pretend to be' (Arendt, 1961: 188). School should be seen as an institution that interposes between the home and the world. The purpose of the school is to help children make a transition from the family into the world:

> Insofar as the child is not yet acquainted with the world, he [sic] must be gradually introduced to it; insofar as he is new, care must be taken that this new thing comes to fruition in relation to the world as it is. In any case, however, educators here stand in relation to the young as representatives of the world for which they must assume responsibility although they themselves did not make it, and even though they may, secretly or openly, wish it were other than this (Arendt, 1961: 189).

Arendt is concerned in her writing to distinguish between the private life of the home and family, and the public world. Political life, in her view, is part of the public realm and 'part of the world of grown-ups'. School is part of the world of 'childhood'. For Arendt 'the function of the school is to teach children what the world is like and not to instruct them in the art of living. Since the world is old, always older than they themselves learning inevitably turns to the past, no matter how much living will spend itself in the present' (Arendt, 1961: 195).

Arendt argues that the line separating children from adults should signify that children should not be treated as if they are grown up. However, she is careful to caution that this separating line between childhood and adulthood should not be a wall that separates these worlds. Arendt recognises that where this line falls changes often, in respect to age, from country to country and from one civilization to another, and also from one person to another.

> We must decisively divorce the realm of education from the others, most of all from the realm of public, political life, in order to apply it alone a concept of authority and an attitude toward the past which are appropriate to it but have no general validity and must not claim general validity in the world of grown-ups (Arendt, 1961: 195).

The fourth dimension where Arendt is helpful is in understanding authority in the school. In reflecting on the purposes of education Arendt is drawn to the classical model where the teacher and the student are seen as 'fellow-contestants' and 'fellow-workman' learning from the ancestors. For Arendt the authority of the teacher and the qualifications of the teacher are not the same:

> The authority of the educator and the qualifications of the teacher are not the same thing. Although a measure of qualification is indispensible for authority, the highest possible qualification can never by itself beget authority. The teacher's qualification consists of knowing the world and

> being able to instruct others about it, but his authority rests on the assumption of responsibility for that world (Arendt, 1961: 189).

The teacher's authority is grounded in their knowledge of the past – however, Arendt does recognise that we are no longer in that position:

> The problem of education in the modern world lies in the fact that by its very nature it cannot forgo either authority or tradition, and yet it must proceed in a world that is neither structured by authority nor held together by tradition (Arendt, 1961: 195).

Arendt argues strongly that educating children cannot throw off educational authority. She calls for a certain kind of conservatism in education – a conservatism which conserves as the essence of educational activity the task of which is 'to cherish and protect something – the child against the world, the world against the child, the new against the old, the old against the new' (Arendt, 1961: 192). However, even in the conclusion of her essay on education, Arendt (1961: 195) identifies that the problem of education in the modern world lies in the fact that by its nature education cannot forgo authority or tradition, but that it takes place in a world that 'is neither structured by authority nor held together by tradition':

> Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world (Arendt, 1961: 196).

Thus, for Arendt, notions of renewal, authority and responsibility in education are key concerns for public life and the human condition.

Towards a definition of violence

Arendt (1969) regarded violence, power, strength, force and authority as quite distinct phenomena. She proposed that violence could be distinguished from power by its instrumental character. In her schema, power refers to a human ability to act in concert with others, and always therefore inheres in a group. Power is by no means the same as domination. While violence can be used to maintain domination and can destroy power, it cannot be the source of power, in Arendt's definition. She observed that 'the practice of violence, like all actions, changes the world, but … the most probable change is to a more violent world' (Arendt, 1969: 80). In Arendt's schema, violence and power are not phenomena of nature; they belong to 'political action' - a quality that arises from the human faculty of action. Evil is that which destroys the conditions of possibility of the public realm.

Following Kant, Arendt acknowledged that there exists a 'radical evil', and in her early writings used this concept to think about the Nazi concentration camps, which she called 'factories of death' (Young-Bruehl, 2006:2). Of these 'rare outbursts', Arendt noted that little is known:

> All we know is that we can neither punish nor forgive such offences and that they thus transcend the realm of human affairs and the potentialities of human power, both of which they radically destroy wherever they make their appearance.

Thus, with Kant, Arendt acknowledged that radical evil is intrinsically unpunishable and unforgiveable. However, as Young-Bruehl (2006: 101-2)

points out, these were terms that Arendt used to refer to actions, rather than to people, and to crimes against humanity, rather than crimes like murder.

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* Arendt did not explore the individual motivations of Nazis, focusing instead on the ideology of Nazism. It was in the context of her coverage of the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem that Arendt (1994) made her famous (and at the time highly controversial) observations about 'the banality of evil'. What struck Arendt about Eichmann, and by inference, many others who were part of the Nazi genocide and extermination actions, was the extent of their thoughtlessness. She struggled to understand Eichmann's inability to reflect on what he had done, both at the time of engagement in the actions he was being tried for, and at his trial in Jerusalem. For Arendt, rather than being inwardly evil, Eichmann was an example of a person who did not think about what he was doing. For Arendt, Eichmann's actions did not point to inner evil, but to a 'fearsome, word-and-thought-defying banality' (Arendt, 1994: 288). Nazi genocide, of which Eichmann was certainly part, was a crime against humanity, not simply because millions of people were killed, but rather because it 'violated the order of mankind' – the basic order of the human condition.

It is valuable at this point to briefly explore other theorisations of violence and evil, not from a purely moral or theological point of view, but rather from a social science perspective.[12] In a recent essay Terry Eagleton (2010) recounts the reaction to two ten-year-year-old boys who tortured and killed a toddler in England. He notes public horror generated by the murder, and observes that a police officer involved with the case said that one of the culprits was 'evil'.

[12] I am mindful of the Holocaust literature in the approach I take here. The Holocaust was a crime against humanity which was aimed at eliminating the entire Jewish population. The systematic study of the Holocaust is fairly recent. Laqueur (2001) argues that in the first years after the war hardly anyone was engaged in the collection of evidence or the building of memorials and museums. There was a preoccupation with recovery and rebuilding. He also highlights that for a variety of reasons the Allied governments were not interested in publishing their complicity in the Holocaust. Interest in the fate of the Jews in Europe developed in the 1960s beginning with the trial of Eichmann in Jerusalem. German courts also began to prosecute war criminals in the late 1950s. During the 1970s and 1980s significant research was carried out and Chairs in the field of Holocaust Studies were established in several universities.

Eagleton argues that the policeman demonised the boys to 'wrong-foot the softhearted liberals' (Eagleton 2010: 2), to pre-empt those who might appeal to the social circumstances of the boys to explain their heinous crime:

> Calling the action evil meant that it was beyond comprehension. Evil is unintelligible. It is just a thing in itself, like boarding a crowded commuter train wearing only a boa constrictor. There is no context which would make it explicable (Eagleton, 2010: 2-3).

The premise here is that if these boys murdered because they were bored or out of parental neglect, then their actions might not be regarded as being their own fault and they might not be punished as severely. Eagleton argues that a common understanding is that an action that has a cause is not usually classified as evil:

> I cannot be responsible for staving in your skull with a candlestick, since it was your reproving tap on my cheek that caused it. Evil, on the other hand, is thought to be uncaused, or to be its own cause (Eagleton, 2010: 4).

Thus the common conception is that evil cannot be comprehended and goes beyond intelligibility.

Baumeister (1999:1) approaches the issue of evil in a somewhat different way. He argues that 'most people who perpetrate evil do not see what they are doing as evil. Evil exists primarily in the eye of the beholder, especially in the eye of the victim'. The most common form of evil for Baumeister is violence, as well as oppression and petty cruelty, 'the prototypes of human evil involve actions that intentionally harm other people' (Baumeister 1999:8). He makes it clear that evil is socially enacted and contracted and does not reside in genes or in the soul, but in the way people relate to each other. Evil requires the deliberate action of a

person and the suffering of another and the judgement of another or an observer (Baumeister 1999: 375).

Staub's (1992: 24) perspective of evil is similar; he sees evil as part of the broadly shared human cultural heritage: 'The essence of evil is the destruction of human beings. This includes not only killing but the creation of conditions that materially or psychologically destroy or diminish peoples' dignity, happiness'. A similar definition is proffered by Vetlesen's (2005) who defines evil as to: 'intentionally inflict pain and suffering on another human being, against her will, and causing serious and foreseeable harm to her'. He too argues that evildoing requires a combination of character, situation and structure. He notes that evil is made more enigmatic today than it really is in social discourse, and that evil has been made marginal to human agency than forming a core element of it.

Returning to the notion of violence, Collins (2008) provides a useful theoretical approach.[13] He suggests that the point of interaction should be the focus and not necessarily the social background, the culture or the individual. In other words, he is concerned with the dynamics of particular situations:

> Not violent individuals, but violent situations – this is what a micro-sociological theory is about. We seek the contours of situations which shape the emotions and acts of the individuals who step inside them (Collins, 2008:1).

For Collins, it is a false lead to look for types of violent individuals constant across all situations, and he argues that huge amounts of research have not yielded strong results. He does recognise that young men are the most likely perpetrators of violence in all kinds of situations, but he also recognises that not

[13] Collin's theory has been criticised by other sociologists. Cooney (2009) identifies three strengths of Collins' theory. However, one of his major concerns is that violence is not a single entity. 'Duelling over a matter of honour differs drastically from serial killing; beating and robbing a store owner is quite different from slamming into an opponent on a football field (2009: 59).

all young men are violent. He also acknowledges that children, women and older men are also violent in some situations.

The emotion of violent situations is called ‘confrontational tension/fear’, and Collins (2009) argues that one of its effects is to inhibit violence from happening, and when violence does happen and the confrontational tension/fear is overcome it is incompetent at hitting its desired target. He argues that humans are socialised not to be violent, and also notes that humans are frightened of being hurt in violent confrontation. For violence to take place confrontational tension/fear has to be overcome, and one of pathways of overcoming this tension/fear includes finding a weak victim, who allows dominance in a situation (Collins, 2009: 570).

It is clear that these thinkers see the ability to ‘commit acts of evil’ as part of the human condition and that people can easily enter this terrain. Vetlesen’s (2005) observation that character, situation and structure are an important combination in understanding ‘evil’ is useful in the bullying situation, a point to which I return later.

Returning, then, to Arendt’s concept of the ‘banality of evil’, this is a means of understanding the role that lower and middle ranking officials played during the Holocaust. They were ‘doing their duty’: ordinary people from different backgrounds acting under a repressive regime and motivated by a sense of duty. Arendt concluded that Eichmann acted ‘fully within the framework of the kind of judgement required of him: he acted in accordance to the rule, examined the order issued to him for its ‘manifest’ legality, namely regularity; he did not have to fall back upon his ‘conscience’, since he was not one of those who were unfamiliar with the laws of the country. The exact opposite was the case.’ (Arendt, 1994: 293)

This observation led Arendt to muse later:

> Could the activity of thinking as such, the habit of examining whatever comes to pass or attracts attention, regardless of results and specific content, could this activity be among the conditions that make men [sic] abstain from evildoing, or even actually 'condition' them against it? (1978: 5)

From the point of view of education, Arendt's approach suggests that the formation of conscience and building the capacity to reflect on one's action could be important antidotes to dealing with violence in schools, including bullying. And this point may be read alongside her comment on the protection and care that schools should provide against destructiveness from the world.

The South African context

Violence has been a central part of the history of South Africa, and continues to impact on South African society[14]. Wars and armed conflicts have been a feature of its history since the 17th century, and Apartheid in the 20th century accentuated the violence (Sparks 1993). As in much of Africa, most of the armed conflicts have taken place within its borders, among different races, ethnic groups and political affiliations. Stewart (2001) argues that in these conflicts human costs are not only the result of direct violence, but also arise from starvation, forced migration and the collapse of public services that stem from the wider effects of prolonged conflict on the economic and administrative structure of the country. Violence also escalates poverty particularly through the destruction of property, and on a personal level it breaks down trust and creates a climate of fear (Thirkell 2003: 10).

[14] Ellul (1969) recognises this continuity as the first law of violence. Once violence is used you cannot move away from it, once a person starts using violence it is a habit that cannot easily be broken.

In addition to war and armed conflicts, South Africa has also had to contend with political violence caused by Apartheid. Apartheid itself was a violent system, one that subjugated people regarded as 'non-whites' and relied on violence to maintain state power.[15] Apartheid was the catalyst for violence among different ethnic and political groups, and promoted a kind of tribal nationalism that pitted blacks against blacks. Overtly political violence related to apartheid declined after 1994 and has been transformed into economic conflict and criminal violence, including murder, armed robbery, and assault. Steinberg (2008) notes that there has been massive investment in security in South Africa, but that this has not stopped crime – in 1995/6 the police recorded just over 77 000 armed robberies, and in 2006/7 the figure increased to 126 000. He observes: 'It seems that a decade of target hardening has simply spawned a generation of criminals prepared to use more violence' (Steinberg, 2008: 167).

In 2009, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) released the results of a study which investigated why South Africa has such high rates of violent crime.[16] This study notes that South Africa is not unique, but part of a small group of countries that suffer from high rates of crime; these countries include El Salvador, Colombia, Jamaica and other Central and Latin American countries. However, what distinguishes South Africa is the legacy of Apartheid which fostered brutalisation and a culture of repression and violence. Apartheid also impacted on families, forcing fathers to live away from families and children to grow up in single parent homes. One of the most pervasive consequences of institutionalised racism in South Africa is the internalised feelings of inferiority which might also be identified as feelings of low self-esteem (CSVR, 2009: 6).

[15] Straker et al (1992) reports that during 1986 the Detainees' Parents Support Committee estimated that there were 10 000 children, some as young as ten, being detained in South African jails. Between 1984 and 1986 figures showed that 300 children were killed by police and the military, 1000 wounded and 18 000 arrested on charges relating to political protest and 173 000 held in cells awaiting trial.

[16] The study was commissioned by the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security cluster of government in February 2007 and was only released on 9 November 2010. The study included six reports on violence in South Africa.

The proliferation of firearms, both legally and illegally, has also played a role in the growth of violent crime. Investment in addressing crime in township areas was minimal, and as a result criminal groups became entrenched in some township areas. The CSVR study does acknowledge that there have been significant changes in South African society, but it also identifies factors that may reinforce the Apartheid legacy. High levels of inequality may also foster violence by reinforcing racism. The consumer orientation of South African society may also lead to a sense of envy. The absence of leaders who provide positive role models in society also provides little motivation to contribute to the new society.

The CSVR study concludes that there is no single factor that explains the high levels of violence, but that violent crime is a product of a variety of factors. Altbeker (2008:36), in a CSVR paper, strongly argues that inequality does not translate directly into violent behaviour, but that it does so 'by the way it shapes peoples' behaviour'. According to Altbeker, exclusion resulting from poor education, language skills and low self-confidence means that very few people have a chance of finding employment, and this leads to hopelessness. Exclusion from full participation in society provides the 'emotional fuel' of much of the violence in South Africa[17]. One of the key solutions he puts forward is a dramatic expansion of employment possibilities in South Africa.

Similarly, Collins (2008:2) acknowledges that there are some statistical correlations between variables such as poverty, race, marital status and so forth, but argues that these variables and certain kinds of violence do not necessarily predict violence. Most young men, poor people, black people or children from divorced families do not commit acts of violence. In other words, background conditions such as childhood experiences, poverty or race 'are a long way from what is crucial to the dynamics of a violent situation'. People who are violent are violent for only a small part of the time: '…even people that we think of as very

[17] This concept is developed later in this chapter and linked to Collins' theory of violence.

violent – because they have been violent in more than one situation or spectacularly violent on some occasion – are only violent in very particular situations'.

The impact of violence in a society is devastating. Barbarin and Richter (2001) note that 50% of the trauma-cases admitted to hospitals are violence-related. In similar vein, Dawes (cited in Lucas 2003) notes that the leading cause of non-natural death among 15-19-year olds is shooting and stabbing. Furthermore, 90% of children aged 11-14 surveyed in low-income areas had witnessed some form of assault and 47% had been victims of assault. Through the 1990s, there was also a sharp increase in the reported incidents of the physical and sexual abuse of women and children.

The historical roots of violence in South Africa are also recognised by Porteus (1999) who also notes that State influence in the past was largely achieved through violent means. She argues that violence in South Africa continues to be a means of achieving influence, both on an interpersonal and broader social level. She sees violence as being widespread and more 'normalised' for children as an 'acceptable' avenue for expression and conflict resolution. In neighbourhoods where violence levels are high, the violence and associated problems 'spill over' into the schools. Contemporary youth culture (especially those influences from the United States of America) also contributes to children's perception that violence is 'normal'. Most importantly Porteus points out that schools contribute to violence in South Africa because they fail to operate at the most basic level and do not provide a sense of routine, support or security. Ineffective discipline strategies are also identified as a problem and corporal punishment entrenches violence as a conflict resolution strategy. The failure of schools to address broader risk factors is another contributing factor. Epp (1996: 1), too, has argued that schools themselves are complicit in the abuse of children through systemic violence and that this complicity and pupil reactions to it contribute to violence. Harber (2002: 15) has also argued that the 'discussion of

violence and schooling has not sufficiently engaged with the role of schooling itself in both creating the problem and making it worse.' Harber argues that the nature of schools as agents of social control, the way that they are organised, the size of schools and racism and ethnic violence play a role creating violence.

Understanding violence in schools

It is clear, however, that developing an all encompassing theory of school violence is not straightforward. Reflecting on qualitative research carried out in South Africa, Casella (2012) develops social disorganisation theory in relation to other theories of violence. He recognises that biological theory and rational choice theory are the two most popular theories to explain school violence. Biological theory is based on the assumption that 'people are born that way'. Casella argues that this theory often used to explain why boys 'act-out' more than girls. He also argues that the increased use of medication to modify behaviour can also be linked to this theory. He refers to ethologist Conrad Lorenz, who argues that aggression is part of human make-up[18], and is a key part of how our species has survived and evolved. However, Lorenz is not a proponent of a violent society and identifies the redirection of energy as a primary means of controlling the functions of aggression. He recognises the importance of education in transmitting knowledge and values. However, the transmission of knowledge and its ethical consequences needs to be done in such a way that young people identify with these values:

> I have already said that Western culture, even without the danger of nuclear warfare, is more directly threatened by disintegration because of its failure to transmit its cultural and even its ethical values to the younger generation (Lorenz 1967: 250).

[18] Lorenz builds on the ideas of Darwin who identified the survival value of fighting. 'It is always favourable to the future of the species if the stronger of the two rivals takes possession either of the territory or of the desired female' (Lorenz, 1967: 23).

Rational choice theory is underpinned by the idea that humans act rationally and make choices based on a simple weighing of rewards and consequences. Students will naturally behave in ways that benefit them and avoid negative consequences.

Casella argues that in South Africa biological theory and rational choice theory are limited as they do not take environmental factors into account – a point I agree with. In the South African context of transformation, societal factors have a profound effect on students' actions.

The accompanying table summarises the other theories of violence that Casella (2012) considers. These theories are obviously not distinct and there is some overlap with each. For example Casella notes that when a community is disorganised then the life chances of students may be less, placing strain on the student, and he or she may then pursue lawless goals.

Theory	Explanation
Labelling theory	Students are labelled in particular ways by teachers and peers and act out their labels. The schools define what the norm is and those who do not fit in the norm are seen as abnormal, and treated as such.
Strain theory	Students who act violently have legitimate desires, but because of structural restraints, they turn to unlawfulness to fulfil those desires. For example, poverty creates hardships within families that could lead otherwise peaceful children to act violently toward others.
Social control theory	Violence is caused by students' lack of engagement with typical social controls. In other words society's controls that promote orderliness - such as self-esteem, morals, and self-control as well as adult supervision, positive relationships with law-abiding

	peers, and involvement in sports can impact on student behaviour. The power of parents, school staff and peers in applying these controls is needed to prevent delinquency.
Social learning theory	Students are taught to act violently by peers, families, popular culture, and the media. Students that mix with groups who are a bad influence; or, youths who play violent video games or watch violent movies that influences the way they behave.

Figure 2.1: Other theories of violence (Based on Casella, 2012)

Social disorganisation theory focuses more on the environment in which students are raised, and surroundings are seen as a central dimension in understanding delinquency. Casella argues that where there is community breakdown, there is likely to be school-level breakdown. He highlights that the theory is often associated with violence in poor areas and that as a consequence researchers have focused on the role poverty plays in causing violence.

Cowie and Jennifer (1998) situate school bullying in a model of understanding violence developed by the World Health Organisation. They identify four risk factors that interact and contribute to aggressive behaviour: individual, interpersonal, community and society. At the individual level the focus is on biological and personal history. The interpersonal level focuses on the interpersonal relationships with peers and family for example. The community level looks at the schools themselves and the communities in which they are located. The societal level focuses on the wider societal factors that influence rates of violence such as understandings of masculinity, health and economic conditions.

Bullying in school as a form of violence

Bullying in schools is a form of low level violence that can escalate and become physical and even lethal, and can be a direct or indirect form of violence (Olafsen & Viemerö 2000). Numerous studies have shown that both primary and high school learners are bullied (Boulton & Smith 1994; Cowie 2000) and that bullying is a worldwide problem which can adversely impact on school climates and have negative lifelong consequences for students (Banks 1997; Krahé 2001; Smith & Brain 2000; Rigby 2002b). Rigby (2002: 13) noted that there has been an extraordinary rise in interest in the subject of bullying in the last decade of the twentieth century, and that many researchers have tried to better understand this problem. A significant start was made in the research around bullying in the Scandinavian countries in the 1970s. Olweus' (1979) book *Aggression in Schools* influenced and inspired subsequent work in other parts of Europe. In Scotland, Mellor (1990) carried out surveys and developed materials to counter bullying. In Spain the study of school bullying began later than in other European countries, but research in this area has grown rapidly (Ortega & Lera 2000). A recent study of bullying in Irish primary and post-primary schools found that aggressive beviour was widespread (Minton 2010). Minton found that 35% primary and 36.4% post-primary school students had reported that they had been bullied. In 2001, *The Journal of the American Association* published a report on bullying, as well as an editorial on the need to address bullying as part of violence prevention. The study showed that in a representative sample of over 15 500 students, nearly 30% of the sample reported moderate or frequent involvement in bullying (Gil 2002).

In spite of this world-wide interest, very little research has been carried out in Africa in the area of bullying[19]. Nabuzoka (2003) has compared the bullying-related behaviours of English and Zambian students. Her finding is that students in England generally reported experiencing proportionally more incidents of

[19] Appendix B1 summarises the key findings of key recent research studies carried out in South Africa.

bullying-related behaviour than Zambian students. The study concludes that there is a need to further explore whether the same behaviours in each country are understood as bullying.

One of the first studies of bullying in South African schools was carried out by Leach (1997). She conducted preliminary research in Model C primary schools[20] in Pietermaritzburg using the Modified Olweus Questionnaire with a sample of 259 students, and developed an additional questionnaire to gain insight into teachers' perceptions of bullying. Leach found that possibly much higher levels of bullying existed than in European studies. She concluded that there was a need for further research into bullying and prevention programmes in South Africa. Another early South African investigation was carried out by Thayser (2001) who explored the stories of six women who were subjected to peer abuse, or bullying, during their school years. She discusses the literature on school bullying together with gender differences in the expression of bullying, various hypotheses about these differences, and the importance of peer relationships during childhood and adolescence. Thayser considered the implications for therapy, together with the importance of peer relationships in childhood and adolescence and she called for 'unequivocal adult intervention in preventing peer abuse'.[21]

In the first South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (Reddy *et al*, 2003) of grade 8 to 11 learners, 41% of them said that they had been bullied. Around 22% of the students felt unsafe on their way to and from school, and 32% felt unsafe at school. In the six months preceding the survey, just over 19% of the students reported that they had been in a physical fight involving punching or hitting on the school property. The results of the second South African National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey were released in 2010.[22] In this survey (carried out

[20] Model C schools were former whites only schools which were permitted to desegregate under revised dispensation of the Apartheid government.
[21] More recent studies have been carried out since these were carried out and have already been referred to in the introduction of this study.
[22] This nationally representative survey was conducted among 10 270 high school students in grades 8 to 11.

in 2008), 36.3% of the students surveyed reported that they had been bullied in the previous month. The highest levels of bullying were reported in the Free State (44.4%). Around 22.9% of the students felt unsafe on their way to and from school, and 27% felt unsafe at school. In the six months preceding the survey just over 21% of the students reported that they had been in a physical fight involving punching or hitting on the school property.

Developing an understanding of what constitutes bullying is controversial. There are many definitions as to what bullying might be. Mellor (1997: 1) provides a practical working definition:

> Bullying happens when one person or a group of people tries to upset another person by saying nasty or hurtful things to him or her again and again. Sometimes bullies hit or kick people or force them to hand over money; sometimes they tease them again and again. The person who is being bullied finds it difficult to stop this happening and is worried that it will happen again.

Rigby (2002a: 5) provides the following summary:

> ...bullying is now generally seen as having these elements: a desire to hurt; the perpetration of hurtful behaviour (physical, verbal or relational) in a situation in which there is an imbalance of power favouring the perpetrator(s); the action being regarded as unjustified, typically repeated, and experienced by the target of the aggression as oppressive, and by the perpetrator as enjoyable.

A short definition of bullying is put forward by Rigby (2002a) who referred to ideas originally proposed by Smith and Sharp (1994), describing bullying as 'the systematic abuse of power'.[23]

It is important to recognise the social dimension of bullying, and Thornberg (2010: 322) argues strongly that bullying has to be viewed as 'a social act or joint action, and the meaning of bullying and its participants, victims, and causes are derived from or arise out of social interactions among children'.

As mentioned earlier, the most extensive research into bullying has been conducted in Norway by Olweus (Rigby, 2002b). Olweus (cited in Krahé, 2001: 120 and Rigby, 2002: 21) provides the most widely accepted definition of bullying, saying that a person is bullied 'when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons.'

Three types of bullying are identified by Coloroso (2007), namely verbal, physical and relational. She argues that the three are often combined for maximum power. Physical bullying is the most visible and easily identifiable. Relational bullying is the most difficult to detect.

The accompanying table charts different forms and activities of bullying.

Table 2.1: A classification of forms of bullying (adapted after Rigby, 1996)

	Forms of bullying	
	Direct	**Indirect**

[23] Pergolizzi et al (2009) note the importance of three crucial elements in bullying definitions, namely repetition, harm, and unequal power.

Physical	Hitting Kicking Pushing Shoving Spitting Throwing stones	Getting another person to assault someone
Non-physical Verbal	Verbal insults Name calling Teasing	Persuading another person to insult someone Writing notes about someone and passing them on to third parties. Spreading false rumours Gossiping Cyberbullying
Non-verbal	Threatening and obscene gestures	Removing and hiding belongings Negative facial expressions Damaging property Deliberately excluding from a group or activity (Ignored by a group)

Another form of bullying that has emerged recently with widespread availability of the internet and cell phones is cyberbullying. Technology is used to bully other students, and Raskauskas (2010: 75) has adopted the definition developed by Hinduja and Patchin who define it as ‘any wilful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices’. As defined by Raskauskas, (2010: 76), cyberbullying involves relational dimensions (damage to peer relationships, exclusion and manipulation of relationships) and

verbal modes of bullying that include sending threats, insults, spreading gossip, rumours, secrets and exclusion.[24]

Graham (2010) defines bullying in ways that are similar to the definition adapted for this study - bullying is defined as physical, verbal or psychological. Graham (2010) recently provided an excellent overview of the state of research into peer victimization and bullying. Figure 2.2 provides a summary of her overview.

- 30% to 80% of students at school report that they have personally experienced bullying or victimisation from peers.
- The empirical base on school bullying has increased ten times from 2000 to 2009 (to 800 versus 80).
- Bullies perceive themselves in a positive light and many have high status in the classroom and have many friends.
- Bullying experiences increase the vulnerability of children and do not necessarily make them more resilient.
- Bullying involves more than just the bully and the victim. Bullying also involves bystanders. These can be categorised as bystanders, assistants to bullies, reinforcers or defenders of victims (bystanders that come to the aid of victims are rare and many bystanders believe victims bring problems upon themselves). Victims may feel rejected by peers and feel isolated, anxious and lonely. The chronic victim can avoid attending school.
- There are more temporary than chronic victims of bullying. Personality traits like shyness do make students vulnerable. Transitional factors like school change or changes in development can also make students vulnerable.
- Relational bullying, which includes attempts to damage the reputation of the victim, is higher amongst girls than boys in mid-childhood or early adolescence. Relational victimization tends to be equally prevalent for both genders in adolescence.

[24] Raskauskas (2010) found that 43% of students sampled had experienced at least one incident of cyberbullying with 23% experiencing frequent cyberbullying (the sample was based on 1 530 11 to 18 year olds in three New Zealand schools).

- Zero tolerance approaches do not work as intended and may lead to antisocial behaviour.

Figure 2.2: Graham's summary of some of the current thinking in the research on school bullying

It is important to make the distinction between bullying, racial harassment and sexual harassment. Thompson et al (2002: 64-66) note that the common psychological impact of the three is to reduce the self-esteem and self-confidence of the victim through different means. Racial harassment is linked to membership of a particular ethnic group. The aggressor is usually from a different group to the victim. Sexual harassment is based on gender difference. Homophobic bullying may not be related to sexual preference, but as Duncan (cited in Thompson 2002:65) points out may just mean that the victim does not conform to 'macho' behaviour expected from boys.

In a study carried out for the Australian Commonwealth Attorney General's Department to see whether the anti-bullying programmes in countries such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, Finland, Norway, Spain and the United States were making a difference, Rigby (2002a) reviewed thirteen evaluative studies that looked at reducing bullying primarily among young children. Each of these studies had set out to measure changes in the extent of bullying both before and after interventions. Rigby found that the anti-bullying programmes were similar in many respects in that they included: educating school staff about bullying by carrying out surveys of the nature and prevalence of bullying and discussing the results; involving parents and students through discussion and seeking their support; included bullying in the curriculum through social skills training and training in conflict resolution; improving the monitoring of pupil behaviour around the school and particularly at break time; encouraging students to ask for help if they were being bullied and having plans in place to deal with bullying.

The main differences between each of the programmes were in how cases of bullying were dealt with. Some programmes placed more emphasis on problem-solving approaches like mediation, while others focussed more on rules and sanctions (Rigby, 2002a: 2-3). Rigby argues that anti-bullying interventions were successful in reducing bullying, and that these interventions were generally more successful with younger students than with older students, and that they were more successful in schools that put more time and effort into reducing bullying and that teaching young children to be assertive, behave more empathically and to manage their anger, reduced levels of aggressiveness.

Gil (2002) notes that bullying, like other manifestations of violence, is seen as events 'due mainly to personality traits of perpetrators, rather than as moments of historic, vicious circles of violence initiated by, and rooted in, social-structural violence' (Gil 2002: 72). Dainte *et al* (2003) urge that interventions recognise that violence prevention programmes are value-laden. They believe that programmes should be open to discuss the values and circumstances in which they apply. Knowledge gained from social experience can be used to improve the circumstances in classrooms.

In the South African context, Porteus (1999) set out three approaches to reducing school violence. She argued that society can address the system underlying the causes of youth violence and thus reduce the causal factors; schools can reduce the 'spaces' where violence can happen; and they can increase the deterrent of participating in violent activities.

A different perspective was introduced into the bullying research by Yoneyama & Naito (2003) who observed that numerous epidemiological and morphological studies had been carried out around the world that provide data on what bullying is, its prevalence, intensity, frequency, intensity, place of occurrence and so forth. The explanation for the causes of bullying has mainly been sought by looking at

the personal attributes of the bully and victim, as well as the family and social background. I would argue that this approach has been prominent because psychologists have been the main researchers in the field and they have strong preference for quantitative research approaches. Yoneyama & Naito (2003: 316) argue that insufficient attention has been paid to the school context in the discourse on school bullying:

> Most intervention programs dealing with aggressive behaviour have focused on changing the characteristics peculiar to 'at risk students' and have failed to address the larger social context, including that of the school.

They argue that the nature of instruction, classroom management and discipline are some of the factors that need further attention as factors that can contribute or prevent school violence. Yoneyama & Naito (2003) argue that if bullying is a structural problem, then there is a limit to what individuals on their own can do to solve this problem, and that the fundamental solution lies in changing the social structure itself.

Similar findings were made by Fallis & Opotow (2003), who looked at why students stayed away from certain classes during the school day in American schools. These researchers found that class cutting or bunking was a reaction to classes that were sterile, bureaucratic, and disrespectful of student goals, learning styles and pupil views. In other words students lacked a voice. The view was that many of the students deserved what they got, and in some cases expulsion was seen as moral exclusion. This was seen as a form of structural violence that occurs because things are done the way they are:

> Structural violence debases people by treating them as irrelevant, but is difficult to isolate and examine. It remains invisible because responsibility

> for outcomes is diffused or denied by the way that institutions structure process and outcomes (Fallis & Opotow 2003: 114).

Fallis & Opotow argue that schools need to be smaller to provide adequate opportunities for engagement. They argue that school structures and processes should elicit pupil participation and be open to pupil voices. They caution that inclusion 'needs to significant, and neither illusory or superficial' (2003: 116).

Hyman and Perone (1998: 7) argue that there is another side of school violence which receives very little attention: 'Victimisation of students by school staff, most often in the name of discipline, is seldom recognised as a problem that may contribute to student alienation and aggression'. Their data suggests that the majority of students witness or experience verbal maltreatment at some time.[25] They show that these practices may lead to increased student hostility, anger and aggression against school property, peers and authorities. In South Africa, corporal punishment continues to be used in schools, despite it being banned. Burton (2008: 29) notes that 70.1% of primary school students and 47.5%[26] of high school students report that they were physically beaten, caned or spanked by a teacher or principal. In those provinces where corporal punishment is used, there is a strong correlation between corporal punishment and levels of student violence.

Teachers who bully students in school is a problem also recognised by Tremlow, Fonagy, Sacco & Brethour (2006).[27] They note that principals are familiar with this problem, but that there is no clear way to deal with this in schools. They do

[25] Hyman and Perone (1998) argue that the data is sparse in some areas because of the controversial nature of the subject, and in the United States of America some people argue that there is too much concern for the civil liberties of students and victims and not enough attention paid to the need to gain order in schools.
[26] Province is a significant predictor of the likelihood of corporal punishment being administered in school. The prevalence of the use of corporal punishment in primary schools is as follows in provinces: Eastern Cape 77.7%; Free State 60.6%; Gauteng 74.9%; KwaZulu-Natal 67.3%; Limpopo 81.1%; Mpumalanga 50.5%; Northern Cape 90%; North West 73.4%; Western Cape 50%.
[27] Tremlaw et al (2006) noted that their sample is a convenience one; and that the psychometric properties of their questionnaires are unknown and that their conclusions are tentative.

recognise, however, that there is a large literature on workplace bullying. Tremlow et al (2006) cite a study by Paul and Smith (2000) who identified six areas where teachers typically misused their power: (1) discipline and student relationships, (2) evaluation (3), student grouping, (4) classroom/school procedures and rules, (5) instructional practices, and (6) physical plant/ resources. In their study Tremlaw et al (2006) found that 70% of teachers reported that teachers did bully, but that this bullying in primary schools was isolated (18%). Moreover, 45% of teachers admitted to having bullied a student. The authors argue that new approaches to identify and respond to teacher bullying in schools are needed, and that cooperative non-punitive ways of working with teachers need to be found.

Silcock and Duncan (2001) make a plea for public figures to open up schools in more humanistic ways and to fulfil students' right to participate in them more fully. They conclude that in doing so 'we might move towards a more humane society generally, teaching values so as to ensure they illuminate our lives' (2001: 256).

The debates around inclusive education are useful in framing the approach taken in this research.[28] The underpinning argument for inclusion is that all students should be educated together for curricular and social reasons. There is general acceptance in the research literature that all teachers are qualified to teach children with special needs. Some children will need additional support, but there is no special pedagogy which has been shown to be particularly useful with children with disabilities or learning needs.

Inclusive education moves away from seeing barriers to learning as being internal to the pupil; barriers are those things that are obstacles that stop

[28] Inclusive education is not a reform of special education. It is the convergence of the need to restructure the public education system, to meet the needs of a changing society, the adaption of the separate special education system, which has been shown to be unsuccessful for the greater number of students who are served by it. It is the reform of the regular school so that it benefits all students, and provides good education for everyone (Kerzner Lipsky & Gartner 1999: 15).

students from getting the full benefit of education. Corbett (2001) sees inclusive education as about recognising the relationships between sub-cultures and the dominant culture.

According to the Bill of Rights contained in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and further education, which the State, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible. A child (a person under the age of 18) has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation. The Bill of Rights importantly points out that the child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. I would argue that the best interests of children need to be established in some sort of dialogue with the children. Unfortunately, in an educational environment driven by the results of national examinations, and the importance to improve these results, much of the focus of school reform has been concerned with these issues. Values and school safety have also been on the agenda but the voice of children has not been considered much. The result of reform processes have been the establishment of codes of conduct and regulations to lock schools up.

An approach which views the child, as Bruner (1996: 65) does, as 'an active, intentional being' who constructs and negotiates knowledge with others, is, I suggest, a good starting point for practices that work against bullying. As Pastor (2002) suggests, by taking responsibility away from students in our schools we create a 'us against them' situation. She believes that schools should value good character and develop personal responsibility. Students should learn to make good choices and be responsible for them:

> As we seek to prepare children to be productive citizens of a democracy, teaching them to understand and exercise their choices and voices

> becomes paramount. In a society frightened by its acts of violence in schools, the responsible participation of all is a must (Pastor, 2002: 659).

De Ruyter (2002) explores the meaning of responsibility. She goes beyond the conventional understandings of accountability or being answerable. Her interpretation places the emphasis on 'being responsive to the needs and well-being of others. In this interpretation we call someone responsible if she is sensitive to the needs of others and acts in a responsive way by trying to meet these needs' (2002: 25). De Ruyter sees schools as being ideal places for students to interact with each other and their teachers, and so learn the virtues of being a responsible person. She identifies teachers as being important role models in the process of how a sensitive person acts. Teachers play an important role in ensuring that students take responsibility for the well-being of others, and create opportunities for students to take responsibility. 'This requires that schools appeal to children's capacity of being responsible and that they acknowledge the contribution of the children. (De Ruyter,
2002: 34).

To conclude this review of theories and research on violence and bullying in schools, it is appropriate to return briefly to the ideas of Arendt outlined earlier: the importance of protection and care of children for the renewal of the world; the significance of responsibility and authority in the education of children; and the signal importance of cultivating the activity of thinking as a way of working against 'the banality of evil'.

Care in schools

In exploring the theme of care in schools, I look at two approaches that have application to my study. The first is an approach underpinned by relational ethics, more specifically, an 'ethics of care'. The second is a broader social development approach evident in a range of 'caring schools' initiatives.

Ethics of care

A trajectory of action to deal with school violence proposed by Nel Noddings (2002a) seems to be to transform the school climate or culture. Noddings argues that students must believe that the adults in their school care about them and that their own growth matters. She believes that children who feel cared for 'seem able to survive material poverty, and many can ignore much of the violence in the media' (Noddings, 2002a: 26). Her assumption is simple, and forms the basis of my thesis:

> Violence has many roots, but it seems obvious that people who feel cared for and who have learned to care for others will be less likely to engage in violent acts (Noddings, 2002a: 38).

Noddings' work also provides the basis for entering into a dialogue with children. Noddings offers what she calls a caring alternative to character education. Her feminist ethic of care is relational and not based on individual-agent in the way of virtue ethics. According to Noddings (2002a: xiii): 'care ethicists depend more heavily on establishing the conditions and relations that support moral ways of life', whereas character education focuses on the inclusion of virtues in individuals.

As an example, Noddings refers to the infant and its caregiver: '...the infant learns to smile and this response delights the caregiver that he or she seeks greater competence in producing smiles. Caregiver and cared-for enter a mutually satisfying relation' (1995: 139). If we value relations of care, we need to care for our children and teach them how to receive and give care.

Moral education based on an ethic of care involves four elements. Modelling is the first component of moral education. However, Noddings points out that there is a danger in placing too much emphasis on modelling; a possible danger is that

the focus is too much on our actions. Open-ended dialogue is the most fundamental component of the care model. Both the carer and the cared-for need to speak and truly to listen. In other words there has to be mutual deep listening. Dialogue in this sense is not a debate to be won.

Another important component is practice. In other words, one needs to engage in care giving activities to develop a capacity to care:

> The supposition, from a care perspective, is that the closer we are to the intimate physical needs of life, the more likely we are to understand its fragility and to feel the pangs of the inner 'I must' - that stirring in the heart that moves us to respond to one another (Noddings, 2002a: 20).

The fourth component of moral education from Noddings' care perspective is confirmation.

In her vision of moral education Noddings argues that moral education is a community-wide enterprise and not just a task for the home, Church or school. For her it is an education that will enhance the ethical ideal of those being educated so that they will continue to meet others morally (2003: 171), However, Noddings believes that schools should not abdicate their 'essential responsibility to train the intellect' (2003: 173), even though for her the primary aim of education is the maintenance and enhancement of caring. This is how the climate is established and this is the worldview through which all practices are measured. At a later point she continues:

> In pointing to the maintenance and enhancement of caring as the primary aim of education, I am drawing attention to priorities. I certainly do no intend to abandon intellectual and aesthetic aims, but I want to suggest that the intellectual tasks and aesthetic appreciation should be deliberately

> set aside - not permanently, but temporarily - if their pursuit endangers the ethical ideal (Noddings, 2003: 174).

The crux of Noddings' thinking is captured best in the following quotation:

> …ethical behaviour does arise out of psychological deep structures that are partly predisposition (I would prefer to say 'natural') and partly the result of nurturance. When we behave ethically as ones-caring, we are not obeying moral principles - although, certainly, they may guide our thinking - but we are meeting the other in genuine encounters of caring and being cared for (Noddings, 2003: 175).

The teacher plays a central role in Noddings' vision of moral education. She argues:

> When I became a teacher, I also entered a very special - and more specialized - caring relationship. No enterprise or special function I am called upon to serve can relive me of my responsibilities as one caring (Noddings, 2003: 175).

In professions such as teaching, Noddings notes, where 'encounter is frequent' the teacher's work is first and foremost one of caring, and the other functions of the work are dependent on that relationship. In explaining this relationship between the one being cared for and the other she draws on the thinking of Martin Buber and describes the other as 'Thou'. Noddings (2003) is quick to point out that the caring teacher is not necessarily permissive, and here she has A.S. Neil in mind. The teacher does not abstain from leading a student, or from persuading him or her, but rather recognises that in the long term a student will learn what he or she chooses:

> The teacher's power is, thus, awesome. It is she who presents the 'effective' world to the student (Noddings, 2003: 176).

Therefore Noddings' emphasis is that the teacher as the one caring meets the student 'directly but not equally'. The teacher is in a special position to 'receive the student' to look at the subject matter with him or or her. Noddings sees the student as an apprentice who gradually takes greater responsibility for the tasks undertaken. The teacher's task is described as 'stretching the student's world' by presenting a view of that world, and to work with the student to become competent in that world. This thinking is very similar to the ideas of Arendt referred to earlier in this chapter. However, Noddings (2003: 178) again emphasises that the task of caring has a higher priority than either of these: 'First and foremost, she must nurture the student's ethical ideal'.

Teachers are meant to engage students in dialogue, to help students to decide what is important or not. In addition to dialogue, Noddings argues that the teacher must be a model:

> A teacher cannot 'talk' this ethic. She must live it, and that implies establishing a relation with the student. Besides talking to him and showing him how one cares, she engages in cooperative practice with him. He is learning not just mathematics or social studies; he is also learning how to be one-caring (Noddings, 2003: 179).

Noddings argues that by conducting education morally, teachers induce an enhanced moral sense.

Noddings addresses a number of the criticisms that have been made against her position. For example, Richard Hults argues that the kind of caring required by her ethic is not possible because of the constraints of number, time and purpose. Her response is that it is not necessary to establish deep, lasting, personal and

time-consuming personal relationships with every student, but that one needs to be non-selectively present to the students: 'the time interval may be brief but the encounter is total' (Noddings, 2003: 180). Noddings is also aware that many schools are in 'a crisis of caring'. Both students and teachers are brutally attacked verbally and physically. Clearly, schools are not always places where caring is fulfilled, but she recognises that it is not always the failure of teachers that causes lapses in caring. Many urban teachers (speaking of those in the United States) are suffering from battle fatigue and 'burn-out'. 'No matter what they do, their efforts are not perceived as caring. They themselves are perceived, instead, as the enemy, as natural targets for resistance' (Noddings, 2003: 181).

From an organisational point of view, Noddings (2003) proposes that schools and teaching should be redesigned to facilitate caring - both in the one-caring and the being-cared-for. She argues that sacrifices in the economies of scale and curriculum may need to be made, but that the benefits accruing from this would be invaluable.

Importantly, Noddings (2003: 182) recognises that schools as institutions cannot care, or be 'engrossed in anyone or anything'. But schools can be more deliberately designed to support caring and caring individuals. Noddings (2003: 197) calls for broader adult interest to be developed in schools - parents and other adults should become frequent visitors and be involved in supervising small groups or leading discussions. Noddings feels that no teachers should be alone with children for extended periods of time, or solely responsible for the children in their care.[29]

[29] Koepke and Harkins (2008: 845) cite Bowlby (1969/1982) and note that children develop models for understanding the social world based on their early relationships with significant adult caregivers. Attachment theory argues that children regardless of gender, culture, ethnicity, or background rely upon caring relationships with reliable, supportive adults for healthy development. The quality of relationships determines the ability of the child to relate with others in new situations throughout his or her lifetime.

An extensive overview of Nel Noddings' work and her vision for moral education has been carried out by Bergman (2004), who views Noddings' extensive analysis of human caring as her single most significant contribution to education. Noddings sees the ethic of caring as being 'both reasonable and important' (Noddings, 2003: 28) argues that 'human love, human caring, will be quite enough on which to found an ethic' (Noddings, 2003: 29). Care is seen as relationship, this caring relationship is about the other person understanding the other from the others' perspective.

Despite Noddings's assertion that care is a basic need, Schussler and Collins (2006) note that care has escaped extensive attention in educational research. They point out that care is difficult to quantify, and that although theories exist that define care and how it should manifest in schools, there is little empirical data on how care exists in school. After defining what care is and how it is shaped in schools, Schussler and Collins (2006) set out to examine care in school settings. Their focus is on the organisation of the school, as essential in fulfilling caring relationships. In the interviews they carried out, one of the most salient features that students described were the positive relationships that existed between students and teachers and among students. In the interviews 'students used words like *family*, *love*, *care, personal relationship*, and *supportive.* Postive interactions were evident through observations as well' (Schussler and Collins, 2006: 1468). Initially Schussler and Collins equated these positive social interactions with care, but later realised that this 'cordiality' needed to be investigated further and that the intent behind the actions and words needed to be considered more closely. 'When the intent showed a desire to understand another and to help the other reach his or her potential, I classified the interaction as one marked by care regardless of whether it involved a cordial or contentious interaction' (Schussler and Collins, 2006: 1468). In their analysis, five caring relationships were identified in the school: teacher-to-student, student-

student, school-to-student, student-to-school, and student-to-teacher[30]. Schussler and Collins (2006:1469) found that throughout the five caring relationships that there were five underlying pervasive elements present: opportunities for success; flexibility; respect for students; family atmosphere; and a sense of belonging.

Caring for children is a fundamental principle of education, and cannot merely be seen as an adjunct. Human liberation and caring can only be realised by caring people in caring communities (Noddings, 2003). The feminist ethic of care places the role of relationships at the centre of social, political and moral theory, as Gilligan points out:

> A feminist ethic of care begins with connection, theorised as primary and seen as fundamental in human life. People live in connection with one another; human lives are interwoven in a myriad of subtle and not subtle ways….From this standpoint, the conception of a separate self appears intrinsically problematic, conjuring up the image of rational man, acting out a relationship with the inner and outer world. Such autonomy, rather than being the bedrock for solving psychological problems itself becomes the problem, signifying a disconnection from emotions and blindness to relationships which set the stage for psychological and political trouble (Gilligan, 1998: 342).

As Cockburn (2005: 72) observes, feminist ethics of care do not constitute a homogeneous set of ideas. Nonetheless, there are common themes that can be identified. The most important is the critique of the myth of isolated individuals (advocated by male enlightenment theorists). Though this critique has featured in sociology more broadly, feminist discourse adds particular insights. Cockburn (2005:72-73) also notes that writers such as Tronto (1993) have shown that an ethic of care is very different to an ethic of rights in three ways:

[30] The checklist developed in this study focuses student-student, student-teacher and student-school.

- An ethics of care emphasises responsibilities and relationships rather than rules and rights.
- An ethics of care is bound to concrete situations rather than being abstract - morality is linked to social practices and customs.
- The ethics of care is and activity - caring - rather than a set of principles.

A most helpful analysis of primary teaching as a culture of care is provided by Nais (1999). She appropriates Deal and Kennedy's (1983) definition of culture[31] - 'what keeps the herd moving west' (Nais 1999: 66). This definition emphasises goal-orientation (beliefs and purposes) as well as action (customs, habits, ways of being) which are generated by group normative pressures and goals. Nais argues that what happens in practice in organisations is that values and beliefs are neglected, and that the focus shifts to behaviour. In her analysis Nais distinguishes between care as an ethical ideal derived from feeling and a sense of interpersonal responsibility, and care which comes from deeply ingrained habits of obedience, hard work and self neglect. Nais argues that these motivations are hard to tell apart and that individual teachers need to fathom the motives for themselves, and identify how these may manifest as self-identity, stress, guilt and neglect.

In her analysis Nais (1999) identifies six ways in which 'care' is used by primary school teachers and the tacit beliefs which accompany each of them: care as affectivity; care as responsibility for learners; care as responsibility for relationships throughout the school; care as altruism, self-sacrifice and obedience; care as over-conscientiousness; care as commitment and identity. She acknowledges that three of these ways bare a strong resemblance to the 'relational feminists', but others are broader.

[31] The concept of culture in schools is further developed in Chapter 3.

A similar emphasis on care is adopted by Christie (2005), drawing on the thinking of Said, Balibar, Young and Levinas and others. She makes the case for an 'ethics of engagement' in education, an engagement comprising of three dimensions:

- An ethics of commitment to intellectual rigour.
- An ethics of civility in which the conditions are built for public democratic space.
- An ethics of care in which we acknowledge the significance of care of the other.

Christie's (2005: 43) argument is 'for an education which builds a disposition of enquiry which supports thoughtful engagement in public life.' For Christie an ethics of care in education means building a capacity to care for the other as another person. She argues that this entails a willingness to face suffering and deal with difficult emotions without denying or rejecting them.

The caring school

The concept of the 'caring school'[32] has gained popularity in South Africa over the last few years. The idea has largely been driven by the need for schools to offer broader support to children in need, particularly orphans and vulnerable children. There are also other imperatives at play. The UNICEF agenda, for example, has been to create 'child-friendly schools'. Quality has been a major concern in this approach, as well as the need to reduce barriers to participation in schools. This approach contributes to the meeting of the Millennium Development Goals and is characterised by two approaches: first, a rights-based approach, where the rights of the child and the child's wellbeing are central; and second, an approach based on effective teaching and learning, where the school

[32] The school, as institution cannot 'care' in itself. It is the people that make up the institution that have to have a caring disposition and create the caring environment though their actions.

is seen as being central to the education system, and the need to develop teachers and leadership and governance are emphasised.

Save the Children (UK) also works from a rights-based perspective. Their model involves the establishment of a School-based Support Teams, and appointing Youth Facilitators to link between the school and the community. Another role they have is to identify vulnerable children and to assist them in dealing with their problems. Their approach includes improving the school environment and ensuring that there is adequate nutrition. The meeting of children's psycho-social needs, as well as connecting to other services provided by the community NGOs and government are also seen as being important (Summers, 2009).

The Media in Education Trust's *Schools as Centres of Care and Support* approach is also similar to the *Save the Children* approach, in that the school becomes a centre of support. Schools become 'hubs' of service delivery for children and community participation is fostered. This approach is dependent on multi-sectorial collaboration, and requires that schools collaborate and share resources.

Marneweck and colleagues (2008) have considered the role of school leaders in 'caring' public schools and the role they play in mitigating the impact of HIV/Aids in South African schools. They argue that leaders need an ability to engage the wider community to respond to the needs of vulnerable children and children infected or affected by HIV. They found that schools had to change what they stood for and how they were led. A key finding of their study was the recognition of the important role of care and support in schools and that this support was a prerequisite of participation in school. They also found that the large number of socio-economic factors that impacted on children's live made it necessary for schools to draw on resources beyond the school, and that this support made the schools more effective. The authors reported that none of the schools in their study provided academic support for students who missed school because of

illness or other reasons. While the support for vulnerable children varied, little or no support was offered to teachers infected or affected by HIV.

A key conclusion of Marneweck et al's study was that the current social needs of children in schools should compel schools to expand their roles and become centres of care and support. They argue that while maintaining their focus on teaching and learning schools can expand their role and take on a limited number of well-chosen interventions such as nutrition, psycho-socio support and aftercare and additional support with school work.

The 'caring school' approaches in a small section of public schools in South Africa focus on the rights of the child; they also engage broader society and seek to address the barriers that students face in school. A more in-depth study of care in two Latino community-based schools carried out by Antrop-Gonzalez and De Jesus (2006) found that care played itself more in terms of relationships and expectations. Students described their experiences of educational caring in relation to high academic expectations and mentorship. The emphasis on high-quality interpersonal relationships was emphasised: 'Students often described their relationships with facilitators as *like a friend*, *like family* or *like a parent* (Antrop-Gonzalez and De Jesus, 2006: 421).

Having considered issues of violence and care in general contexts, I now turn to consider the specific context of Catholic schools.

Ethos of Catholic schools

The foundational Catholic school documents are particularly useful for Catholic schools in responding to the particular needs of children and young people. Catholic schools are called to pay particular attention to the quality of

relationships and the particular climate fostered in the school.[33] These documents provide a rationale for creating a caring climate, but more importantly the particular role of the teacher in shaping this climate is emphasised:

> Teachers should remember that they are principally responsible for a Catholic school's ability to put into effect its aims and projects (The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, 1965: 11).

In general, the popular approaches to developing 'caring schools' that are implemented in South Africa do not place enough emphasis on the role of the teacher in creating this climate. It must be acknowledged that religion or religious conviction is not an antidote for cruelty, nor is it the magic bullet for care. Many great things are done in the name of religion, but equally many terrible things are also perpetrated in the name of religion (cf. Hitchens, 2007). Coloroso (2007: 178) notes that 'religion is neither sufficient nor necessary in order for someone to act with integrity, civility, and compassion and to speak out against injustice, to do the right thing simply because it is the right thing to do'. However, I would strongly argue that religious teachings can be used as a basis to challenge and to work for a more just society. In the Catholic tradition, religion validates the intrinsic dignity of the human person and recognises the interdependence of people.

In the document *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* the focus of the Catholic school is articulated:

[33] In the South African context this is expressed in a pastoral letter from the Bishops: 'Teachers in Catholic schools are called by God to participate in the teaching ministry of Jesus. Their vocation involves vision, conscientious work, professionalism and care for the children entrusted to them. Teachers in our schools witness to the mission of Christ in bringing about a society based on the principles of love, peace, truth and justice. More than this, teachers are called to prepare their learners to be active and responsible members of society who have purpose and meaning in life and who are capable of being agents of social change' (Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, 2009: 2).

> In its ecclesial dimension another characteristic of the Catholic school has its root: it is a school for all, with special attention to those who are weakest. In the past, the establishment of the majority of Catholic educational institutions has responded to the needs of the socially and economically disadvantaged. It is no novelty to affirm that Catholic schools have their origin in a deep concern for the education of children and young people left to their own devices and deprived of any form of schooling. In many parts of the world even today material poverty prevents many youths and children from having access to formal education and adequate human and Christian formation (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 15).

This document acknowledges the Catholic schools role in caring for the deprived. The document goes on to highlight the importance of relationships in the Catholic school. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of the teacher in cultivating these relationships:

> During childhood and adolescence a student needs to experience personal relations with outstanding educators, and what is taught has greater influence on the student's formation when placed in a context of personal involvement, genuine reciprocity, coherence of attitudes, life-styles and day to day behaviour. (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 19)

This document also highlights the important role that teachers play in creating a ‘unique Christian school climate’. The nature of the relationship between students and teachers is also specified:

> In the Catholic school, ‘prime responsibility for creating this unique Christian school climate rests with the teachers, as individuals and as a community’. Teaching has an extraordinary moral depth and is one of

> man's (sic.) most excellent and creative activities, for the teacher does not write on inanimate material, but on the very spirits of human beings. The personal relations between the teacher and the students, therefore, assume an enormous importance and are not limited simply to giving and taking (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 20).

A more recent document emanating from the Vatican also highlights the communal nature of Catholic education, it emphasises that Catholic education can only be authentic if it is carried out in a communal context:

> It is not by chance that the first and original educational environment is that of the natural community of the family. Schools, in their turn, take their place beside the family as an educational space that is communitarian, organic and intentional and they sustain their educational commitment, according to *the logic of assistance* (my emphasis) (Congregation for Catholic Education, 2007: 8).

This document fails to recognise the changing face of 'family' and that in South Africa nearly half of all children live in reconstituted families[34]. But the document does well in explaining the interrelationships that exist in schools, and the dynamics that should prevail:

> The Catholic school, characterised mainly as an educating community, is a school for the *person and of persons.* In fact it aims at forming the *person in the integrated unity of being*, using the tools of teaching and learning where 'criteria of judgement, determining values, points of interest, lines of thought, sources of inspiration and models for life' are formed. Above all, they are involved in the dynamics of interpersonal relations that form and vivify the school community.

[34] South African Institute of Race Relations said its recent survey showed that only a third of the country's children lived with their parents and the rest lived with single parents, on their own, with relatives or in foster care (*The Sowetan*, 11 March 2013).

From the perspective of Arendt, these extracts echo the capacity for human renewal. But this dimension certainly does need to be strengthened to emphasise the student's contribution to the renewal of the world. Arendt's view that people are constantly born into the world and in need of being introduced to the world and of bringing the possibility of reinvigorating needs to be emphasised (Levinson, 2001).

The Vatican documents in themselves tend to be quite formulaic and the documents of social movements within the Catholic Church tend to be more grounded. A recent example of such a text is *Education's Highest Aim* (James et al, 2010). In this text the vision and practice of the Focolare Movement is used to develop a vision for education. A vision underpinned by reciprocity with others:

> Through reciprocity with others, individuals realise their capacity to confront the weightiest moral questions, life's 'mountains of hatred and violence' that no one can move by himself or herself, and in doing so become truly themselves (James et al, 2010: 22).

In relation to mission intention and practice, Donnelly (2000) provides a valuable distinction in the implementation of vision and mission. In describing 'ethos' she distinguishes between two broad dimensions. Ethos as an objective reality, independent of people and social events – as an organisation it can be changed at will. Ethos is seen as the expressed wishes of those who command authority: 'Ethos is thus the *formal* expression of the authorities' aims and objectives for an organisation' (Donnelly, 2000: 135). In many ways the foundation documents of Catholic schools can be seen in this way.

However, another way in which ethos can be interpreted is something which emerges more informally through social interaction and process (Donnelly, 2000). This dimension of ethos is created by people and their interactions, and is

inherently bound up with the organisation. Donnelly (2000: 137) notes that ethos described in formal documents or by school authorities is often different from the ethos which emerges from the school members' intentions, interactions and behaviour. Donnelly argues that the two broad approaches to understanding ethos should be seen as a process which is characterised by contradictions and inconsistencies. She develops a continuum of ethos in which she develops a third approach (see figure 2.3).

Description of ethos	***Dimension of Ethos***	***Manifested in...***	***Implications for school culture***
Superficial ethos	Aspirational ethos	Documents/ statements from school authorities such as the Catholic Church	Trying to conform to the 'letter of the law'
↓			
↓	Ethos of outward attachment	School organisational structures; physical environment of the school; behaviour of individuals	Shaping the culture through interaction
↓			
Deep Ethos	Ethos of inward attachment	Individuals' deep seated thoughts, feelings and perceptions	Personal ownership of the school culture

Figure 2.3: Three Dimensions of ethos and the implications for school culture (Adapted after Donnelly, 2000: 151)

The third dimension involves developing an ethos which is more deeply entrenched, and when combined with the other dimensions, provides another perspective of the school. Donnelly (2000) argues that each of these dimensions of ethos provides a different set of lenses through which to view the climate of a school. From the Catholic school point of view it means making the aspirational ethos a reality in the everyday practices school life.

Returning to the notion of caring, it is important that teachers demonstrate caring:

> Teachers are the brokers of caring in schools. They provide the bridge between the school and the individual...Hearing student voices can provide educators with a clearer understanding of approaches to enhance caring (Bosworth, 2005: 686).

In his study, Bosworth (2005) found that the typical school day did not offer many opportunities to demonstrate caring. However, like this study students did not have difficulty in articulating the characteristics of a caring teacher. Their responses were related to classroom or teaching practices; activities like after school help and guidance and personal characteristics. They argue that schools need to create caring communities by promoting activities and attitudes that promote relationships. They further argue that students also need opportunity to practice caring, and that their attempts are recognised and rewarded.

In reviewing the available literature, Koepke and Harkins (2008) noted that students who have highly negative relationships with their teachers also exhibit higher levels of behaviour problems and poorer peer relationships. Their academic achievement is also compromised. Poor relationships also resulted in increasing levels of aggression with peers and declining pro-social behaviour. The opposite is true where there are close and supportive relationships between teachers and students. The risks of negative outcomes are also mitigated. Warmth and closeness in teacher-child relationships positively contributes to improved learning outcomes.

Reducing the size of schools and classrooms allows teachers to get to know students and to do more to help them with their work (Bosworth, 2005). From a teacher perspective, he argues that teachers should smile, engage and say

positive things to students. Student names should be used and teachers need to engage individually.

Bullying and care in Catholic schools

Given the long history of war, armed conflict, apartheid, and newer forms of criminal violence in South Africa, it is no wonder schools have been identified as sites where violence can either be exacerbated or dealt with in a positive way. A series of initiatives in South Africa have charged schools with the task of addressing violence. Most of the initiatives are aimed at bullying, sexual harassment, and gun violence. Bullying is sometimes given the most attention because it is seen as a universal problem affecting all schools and often as a stepping-stone to more lethal forms of violence. Many scholars have viewed bullying as an underlying problem leading to gun violence, fights, and even suicide. For these reasons, schools in South Africa have begun to address bullying explicitly, sometimes through school-wide assemblies and 'bullying-proofing' programmes, and sometimes in schools' development of Pastoral Care committees and Life Orientation classes. Often, these bully-prevention strategies are part of a larger violence-prevention programmes and accompany attempts to make schools more caring places. Though not as lethal as school shootings and not as physically aggressive as fights and weapon violence in schools, bullying is seen as a pre-cursor to more lethal and aggressive forms of violence, and is therefore seen as a starting point for violence prevention in schools. While some public schools are beginning to address bullying, Catholic schools have been the most forthright in their attempts to deal with bullying. This is for two reasons. First, the Catholic school mission explicitly promotes good-will between students; on religious principles alone Catholicism is against the bullying of one person by another. Second, the recent history of Catholic schools in South Africa demonstrates resistance to oppression, and this would include bullying; these schools were the first to desegregate, even at times going against apartheid government policy (Christie, 1990). Therefore, Catholic schools in their beliefs

and actions have opposed the subjugation of individuals and have attempted to promote civility and to teach youths to respect others. In essence, Catholic schools are meant to promote caring among all people in schools; this promotion of caring could be one way in which to address problems of bullying.

When Arendt described the crisis in education in the US in 1961 she excluded what she called the 'Roman Catholic parochial school system' as they did not fit into her theory. She believed that to a large extent that they had somehow been protected from the problems she identified with progressive education.[35] From her perspective the Catholic school curriculum was conservative. However, today, in South Africa, as in most parts of the world this is no longer the case, particularly where Catholic schools are funded by the state and implement national curricula (cf. Potterton & Johnstone, 2007).

The research for this thesis was carried out in sixteen Catholic independent[36] primary schools in Gauteng province. The overall assumption was that because of the particular worldview of Catholic schools, levels of violence would be lower and levels of care higher. This assumption was based on the extensive work carried out in Catholic schools in the United States of America by Bryk et al (1993). They found that Catholic high schools had an effect on achievement, especially in reducing the disparity between disadvantaged and other students. Bryk et al (1993: 287) found that effective Catholic high schools functioned on the basis of four characteristics namely a delimited technical core, communal organisation, decentralized governance and on an inspirational ideology. They also noted the important role played by moral beliefs and values in the functioning of schools.

[35] Arendt (1961: 179) argued that 'nowhere else have the most modern theories in the realm of pedagogy been so uncritically and slavishly accepted. Thus the crisis in American education, on the one hand, announces the bankruptcy of progressive education and, on the other, presents a problem of immense difficulty because it has arisen under the conditions and in response to the demands of a mass society'.

[36] The South African School Act (1996) (SASA) allows for two types of South African schools: Public schools (section 12) and independent Schools (section 45). SASA defines public schools in two categories. Public Schools on State Property (section 13) and Public Schools on Private Property (section 14).

The importance of the Catholic understanding of God and of human existence is highlighted by Groome (1996: 109). He identifies three cardinal characteristics that should permeate and underpin Catholic education[37], namely:

- A commitment to people's personhood, to who they become and their ethic of life – an ontological concern.
- A commitment to justice – a sociological concern.
- A commitment to 'catholicity' – a universal concern.

Groome goes on to explain how this understanding of the human condition should impact on the curriculum of the Catholic school. The school should affirm students' basic goodness, promote their dignity, honour their fundamental rights and develop their talents to the fullest. Students should be educated to live responsibly for themselves and others, and have a sense that their lives are worthwhile and have historical significance and that what they do advances the wellbeing of all.

Throughout its history, the Catholic Church has been concerned to clarify its distinctive educational vision (Mc Laughlin, 1996). But there is a trend for Catholic schools to be less distinguishable from other schools. Mc Laughlin, however, argues that this is understandable as Catholic belief and personal behaviour have become less sharply distinguished from other beliefs and lifestyles. For Mc Laughlin (1996: 137) the distinctiveness of Catholic education has to be clarified, for without clarity they lack focus and vision.

> On the one hand, such schools need to avoid a merely *de facto* or pragmatic acceptance of, or conformity to, educational norms and circumstances in the world as a whole, where there is a danger of acquiescence in the face of pressures which may not support, and in

[37] This framework is used later in this study in the analysis of school mission statements.

> some cases undermine, the properly Catholic aims and values of the school (Mc Laughlin 1996:138).

One of the more recent Vatican documents on education argues that the 'human being, as a person, is a unity of soul and body that is dynamically realised through its opening to a relation with others. A person is formed for 'being-with' and 'for-others', which is realised in love' (p.22). Later the document applies the concept to the school:

> Basically, the school is called to be a living witness of the love of God among us (p.23).

This positive view of schooling put forward by the Catholic Church is very different to the experience of many in Catholic schools before the Second Vatican Council. This council resulted in the renewal of the Church which encouraged greater participation. Grace (2002) provides some insight into the pre-Vatican II situation. He notes that the most widely disseminated images of the Church present a contradiction between a formal preaching of love, compassion and forgiveness emanating from the nature of Christ, and educational practice involving, in many cases brutal beating and sadistic psychological domination. In other words, in some traditional Catholic school contexts the New Testament message of love was overshadowed by the Old Testament message of retribution. Grace argues that the use of traditional methods of discipline using physical and psychological means was hypocritical and undermined the integrity and the mission of the schools.

Conclusion

This review has shown that violence underpins South African society and that schools themselves reflect the violence prevalent in society. I have argued that because of the overwhelming nature of violence in the country, and of the

frequency of more heinous forms of violence, lower levels of violence like bullying in schools have not necessarily received the consideration that they receive in the developed world. Bullying in South African schools is widespread and also deserves to be examined more closely. I have identified the emerging literature around bullying that indicates that the possible causes of bullying and other school violence lie in the manner in which schools are organised. I have also highlighted the role teachers may play in fostering violence in school.

Many epidemiological and morphological studies provide data on what bullying is, its prevalence, intensity, frequency, place of occurrence and so forth. The explanation for the causes of bullying has mainly been sought by looking at the personal attributes of the bully and victim, as well as the family and social background. Some researchers argue that insufficient attention has been paid to the school context in the discourse on school bullying, and that most intervention programmes dealing with aggressive behaviour focus on changing the characteristics of 'at risk students' and fail to address the larger social context, including that of the school.

In this chapter, I have explored a number of different theoretical approaches to violence, particularly as a counter to approaches that emphasise individual characteristics and actions. Drawing on the work of Hannah Arendt and others, I have sought to understand violence and bullying not in terms of personal attributes, but in terms of a broader 'human condition' and how this might be nurtured in positive ways in education. This has drawn me to a consideration of care, and the question of whether or not an ethic of care in schools could act as a counter to violence. In examining issues of care, I have drawn heavily on the work of Nell Noddings who emphasises relational ethics. In seeking to understand bullying and care in these ways, my concern has been to go beyond the technical solutions so often suggested in anti-bullying interventions. Instead of seeking technical solutions, the challenge is to gain a better understanding of the real moral and social problems we face in South African schools, including

Catholic schools, and to challenge the ways in which teachers think about their work with students and what students are capable of achieving.

In the next chapter I outline the development of the instrument (called a checklist) used in this study to used to examine students' views of bullying and levels of care in their schools, thereby exploring empirically the possible relationship between bullying and care.

Chapter 3
Research Design and Methods

This chapter sets out the principles of the research design of the study, and discusses the research procedures that were followed. It describes the size and composition of the research sample and provides a short description of each of the schools in the study. Issues of validity, reliabilty and ethics in relation to the research are also considered.

Section 1: Research design

The aims of this research were to investigate the extent and nature of bullying as a form of violence in a sample of Catholic schools, and to explore the possible relationship between an ethos of care in schools and the prevalence of bullying. To investigate these aims, I sought to explore student perspectives on bullying and care, and to consider issues of bullying and care in relation to the espoused values of Catholic schools, both in terms of Catholic teachings and school mission statements. An early decision taken was that the unit of analysis would be the student and not the school (a point I return to later).

This study draws on empirical data generated by the completion of a questionnaire by students in 16 schools. Data was also generated when the students wrote open-ended comments at the end of the questionnaire. The vision and mission statements were also collected and analysed to gain an understanding of the schools' espoused cultural values.

Student survey

Mindful of the extensive debates about qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, an early decision in the design of this research was to use a survey instrument to investigate students' views. In taking this decision, a number of

issues were considered, beginning with the strengths and weaknesses of surveys as a method of canvassing students' views.

As Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) point out, questionnaire surveys are the most common method of collecting data, are used for gathering data in an efficient, cost effective and relatively easy way. The main advantage of surveys for my research is that they could be used with large numbers of students over a short space of time. Surveys also have the benefit of being able to be designed to take account of age, and thus be used with younger as well as older children to gather views and opinions. If well designed, closed survey questions allow for accuracy and definitive analysis (Yin, 2011). Open ended questions on a survey enable participants to contribute their views and opinions in their own words – and also enable them to comment on their experiences of the survey itself. Surveys may thus be used to provide first-hand information, and provide anonymity to students in dealing with a sensitive topic.

That said, there are a number of weaknesses with surveys as a research tool (see Robson, 2002 for a good summary). First, they may not be able to gather information on causes and feelings (see del Barrio,1999); in this regard, qualitative approaches are more likely to be able to capture specificity and nuance. Second, great care needs to be taken with internal validity issues, particularly when addressing complex concepts such as bullying, since people may have different interpretations of what this entails, and different socio-cultural contexts may produce different understandings. In addition, as Ortega et al (2001) point out, questions may not be sufficiently comprehensive to cover all aspects of bullying; younger learners may provide inconsistent responses and forget what they answered before; and questionnaires typically require information about past events with may not be accurately recalled. In drawing up survey questions, these points provided cautionary guidance.

Writing on the challenges of researching bullying, Vaillancourt *el al* (2008: 468) have noted the rapid increase in studies of bullying and children, and make the point that it is important to understand just what is being researched: '…whether there is agreement between researchers' definitions and what *children themselves* emphasise in their conceptions of bullying'. These authors found that children rarely included the three criteria usually found in researchers' definitions: intentionality, repetition and power imbalance. Younger children tended to emphasise physical aggression, harassing behaviours and verbal aggression, whereas older children reported relational aggression. Vaillancourt *el al* suggest that by providing a definition of bullying, researchers are more likely to increase the precision of measurement.

Greif and Furlong (2006) argue that assessment tools such as surveys need to address a specific purpose and should use developmentally appropriate language and have simple wording and grammar. They also argue that assessment tools should ask about students' experiences rather than using emotionally laden labels like 'bullying'.

Bond et al (2007: 76) also highlight that measuring bullying in schools is complicated because both definitions of bullying and methods for measuring bullying vary:

> As differences exist between what young people and researchers consider to be the most important defining characteristics of bullying, there is debate as to whether a definition should be provided when measuring this construct. To avoid the problems and inconsistencies associated with providing definitions of bullying, others have simply asked individuals to indicate how often they have experienced a list of specified negative and harassing acts.

They go on to highlight a further limitation:

> A further limitation of many bullying scales is their length, for example, the Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ) has 7 sections with 33 items specifically about bullying and takes approximately 35 minutes to complete. While the length may be warranted and appropriate where the focus is solely on assessing the prevalence and severity of bullying in a school, the length of these questionnaires can be a burden on the respondents (2007: 76)

Ortega *et al* (2001) have also documented the challenge of researching bullying in schools and the difficulty researchers have had in uncovering this information. In this regard, they note that the anonymous survey has been used extensively. They suggest that there should be a definition and then three cartoons to show pupils each type of bullying: physical, verbal and indirect. The questionnaire should provide a number of different answer options suited to the context. They suggested that between 25 and 30 questions is a good size for a questionnaire.

In designing the survey for this research, a number of available instruments were reviewed; for example, Ken Rigby's Peer Relations Assessment Questionnaire, a self-nomination questionnaire, was carefully considered. This instrument defined bullying as follows 'We call it *bullying* when someone is repeatedly hurting or frightening someone weaker than themselves for no good reason. This may be done in different ways: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions or gestures, name-calling or hitting or kicking' (Peer Relations Assessment Questionnaire 1998:2). Rigby's questionnaire contained questions such as 'How often this year have you been bullied by another student or group of students?' The students would then tick an appropriate choice. However, as Thompson *et al* (2002) would argue, there are so many different types of bullying that the answer to this question would not be able to provide precise information about what is really happening to the student. The other issue they highlight is that the term 'bullying' in itself is

emotive and may put the students off being frank[38]. Thompson *et al* (2002: 185) note that 'by asking for information on specific, observable actions that could have happened to a pupil, the data will be more precise and therefore more meaningful.'

In looking at surveys on students' experiences of bullying, I was attracted to towards Arora's (1999) 'My Life in School' checklist. The original 'Life in School' checklist was developed by Tiny Arora in 1987 to find out whether bullying was taking place in a school. The instrument has been extensively used and adapted since then, and its robustness has been established. An important reason for my choosing the scale was that it is freely available, easy to administer and use and to score. The fact that the instrument has been adapted and used in varying ways makes it different to the other instruments used in bullying research. Most of the other instruments available have been standardised and require that they be used as they stand. Arora's instrument is able to be adapted, with the proviso that an equal proportion of positive and negative items be included in the list. Arora also stipulates that the following seven items need to be included in order to calculate the bullying index: 'Called me names', 'Tried to kick me'; 'Tried to hurt me'; 'Tried to break something of mine'; 'Tried to make me give them money', 'Tried to hit me', 'Tried to frighten me' (Thompson et al, 2002: 185-186).

Arora (1999) found that the lowest Bullying Index was obtained in an all girls secondary school, and that this was understandable as the items were not sensitive enough to detect bullying in girls schools. She also noted that girls were normally bullied by both girls and boys, and that boys were generally bullied by boys only. Despite this I chose to use the items precisely because of the high levels of physical violence in schools in South Africa.

[38] Kert, Codding, Tryon & Shiyko (2010: 194) argue that including the word 'bully' and the definition of bullying may influence student responses and compromise the validity of questionnaire results.

The ‘My Life at School’ checklist developed for this research looked at bullying from the perspective of learners and also included an overall pastoral care index. The checklist is aimed at primary school students who have developed a foundational proficiency in English. This checklist was drawn up to provide a comprehensive picture of ‘life in a school’, as well as data on students’ perceptions of the extent and nature of bullying in schools, as well as their perceptions about aspects of pastoral care in schools.

The following *broad* questions guided the development of the instrument:

- What is the extent of bullying and other forms of violence in the schools?
- What forms does bullying take?
- How does bullying and violence affect teachers and pupils?
- What role does school ethos play in reducing violence?
- How do schools create a climate or ethos where children and teachers care for one another?
- How do schools create classroom conditions that promote growth and development?
- Is there a relationship between levels of violence and levels of care in schools?

Ortega *et al* (2001) provide a comprehensive overview of the general survey questionnaires and nomination methods concerning bullying, and this was taken into account in adapting and expanding the ‘My Life in School’ checklist for this study.

Table 3.1: The development of the questionnaire

Step 1: Review of existing instruments. In the first stage of the development of the checklist I compiled a list of the instruments that have been used to establish levels of bullying in schools using self report approaches. I looked closely at the items in these instruments that were relevant to the conceptual framework of the study.

Step 2: Developing an elementary set of questions

The initial questions were based on Arora's checklist. However, small amendments were made to some of the questions to enhance clarity for the South African context. The questions making up the index of care were developed from the literature mentioned in chapter 2, and were written in the same style and format of Arora's checklist.

Step 3: Reviewing the checklist with colleagues

I met with four colleagues to discuss the checklist as a way of establishing face and content validity. The questions and response options were checked, as well as the particular wording of each question, bearing in mind culture and age appropriateness.

Step 4: Testing the checklist in the field

The initial versions of the checklist were tested in two schools in Rustenburg and Durban. The students at the school in Rustenburg (n = 191) came mainly from English-speaking families. The Durban (n = 161) school children were mostly English-speaking, but 40% came from Zulu-speaking backgrounds. The checklist was well received and students did not have problems understanding the questions. Discussions were held with students after the administration of the questionnaires to obtain feedback. The majority of the students indicated that they were grateful for an opportunity to express their views. The students at both schools commented that this was the first time that they had been invited to talk about the topics covered in the questionnaires. The scoring of the checklists from both sites did not reveal any difficulties that the students had in completing them.

Step 5: Refining the questions and putting the final version of the checklist together
The final version of the checklist was printed on forms that could be read electronically by an optical scanner. The questionnaires also collected biographical data and provided succinct instructions.

Step 6: Administering the checklist
After some discussion amongst my colleagues it was clear that we would not tell students that we were carrying out surveys at school to look at 'bullying and care'. We agreed that we would say that we wanted to find out what life is like in their school. In other words: 'what was it like to be a student at the school?'

Sample choice, size, description and location

The research focussed on primary students in Catholic schools in the Gauteng Province. The sampling design aimed to provide data which was broadly representative of urban Catholic schools in South Africa. At the time of the study there were 53 schools in the Gauteng province located in the Archdiocese of Pretoria and the Diocese of Johannesburg, and 9 695[39] Grade 4, 5, 6 and 7 students in these schools. (see Appendix table 3.3 for a more detailed breakdown). The final sample was made up of 2 447 students attending 16 schools. As mentioned earlier, the study was designed with the student rather than the school as the unit of analysis. The main reasons for this decision were ethical. As Director of the Catholic Institute of Education at the time, I had close working relationships with the schools in the study and had a duty of care towards them. The fact that schools could be identified even if pseudonyms were used meant that I could not guarantee anonymity, and confidentiality could therefore be compromised. Given the sensitivity of the topic, I needed to ensure that findings would not have repercussions for teachers and students in these schools, which might have been the case if schools were the focus of the study

[39] The 2005 data on Catholic schools was made available by the Statistics Unit of the Catholic Institute of Education.

and comparisons drawn between schools. Since my research focus was on students' experiences of bullying and care, it was not necessary to focus the analysis on schools. Information is provided in the Appendix about the schools from which the sample was drawn.

The ages of the students surveyed ranged from 9 to 14, with the mean being 11.45 (SD 1.2). In terms of language, 853 students had English as a home language, 111 spoke Afrikaans at home and 1 168 spoke African languages. (However, not all students ticked the language choice on the survey form). The responses of males and females were considered separately. In terms of type of school, 1 061 of the students were in 'township' schools and 1 388 were in 'suburban' schools.

In drawing the sample, letters were written to the primary schools and the combined schools which had primary sections, informing them of the forthcoming study and inviting them to participate. Responses were received from 19 schools. A letter was then written to the principals of each of the schools making the specific arrangements (See Appendix A.1). Specific follow up was made to two all boys schools that had not responded to the original request. The one school did not respond at all and the other said that they did not want this kind of research to be carried out at their school.

The sample used was not a random sample, but rather purposive. I set out to obtain data from a cross-section of Catholic schools in Gauteng. If this were a randomised trial, the size of this sample would yield a 99 per cent confidence level.

The schools attended by students in the study

Table 3.2 provides an overview of the schools in the study. Short descriptions of each of the schools are provided in the Appendix B.2.

Table 3.2: Profiles of the schools in the study

School	School Size	Number of students Grade 4-Grade 7	Type of school		Nature of campus	Location
1	449	103	Girls school	Preschool to Grade 12	Single campus	Suburban
2	503	287	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 12	Separate primary and high school campus	Suburban
3	554	276	Girls school	Preschool to Grade 12	Single campus	Suburban
4	398	157	Coeducational Primary School; Girls High	Grade R to Grade 12	Single campus	Inner-city
5	597	179	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus	Suburban
6	673	312	Coeducational	Preschool to Grade 12	Separate primary and high school campus	Suburban
7	440	274	Coeducational	Preschool to Grade 12	Single campus	Suburban
8	329	173	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus	Township
9	579	328	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus spilt by a road	Township
10	889	439	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus	Township
11	664	276	Coeducational	Preschool to Grade 12	Single campus	Suburban
12	580	525	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus	Township
13	946	133	Girls school	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus for Grade 4 to Grade 12	Suburban
14	372	98	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Single campus	Township
15	132	248	Boys school	Preschool to Grade 12	Single campus	Suburban
16	471	190	Coeducational	Grade R to Grade 7	Separate primary and high school campus	Suburban

The process of carrying out the study is described in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: The process of carrying out the study

Step 1: Letters seeking permission to carry out the study at particular schools were sent out.

Step 2: Once permission was obtained to carry out the research, letters addressed to parents and guardians were sent to obtain their consent.

Step 3: Appointments were made to visit each school to carry out the study, schools were asked to make particular arrangements that ensured that there were no teachers present when the questionnaires were administered.

Step 4: The students were asked to complete an assent form. The questionnaires were administered. The completed questionnaires were placed in sealed envelopes.

Step 5: Letters of appreciation were sent to the schools.

Step 6: The completed forms were sorted and scanned through an optical scanner and the data was saved in excel spreadsheets. The students' handwritten comments were captured onto excel spreadsheets.

Step 7: Once the data had been processed for each school, a letter was sent to the school, together with the preliminary results for the school. The letter explained how the results could be interpreted.

Administering the questionnaires

The questionnaire was administered at the schools during the regular school day. Students were given the questionnaire and pencils to complete the survey. Students completed the checklist in the sixteen schools with no teachers present. Members of the research team (myself and one other person) administered the checklist. The same instructions were given to all the participating students in

each school. In schools where the literacy levels were low the students were ‘talked’ through each question. We also invited students to use the open space to write any of their own comments. In the final analysis we did not include two schools data in the composite data as these samples were too small (at least 30 respondents should complete the index in a school) to be a reliable and would have skewed the overall picture.

The students all seemed to enjoy participating in the process, and it was a pleasure working with all of the students. There were no oppositional students and all of them were cooperative during the process. Some students made the following kinds of comments on their forms:

> Thanks this was a very nice experiment. I enjoyed it expressing my feelings. (Boy, Grade 6, School 11).
>
> Nice questions (Girl, Grade 6, School 7).
>
> Some of these questions were funny and some of them were serious. (Girl, Grade 6, School 7).

Once the data had been processed for each school, a letter was sent to the school, together with the results. The letter explained how the results were to be interpreted (See Appendix A1).

Data processing

The completed forms were scanned using an optical scanner and the data was captured into excel spread sheets and coded for analysis. This data was then imported into STATA (Version 10) software. For example, boys and girls were allocated 0 and 1 respectively, and the never, once, more than once were allocated 0, 1 and 2. The data were then checked to see whether transfer was

accurate and that there were no errors. Each row in the data view represented one record.

There was data missing in some records, where students left an answer out. However, this was not the case in most of the records. Where there was missing data in the field, the field was left blank (Robson, 2002: 363-397). The missing values were replaced with the mean of the rest of the questions. Statistical analysis was carried out in consultation with the Medical Research Council of South Africa using STATA (version 10).

Demographic and other data were collected during study and descriptively analysed using means, standard deviations and percentages. Factor analyses with Cronbach's alphas were computed as well as regression analysis.

Analysis of the open-ended questions

The intention of the open-ended question was to solicit the voice of students. The underpinning belief being that consultation results in enhanced participation and improves the experience of students in school. Rudduck and Flutter (2004:133) argue that if students feel they matter and are respected, then they are more likely to be committed to the schools proposes. If practical steps can be taken towards improving their life in school then they are likely to develop positive identities as students. Rudduck and Flutter (2004) argue that student consultation and participation can result in practical agendas that can strengthen student self-esteem. A better understanding of students and their experience can improve the way in which the school is organised and the way teachers teach, and teacher-student relationships can also be improved.

The open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire form reads as follows: 'Write any other comments'. Space was provided for the students to write their responses. There was no prompt provided in any particular direction. The open-

ended answers were typed onto spread sheets and later coded. Broad themes were identified and grouped. The frequency of the particular types of responses was also recorded.

Analysis of the school vision and mission statements

Grace (2002) examined how English Catholic principals interpreted concepts of mission and leadership in their own situations. In his study the school mission statements were reviewed to understand their own mission integrity. Grace (2002; 125) summarised what he called the distinctive features of the Catholic school from a series of statements published by the Vatican's Congregation for Catholic Education (1977, 1982, 1988, 1998):

1. Education in the faith (as part of the saving mission of the Church);
2. An option for the poor (providing education to those most in need);
3. Formation in solidarity and community (living in community with others);
4. Education for the common good (to work for the common good);
5. Academic education for service (knowledge not an end in itself).

A sixth feature can be added to this list:

6. Education that develops a positive relationship between the teachers and the students (Congregation for Catholic Education, 2007).

Grace identified these principles as the formal articulation of Church teaching for Catholic schools today[40]. The mission statements developed by schools were a reflection of this teaching in contemporary contexts. These were influenced by

[40] Grace (2002) makes reference to the the work of Thomas Groome in his work, but takes Groome further. Part 1 of Grace's book is concerned with theoretical frameworks and positioning Catholic schools in the secular world, and the theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein are used as tools of interpretation.

the religious congregations, the local Church leadership, governing bodies, principals and teachers.

Grace (1998a) notes that mission statements have been used in Catholic school culture long before they were appropriated in modern organisational structures. He argues that mission statements provide a 'charter of what a school claims to be its distinctive educational, spiritual, moral and social purposes' (Grace 2002: 126).[41]

Grace's schema was used in this study. The mission statements of the sixteen schools in this study were analysed[42] to provide a summary of the schools focuses and to examine what priority relationships and care have been given in the mission statement. The following dimensions were considered in the analysis: education in the faith, option for the poor, formation in solidarity and community, education for the common good, academic education for service and education that develops positive relationships.

Studying school culture

This study is concerned with a particular dimension of the culture of the school, and how people within the school behave – what their values, beliefs, norms and customs are – and how these impact on the experience of students at school. Prosser (1999) provides useful background on the evolution of school culture

[41] In the United States of America, the Charter School movement too has acknowledged the importance of a strong, shared sense of purpose and mission: 'A common vision of what it means to be educated and how one becomes the basis of a coherent school design' (US Chartered Schools, www.uscharteredschools.org/lpt/uscs-docs/259, accessed 18 August 2008). This movement also sees the school vision as a definitive guide for all aspects of operation, it communicates to all involved how they will be treated and what is expected of them.

[42] The office of Pastoral Planning (Diocese of Brooklyn, http://pastoralplanning.diobrook.org, accessed 18 August 2009) provides useful guidelines for Catholic Parishes on how to develop mission statements. According to their guidance, mission statements should contain four elements: identity, purpose, function and future.

research in the United Kingdom. He shows that school culture research was shaped by interrelated factors, namely:

- education theory and practice;
- different meanings of school culture;
- trends in research methodology; and
- Changing political trends.

According to Prosser during the 1960s and 1970s large scale studies such as Coleman *et al* (1966) found that students' social backgrounds were more significant than schooling as a determinant of academic achievement – schools could not compensate for the inequality of society. Later the school effectiveness research of Rutter *et al* (1979) showed that schools did constitute a major influence on academic achievement and were able to change and improve.

> Rutter *et al* not only highlighted school effectiveness research in the UK but most importantly linked the notion of school culture with the effectiveness of secondary schools, thereby refocusing researchers' concern for holistic features of schooling and school culture in particular (Prosser 1999: 3).

During the 1980s a movement which focussed on school improvement grew. The significance of school culture and the schools potential to accept change became a focus. There was increased interest in organisational and management theory.

Prosser (1999) notes that there has been a proliferation of different terms during this period, that have contributed to the confusion around how culture is understood. 'Climate', and similarly 'ethos', 'atmosphere', 'character', 'culture' and 'tone' were meaningful to researchers but their meanings varied considerably…generally speaking, 'climate' is used by school effectiveness researchers, 'culture' by school improvement researchers and qualitative

sociologists. ‘Ethos’ and ‘atmosphere’ and the ‘tone’ were used to refer to the ‘ethereal qualities of school’. Sizer & Sizer (1999: 18) put it this way:

> To find the core of a school, don’t look at its rulebook or even its mission statement. Look at the way the people in it spend their time - how they relate to each other, how they tangle with ideas. Look at the contradictions between words and practice, with the fewer the better. Try to estimate the frequency and the honesty of its deliberations...Judge the school not on what it says but on how it keeps.

I set out to develop a survey that would be able to rapidly identify the kind of culture that prevails in a school amongst students (with a particular focus on bullying and care) and among students and teachers. In developing the survey I had to review the approaches that others had taken.

Section 2: Developing the survey questionnaire

The original items of both of Aurora’s ‘My Life in School’ checklists referring to students and teachers were tested with small groups of students. Colleagues at the Catholic Institute of Education, who were not English home language speakers read the items to check for meaning, clarity, and ambiguity.

The checklist was printed on a form which could be read by an optical scanner. There were four instructions: ‘1. Only use pencil or blue or black pen. 2. Colour in one circle in each row. 3. Don’t write all over the form. 4. Do not use red pen.’ Students are required to indicate whether they are male or female, their age, the grade they are in and the language they speak at home. We thanked the students for their time and willingness to complete the checklist before we asked them to complete the form. We told them that we were doing research to find out what it was like to be at the school. We did not specifically say that we were investigating bullying. We asked them to answer the questions as honestly as

possible to think about their experience at school during the week. We also asked them not to talk to each other, but to answer the questions on their own. We emphasised that the information was confidential, and that their form would not be shown to anyone else.

The work by the care theorist Nel Noddings was used in developing the section of the questionnaire that examined students' experience of teachers and care in schools. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Noddings (2002) suggests that the best course of action to deal with school violence seems to be to transform the school climate or culture. She argues that students must believe that the adults in their school care about them and that their own growth matters. She believes that children 'seem able to survive material poverty, and many can ignore much of the violence in the media' (Noddings, 2002: 26). Her assumption is simple, and forms the basis of this thesis:

> Violence has many roots, but it seems obvious that people who feel cared for and who have learned to care for others will be less likely to engage in violent acts (Noddings, 2002: 38).

The work of Rauner (2000), particularly chapters on 'Sustaining Care: Caring Schools and other Organizations', 'Building a Caring Community' and 'Reinventing Care in Public Life', were the most instructive sources in developing the section of the questionnaire that focuses on the learners' experience of teaching. However, Rauner (2000: 86) does explain that it is difficult to define caring in a school context, but that there is some consensus as to what care might look like. Many of the problems arise from the subjective nature of care, as each person's experience of care is subjective. Measuring caring is more difficult, and researchers are not always sure that they are measuring the same things. Methods used range from interviews, to questionnaires and from quantitative to qualitative. Rauner highlights the importance of culture and argues that caring may look different in different contexts. This is particularly pertinent in South

Africa and there may be a need to be flexible. Rauner (2000: 87) argues that self-rating scales tend to elicit socially acceptable answers towards self-enhancement, but that many have produced reliable differences between individuals.

In referring to the research literature Rauner (2000: 52) notes that the processes of internalising values and constructing personal standards are emphasised in schools rather than developing a 'habit of caring through practice and external expectations. Rauner (2000: 53) goes on to reflect on a study by Whitings, which found that cooperation, pro-social behaviour and responsibility is inversely related to the cultural complexity of the society in which they live. Simpler societies require a high degree of cooperation with family, the extended family or the community. She argues that the motivation to care is largely nurtured by pro-social behaviour. She also recognises that more organised schools use the experiences to demonstrate care, more importantly:

> Young people learn by example when authority figures employ respect instead of power in their dealings with youths, subjecting themselves to the same standards as the young people with whom they work (Rauner, 2000: 56).

Table 3.4: Extracts from Rauner's work which formed the basis of item development for the checklist

'…offering security and a sense of belonging in a challenging environment' (p.73).
'…ongoing, mutually beneficial relationships…' (p.74).
'…the importance of attentiveness, responsiveness, and competence…' (p.74).
'…perception that others will help in the event of need.' (p.74).
'…strong supportive relationships within and outside of their families.' (p.75).
'…availability of caring adults' (p.77).
'…the importance of young people feeling engaged in the social context of the school…'

(p.78).
'…the quality of the teacher –student relationship is a critical determinant of student engagement and motivation' (p.78).
'A responsive, friendly personal style sets a tone where positive relationships are possible' (p. 80).
'…importance of involving students in decision-making' (p. 80).
'…deploying democratic, non authoritative pedagogical styles' (p.81).
'…developing a communal understanding of the norms of behaviour and the reasons why these norms are necessary' (p. 81).
'A caring curriculum is one that is oriented toward fostering students' ability to think critically…' (p.82).
'Schools that succeed in creating caring climates are generally those that understand the necessity of continually expressing and reaffirming their commitment to a caring atmosphere' (p. 83).

What the scale measures

The final checklist prints on one A4 sheet. There are 39 items on the one side of the sheet focusing on what another learner (student) did to the respondent over the past week. There are 32 items on the other side of the sheet which focus on what a teacher did to the respondent over the past week.

The 39 items assess aspects of the respondent's relationship with peers and focus on the following themes:

- Name calling
- Positive affirmation from peers
- Saying derogatory things about a family
- Physical violence
- Acts of kindness/altruism

- Discrimination on the basis of difference
- Threats of physical violence
- Extortion
- Intimidation
- Belittlement
- Exclusion
- Being lied to
- Being ganged up against
- Being hurt intentionally
- Involving
- Getting a person into trouble
- Being forced to do something against their will
- Someone being helpful
- Racial discrimination
- Involvement with others
- Being shouted at
- Being hit.

The 32 items assess aspects of the respondent's relationship with teachers and focus on the following themes:

- Being shouted at
- Being hit
- Being asked a question
- Offered support with school work
- Experiencing kindness
- Being discriminated against because of difference
- Having school work explained
- Being noticed on the playground
- Interest shown in the family

- Name calling
- Being frightened
- Having school work marked
- Having an interest shown in homework
- Being encouraged to achieve
- Being unattended by a teacher
- Having interest shown
- Being adequately supervised
- Being concerned for physical wellbeing
- Having school work assessed
- Being made to feel safe
- Being made to cry
- Being made fun of
- Being offered encouragement
- Being threatened to be hit
- Providing positive affirmation
- Having new school work taught
- Assisted in solving problems.

Four underlying constructs were developed to examine:

- Bullying of students by students
- Care of students by students
- Bullying of students by teachers
- Care of students by teachers.

Construct 1

The following seven items from the checklist were included in order to calculate the bullying index of students by students:

L1 Called me names
L4 Tried to kick me
L10 Tried to make me give them money
L11 Tried to frighten me.
L22 Tried to hurt me
L34 Tried to break something of mine
L36 Tried to hit me.

Construct 2

An index of care of students by students was constructed based on the following items in the checklist:

L2 Said something nice to me
L5 Was very nice to me
L15 Talked about clothes with me
L16 Told me a joke
L23 Helped me with my classwork
L25 Talked about T.V. with me
L27 Shared something with me
L30 Played a game with me
L31 Talked about things I like.

Construct 3

An index of bullying of students by teachers was constructed based on the following items in the checklist:

T8 Was unkind because I am different
T14 Made me frightened
T16 Was unfair to me

T 21 Made me cry

T 33 Hurt my feelings.

Construct 4

An index of care of students by teachers was constructed based on the following items in the checklist:

T2 Said something nice to me

T11 Was very nice to me

T12 Asked about my family

T18 Encouraged me to do my best

T19 Made me feel happy

T23 Listened to me talk about something

T25 Made me feel safe

T27 Saw that I had something to eat

T29 Told me I did something well.

A Likert-type scale was provided for the respondent to rate each response. The ratings are: not at all, once, more than once. This is the same scale that Arora (1999) used. This scale is based on the notion that bullying happens, more than once, and reads 'During this week another learner...'Not at all', 'Once' or 'More than once'. For capturing the data the scale was converted into numbers 0, 1, 2. This three point scale appears to offer satisfactory discriminative power, as it is able to discriminate between the people taking the test.

The reliability of the checklist

Each item in the construct, and how they performed, was examined using Cronhach's alpha. The internal consistency of the construct questions was computed using the alpha coefficients. Cronbach's alpha provides a coefficient

of inter-item correlations (the sum of each item is compared with sum of all the other relevant items) (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Alpha coefficients range in value from 0 to 1 and may be used to describe the reliability of factors extracted from scales (Santos, 1999). A Cronbach alpha >0.90 is considered to be highly reliable. A Cronbach alpha of 0.80 to 0.90 indicates high reliability. Alpha coefficients of 0.70 to 0.79 are reliable. 0.60 to 0.69 are marginally or minimally reliable (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Loewenthal (2001) argues that the alpha should be at least 0.70 for reliability to be satisfactory[43].

Alpha scores across the four constructs were variable, and further analysis was done to generate more reliable constructs. The changes that were made to the constructs to achieve greater statistical reliability, and the implications of these changes, are discussed in the next chapter, where the findings are presented.

The impact of language on reliability

The impact of the students' command of English and Afrikaans, and English/Afrikaans was also considered by computing the alpha scores for Construct 2. The relationship was computed for each item in the construct. These results are shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: The impact of language on item reliability

Question	English	Afrikaans	English Afrikaans
L2	0.75	0.70	0.71
L5	0.74	0.71	0.71
L15	0.75	0.70	0.70
L16	0.73	0.69	0.68
L23	0.74	0.69	0.70
L25	0.73	0.68	0.69

[43] Loewenthal (2001: 12) notes that the absolute value of 0.70 (or sometimes 0.80 or 0.60) is normally taken as the criterion of acceptability.

L27	0.72	0.67	0.67
L30	0.75	0.69	0.70
L31	0.71	0.67	0.67
Test scale	**0.76**	**0.71**	**0.72**

The test was reliable across language groups, and language difference had little impact on reliability.

Age appropriateness of items in the questionnaire

The alpha scores were calculated for each of the four constructs by grade. This was done in order to investigate the age appropriateness of questions. Table 3.10 shows that the test showed reliability for the different age groups.

Table 3.6: The age appropriateness of items in the questionnaire

Construct	**Grades**			
	4	**5**	**6**	**7**
1 – test scale	0.70	0.68	0.69	0.70
2 – test scale	0.73	0.67	0.73	0.72
3 – test scale	0.79	0.80	0.77	0.80
4 – test scale	0.73	0.74	0.72	0.69

The lowest alpha scores were for grade 5 and 7 learners. However, these scores range from 0.67 to 0.69 and can be considered as acceptable. This means that the test is reliable across the age groupings in the study.

Test - retest reliability

Test - retest reliability is another approach that can be used to check reliability. The same test is administered to the same students on two different occasions, and the correlation of the scores on the two occasions is then calculated. However, Loewenthal (2001) argues that this form of reliability assessment is not

useful if transitory states of mind that can change rapidly (such as moods, fears or attitudes) are being tested. Because of the nature of the checklist I did not carry out a test – retest check.

Test offensiveness

Loewenthal (2001) speaks of scale and test 'offensiveness'. These are items that may be seen as being 'threatening, intrusive or offensive' by some people. In this study one teacher read the following items which made reference to a teacher and was distressed: 'Shouted at me'; 'Hit me'; 'Was unkind because I am different'; 'Made me cry' and 'Threatened to hit me'. She felt that these questions undermined her professional standing. Another teacher also commented that the questions: 'Explained new work to me', 'Marked my work' and 'Talked about my homework' reflected on her on professional standing. I assured both these teachers that the data was anonymous and that it would not reflect on them as individuals[44].

The items a teacher 'Hit me' or 'Tried to hit me' were controversial, as some teachers continued to use corporal punishment in South Africa even though this is forbidden by law[45].

Ethical considerations

The study was approved according to the ethical review procedures of Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand

[44] I was aware of this concern and included the following statement in the ethical clearance submission: 'There are no risks involved for the subjects if all the information is kept confidential. There is a remote possibility that teachers might be offended by some students' responses if they were to read their forms. However, I (or a research assistant) will administer the questionnaire. Questionnaires will placed in sealed envelopes and will not be shown to teachers or principals at the schools.'

[45] The South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996) prohibits the use of corporal punishment in schools: 10. (1) No person may administer corporal punishment at a school to a learner. (2) Any person who contravenes subsection (1) is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a sentence which could be imposed for assault'.

(Clearance certificate H050704) on 28 June 2005. Permission was obtained from the schools that participated in the study (Appendix A.1). A detailed information sheet introducing the study and describing the objectives and procedures was sent to each principal (Appendix A.2). A consent letter was sent to each parent and guardian describing the study and its purposes. Confidentiality was guaranteed. It was made clear to parents that the students are free not to participate and that they could withdraw at any time (Appendix A.3). Students whose parents/guardians had not completed the required consent were automatically excluded from the study. Three schools were eliminated from the sample at this stage as they were unable to get the parent/guardian consent letters completed and returned. The participating students were provided with a verbal description of the study before the completed the checklist. The confidentiality of the information gathered was guaranteed, and the students were asked to complete an assent form agreeing to be part of the study. It was made clear to students that they could withdraw from the study at any point if they wished to (Appendix A.4).

Conclusion

In the first section of this chapter the sample characteristics, the methodology and the means of analysis were described. The second section discussed the development of the questionnaire and statistical procedures used in the analysis. The next chapter will consider the findings of the research.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

> Cruelty is social in its origin much more than it is characterological (Bauman, 189: 166, *Modernity and the Holocaust*).

This research set out to investigate the extent and nature of bullying experienced by students in a sample of Catholic schools, and to explore the possible relationship between bullying and an ethos of care in these schools. An assumption tested in the study was that there would be less bullying in schools where students felt that teachers showed more care and concern towards them. This chapter provides an account of what the research found on bullying, care and the relationship between them.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, it reports on the survey results, and the statistical procedures used to refine the original bullying and care indices in the original checklists. In doing so, it comments on the applicability of Arora's original checklist to the South African study. The chapter then sets out the results of the confirmatory factor analysis, illustrating the effects of major variables on the four major factors and items within each. The interrelationship between the factors (or 'constructs') is shown through regression analysis. Student comments from the open ended questions are given alongside tables to provide illustrative moments of student voice.

In summary, the research identified levels of both bullying and care in the schools in the sample, though Arora's original checklist on bullying required modification in the South African context. In modified form, the four scales of bullying and care (student bullying, student care, teacher bullying, and teacher

care) formed coherent factors. The strongest and most consistent variable across factors was gender, with 'language' (a part proxy for race) evident in some instances. School grade did not produce consistent effects. Overall, the final regression shows no significant correlation between the factors indicating bullying and care. However, the results *do* show a relationship between levels of teacher bullying and student bullying, and levels of teacher care and student care. Thus, although a direct relationship between bullying and care could not be established, the importance of teachers in influencing both bullying and care emerges as an important finding of this study.

The 'My Life in School' checklist

To provide a basic description of survey responses, frequency counts and cross tabulations were used for each item. This was followed by an analysis of items in the original four constructs. Each item in the construct, and how they performed, was examined using Cronhach's alpha, to test for internal consistency (see Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Santos, 1999). Alpha scores of at least 0.70 were taken as satisfactory, 0.80 to 0.90 as reliable and >0.90 as highly reliable (see Loewenthal, 2001).

Tables 4.1 to 4.4 show the Cronbach alpha scores for each of the questions within each construct by grade. The final row shows the reliability for the test scale in each grade.

Table 4.1: Original Construct 1 - Bullying of students by students

Item	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7
L1 Called me names	0.69	0.67	0.66	0.69
L4 Tried to kick me	0.68	0.64	0.64	0.66
L10 Tried to make me give them money	0.68	0.69	0.69	0.67
L11 Tried to frighten me	0.68	0.65	0.66	0.66

L22 Tried to hurt me	0.65	0.63	0.64	0.66
L34 Tried to break something of mine	0.67	0.63	0.66	0.65
L36 Tried to hit me	0.66	0.61	0.63	0.64
Test scale	**0.71**	**0.68**	**0.69**	**0.70**

The alpha scores for the test scale of this construct (bullying of students by students) falls within the lower end of the reliability range of 0.68 to 0.71, though not all items meet the threashhold.

Table 4.2: Original Construct 2 - Care of students by students

Item	**Grade 4**	**Grade 5**	**Grade 6**	**Grade 7**
L2 Said something nice to me	0.72	0.67	0.73	0.71
L5 Was very nice to me	0.72	0.67	0.72	0.71
L15 Talked about clothes with me	0.72	0.67	0.72	0.70
L16 Told me a joke	0.70	0.65	0.70	0.69
L23 Helped me with my classwork	0.72	0.65	0.71	0.69
L25 Talked about T.V. with me	0.70	0.64	0.71	0.68
L27 Shared something with me	0.70	0.63	0.69	0.68
L30 Played a game with me	0.71	0.64	0.72	0.68
L31 Talked about things I liked	0.69	0.63	0.70	0.67
Test scale	**0.73**	**0.68**	**0.74**	**0.72**

The test scale alpha scores for care of students by students ranged from 0.68 to 0.74, slightly stronger than in construct 1. Again, though, not all items met the threshhold.

Table 4.3: Original Construct 3 - Bullying of students by teachers

Item	**Grade 4**	**Grade 5**	**Grade 6**	**Grade 7**
T8 Was unkind because I am different	0.70	0.72	0.68	0.65
T14 Made me frightened	0.65	0.66	0.66	0.60

T16 Was unfair to me	0.69	0.68	0.66	0.66
T21 Made me cry	0.68	0.69	0.68	0.64
T33 Hurt my feelings	0.72	0.69	0.70	0.65
Test scale	**0.73**	**0.74**	**0.72**	**0.69**

The test scale alpha scores for bullying of students by teachers (Table 3.10) ranged from 0.69 to 0.74, and are considered reliable.

Table 4.4: Original Construct 4 - Care of students by teachers

Item	**Grade 4**	**Grade 5**	**Grade 6**	**Grade 7**
T2 Said something nice to me	0.77	0.78	0.75	0.77
T11 Was very nice to me	0.76	0.77	0.74	0.77
T12 Asked about my family	0.79	0.79	0.78	0.79
T18 Encouraged me to do my best	0.78	0.79	0.75	0.78
T19 Made me feel happy	0.77	0.77	0.75	0.77
T23 Listened to me talk about something	0.77	0.78	0.75	0.78
T25 Made me feel safe	0.76	0.77	0.75	0.77
T27 Saw that I had something to eat	0.79	0.79	0.74	0.80
T29 Told me I did something well	0.76	0.77	0.73	0.76
Test scale	**0.79**	**0.80**	**0.77**	**0.80**

The test scale alpha scores for care of students by teachers ranged from 0.77 to 0.80, indicating strong reliability.

Given the different levels of reliability of items within the original constructs, an exploratory factor analysis was carried out using varimax rotation to find patterns in the raw data. This resulted in a somewhat different configuration of items than the original constructs. The revised constructs and their alpha scores are shown in Tables 4.5 to Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.5: New Construct 1- Bullying of students by students

Item	Alpha score
L8 Said they'd hit me	0.83
L14 Was unkind about something I did	0.84
L18 Tried to make me hurt another person	0.83
L20Tried to get me into trouble	0.82
L22 Tried to hurt me	0.83
L24 Made me do something I didn't want to do	0.83
L26 Took something from me	0.83
L29 Shouted at me	0.83
L32 Laughed at me in a horrible way	0.83
L33 Said they would tell on me	0.84
L34 Tried to break something of mine	0.83
L35 Told a lie about me	0.83
L36 Tried to hit me	0.82
Test scale	**0.84**

The alpha score for this construct was 0.84, compared with 0.70 on the original construct. Interestingly, the new construct included a number of new items with strong alpha scores that were not in the original construct: 'Said they'd hit me', 'was unkind about something I did', 'tried to make me hurt another person', 'tried to get me into trouble', 'made me do something I didn't want to do', 'took something from me', 'laughed at me in a horrible way', 'said they would tell on me' and 'told a lie about me'.

A number of items were removed in forming the new construct: 'Called me names', 'tried to kick me', 'tried to make me give them money' and 'tried to frighten me'.

Two of the items that were removed, 'called me names' and 'tried to kick me', were items that were stipulated parts of the original Arora bullying index.

Removing them thus brings a fundamental change to the original index. Interestingly, the items that were added did not refer to physical violence (with the possible exception of 'took something from me'); instead, they referred to threats, pyschological pressure, and unkind words or actions.

Table 4.6: New Construct 2 - Care of students by students

Item	Alpha score
L15 Talked about clothes with me	0.75
L16 Told me a joke	0.73
L19 Smiled at me	0.73
L21 Helped me carry something	0.73
L23 Helped me with my classwork	0.73
L25 Talked about T.V. with me	0.72
L27 Shared something with me	0.71
L31 Talked about things I like	0.71
Test scale	**0.75**

The alpha for the construct of care of students by students moved from 0.72 to 0.75. The following variables were removed from the original construct: 'Said something nice to me', 'was very nice to me' and 'played a game with me'. Items added were: 'Smiled at me' and 'helped me carry something'.

Table 4.7: New Construct 3 - Bullying of students by teachers

Item	Alpha score
T8 Was unkind because I am different	0.76
T13 Called me names	0.77
T14 Made me frightened	0.76
T16 Was unfair to me	0.77
T21 Made me cry	0.76
T28 Laughed at me	0.77

T33 Hurt my feelings	0.77
Test scale	**0.79**

The alpha score on the new construct for student bullying by teachers (0.79) was much stronger than the original construct (0.69). No items were omitted, and new items added were: 'hit me', 'called me names', and 'laughed at me'. The first of these ('hit me') is particularly noteworthy given that corporal punishment is outlawed in South African schools.

Table 4.8: New Construct 4 - Care of students by teachers

Item	**Alpha score**
T6 Helped me with my work	0.84
T7 Smiled at me	0.83
T11 Was very nice to me	0.83
T18 Encouraged me to do my best	0.84
T19 Made me feel happy	0.83
T23 Listened to me talk about something	0.84
T24 Asked me how I was	0.83
T25 Made me feel safe	0.83
T29 Told me I did something well	0.83
T32 Taught me something new	0.84
Test scale	**0.85**

The alpha score on the new construct of care of students by teachers was 0.85, compared with 0.72 on the original construct. Four items were added to the construct: 'helped me with my work', 'smiled at me', 'asked me how I was' and 'taught me something new'. Three variables were removed from the construct: 'said something nice to me', 'asked about my family', and 'saw that I had something to eat'.

For ease of visual comparison, the two tables (4.9 and 4.10) that follow summarise the Cronbach alpha scores for the first and second factor analyses of the survey items. While the tables do not present new statistical information, the comparison is presented for information.

Table 4.9: Alpha scores on the original and new contructs for student bullying and care

	During this week another learner…	**Bully Orig. alpha**	**Bully New alpha**	**Care Orig. alpha**	**Care New alpha**
1	Called me names	0.68			
2	Said something nice to me			0.71	
3	Was nasty about my family				
4	Tried to kick me	0.66			
5	Was very nice to me			0.71	
6	Was unkind because I am different				
7	Gave me a present				
8	Said they'd hit me		0.83		
9	Gave me some money				
10	Tried to make me give them money	0.68			
11	Tried to frighten me	0.66			
12	Asked me a stupid question				
13	Stopped me playing a game				
14	Was unkind about something I did		0.84		
15	Talked about clothes with me			0.70	0.75
16	Told me a joke			0.69	0.73
17	Told me a lie				
18	Tried to make me hurt another person		0.83		
19	Smiled at me				0.73
20	Tried to get me into trouble		0.82		
21	Helped me carry something				0.73

22	Tried to hurt me	0.65	0.83		
23	Helped me with my classwork			0.69	0.73
24	Made me do something I didn't want to do		0.83		
25	Talked about T.V. with me				0.72
26	Took something from me		0.83		
27	Shared something with me			0.69	0.71
28	Was rude to me about the colour of my skin				
29	Shouted at me		0.83		
30	Played a game with me			0.69	
31	Talked about things I like			0.67	0.71
32	Laughed at me in a horrible way		0.83		
33	Said they would tell on me		0.84		
34	Tried to break something of mine	0.65	0.83		
35	Told a lie about me		0.83		
36	Tried to hit me	0.64			
Construct alpha		0.70	0.84	0.72	0.75

Table 4.10: A comparison of alpha scores on the original and new contructs for teacher bullying and care

	During this week a teacher…	Bully Orig. alpha	Bully New alpha	Care Orig. alpha	Care New alpha
1	Told me a joke				
2	Said something nice to me			0.77	0.83
3	Shouted at me				
4	Hit me		0.77		
5	Asked me a question				
6	Helped me with my work				0.84
7	Smiled at me				0.83
8	Was unkind because I am different	0.69	0.76		
9	Explained new work to me				
10	Watched me play in the playground				
11	Was very nice to me			0.76	0.83
12	Asked about my family			0.79	
13	Called me names		0.77		
14	Made me frightened	0.64	0.76		
15	Marked my work				
16	Was unfair to me	0.67	0.77		
17	Talked about my homework				
18	Encouraged me to do my best			0.78	0.84
19	Made me feel happy			0.77	0.83
20	Gave me a test				
21	Made me cry	0.67	0.76		
22	Left our class alone				
23	Listened to me talk about something			0.77	0.84
24	Asked me how I was				0.83
25	Made me feel safe			0.76	0.83
26	Told me not to fight				

27	Saw that I had something to eat			0.78	
28	Laughed at me		0.77		
29	Told me I did something well			0.76	0.83
30	Encouraged me to play with friends				
31	Helped me solve a problem				
32	Taught me something new				0.84
33	Hurt my feelings	0.69			
Construct alpha		0.72	0.79	0.72	0.85

Prevalence and forms of bullying highlighted by the checklists

Closer consideration of the items in the student to student bullying constructs suggests a somewhat different emphasis from the original Arora scale. Only two items appeared in both constructs: 'tried to hurt me' and 'tried to break something of mine'. The items which were left off the original construct ('called me names' and 'tried to kick me') were verbal and physical. The additional items in the new construct reflected mostly non-physical bullying, including verbal actions, threats and ridicule.

The new construct on teacher bullying included the original items, and added to them. As mentioned, the inclusion of 'Hit me' suggests that teachers were using corporal punishment in spite of this being outlawed – an uncomfortable finding in relation to the ethos of the Catholic school.

It is not possible to comment on the levels of bullying in Catholic schools compared to others, or to compare levels of care. Suffice it to say at this point that the constructs produced by the factor analysis were sufficiently robust to provide a clear picture of student experiences of bullying and care in these schools. The picture provided affirms the features of bullying discussed in the literature review: its repetitive nature, its intention to do harm, and an imbalance of power; taking a range of different forms from direct physical actions such as

hitting, to threats, ridiculing and teasing. Survey results show students experiencing bullying both from other students and from teachers. In terms of care, students experienced sharing and help from other students, and encouragement, supportiveness and safety from their teachers, to name a few of the items.

Following the factor analysis, chi square tests, anovas and regression analyses were carried out to find associations between variables. Overall, in summary, gender differences were the strongest and most consistent effects to be seen. Results showed that boys experienced significantly more bullying than girls, both from other students and from teachers. In contrast, girls experienced significantly more care. A signifcant 'language' effect was evident in the bullying indices, with those speaking African languages experiencing the greatest levels of bullying, significantly more than English or Afrikaans speakers. This was not strongly evident in relation to the care indices, though interestingly, where differences were evident, it was English speakers who experienced less care. While there were some indications of differences across grades, these were generally not significant. These results will be presented in greater detail in section 3 below, after a brief comment on the open-ended responses.

Open-ended responses

The intention of the open-ended question on the survey was to solicit the voice of students in a less structured way. As well as gathering information from students, the underpinning reason for including an open-ended question was to signal recognition of the importance of consultation in enhancing participation and improving the experience of students in school. Rudduck and Flutter (2004:133) argue that when students feel they matter and are respected, they are more likely to be committed to what the schools proposes. Rudduck and Flutter (2004) argue that student consultation and participation can result in practical agendas that can strengthen student self- esteem. A better understanding of students and their

experience can therefore improve the way in which the school is organised and the way teachers teach, and teacher-student relationships can also be improved.

The open ended question at the end of the questionnaire form read as follows: 'Write any other comments'. Adequate space was provided for the students to write their responses. However, no prompt was provided in any particular direction. Judging from the responses on the forms, it is clear that the student responses were generally shaped by the preceding content in the *My Life at School* checklist. Nearly half of the students (43%) took the opportunity to write a response on the form. In general, it seems that the students enjoyed completing the questionnaire, and some students seemed to find the questionnaire cathartic. This was expressed in the written responses as well as in informal comments made by students when they left the venues where the questionnaires were administered.

It is not clear why more than half of the students chose not to write anything in the space provided. They may have had nothing to say, or felt it wasn't necessary, and some of them may not have felt confident enough to engage in extended writing.

Table 4.11: Responses by gender

Sample size	Number of comments (girls)	Number of comments (boys)	Total number of comments
2449	642 (26%)	407 (17%)	1049 (43%)

The themes of the written responses can be broadly grouped as follows: comments about the questionnaire and the process of doing it; attitudes towards the school and their teachers; views on relationships with their friends and their

teachers; and descriptions of particular incidents at school with their peers and teachers.

These themes were used to code the responses. A least one student in each of the schools had something to say about the questionnaire itself and the process. There were four broad areas of the responses related to the questionnaire itself: gratitude for the opportunity to complete the checklist; how enjoyable it was to complete the checklist; analysis of the questions and how easy it was to complete the checklist. Some students saw that process as a valuable opportunity to express their opinion. It was surprising that some saw the questionnaire as an opportunity to reflect in their own situation at school. One or two students even spoke about how helpful the questionnaire was in helping them understand the dynamics at their own school.

> Thank you very much this has helped me a lot (Girl, Grade 5, School 11).
>
> I am glad I had this test (Boy, Grade 6, School 6).
>
> Thanks for bringing us the questionnaires and now you know how we feel as learners (Girl, Grade 6, School 11).

The comments related to the questionnaire were valuable, particularly in respect to developing the instrument further, as they indicate that the students found the approach easy, enjoyable and thought provoking:

> This was nice and educational (Boy, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> This was fun (Boy, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> This was a cool paper for us students (Girl, Grade 6, School 6)

> This was so easy, truthful, and I enjoyed it (Girl, Grade 5, School 1)
>
> I enjoyed answering the questions and I can see that you are doing a wonderful job. I hope you'll be coming back to our School (Girl, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> Thanks this was a very nice experiment. I enjoyed it expressing my feelings. (Boy, Grade 6, School 12).
>
> Some of the questions were hard and some were tricky but true (Girl, Grade 7, School 13)
>
> There's this girl who called me a really mean name and I'm still hurt and this will help me to express my feelings (Girl, Grade 5, School 5).
>
> I think we better do this every year'(Boy, Grade 5, School 5).

It was encouraging to see that some students felt that the questions had prompted them to reflect on their own lives, and how they experienced school: 'I enjoyed this a lot, I think this made me to realise lots of things about myself and teachers and this has also taught me to be a good person and to feel good about myself' (Girl, Grade 7, School 1). It was also interesting to see how the questionnaire helped one student realise that she wasn't particularly happy at school.

Only two students said that the questionnaire was difficult to understand. One of the responses seemed to indicate that the student had problems understanding the overall intention of the exercise:

> The comment is, I didn't understand some of the questions you wrote for me (Boy, Grade 5, School 13).

Two students felt that the questions should have focussed more on teaching and learning:

> I think this survey lacked something very important, which is unfair treatment by teachers and pupils. Favouritism is a matter to be reckoned with. The survey should look at the teachers teaching methods as a lot could be said about this. (Boy, Grade 7, School 7).

> The survey should have analysed more of the negative aspects of learners and teachers (Boy ,Grade 7, School 7).

Other students expressed a keen awareness of the intention of the questionnaire, for example:

> I think this is a very good way to help children say how they feel, thank you very much Mr Potterton. This little test made me feel better and more confident to go to School and stand up for myself (Girl, Grade 5, School 5).

> I thought the test was interesting and made me think about my peers and teachers (Girl, Grade 6, School 7).

> By writing this, I know I'm actually being bullied and you showed me that there are ugly people in the School (Boy, Grade 4, School 6).

> I felt that the questions were directed to people who have been bullied (not me) and your survey will teach them how to protect themselves (Boy, Grade 6, School 6).

One learner suggested that her own school improves its own monitoring system:

> I think the School would be a lot better if we had a better monitoring system (Girl, Grade 7, School 6).

I found this specific comment insightful, particularly in the light of one of the assumptions of this study, that schools have a duty to pay attention to the climate which they create. It also indicates the relevance of student voice in considering school culture.

Findings on bullying

Construct 1: Bullying of students by students

As earlier chapters have shown, bullying is a common experience in schools, and responses of students in this study indicate that it occurs in these Catholic schools too.[46] Students' responses show that bullying of students by students varies significantly by gender, in both form and intensity of experience. The following table shows the significant gender difference on the revised index of *Bullying of Students by Students* (Construct 1).

Table 4.12: Construct 1- Bullying of students by students

Gender	N	Mean	SD	T	DF	Sig.
Girls	1323	7.48	5.83			
Boys	1124	8.44	5.88	- 4.0108	2444	p<0.0001

Figure 4.1 below presents the gender breakdown for items within *Construct 1, Bullying of students by students*. On all but one of the items, boys reported more

[46] (It is not possible, from this study, to tell whether levels are more or less than other schools.) While comparison is not possible from the design of this study, it is interesting to note that levels of bullying overall are not uniform, and that some forms of bullying are not widely experienced.

experiences of bullying than girls ('told a lie about me' being the exception, with girls reporting more experiences of this than boys).

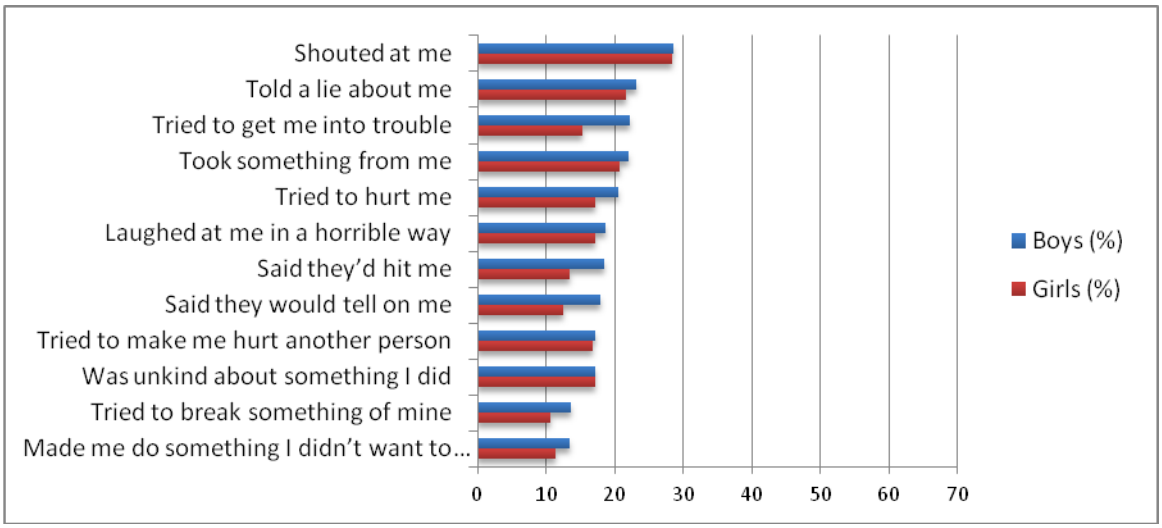


Figure 4.1: Bullying of students by students showing gender differences

As the items themselves indicate, bullying takes different forms, from direct physical actions such as hitting, to threats of various sorts, to ridiculing and teasing. The most common forms of bullying for both boys and girls are 'shouted at me', told a lie about me' and 'took something from me'. The item 'tried to get me into trouble', which was not on the original Arora index, was the third highest form of bullying reported by boys, with girls' responses being signficantly lower. Least reported forms of bullying were for 'made me do something I didn't want to do' and 'tried to break something of mine'.

On items reflecting *physical bullying* (such as 'tried to hurt me', 'tried to hit me', 'tried to break something of mine'), responses show that this was significantly more prevalent among boys than girls across all grades. Open-ended responses give examples of students' experiences in their own words. An extreme example of physical bullying, more accurately described as assault, was reflected in a comment by one of the boys:

> The thing is I was once bullied and he beat me up and left me bleeding on the floor (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).

Other comments include:

> Some of the learners gang up on me and they swear, hit and tease me and I don't enjoy any of the things that I have mentioned (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).

> There are two girls in grade 7 who like to kick my friend and I and they won't stop. One day at assembly these same girls were pretending to puke on us and they gave us funny attitudes (Girl, Grade 7, School 1).

> Someone tried to hit me last week (Boy, Grade 6, School 13).

Threats, as a relatively common form of bullying, showed varying gender differences in students' responses. 'Said they'd hit me' (a threat of physical violence), 'said they would tell on me' and 'tried to get me into trouble' were significantly more prevalent for boys than girls. *Non-direct bullying* (such as 'Tried to get me into trouble ' and 'Told a lie about me ') show higher levels being measured amongst boys than girls. 'Tried to frighten me', an example of *psychological*. In these responses the totals for boys and girls were much closer.

In contrast, gender differences were least on the items 'was unkind about something I did', 'shouted at me', 'laughed at me in a horrible way' – items which reflect *emotional*, rather than physical, bullying. 'Told a lie about me', which could be seen as a strong form of psychological bullying, was the only item on this index where girls' responses indicated greater prevalence than boys'.

Open-ended responses provide examples of name-calling, ridicule and other emotionally hurtful forms of bullying:

> Two boys are always bulling me and they call me names. One is in my class and the other one is in the other class (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).
>
> Nkulukelo said to me that I was so dark and the reason is that my parents left me in the oven and the next day Julius said that I did not bath (Girl, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> A learner called me names and said bad things about my mother (Girl, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> They call me names like fatty (Boy, Grade 4, School 16).
>
> My friend said I looked like a cat (Boy, Grade 4, School 13).
>
> They call me names everyday (Boy, Grade 6, School 6).
>
> A Learner said that my armpits smells and I was hurt (Girl, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> Some of the boys tease me a lot but I have to deal with it (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).
>
> I sometimes feel uncomfortable at school because everyone teases me about my weight, but most of the time I enjoy School. (Girl, Grade 7, School 6).

An important element in bullying identified in the literature, but not included in the questionnaire construct of this study was *exclusion from the group*, and a number of comments related to this element:

> I have no friends and no one wants to play with me (Girl, Grade 5, School 1)

> I think I should say I have lots of friends and they are kind but some are really mean to me (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).

> They don't play with me but when they don't have friends or if they want something, they will try be my friend (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).

> Being at School is tough and sometimes I wish I could end my life. I can't really be myself and that hurts when I get left out (Girl, Grade 7, School 1).

> A friend ignored me, she played with someone else (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).

It is clear from the frequency of the written responses that exclusion was mainly a problem experienced by girls in this study. The complexity of friendship relationships in the primary school is well illustrated by this comment from a girl in Grade 6 (School 5):

> My friends are very nice but there's this girl who's supposed to be my best friend, she hurts me even when I ask her to stop. Sometimes she ignores me and after five minutes she's my friend again.

Repetitive behaviour was also reported, where, as Mellor (1997) points out, the person being bullied finds it difficult to stop this happening and worries that it will happen again (Mellor, 1997). The following comments illustrate this dimension:

> I wish they would stop saying and doing nasty things towards me (Girl, Grade 5, School 13).

> Some girls here can really be mean and they will call you names all day (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).

> Another person kept calling me names non-stop and made me feel uncomfortable (Girl, Grade 6, School 9).

Not many students commented *bystanders* in this study. This was interesting particularly since many scholars argue that bystander intervention is an important means of addressing bullying in schools (Rigby and Johnston, 2005). The following five comments show students recognition of bullying:

> I like this school because they make sure that everyone has friends and I know one child who is being bullied (Girl, Grade 5, School 2).

> When I am at School I'm not myself and I think it's because I can't concentrate and I have to work hard because of my A.D.D (I have tried to take tablets and they make me feel worse). I am a funny jumpy person and I never stop talking. There's this boy in our grade and he never talks, his name is S and they call him names. (Girl, Grade 7, School 6).

> There were two girls in grade 7, they were kicking my friend and I and they were making noise in our ears. We told them to stop but they didn't. (Girl, Grade 7, School 1).

> Some children at school have problems, which makes them swear and bully other children (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).

> There's this girl, who likes to say nasty things about other children (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).

> I am very happy in my School but I know some people who call other people names and make jokes about their parents and how they dress (Girl, Grade 7, School 12).

There were only two comments made by students on what could probably be identified as *sexual harassment* by other learners. One is included here:

> A learner touched me where he was not suppose to touch me and I told him no (Girl, Grade 7, School 5).

There were no comments made about sexual harassment or any abuse by teachers of students.

Students responses on Construct 1 were analysed *by grade and gender*, and in overall terms, differences were not significant. (Results are provided in Appendix C). The highest levels were reported by Grade 5 boys (21.9%), and the lowest levels by Grade 7 girls (9.7%).

These findings confirm what Pergolizzi et al (2009) concluded from their overview of research, namely that boys bully more than girls. (They also claim that both sexes are crueller to those of the same sex than the opposite sex – an issue which was not investigated in this research.) It would appear that that the incidence of bullying is lower in this study than the study carried out in South African intermediate schools by Greeff and Grobler (2008), which found that 56.4% of their sample had experienced some form of bullying. However, the two studies are not strictly comparable, not least because although the age range of students is similar, their sample was comprised of students from single-sex English medium schools in the Bloemfontein region.

The results of this study are particularly interesting when compared to a recent study in England by Green, Collingwood and Ross (2010) in England with a

sample of 12 500 students. The authors found that the reporting of bullying was much more prevalent among the younger age groups. At age 14, 47% of students reported being bullied, but the proportion decreased with age to 41% at age 15 and 29% at age of 16. The prevalence of reporting being a victim of each different type of bullying also decreased with age. Name calling was the most common type of bullying reported (30% of young people reporting this type at age 14, but this decreased as students got older). Being threatened with violence was the next highest form of bullying (with 20% of students at ages 14 and 15, this dropped to 13% at age 16). The prevalence of violence and social exclusion were similar. The least common form of bullying was being forced to hand over money or possessions, with only 3% of students reporting this type at age . Green et al found that girls were more likely to be bullied than boys at the ages of 14 and 15, but that this difference was no longer there by the age of 16. Girls were more likely to report psychological types of bullying (such as being called names and being socially excluded), whereas boys were more likely to report more physical types of bullying (e.g. being forced to hand over money or possessions or being threatened with violence).

Though this study did not take schools as a unit of analysis, it is worth noting that the highest levels of bullying found were for boys at a large coeducational school located in a township. The lowest levels of bullying were found in two all-girls schools.

Construct 2: Bullying of students by teachers

Evidence of teacher bullying was found in responses on survey items and in students' open-ended comments. Bullying behaviour took a range of forms, including physical, verbal and psychological. Overall, 18.1% of students responded that they experienced bullying by teachers.

As with student bullying by students, the major effects in teacher bullying were gender related, with some instances of racial bullying being reported in open ended questions as well.

Table 4.13: Students bullied by teachers

Gender	N	Mean	SD	T	DF	Significance
Girls	1180	3.29	3.52			
Boys	1183	4.00	3.94	-4.6604	2442	p < 0.0000

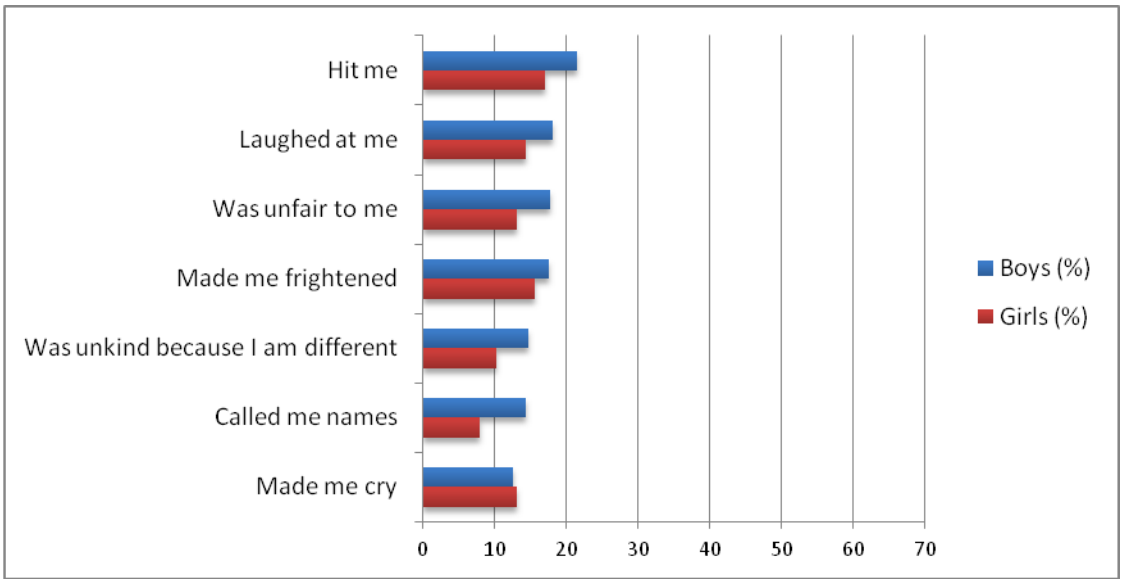


Figure 4.2: Comparison of the Grade 4 to 7 teacher bullying index by gender

For both boys and girls, 'hit me' was the highest scoring item, with 21.5% of boys and 17% of girls reporting that a teacher had hit them more than once over the past week. The highest levels were reported by grade 6 boys (24.6%). The lowest levels were reported by Grade 7 girls (12.7%). In the words of one student:

> Teachers hit everyone. I have a problem with two older boys, they are always making fun of me and the teachers are always picking on me (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).

Forms of psychological bullying (such as 'Laughed at me'), intimidation ('Made me frightened',) and insults ('called me names') were significantly higher for boys than for girls. 'Made me cry' was similar for both boys and girls, but was the lowest scoring item for boys. However, the actual results for boys in this item could be higher, as boys may not have reported that were made to cry (particularly in the context of the Anglo Saxon injunction that 'boys don't cry'). 14.8% of grade 4 boys were made to cry as opposed to the lowest number of boys in grade 7 (10.4%). This sad situation is captured in the following comment:

> Teachers are very rude to me and they are very unfair to me. They make me cry and told me I am stupid and crazy (Boy, Grade 7, School 12).

> I feel that I been put under a lot of stress. I feel like bursting into tears every time this teacher moans at me. I want to be treated like this teacher treats other learners. I often feel like he thinks we are older. (Girl, Grade 7, School 7).

> Teachers have never made me cry but they have been ugly to me (Boy, Grade 6, School 6).

> I don't think it's fair when a teacher calls me names like fat and makes me cry (Girl, Grade 4, School 6).

> Sometimes teachers are very rude (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).

> Our teacher screams at us for nothing and she loses her temper. She takes out her stress on us (Girl, Grade 7, School 1).

> She likes to talk about me in class and that makes me uncomfortable, she also likes to make jokes about me, My teacher likes to embarrass me and tell lies about me (Boy, Grade 5, School 13).

> Most teachers are kind but Mr C is always teasing me (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).

> Our teachers swear at us and this is a Catholic School (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).

> Last week was a bad week but this week is better. One teacher is sometimes nasty to me and shouts at me. But most teachers are cool (Girl, Grade 7, School 12).

> Some teachers call us names and they give us demerits for nothing (Girl, Grade 6, School 5).

More boys (17.8%) than girls (13.1%) reported that a teacher ‘was unfair to me’. Students were particularly unhappy that many teachers were not fair, and that teachers treated them differently. This Grade 6 boy’s (School 16) comment illustrates this:

> My teacher is always picking on me, boys gang up on me they say I'm gay. Some teachers are unfair and boys don't share.

Some students felt that they were singled out in unfair or discriminating ways.

> Some teachers are mean and unfair. Like when we leave a book at home we get demerits and also if we left our books at home by mistake they say

> we just haven't done it. We should get a chance, we are only human (Girl, Grade 7, School 6).
>
> This school is nice, but the teachers need to understand that we are all good in different things (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).
>
> I enjoyed this school but they need to do something with our cricket coaches because sometimes they are not fair (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).
>
> Teachers are not friendly or fair (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).
>
> Teachers don't treat us the same (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).
>
> I feel that most of our teachers have favourites and they are mostly white (Girl, Grade 6, School 5).
>
> My teacher shouted at me for nothing (Girl, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> Sometimes teachers have favourites and they will leave other girls behind, they also pick on me and other children. People like the head girl are the favourites (Girl, Grade 5, School 3).
>
> This school is great but even teachers bully (Girl, Grade 5, School 12).
>
> Teachers should not favour boys and they mustn't ignore you if you want to ask a question (Girl, Grade 6, School 5).

Pollard (1985) argues that because of the need for order and for good relationships in a classroom inherent conflict exists between teachers and students due to their different positions. However, he notes:

> Children, throughout the primary age range, are quick to discern when the expectations of them and the sense of order in the classroom begin to be based more on the use of teacher power than on a sense of justice (Pollard, 1985: 238) .

Many of the comments cited above reflect a lack of respect of the students by teachers. In her in-depth exploration of respect spurred on by perception of deteriorating civility, increased street violence and what she calls 'the lack of decorum and safety in schools', Lawrence-Lightfoot (2000: 10) noted that a lack of respect is often cited as the cause of this general decay. She explored a new dimension of respect, and focused on the way respect creates 'symmetry, empathy and connection' in all kinds of relationships – even those of teacher and student, and argues that 'respectful relationships also have a way of sustaining and replicating themselves'.

In terms of the significant gender difference on these items, this study is in line with a recent study by Koepke and Harkins' (2008) who examined gender differences in the teacher-child relationship as reported by teachers. They focused on the constructs of closeness and conflict. One of the goals of their study was to determine whether children's reports of the relationship differed from the perspectives of teachers. They found significant gender disparities in levels of conflict in the teacher-child relationship, with more distance and conflict between boys and their teachers.

Findings on care

Construct 3: Care shown by students towards students

As mentioned earlier, girls scored significantly higher than boys on both of the constructs of care. Table 4.14 below shows the overall significance levels.

Table 4.14: Student care by students

Gender	N	Mean	SD	T	Df	Significance
Girls		10.18	3.95			
Boys		9.08	3.78	6.9531	2442	p < 0.0000

Figures 4.3 provides an overview summary of the combined scores for grades 4 to 7 on the items forming the student care constuct.

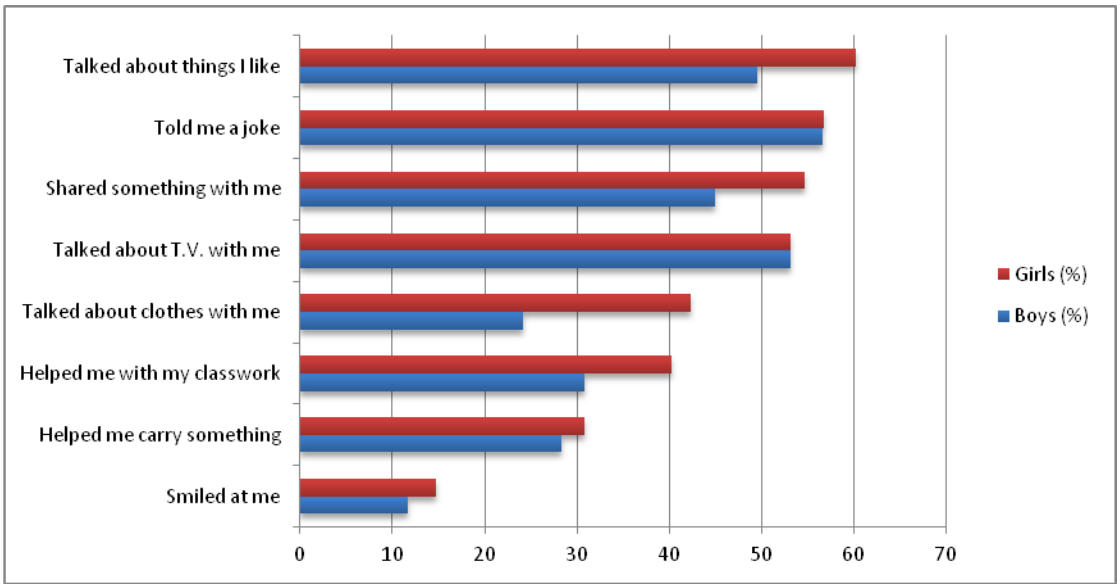


Figure 4.3: Summary of the comparisons of the levels of care shown by students for students by gender

Many of the items forming this construct relate to talking about favourite activities ('things I like', TV, clothes), and to a lesser extent, sharing things and helping each other. It could be argued that the construct itself favours activities that girls might prefer (such as talking about clothes) rather than items reflecting boys' play. In this regard, it is interesting to note that there are no significant gender differences on the items 'told me a joke' and 'talked about TV with me'.

'Helped me with my classwork' refers to a level of camaraderie in schools. Here more girls (40.3%) than boys (30.8%) reported that another student helped them. The highest levels were reported by grade 7 girls (44.6%) and the lowest by grade 5 boys (26.2%).

From an individual school perspective, the highest levels of care were found in two all- girls' schools and two coeducational schools.

> I enjoy coming to this School, I have lots of friends here and very seldom someone is nasty to me. I wouldn't want to go to any other School (Girl, Grade 6, School 6).
>
> I enjoy being at School and I always have a good time with my friends. All the teachers and learners are kind and they never say bad things about me (Girl, Grade 6, School 5).
>
> This School is really great and I love it. The teachers are very helpful and kind. My friends are the best (Boy, Grade 6, School 12).

Construct 4: Care shown by teachers towards students

The signficance levels for the construct addressing the care of students by teachers is provided in table 4.15 below. Again, significant gender differences are evident.

Table 4.15: Students care by teachers

Gender	N	Mean	SD	T	Df	Significance
Girls		13.89	5.62			
Boys		11.91	5.60	8.6998	df 2441	$p < 0.0000$

Figure 4.4 below provides scores on the items making up the teacher care construct. Gender differences are significant on all items

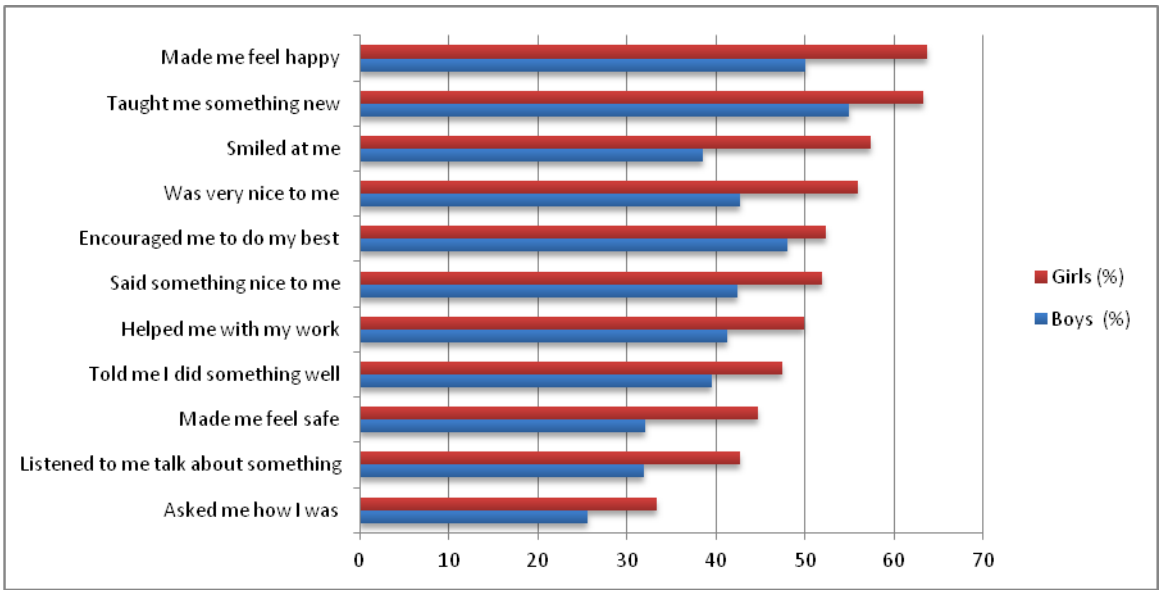


Figure 4.4: Summary of the comparisons of the levels of care shown by teachers for students by gender

Responses on all items showed that girls reported more care and affirmation from their teachers than boys did. That said, scores for both boys and girls reflect positive experiences with teachers: during this week a teacher 'made me feel happy' and 'taught me something new' were the highest scoring items for both boys and girls. Scores on 'was very nice to me' and 'said something nice to me' reflect students' perceptions of having a positive relationship with a teacher. Though girls' scores are significantly higher than boys', both sets of scores report levels of satisfaction. 'Encouraged me to do my best' scored similarly for boys and girls.

Written comments provide examples of students' perspectives on teacher care:

> My teachers can be strict and kind but never mean (Girl, Grade 6, School 3).
>
> I love my teacher because she helps me with my work and she's very creative and she loves me like a mother (Girl, Grade 5, School 13).
>
> We have good teachers and very kind people to me. Mr is so friendly (Girl, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> When I answer a question right my teacher says nice things (Girl, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> This is a very good School. My teacher is a kind and loving person. She makes us feel safe and she's the best teacher I ever seen (Boy, Grade 5, School 16)
>
> My teacher is the best teacher she always helps me in everything I do (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).

Students said that they valued good relationships with their teachers. From the comments it is clear that the manner in which teachers spoke to students and how they demonstrated a commitment to them was important. Students valued teachers who were helpful, approachable and kind:

> This school is really great and I love it. The teachers are very helpful and kind. My friends are the best (Boy, Grade 6, School 12).
>
> The teachers are very nice and encourage me to do my best (Boy, Grade 5, School 12).

These findings are consistent with those of Rudduck (1996) who found that students placed a great deal of emphasis on good inter-personal relationships, that students look for a relationship where teachers and students have a shared understanding.

> My teacher is the best teacher on earth and I love her very much. She is kind caring, loving and treats us like her children. I love my teacher and she makes me feel like never wanting to leave the classroom (Girl, Grade 4, School 7).

> My teacher never shouts, she only has a loud voice. She treats everyone fair. She gives us time to finish our work. She doesn't give lots of homework. If we don't something wrong she will give us a second chance. She doesn't care about the colour of your skin. (Girl ,Grade 4, School 7).

> My teacher is nice and kind to me, She never shouts or screams at anybody. She helps us with our work She is always around when we need her. If we do something wrong she will give us a second chance. She teaches us new things all of the time. She is sweet and helpful to everybody. She likes yellow because it's bright like the sun and is as sweet as a lemon (Girl ,Grade 4, School 7).

> I love this School because we learn new things and I love my teachers and friends (Boy, Grade 4, School 2).

> This School is really great and I love it. The teachers are very helpful and kind. My friends are the best (Boy, Grade 6, School 12).

Sizer (1992) reminds us that schools need to recognize that students grow at different rates intellectually, physically and socially. However, he bemoans the fact that schools tend to treat all children the same – same curriculum, pedagogy,

textbooks, assessment and everything: ‘Kids seem different to different adults; they respond in different ways to different situations or when studying different disciplines (Sizer, 1992: 41). This view was certainly expressed in some of the comments:

> I think that certain teachers are unfair to me and they only like popular people. They hate me because I’m different from other children (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).

> Not all of the teachers are nice. Some will ignore you purposely or they will only teach one side of the class and leave other students out. If you need help, they don’t always help you, like Mrs M. (Boy, Grade 7, School 6).

Sizer (1992) argues that the qualities of caring and honesty, attentiveness both to the immediate and future, the characteristics that make us human, are very important in schools. He argues that schools ought to be compassionate, respectful and efficient, and this was not always the case in these schools:

> A teacher treated me unfairly when someone made a noise and she gave me detention when most of us didn’t do anything. (Girl, Grade 6, School 6)

> A teacher kept us in for making noise even though some of us weren’t making noise. (Boy, Grade 4, School 6).

> I like my school a lot but sometimes it is not fair (Boy, Grade 5, School 2).

> I don’t like it when a teacher shouts at you for nothing (Girl, Grade 5, School 2)

> This School over reacts to silly things and I hate to be here (Girl, Grade 6, School 2).

Morgan and Morris (1999) have also found that students believe that the quality of their relationships with their teachers is a reason why they learn more. They found that students want teachers who are empathetic and who have a relationship with them. In the Catholic school this is seen as an important dimension, as illustrated by the following statement by the Congregation for Education (2007: 16): 'educators are called on to build relationships at professional, personal and spiritual levels…for each one this involves being open, welcoming, disposed to a deep exchange of ideas, convivial and living a fraternal life with the education community itself.'

These experiences are reflected by comments such as:

> We have kind teachers (Girl, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> The teachers are very nice and encourage me to do my best (Boy, Grade 5, School 12).
>
> My teacher is a special person in my life and that is why I love her so much (Girl, Grade 5, School 13).
>
> There is this teacher that makes me feel comfortable when she is around and I can talk to her about anything (Girl, Grade 7, School 13).
>
> My teacher is the best teacher she always helps me in everything I do (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).

A large percentage of students responding to the questionnaire said that they liked being at school. They were not required to say why, but some did say that it was because they had many friends, others said it was because of their teachers, other said it was because they learnt new things:

> I like school and have a lot of friends (Boy, Grade 4, School 6).
>
> I love my teachers like Mrs M (Boy, Grade 4, School 6).
>
> I love this school because we learn new things and I love my teachers and friends (Boy, Grade 4, School 2).
>
> I think this is a very good school. There's no violence but in other schools there's lots of violence (Girl, Grade 4, School 2).
>
> I enjoy coming to school (Boy, Grade 6, School 6).
>
> I love my school very much and my teachers (Girl, Grade 4, School 1).
>
> I really love this school; it's like a second home to me. I have been here since grade one (Girl, Grade 5, School 2).

A strong link was made between the school as an institution and the teachers themselves, for example:

> This is a very good school. My teacher is a kind and loving person. She makes us feel safe and she's the best teacher I ever seen (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).
>
> I have very good teachers and friends. Almost everyone is nice towards me. My friends and teachers are always helping me (Girl, Grade 7, School 6).
>
> Teachers at our school are very gentle, funny and patient which makes it really easy to enjoy coming to school (Girl, Grade 7, School 5).

Some students also indicated that they liked the extramural activities, and more boys indicated that they liked sports, for example:

> I do enjoy school and I like my teachers, and I also like playing sports (Boy, Grade 4, School 8).
>
> I like my school very much and we have nice teachers and extra murals (Boy, Grade 4, School 8).
>
> I think this school is really nice. In my class we have really nice people (Girl, Grade 6, School 1).
>
> I feel that our school is a very nice to come to (Boy, Grade 6, School 2).
>
> I am glad to be at this school because most of the people are nice and kind (Boy, Grade 7, School 6).
>
> My teacher is the best teacher she always helps me in everything I do (Boy, Grade 5, School 16).
>
> I enjoy coming to this school, I have lots of friends here and very seldom someone is nasty to me. I wouldn’t want to go to any other school (Girl, Grade 6, School 6)
>
> This is a nice school and we don't get bullied (Girl, Grade 6, School 3).
>
> School is nice because nobody bullies me (Boy, Grade 5, School 5).
>
> I enjoy going to this school because I have lots of great friends (Girl, Grade 7, School 12).

> Our school is very strict but nice (Boy, Grade &, School 12)
>
> I like this school because we learn something new everyday (Girl, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> It's nice to be in this school and the teachers treat us well (Girl, Grade 4, School 5).
>
> This school is the best and the teachers are cool (Boy, Grade 4, School 5).

From an individual school perspective, the highest levels of care were found in two all-girls schools.

In interpreting the significant gender differences to be found on the construct of teacher care, the study by Koepke and Harkins (2008) provides an interesting insight which may well apply to this study as well. Koepke and Harkins found that teachers reported significant differences in their relationships with boys as compared to girls, and their data suggested that young boys are unaware of this discrepancy:

> It is interesting that boys' apparent inability to perceive conflict in their relationships with teachers may allow them to develop along one of two bifurcated pathways: Either the young boy may be blissfully unaware of his teacher's negative bias and enjoy the positive benefits of what he perceives as a healthy dyadic relationship; or, conversely, the boy may either consciously or unconsciously perceive the relational negativity, which in turn may undermine his early academic and social experiences (Koepke and Harkins, 2008: 859).

The comments made by students about caring were similar to those made in a study by Bosworth (2005). Bosworth had spent a year in two American schools exploring the indicators of caring for students. Students interviewed were able to articulate a definition of caring and identify specific behaviours associated with caring. Their responses included words like 'loving' or 'helping', or helping someone with their schoolwork, or doing something for someone.

Unfortunately, specific data was not collected on the gender of teachers in the schools. However, a review of the available school data for the time shows that over 98% of the teachers were female. It is likely that this could have influenced the responses of students – and perhaps, indeed, the behaviour of teachers. However, this study is not able to provide a comment on this.

Race, bullying and care

Racist bullying, by both teachers and students, was reported in the former all 'whites only' schools. In the survey, race was not specifically mentioned as an independent variable; instead, language was used as a partial proxy for race. When analysed by language group, significant differences were found between those speaking African languages, and those speaking Afrikaans and English, in terms of both bullying and care. Students speaking African languages reported significantly more bullying by both other students and teachers. English-speaking students reported significantly less care than those speaking Afrikaans or African languages.

Table 4.16: Student bullying of students by language group

Grade	N	Mean	SD	Df	Significance
English	853	7.256	5.970		
Afrikaans	112	6.035	5.893		$p < 0.103$
Black	1 168	8.195	5.506	2129	$p < 0.000$

Table 4.17: Teacher bullying of students by language group

Language	N	Mean	SD	Df	Significance
English	851	3.306	3.306		p < 0.088
Afrikaans	111	2.507	2.507		p < 0.031
Black	1 167	3.725	3.725	2126	p < 0.002

Table 4.18: Student care of students by language group

Language	N	Mean	SD	Df	Significance
English	852	8.891	4.227		p < 1.000
Afrikaans	111	10.500	3.648		p < 0.000
Black	1 168	10.424	3.464	2128	p < 0.000

Table 4.19: Teacher care of students by language group

Language	N	Mean	SD	Df	Significance
English	851	12.86	6.086		p < 1.000
Afrikaans	111	14.805	5.905		p < 0.002
Black	1 167	13.024	5.350	2126	p < 0.005

Open-ended responses provide examples of students' experiences of racism, including attendant feelings of humiliation and victimisation:

> Some people pick on me because of my appearance and culture. A teacher accused me of something I didn't do (Boy, Grade 7, School 6).

> One boy in particular (head boy) has told lies about me and said the only reason I received high marks is because I take my School projects home and which is not true. He made a racial comment about my friend and I because we are Portuguese. Children also make ugly comments about

me; I think that they are jealous of my marks. Our prep principal would make racial remarks about black people and he has also said ugly and racial thing about Portuguese people (Boy, Grade 6, School 16).

Mrs B is a racist and picks on certain people and always wants them to get into trouble. The principal told me on day that he doesn't care if the teachers are racist or if they pick on me. Mrs B also gives you bad marks for something you have not done and if somebody does something wrong she will blame me (Boy, Grade 5, School 7).

Mrs B shouted at me for nothing and is being unfair. She hates black boys (Boy, Grade 5, School 7).

The teacher did not like me just because I am black (Boy ,Grade 7, School 7).

Teachers hate me because I am different (Girl, Grade 7, School 7).

A teacher said I looked like a monkey (Girl, Grade 4, School 11).

The relationship between levels of bullying and levels of care

As mentioned at the start of the Chapter, this research study set out to investigate the extent and nature of bullying and care in a sample of Catholic schools, and to explore the possible relationships between them. A central question to be considered was whether or not there would be less bullying in schools where students felt that teachers showed more care and concern towards them.

Regression analysis was used to examine the relationships between the indices of bullying and the indices of care. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 4.20: The relationship between bullying of students by students, care of students by student, bullying of students by teachers and care of students by teachers

	Student bully	Student care	Teacher bully	Teacher Care
Student bully	1.0000			
	2446			
Student care	-0.0032 (r)	1.0000		
	0.8732 (p)			
	2444 (N)	2444		
Teacher bully	0.5553	-0.0903	1.0000	
	0.0000	0.0000		
	2442	2441	2442	
Teacher care	0.0001	0.4679	-0.1771	1.0000
	0.9945	0.0000	0.0000	
	2443	2442	2442	2443

Regression analysis indicated that there was no direct correlation between the indices of bullying and indices of care. However, there *was* a correlation between the levels of care shown by teachers and the levels of care shown by students. In other words, for every unit of care shown by teachers there was a unit of care increase in student care (- r (2444) = -0.0032, p< .87). There was a similar correlation between the levels of bullying among students and the level of bullying by teachers – the more teachers bully the more students bully (- r (0.5553) = .2442, p< .00). While there was no direct relationship between the indices of student bullying and student care, there was a direct relationship between the indices of teacher bullying and teacher care.

The implications of this major finding are explored in the following chapter.

Analysis of the school vision and mission statements

An analysis of the schools' vision and mission statements focused on six areas: education in the faith, option for the poor, formation in solidarity and community, education for the common good, academic education for service, and education that develops positive relationships. As explained earlier, vision and mission statements provide a succinct picture of the articulated ethos; and in this instance the analysis of vision and mission statements was done to establish the schools' own vision of pastoral care and how they articulated their particular ethos.

These mission statements may, in a particular way, be regarded as a reflection of the spiritual capital of each school. Grace (2010) argues that spiritual capital draws on theological literacy, but adds a dimension of personal witness to faith in practice and relationship. He argues that it was the spiritual capital that provided the animating force and dynamic motive power for Catholic schooling in the past (Grace 2010: 120). In the Catholic school the spiritual capital was traditionally brought by consecrated men and women, but with the decline in their numbers this responsibility has shifted more and more to the lay leaders and teachers who run the school.

Each vision statement was coded and the statements were allocated to the appropriate categories in the matrix (Table 4.21 shows an example of school 1's statement, the remainder of the coded statements can be found in Appendix B.2).

Table 4.21: An example of the matrix breakdown of one of the 16 school mission statements

School 1	
Education in the faith	inculcate Gospel values foster the importance of family and community
Option for the poor	

Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	high quality, affordable education equipped to make a genuine contribution to the wider South African community
Education that develops positive relationships	nurture a sense of self-worth develop sensitivity to and understanding of different cultures and religions create an environment where full potential can be reached

Not all of the mission goals described could be captured in matrix. For example, in school 12 the mission statement also dealt with instilling positive values and attitudes that were in line with the Constitution of South Africa. This school also aimed to inculcate loyalty and exemplary behaviour, as well as respect, and the school was also committed to enhance the students' self-esteem.

School 8 was also committed to 'respecting self and others', and this school also committed itself to 'bringing happiness to all which results in harmony'. School 10 committed itself to being among the best schools in the township, as well as providing quality education. This school's mission statement also dedicated the staff to be committed in the execution of their duties. The school was also committed to upgrade resources and teaching approaches. One school (School 15) committed itself to develop honest, enthusiastic, caring and competent students and this school also committed itself to being a leading Catholic School.

Some of the schools (Schools 6, 13, 15) referred to the traditions and ideals of their founders. Three of the schools recognised the dimension of diversity and the need to work for diversity in a multi-cultural society (Schools 5, 14; 16): 'A learning environment in which all members of our diverse community are encouraged to understand, accept and respect each other to foster hope for the future' and 'recognizing its multi-faith dimension'.

An emphasis was also placed on holistic education: ‘opportunities for the full development of the child in terms of personality, morality, physical and mental aptitudes and ambitions’; ‘to educate the whole person’, ‘We encourage each child to develop her talents, focusing on individual attainment rather than competitiveness with others respect for self, others and the environment’; ‘Holistic education is one that develops the spiritual, social, emotional, intellectual and physical potential of the learner’.

The dimension of student behaviour in the schools was also included: ‘to pursue the highest standards in all aspects of College life’; ‘setting high educational and moral standards’; and ‘within a spirit of discipline and acceptance, without compromising the integrity of the College’. School 14 included a statement on the professional behaviour of teachers: ‘We aim to have professional relationships based on trust, respect and mutual support’.

It is clear from the analysis of the school mission and vision statements that the schools were concerned about the school environment in which teaching and learning took place. The intention of all of the schools was to provide education in a holistic environment. The caring dimension of the Catholic school was also highlighted in some of the statements.

However, there is some indication from the analysis of the mission statements that may suggest that what Grace (2010) calls the transmission of the spiritual capital, may be faltering in some of the schools. This may mean that these schools are likely to become more secularised and lose their distinctive Catholic identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the major findings of the study based on the survey of 2442 students in grades 4 to 7 in sixteen South African Catholic schools. The Arora Checklist was adapted in the light of students' responses to provide four indices showing a picture of the forms and intensity of bullying and care that students experienced from other students and their teachers. While gender differences are the most striking, differences along lines of language (and possibly, therefore, race) are evident too, albeit to a lesser extent. The fact that teachers continue to hit students, and that they bully them in other ways too, is a finding that needs to be considered by the schools involved. The significance of teacher behaviour – both bullying and care – in relation to student behaviour of bullying and care is an important finding. It speaks to the important role of teachers in securing the wellbeing of students, and indeed to the importance of institutional culture in influencing the interactions of bullying and care. These issues are considered further in the next chapter.

Chapter 5
Discussion

> Caring organisations are not value-neutral. They hold strong values and communicate them to the young people they serve (Dianna Mendley Rauner, 2000: 103).
>
> From the nature of the Catholic school also stems one of the most significant elements of its educational project: the synthesis between culture and faith. (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: #14).

Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings of the survey on bullying and care, outlined in the previous chapter, in relation to the major issues raised in the conceptual framework set out in chapter 3. Three main themes are explored in order to understand and work against the dynamics of bullying as a form of violence in South African Catholic schools: first, the relationships between bullying and care; second, the central role of teachers in promoting positive relationships in schools; and third, the importance of school culture in working against bullying and promoting care.

The relationship between bullying and care

The survey results set out in the previous chapter show that bullying did take place in the Catholic schools in the sample, and it took the range of forms identified in other research on school bullying: physical harm, threats, name calling, ridicule, and repetitive hurt of an emotional/psychological nature. Students experienced bullying by other students, and also by teachers. The survey results also show that students experienced care from other students and

from teachers. The strongest and most consistent variable across the four indices of bullying and care was gender, with boys reporting significantly more bullying and girls reporting significantly more care. In all of the former white schools, racist bullying was reported. The independent variable of home language (as a part proxy for race) showed signficant differences in some responses, with those speaking African languages reporting more bullying, and those speaking English reporting less care.

The studies of bullying reviewed in Chapter 2 suggest that bullying is widespread in schools, and in that sense, it is not surprising that students in this study reported experiences of bullying. The gender patterns evident in student responses in this study are also reflected in other studies of bullying as well. That said, bullying has not received as much attention in South African literature as it has in countries of the developed world (as is indicated in the literature review). It could be argued that one reason for this is that the extreme violence in South African society more broadly may overshadow 'lower levels' of violence such as bullying in schools. In other words, the violent social context may render school violence unsurprising or even unimportant. This is an interpretation that I wish to challenge.

The causes of bullying are differently explained. As shown in chapter 3, one approach emphises the personal attributes of the bully and victim, as well as the family and social background. In response, other researchers have argued that more attention should be paid to the school context, and that a focus on 'at risk' students has often meant failure to address the larger social context, including that of the school. The question of whether or not bullying should be seen as characterological and/or contextual has implications for understanding what can be done to prevent bullying.

In understanding bullying, I have explored a number of different theoretical approaches to violence. Arendt's notion of 'the banality of evil' is powerful in

highlighting the thoughtless, 'taken-for-granted' nature of many human actions that cause harm to others. In a social context where violence is so prevalent, 'banality' and thoughtlessness can easily overshadow the abuses of school bullying, so that physical punishments, threats and intimidation at school become normalised. This research has attempted to highlight the prevalence of bullying behaviours, and has argued that bullying should not simply be taken-for-granted as a normal part of schooling in South Africa and elsewhere.

In *The Life of the Mind,* Arendt (1978) talks about the importance of the activity of thinking and the habit of reflecting on one's actions. Building on this idea, I suggest that developing the capacity to reflect could be important in countering thoughtless actions that harm others. This is not to say that all violence and bullying are thoughtless actions. Rather, it is to stress the importance of building habits of critical reflection.

In this regard, the continuation of corporal punishment in these Catholic schools, even when it is explicitly against the law as well as against the constituion, is very worrying. It suggests that teachers see this as a normal practice in schools. It may even be that teachers do no see hitting and shouting as abusive to students, and this may undermine the respect that students deserve.

When physical harm and abuse are commonplace in schools, it is easy to try to explain them as being the direct or indirect result of the wider social context. This takes away responsibility, and it also makes the situation seem inevitable. This is not a position supported in this thesis, particularly with regard to Catholic schools who have a specific pastoral ethic to uphold.

Collins's (2008) approach is helpful on this. He cautions against focussing on social background and culture in understanding bullying, and suggests instead that the focus should be on the points of interaction in the dynamics of particular situations. He points out that although there are some statistical correlations

between variables such as poverty and race and certain kinds of violence, these do not necessarily predict violence. Most young men, poor people, black people or children from divorced families do not commit acts of violence. Background conditions cannot be seen as determinants of violence. Also, he points out that people who are violent are violent for only a small part of the time. As with Arendt, this approach challenges us not expect violence as inevitable because of the poverty and racial inequalities of the broader society.

Drawing on Arendt, Collins and others, I have sought to understand violence and bullying not as personal attributes, but in terms of a broader 'human condition' that can be addressed in positive ways in education. This is a point I come back to later in the chapter.

Reflecting on violence led me to look at notions of care, and to explore whether or not an ethic of care in schools would be able to counteract violence. The work of Nell Noddings, in particular, led me to look at ethics, and at her idea that violence and care could be related. As she says:

> Violence has many roots, but it seems obvious that people who feel cared for and who have learned to care for others will be less likely to engage in violent acts (Noddings, 2002: 38).

Although a direct relationship between the indices of bullying and indices of care could not be established in the survey, the survey did establish the importance of teachers in influencing both bullying and care. The regression analysis showed that where there was more bullying by teachers, there was also more bullying by students. And where there was more care by teachers, there was more care by students. This does, to some extent, support Noddings' point. It also raises the issue of teachers, and their importance in the dynamics of bullying and care in schools. It also raises issues of school culture and caring schools.

> Caring – the 'stuff' behind transforming experiences and relationships – is at once a mundane practice and the embodiment of an abstract ideal. Fundamentally, care is a practice: it happens in real time, and it is tangible (Dianna Mendley Rauner, 2000: 19).

Teachers, bullying and care

One of the central findings of this study is that there is a relationship between teacher bullying and care and bullying and care by students. Thus the current study supports the position that, even if indirectly, teachers play a very important role in creating school climates that foster caring relationships and do not support bullying. The findings have important implications for schools in South Africa, particularly where, as Altbeker (2007: 158) puts it:

> Moral behaviour is not something that is learnt by rote. It is, I think, much more like a set of habits – of honesty and judgement and discipline and duty – that are formed by observing others and by responding to rewards and punishments. If this is right, then schools in which teachers do not teach reading, even though the Education Department thinks is 'probably' the most essential skill to be taught, are teaching the morality of absenteeism and missed classes, of unfinished curricula and unpredictable consequences.

This study underlines the importance of teachers in modelling positive behaviour and creating caring environments. In Christie's (1998) analysis of dysfunctional schools, she argues that teachers and other role players in schools needed to create a culture that fosters teaching and learning. Building on perspectives derived from psychoanalysis she suggests that social and authority relationships need to be strengthened and frame the day-to-day practices of learning and teaching.

The notion of authority and the particular role of teachers are also explored in Arendt's work. Arendt's work on education stresses the importance of protection and care of children for the renewal of the world. Arendt accords schools and teachers a particular role in introducing young people to the world. She says:

> …educators here stand in relation to the young as representatives of the world for which they must assume responsibility although they themselves did not make it, and even though they may, secretly or openly, wish it were other than this (Arendt, 1961: 189).

The teacher has a particular authority which is based on taking responsibility for the development of the child, particularly in relation to their transition from the family to the wider world. Authority and responsibility go together as teachers introduce their students to the world, and the world to their students.

In reflecting on policing in South Africa, Steinberg (2009) argues that the consent of citizens is a precondition for policing to be effective. Teachers are not policemen and women, but I would argue that the similar situation prevails in school organisational settings. Teachers have authority because of their position, but more importantly because of their demonstrable daily behaviour. Steinberg says: 'A precondition of democratic policing is that there is a demand for it among the general population. The police come to a scene because civilians have called them there, and they have called them because they want and need the presence of an agency that will use force or the promise of it to diffuse crises' (Steinberg 2009: 21).

Teachers working against a bullying culture

In their 2007 report looking at the world's best performing school systems, Barber and Mourshed argue that teachers are key to improving education systems. The most frequently quoted statement from their report has become a catch phrase:

'The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers' (Barber and Mourshed: 2007: 16) - they continue and argue that selecting the right people to become teachers is the first starting point in improving school systems. They also argued that good compensation and improving the status of the profession were also important.

In a follow-up McKinsey report, Mourshed, Chijioke and Barber, B. (2010) identify further factors such as strong self-evaluation, flexibility in implementation, strong professional development requirements and coaching on classroom practice as key drivers in school improvement.

Both of these reports, as well as other similar reports[47] which deal with improving learning outcomes in competitive global economic systems identify teacher training entry requirements skills as being important as well as continuous professional development. However, the 'soft skills' such a managing behaviour in classrooms or creating positive learning environments or emancipatory education systems have no mention in these studies. The overall vision of education promoted in these documents mainly for citizens who can be productive. This is concerning:

> The very structure of the school day, with routines and schedules which model learning along factory lines leads to the perception that school is serving a primary function no different to that which it served 150 years ago – to provide a workforce, and in many challenging schools this rhetoric is played out in very powerful terms, fail in school and fail in life and your life chances. This form of discourse which values the potential of economic gain above everything else is the dark side of the rhetoric of the knowledge economy, where human beings are little more than work fodder. They develop the necessary skills to be flexible, adaptive and

[47] See for example a recent Scottish report *Teaching Scotland's Future.* This report recognises that teaching is a complex profession and that teacher training needs improvement. Entrance requirements into the profession need to be raised and courses need to be more demanding.

> geared to the necessities of the marketplace above all other considerations (Clarke 2006: 189).

A vision of inspired teachers who are able to play a transformative role in society is absent. Zilversmit (1993), observing progressive educationalists in the United States, notes that schools are designed to reproduce, not change social patterns, and tend to reflect patterns of social organisation: 'Educational reform, therefore, they argue, can only be the product, not the cause, of fundamental social change' (Zilversmit, 1993: 177). Zilversmit (1993:182) argues that schools have to reflect on themselves and their 'mindless routines' in order to be relevant and vital to the communities they serve.

Bullying is a challenge in schools, and it does cause considerable distress for children. Teachers can, and do, play an important role in reducing the amount of bullying at school and create more caring schools. A precondition of this,though, is the need to work with teachers to build an understanding the dynamics of bullying, and to reflect upon their own behaviour and what they themselves may be doing in their classrooms. Teachers are, in a sense, bystanders in the network of relationships in schools, but to play a constructive role, they need to be able to reflect on themselves and the social relationships they build with students. They need to develop the forms of reflection that counter the banality Arendt refers to – a thoughtlessness in carrying out their daily tasks. Taking this further, Arendt's analyis also stresses the the importance of protection and care of children for the renewal of the world, and the particular authority and responsibility accorded to teachers in this. This is a form of expanded thinking that needs to be cultivated with teachers in working towards respectful relationships in classrooms.

Teachers can play an important role in modelling appropriate behaviour in schools and in creating environments of care and concern. Teachers, students and all of the members of the school community, need to understand the values

of the school and how these are lived out in the school. Their own actions in relation to students can foster prosocial behaviour and make the lives of children more bearable at school. The nature of their engagement with students at school is vitally important in shaping school climate.

Approaching school climate issues in South Africa

A large number of schools in South Africa located largely in township and rural areas remain dysfunctional.[48] These schools continue to provide a challenge to school reform efforts in South Africa. In 1998 Christie described these schools as being located in 'poor and disrupted communities spawned by apartheid' which share common features: 'These include: disputed and disrupted authority relations between principals teachers and students; sporadic and broken attendance by students and often teachers; and general demotivation and low morale of students and teachers; poor school results; conflict and often violence in and around schools' (Christie, 1998: 283).

In their 2007 Ministerial Report Christie, Butler & Potterton (2007: 55) showed that socio-economic background clearly has an over-riding effect on student performance in the matriculation examinations.[49] Schools in the former Department of Education generally performed poorly: 'In other words, the school that an individual learner attends has strong predictive effects on their results, both in terms of social position and in terms of school effectiveness' (Christie, Butler & Potterton, 2007: 55). The examination data suggested that the root

[48] Taylor's analysis of the annual senior certificate examination results over a period of time the reveals that close to 80% of South Africa's schools are essentially 'dysfunctional'. 79% of the country's high schools fall into the poorly performing category, producing only 15% of all higher grade passes in mathematics. Two-thirds of higher grade maths passes are produced by a small minority (7%) of schools. More than 600 African schools are classified as top or moderately performing (These schools are the country's star performers, producing excellent results despite their disadvantaged history and the fact that they continue to serve poor to very poor communities) (Taylor, N. (2006) 'Fixing schools will take huge effort'. *Business Day*, 28 August 2006).

[49] This study and Glimour & Soudien's study focused on high schools. However, the contextual analysis in both these studies remains relevant for South African primary school situations.

causes are not only differential levels of historical resourcing, but also possibly the endurance of organisational patterns and cultures at departmental and school levels. The data showed that these schools continue to run as they did under their former Departments, and that White and Indian schools have an organisational culture that supports achievement, and schools in other former departments do not have this culture. It terms of school culture it may well be that daily life in school and the expectations of teachers and students have not changed that much.

It may well be that the school climate issues in the majority of schools are easily overshadowed by the many other challenges facing schools. From the perspective of Arendt (1994) and her account of the Eichmann trial, failure to acknowledge the negative experience of students in school may also be a form of banality. Arendt had observed that an ordinary man who failed to think about the consequences of his actions was still responsible, and that he had failed to see things from some else's perspective. The human condition, for Arendt, requires action.

In the Catholic school, the idealised vision[50] for the school based on Groome (1998: 426 - 428) provides a strong motivation for schools to re-examine their philosophy and how it shapes practice[51]. The notion of *positive anthropology* provides a perspective of the human person that is positive. This should inspire a commitment to the whole person - and see the student as 'agent-subject' – and foster human rights and responsibility. The notion of *sacramental cosmology*

[50] I am very aware that the Catholic Church has not always been able to fulfil this vision, and that many children have suffered abuse while in residential and school institutions under Church supervision. These abuses have been documented around the world. Recently (2009), the Ryan Report captured media attention when it was released in the Republic of Ireland [Ryan, S. (2006) *Towards redress and recovery: Report to the Minister for Education and Science.* Dublin: Republic of Ireland].

[51] Groome (1998) provides eight, what he calls, depth structures of Catholic Christianity: positive anthropology, a sacramental consciousness, commitment to relationship and community, appreciation for tradition, cultivating reason for wisdom of life, and the commitments of fostering holistic spirituality, formation in social justice and inculcating a catholic worldview.

inspires the teacher to instil a sense of contemplation towards life, and encourages students to develop their ecological consciousness.

The notion of *commitment to relationship and community* in the Catholic school fosters the sense of the common good and care, and this should result in cooperation and partnership amongst students. The notion of *appreciation of tradition* encourages teachers to conserve the most humanising traditions and to draw new life from them. *Educating for justice* encourages teachers to demonstrate and create the kinds of environments that are marked by right relationships and teach for justice. Special care should be offered to those who need extra help and support. Groome (1998) goes on to spell out the implications for this vision for teaching practice, the following principles are appropriate to enhancing classroom environments:

- The humanising approach to teaching suggests a community of co-learners in conversation. Encouraging everyone present to actively participate and welcoming the contribution of all.
- Personal engagement requires a genuine interest in students – the whole person is engaged.
- Students must reflect on what they are learning – to engage in a critical way in their own context.

Groome (1998: 439-440) highlights the importance of caring for the teaching space and the significant role of the teacher in creating an ethos of care is emphasised. Teachers welcome diversity, practice inclusivity to all and offer hospitality to all. They nurture character in the values of respect, responsibility, reverence and justice. They give opportunity for service and direct care for others.

Teachers and schools promoting a culture of care

Care also has to be modelled or demonstrated in everyday life of the school. This means that every action needs to reflect the values of the school and confirm the caring nature of the organisation. The principal, teachers and other staff need to be attentive, responsive and competent. The overall actions in the school need to foster belonging. Rauner argues that:

> Schools and other organized care providers can consciously facilitate a young person's attachment to their organizations through their traditions, rituals, and other practices that celebrate a young person's involvement and reciprocate his enthusiasm (Rauner, 2000: 106).

Organisations can facilitate effective caring and encourage relationship building though communication. This means that the culture of the organisation has to foster inclusion.

In the context of school bullying, the caring school recognises that bullying takes place and sets out to confront it. The school ensures that it is organised in such a way that its own culture minimises violence and bullying, and promotes a climate of belonging that fosters respect. Careful attention is given to the school environment and to safety at school. These schools ensure that no one has 'go it alone' and that student voices will be heard and listed to.

Rauner's (2000: 7) argument is that care is not just a sentiment or an attitude in itself. Care for her is 'at once a mundane practice and the embodiment of an abstract ideal...The experience of practising care in particular contexts develops a habit of caring (Rauner, 2000: 19). She sees care as an active process. In modelling care she argues that the process has three components: attentiveness, responsiveness and competence[52]. And that these components

[52] In relation to the contemporary South African context, Jansen (2009), introduces a similar idea. He speaks of 'a post-conflict pedagogy' and argues that in this pedagogy the teacher has to consciously

operate interactively: 'As attentiveness prepares a way for responsiveness, and responsiveness demands competence, they each circle back to one another' (Rauner, 2000: 23):

- *Attentiveness* involves actively seeking awareness of others and their needs and points of view. It involves concern for other's needs, desires and suffering, and the ability to consider another person's point of view. This is where Rauner's ideas intersect with those of Buber: 'In attending to the other, we focus on the singularity of the other rather than on comparison between him and us (Rauner, 2000: 21). Attentiveness is essential in that it allows for the diagnosis of the needs of the other (this is where her ideas intersect with those of Young). This attention to the individual as unique requires time and effort to come to know the student (this is where her ideas intersect with those of the Catholic Church's teaching on the dignity of the human person).

- *Responsiveness* relates to the idea of extending oneself on behalf of another. This responsiveness compels a person to act. 'Responsiveness reflects the necessity of caring, regardless of whether that necessity springs from principle, duty, or affect (Rauner, 2000: 21).

- *Competence* refers to the ability to do something about another's needs. Competence is not a state of mind or thought, but a skill that is both cognitive and affective. Competence implies the knowledge of the other and the context of his or her needs, capabilities and situation (Rauner, 2000: 22) (this is where her ideas intersect with those of Jansen's post-conflict pedagogy).

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position him or herself to listen, and that this will not come naturally, 'but that without it there is no chance of speaking and certainly no opportunity for listening' (Jansen, 2009: 263). Jansen acknowledges that a post-conflict pedagogy depends entirely on those who teach, and that teachers need to be highly competent in the subject knowledge, as well as in the way they relate to students.

Rauner points out that the interaction between these components is an ongoing process rather than an event in time. Rauner (2000) provides valuable ideas on how to create a caring organisation. She argues that modelling in every phase of an organisation is the best way to create a caring organisation, and that organisations must be very mindful of the messages they preach and how they live those messages out themselves. She argues that the salient characteristics of a caring organisation are an atmosphere of respect and trust. These organisations create a culture where people feel that they don't have to do it alone, time is set aside to take account of interpersonal relationships[53]. She notes that caring organisations are to some extent self perpetuating in that new members learn behaviour from existing members.

Returning to the notion of caring, it is important that teachers demonstrate this:

> Teachers are the brokers of caring in schools. They provide the bridge between the school and the individual...Hearing student voices can provide educators with a clearer understanding of approaches to enhance caring. (Bosworth, 2005: 686)

In his study, Bosworth (2005) found that the typical school day did not offer many opportunities to demonstrate caring. However, as in this study, students did not have difficulty in articulating the characteristics of a caring teacher. Their responses were related to classroom or teaching practices; activities like after school help and guidance and personal characteristics. They argue that schools need to create caring communities by promoting activities and attitudes that

[53] Young (1996) builds on the idea of a deliberative democracy and develops a communicative democracy. She calls on narrative communication to discuss problems and issues in society. Storytelling becomes an important element to solve collective problems. This approach allows for a plurality of perspectives to come forward to find share understanding.

promote relationships. They also argue that students also need opportunity to practice caring, and that this is recognised and rewarded.

One criticism that may be levelled against the promotion of care in schools is that it is not likely to 'work' in school communities where there are high levels of violence and little social cohesion. Changing cultures in these situations will naturally be more difficult, but the same principles need to be applied, namely articulating values - engaging with people in a considered way, as so forth. But, without commitment and authority (which is derived from living out positive values), as well as a sense of agency the approach is not likely to work. However, I am more optimistic about addressing violence in schools than in society at large as schools have the ability to create bounded communities, communities in which people are known. These communities need to be brought together around a common purpose, namely the central purpose of a school being to teach and foster learning (Christie, 2007).

Care in Catholic schools

The foundational Catholic school documents are particularly useful for Catholic schools in responding to the particular needs of children and young people. Catholic schools are called to pay particular attention to the quality of relationships and the particular climate fostered in the school[54]. These documents provide a rationale for creating a caring climate, but more importantly the particular role of the teacher in shaping this climate is emphasised:

[54] In the South African context this is expressed in a pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops: 'Teachers in Catholic schools are called by God to participate in the teaching ministry of Jesus. Their vocation involves vision, conscientious work, professionalism and care for the children entrusted to them. Teachers in our schools witness to the mission of Christ in bringing about a society based on the principles of love, peace, truth and justice. More than this, teachers are called to prepare their learners to be active and responsible members of society who have purpose and meaning in life and who are capable of being agents of social change' (Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, 2009: 2).

> Teachers should remember that they are principally responsible for a Catholic school's ability to put into effect its aims and projects (The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, 1965: 11).

The current approaches to developing 'caring schools' that are being implemented in South Africa don't place enough emphasis on the role of the teacher in creating this caring climate. It must be acknowledged that religion or religious conviction is not an antidote for cruelty, nor is it the magic bullet for care. Many great things are done in the name of religion, but equally many terrible things are also perpetrated in the name of religion (cf. Hitchens, 2007). Coloroso (2007: 178), for example, notes that 'religion is neither sufficient nor necessary in order for someone to act with integrity, civility, and compassion and to speak out against injustice, to do the right thing simply because it is the right thing to do'. However, I would strongly argue that religious teachings can be used as a basis to challenge society and to work for justice. In the Catholic tradition, for example, religion is meant to validate the intrinsic dignity of the human person and recognise the interdependence of people.

In the document *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* the focus of the Catholic school is articulated:

> In its ecclesial dimension another characteristic of the Catholic school has its root: it is a school for all, with special attention to those who are weakest. In the past, the establishment of the majority of Catholic educational institutions has responded to the needs of the socially and economically disadvantaged. It is no novelty to affirm that Catholic schools have their origin in a deep concern for the education of children and young people left to their own devices and deprived of any form of schooling. In many parts of the world even today material poverty prevents many youths and children from having access to formal education and adequate

> human and Christian formation (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 15).

This document acknowledges the Catholic schools role in caring for the deprived. It goes on to highlight the importance of relationships in the Catholic school, particularly emphasising the role of the teacher in cultivating these relationships:

> During childhood and adolescence a student needs to experience personal relations with outstanding educators, and what is taught has greater influence on the student's formation when placed in a context of personal involvement, genuine reciprocity, coherence of attitudes, life-styles and day to day behaviour. (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 19)

This document also emphasises the important role that teachers plays in creating a ‘unique Christian school climate’. The nature of the relationship between students and teachers is also expanded on:

> In the Catholic school, ‘prime responsibility for creating this unique Christian school climate rests with the teachers, as individuals and as a community’. Teaching has an extraordinary moral depth and is one of man's (sic.) most excellent and creative activities, for the teacher does not write on inanimate material, but on the very spirits of human beings. The personal relations between the teacher and the students, therefore, assume an enormous importance and are not limited simply to giving and taking (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997: 20).

A more recent document from the Vatican also highlights the communal nature of Catholic education. Its emphasis is that Catholic education can only be authentic if it is carried out in a communal context:

> It is not by chance that the first and original educational environment is that of the natural community of the family. Schools, in their turn, take their place beside the family as an educational space that is communitarian, organic and intentional and they sustain their educational commitment, according to *the logic of assistance* (my emphasis) (Congregation for Catholic Education, 2007: 8).

Unfortunately this document fails to recognise the changing face of 'family' and that in South Africa, for example, nearly a fifth of all children in South Africa are orphans[55]. However, the document does well in explaining the interrelationships that exist in schools, and the dynamics that should prevail:

> The Catholic school, characterised mainly as an educating community, is a school for the *person and of persons.* In fact it aims at forming the *person in the integrated unity of being*, using the tools of teaching and learning where 'criteria of judgement, determining values, points of interest, lines of thought, sources of inspiration and models for life' are formed. Above all, they are involved in the dynamics of interpersonal relations that form and vivify the school community. (Ibid.)

From the perspective of Arendt's work, these extracts echo the capacity for human renewal. But this dimension certainly would need to be strengthened to emphasise the student's contribution to the renewal of the world. Arendt's view that people are constantly born into the world and in need of being introduced to the world and of bringing the possibility of reinvigorating the world needs to be emphasised (Levinson, 2001).

[55] The total number of children aged 0–17 who reported in the Census that they had lost one or both parents is 3 374 971 which constitutes 18,8%. (Statistics South Africa (2012) *Statistical release Census 2011(Revised). Pretoria:* Statistics South Africa. Page 77).

The Vatican documents in themselves tend to be quite formulaic, whereas the documents of social movements within the Catholic Church tend to be more grounded. A recent example of such a text is *Education's Highest Aim* (James et al, 2010). In this text the vision and practice of the Focolare Movement is used to develop a vision for education. A vision underpinned by reciprocity with others:

> Through reciprocity with other, individuals realise their capacity to confront the weightiest moral questions, life's 'mountains of hatred and violence' that no one can move by himself or herself, and in doing so become truly themselves' (James et al, 2010: 22).

In his discussion about school effectiveness and school mission, Grace (1998) argues that an analysis of the culture of learning, as well as that of culture of student-teacher respect and dignity will add another dimension to the school effectiveness research. He notes that dimensions such as dignity, community and solidarity do have an impact and therefore needs to be engaged in research.

Catholic social teachings[56] have a lot to say about the life and dignity of the human person. This vision is expressed in a world where there is declining respect for human life and overwhelming materialism. The sanctity of human life and the inherent dignity of the human person form the foundation of Catholic Social Teaching (Brady, 2008). From a Catholic perspective, humans are created in the image of God and therefore have inherent dignity: 'Persons have both body and soul; they are by nature open to God, unique and social. Persons have an essential equality and freedom.' (Brady, 2008:13).

[56] The Catholic Church has developed a collection of documents, usually published in the name of the Pope and the Bishops, which set out the official position of the church. Many of these documents are on the role and responsibility of Christians in the world. These documents are known as the Catholic Social Teaching or Catholic Social Doctrine. These documents are made up of established Catholic teachings in relation to contemporary thinkers and activists (Brady, 2008).

Pope John XXIII's encyclical, *Pacem in Terris* (1963), affirms every person's fundamental rights: 'Every person has the right to life. Every person has the right to bodily integrity and to the means necessary for the proper development of life. Every person has a right to be respected' (cited in Brady, 2008:95).

The dignity of the human person is based on Catholic personalism, which has biblical roots. Brady (2008) notes that Catholic personalism is based on three theological ideas: creation, the incarnation, and the final end of humanity. The idea of being created in the image of God, that humans have the freedom to choose between right and wrong. The incarnation confirms the important status of humans and the end of humanity focuses on the common destiny of all people to be in union with God. In other words, all people share a common origin, common needs, common relationships and common end.

This position is well described in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*:

> Any well-regulated and productive society depends on the acceptance of one fundamental principle; each individual is truly a person. Humans are endowed with intelligence and free will. Because if this all people have certain rights and duties. These rights and duties are universal and inviolable and therefore inalienable.

In the Catholic school, in all schools really, the dignity of the human person means that everyone should be respected and treated humanely. The student has the same inviolable, inalienable rights that teachers do. This teaching therefore forms the basis of a just school community.

The missing dimension of bystanders

A number of researchers in the area of school bullying have focused on the role played by bystanders in dealing with bullying in schools. Unfortunately, the 'My

Life in School' checklist does not pay any attention to the dimension of bystanders in bullying situations. In terms of the ecological approach taken in this study, this is an omission and attention should be paid to this dimension in the further development of the checklist/questionnaire. By paying attention to this dimension a school can gain a better sense of the willingness of students to intervene when bullying situations take place.

In a study on the impact of bullying on quality of life, Flaspohler et al (2009) have suggested that having peer social support in tandem with teacher support provides the strongest buffer against the effects of bullying. They argue that involving bystanders in prevention efforts can have a degree of success, as they may have a degree of influence and social capital that other students do not have.[57] Thornberg (2010) too cautions that anti-bullying interventions should not only be confined to approaches that focus on the personal characteristics of bullies and victims. He reinforces the argument of this study that schools must take into consideration the social climate, group processes, peer interactions and classroom ecologies.

Most students believe that bystanders should help victims and take action against bullies, but in reality students seldom intervene (Craig). Thornberg (2010) cites a study by O'Connell, Pepler & Craig who found that bystanders spent 54% of their time reinforcing bullying by just watching, 21% of their time actively encouraging bullying and only 25% of their time intervening[58]. Gini et al (2008) used scenarios in their research with 390 middle-school students, and found that participants endorsed pro-social behaviour in favour of victims and did not support bullying behaviour. They also perceived a passive response to bullying as a negative behaviour. They conclude that their study endorses the need for

[57] Flaspohler et al (2009) note that future research is needed to establish whether bully prevention interventions that actively engage bystanders demonstrate positive results beyond those reported for interventions that solely involve school staff or other adults.

[58] Several roles played by bystanders in bullying situations, namely reinforcer, defender, encourager and ignorer have been identified by Salmivalli et al (1996). Regardless of the role played by bystanders, they are an important part of the culture of bullying in school.

broader and more ecological approaches to tackling bullying at school, and that students who are neither bullies or victims can be part of the solution to the problem

I digress to consider aspects of the holocaust literature[59] to deepen the understanding of the role of bystanders. Wistrich (2002) carefully traces the roots of Nazi attitudes towards the Jews. According to him: 'To be born a Jew in the eyes of Hitler and the Nazi regime meant that one was defined *a prioiri* as not being a human being and therefore unworthy of life' (Wistrich 2002: 1). Wistrich goes on to argue that the holocaust required more than an ideology of anti-Semitism, but was also the result of a modern technological society with a highly organised bureaucracy. He also points out that the Germans did not carry out the Holocaust alone but found many willing collaborators among Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukranians, Hungarians, Romanians and other Europeans. According to Wistrich the Holocaust could never have happened unless millions of Europeans did not want to see an end to Jewish presence in Europe[60]. The Jews at the eve of the war in Europe found themselves in a trap from which there was no escape.

From a bystander perspective, Todorov (1999) provides insight into why many Bulgarian Jews were protected from annihilation. He examines evidence from letters, diaries, government reports and memoirs in order to establish who needs to be credited for the meritorious act of saving Bulgarian Jews. Ninety-seven percent of the 48 400 Bulgarian Jews at the time lived in cities. According to Todorov (1999), Bulgaria had its anti-Semitic traditions but they were not especially strong. 11343 Jews in the newly annexed Macedonia were deported to camps, but the deportation and detention of these Jews did not go unnoticed and

[59] I acknowledge up front that the magnitude of the holocaust was far greater than bullying in schools, but the dynamics may be useful to explore the themes of bystander and defender/intervener.

[60] There are some who deny that the holocaust ever happened. Hellig (2003) documents emergence of Holocaust deniers. She shows that they resort to anti-Semitic stereotypes and use pseudo-science to obfuscate historical facts. Denial Holocaust historians refer to themselves as revisionist historians. Deniers base their claim on a notion that Jews/Zionists have fooled the world that the holocaust took place so that they can rule the world. They argue that Israel has benefited from this 'lie' financially.

eyewitnesses ‘reacted with compassion and outrage’ (Todorov 1999: 4). When the arrest of the Jews in ‘old Bulgaria’ began the Jewish people could count on their friends. Todorov provides an example of the support given from a town near Sofia:

> There the arrests, aimed at a local Jewish population of about one thousand, began on 7 March. On 8 March, a delegation of forty people decided to go to Sofia to plead for the case of their fellow citizens. In the end, only four of them went: a lawyer, a retired professor, a businessman, and the local deputy to the National Assembly, Petâr Mikhalev; none of these men was Jewish.

The arrests were ordered to cease, and those who were arrested were released because of this protest action. Similar responses were made in other parts of the country. Leaders in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church also played a key role in protecting the Jewish people, even though there were many contemporary debates on the status of converts and non-converted Jews.

In a seminal study Oliner and Oliner (1998) set out to understand why many people risked their own lives to help people who were destined to be killed; while others just stood by and let it happen. They interviewed over 700 rescuers and bystanders. They were keen to understand why these people helped Jews without any compensation.

> What disgusted the rescuers was not their lack of concern with self, external approval, or achievement, but rather their capacity for extensive relationships- their stronger sense of attachment to others and their feeling of responsibility for the welfare of others, including those outside their immediate familial or communal circles (Oliner and Oliner 1998: 249).

The Oliners recognise that no one developmental course produces an extensive person, but they were able to identify significant differences between rescuers and non rescuers. They identified the following characteristics:

- Close family relationships characterised by caring values.
- Lenient parental discipline which included an explanation of why certain behaviours were inappropriate and what the consequences for others was.
- Parents modelled, and expected positive behaviour, and expected caring attitudes to be shown towards others. These children developed qualities of dependability, responsibility and self-reliance.
- Through these benevolent experiences children learnt to trust those around them. For them attachment is more important than status as a source of gratification.
- Positive relationships encouraged children to internalise their parents' values and incorporate high standards for themselves.

The Oliners (1988) argue that because moral decisions arise as much out of affiliation as through personal reasoning, schools need to help children acquire an orientation towards others. They argue that schools need to become caring institutions where kindness, empathy and concern are confirmed.

In the school bullying situation, acknowledging the role of bystanders highlights the whole school dimension of dealing with bullying. Wiens and Dempsey (2009) argue that anti-bullying interventions should include education in the particular role that bystanders can play. Their argument is that it is possible to change the attitudes and actions of bystanders and in doing so reduce the power of bullies. Importantly, Rigby and Johnson (2006) also point out that helping someone in a potentially dangerous situation does require a degree of confidence in one's ability to make a difference. They found that students who believed that their friends and parents expected them to support victims were more likely to

intervene in bullying situations. In short then, schools can play a role in promoting pro-social behaviour.

Nine additional items were added to a questionnaire developed by Wiens and Dempsey (2009) to measure the witnessing of bullying, and the wording was changed to reflect observer perspective e.g. a student hit, kicked or pushed another student.[61] These questions can form the basis of expanding the current questionnaire in the South African context:

- Teased in a mean way
- Threatened with being hurt or beaten up
- Scared into giving up money or other things
- Rumours or put downs spread
- Hit, kicked, or pushed in a mean way
- Grabbed, held or touched in undesired way
- Left out of a desired activity
- Chased with intent to hurt
- Played a mean trick to scare or hurt.

These questions could consider the dimension of how a student responded to seeing each of these actions, e.g. 'I ignored'; 'I tried to say something', 'I tried to stop the bully'; 'I helped the bully', 'I called a teacher'.

Further research would be required to develop an additional bystander questionnaire, and to ensure that the psychometric properties of this questionnaire are sound.

[61] Wiens and Dempsey (2009) used this questionnaire with sixth grade students. The appropriateness of language and language level would have to be reviewed in the South African context.

Conclusion

Schools in themselves cannot care. Leaders, teachers and students that shape the institution school have to animate the caring ethos of a school. The teachers' and students' role in shaping a caring school cannot be underestimated.The significance of teacher behaviour – both bullying and care – in relation to student behaviour of bullying and care is an important finding of this study. It speaks to the important role of teachers in securing the wellbeing of students, and indeed to the importance of institutional culture in influencing the interactions of bullying and care. Arendt's concept of 'natality' reminds us of the human capacity of renewal. For Arendt 'natality' is the core of education – 'people are constantly born into the world and are in need of introduction to that world and to one another' (Gordon 2001: 13). Newcomers bring with them the possibility of renewal and hope - an ability to renew and to change the world.

A sense of agency is required in schools. Teachers and students must escape from the mindset of being so weighed down by the context that they are unable to transform the schools they find themselves in. The weighed-down mindset means that the school will be trapped in the present and unable to create a new and a better world. Schools, and the people in them, need to unsettle the social processes that seem so entrenched. These ideas will be brought together in the concluding chapter which strongly argues for action to bring about change.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

> Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world (Arendt, 1961: 196).

Research on the links between care (by students and teachers) in working against bullying and creating a positive school climate is scarce in Africa. Therefore, one of the main aims of this study was to investigate these relationships in the light of the broader research around the world. I set out to develop an approach that would enable schools to rapidly gather information and provide them with the means to develop an understanding of their climate and, particular how students experience school. To address these aims, I adapted Aurora's 'My Life in School' checklist, which has been extensively used in other parts of the world, and added a new section which focused on students' experiences of teachers. As the previous chapter has shown, the modified form of the survey generated coherent factors on four scales of bullying and care.

The new 'My Life in School' checklist developed in this study proved to be a valuable means of allowing students to express their views on their life in school. Students were able to identify levels of bullying and care in their schools. They were also able to express themselves in the open-ended responses and share

their insights into their experience of schools. In conclusion then, the checklist does provide a rapid means for students to assess the ethos of their schools from their own perspective, and as a consequence schools are better placed to address any shortcomings and to celebrate the positive dimensions of the ethos they set out to create.

Although the results are promising, there are research design features that limit the generalisability of these findings. The overall sample can be described as a sample of convenience. There were unequal numbers of students from different groups (boys' schools, girls' schools, township schools and racial groups). This study focused on students in sixteen Catholic schools in Gauteng. It will be valuable to use the questionnaire in a broader sample of students in public schools, and to compare the findings with those in Catholic schools. The sample of the study was limited to students in Catholic schools in the Gauteng province and this would limit the generalisability of the study to the country as a whole.

This survey checklist relied exclusively on self-report measures which can be subjective as respondents depend on recall and may also be open to intentional distortion. Even though the survey was piloted in different school settings, this study was also susceptible to the challenges of cross-cultural self report studies. The complexity of some of the language may be a challenge to some students. However, this aspect was dealt with in the selection of suitable sites in which to administer the surveys.

The psychometric properties instrument has been improved considerably by eliminating some questions and including others. As indicated in chapter 3, in their recent compendium of assessment tools Hamburger, Basile and Vivolo (2011) compare a range of measures of bullying (including assessing self-reported incidence and prevalence of a variety of bullying experiences) and considered the criteria rating of 0.80 as exemplary and 0.70 to 0.79 as extensive

and this instrument is within this range. By carrying out further test-retest actions the instrument reliability of the questionnaire may be even further improved.

An additional section that focuses on bystander issues should be added to the questionnaire. This could provide schools with insight into how students are likely to respond to bullying in their own situations.

This checklist could be enhanced by introducing a qualitative dimension, and by carrying out interviews with principals and teachers in schools. An interview schedule may include the following questions:

- Can I have a copy of your vision and mission statement? How were these documents developed?
- How do you share and what strategies do you use to promote these values in your school?
- What values do you expect students to have when they leave your school?
- How do you ensure that students' views or opinions are considered in the school?
- What opportunities do students have to speak about the school and how it functions?
- How would you describe the culture of the school?
- How does the school go about developing and building relationships with parents/guardians, teachers, students and support staff?
- How do you develop trust in your school?
- How do go about promoting care at your school?
- How do the practices, structures and philosophies of the school model and facilitate care?
- What barriers are there to promoting care at the school?
- How do you deal with bullying incidents in your school?

- What expectations do you have for student behaviour in the school?
- Do you provide any opportunities for students to demonstrate care?
- Can you describe a recent incident where you, or another staff member, have demonstrated care in the school?

In the context of using the 'My Life in School' checklist in schools, it may be useful to link the process with focus groups in which students respond to questions like:

- What are the best things that go on in your school?
- What are the worst schools that go on in your school?
- What would you change if you were made principal at the school?

But, schools need to be mindful that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed in focus groups. This may mean that difficult issues that may arise between students and students or between students and teachers may become public and be more difficult to resolve when in the public domain.

Improving the questionnaire in the light of the findings of this study

There are a number of improvements that can be made to the questionnaire in the light of the findings of this study. The biographical section needs to be changed in order to gather specific information on the racial profile of the students. The current version of the questionnaire asked about the main language spoken at home. Many students ticked several languages and this makes it difficult to identify the respondents' racial identity, which made comparing the influence of race on levels of bullying and care in schools more challenging.

Further work needs to be carried out to narrow down the questions in the questionnaire to only include those which are more effective, and this would

mean that the current questionnaire could be shortened. This could easily be done using the Cronbach Alpha scores already available. As I will argue later in this chapter, it may also be useful to include a new section in the questionnaire that deals with bystander dimensions and altruism.

The open-ended comments generated in this process were similar to those gathered by Rudduck and Flutter (2004). These researchers linked the fragments of their testimonies to a set of principles. These principles operated through relationships and organisation structures and frame the conditions of learning. The principles arising from the students' perspectives in the Rudduck and Flutter (2004) study. The principles arising from this study are very similar:

- Respect for students as individuals who have a particular place in schools.
- Fairness to all students irrespective of who they are and what they know.
- Autonomy and responsibility.
- Intellectual challenge in a situation where learning is dynamic, engaging and empowering.
- Support in relation to academics and emotional concerns.
- Security in relation to social interactions (especially anxieties about being taunted, bullied or mocked).

The potential value of the open-ended student responses was underestimated in this study and more effort should have been made to elicit more written information. It may, therefore, be necessary to change the current instruction on the questionnaire from 'Write any other comments' to 'Please tell us more about your experience at School' or 'Please tell us more about what your School is like' or 'Tell us about your experience at School'.

A user-friendly instruction sheet needs to be developed to accompany the questionnaire. This sheet needs to emphasise that student names or the questionnaire form will not be shown to anyone at the school. The information

sheet could be accompanied by a strengthened protocol that ensures that students are more able to share their real perspectives in a safe space. The information sheet should also indicate that there are no right or wrong answers, and that this is not a test. Students also need be invited to write any additional information in the space provided.

More attention should also have been paid to the possible emotional experience of completing the questionnaire. Some students did indicate that the questionnaire helped them reflect on their own experience at school, and two students also indicated that the questionnaire helped them realise that they were being bullied at School.

The processing of the open-ended responses can be problematic in some situations, particularly where teachers are named. Examples of such comments are:

> My teacher told me to do my homework or he would kick me (Boy, Grade 6, School 15)
>
> Mr C is always hitting me and he's ugly to me (Boy, Grade 6, School 7).
>
> I hope our teachers will stop hitting us (Boy, Grade 6, School 13).
>
> My teacher should be fired and she must stop hitting us, I’m directing this to teacher A (Boy, Grade 7, School 13).
>
> My teacher hits me (Boy, Grade 7, School 13).

If the school itself is processing the data then some teachers may be placed in a compromising situation. There is also a moral challenge here for anyone administering the checklist. If teachers do engage in illegal actions like corporal

punishment then appropriate action needs to be taken. Schools also need to anticipate the kinds of responses they are likely to illicit and decide how they would respond to them. Very importantly, the school would have to evaluate student experience in relation to their own mission and vision. In the end, the rights of teachers and students would have to be balanced.

Wider implications arising from this study

The importance of promoting harmony and resilience in school is emphasised in a major recent study by Galton et al (2009). Resilience is seen as a set of protective mechanisms that promote successful adaption despite the presence of high risk factors during development. They argue that there are three aspects of schooling which can foster resilience. The first is the development of caring relationships between teachers and students. The second is having high expectations for all students which maximises the students' own strengths and interests; and the third requires that students have some form of responsibility for their own lives within schools so that they are allowed to express their own opinions (particularly about teaching).

Schools in general would benefit from developing an understanding of the student experience in school. Teachers would be in a better position to ensure that bullying is dealt with, and that positive relationships are to developed between teachers and students. The good practice in promoting care and dealing with bullying in schools considered in the literature in this study also provides basic steps for schools in addressing issues:

Creating caring environments

- Communicate the school's values and what acceptable behaviour is.
- Ensure that the school starts and ends on time and that the time during the school day is well used, and monitor the attendance of students at school.

- Create an environment where students, teachers and parents feel that they don't have to go it alone.
- Develop positive relationships between students, teachers and parents that open up communication and encourage dialogue.
- Make sure that hard work and good behaviour are rewarded and that there is a lot of praise in the school.

Dealing with bullying

- Make it clear to everyone what bullying is and how the school would respond to bullying
- Develop a policy to deal with bullying, and ensure that there is someone responsible for implementing the policy
- Make sure that students are properly supervised at school, e.g. assign teachers and student leaders to supervise the playground at break
- Organise discussions, poster campaigns, role plays and other activities to raise awareness around the issues of bullying.

The 'My Life in School' checklist provides a valuable space for opening discussion around school climate issues. It encourages teachers to be more sensitive towards students at school and their experience of bullying and care.

Interventions to reduce bullying

A number of interventions have been introduced around the world to reduce bullying in schools. Smith and Cowie (2003) reviewed these which include the whole school policy, classroom climate, peer support systems, school tribunals, playground improvement, curriculum work, working with specific students and community confer rum as transformative justice. Schools should be mindful of these interventions in addressing bullying. Table 5.2 provides a summary of the possible interventions to reduce bullying as well as my assessment of the

likelihood of the interventions being successful in South Africa in the light of this study.

Table 6.1: Summary of the possible interventions to reduce bullying and assessment of the likelihood of the interventions being successful in South Africa (adapted after Smith & Cowie, 2003)

Anti-bullying intervention	Likely success in the South African context
Whole School Policy	
Whole school policies involve all stakeholders in the school in developing systems and procedures to reduce bullying behaviour. The school's approach to dealing with bullying is spelled out and strategies to deal with bullying are provided	Whole school policies require little extra resources and depend more on the willingness and commitment of school communities to change their practices and ways of doing things. This approach can succeed in South Africa.
Classroom climate	
This approach targets relationships within the school. The main rationale is that improved classroom management and classroom social arrangement reduces victimisation.	No extra resources required. The approach really requires attitude change and a commitment from teachers and students to improve relationships. This approach can succeed in South African schools.
Peer-support systems	
Peer-support involves students themselves and encourages the majority of students to reject bullying. Students engage in cooperative group work and circle time to deal with relationship issues like anger and fighting. Conflict resolution skills are taught.	This approach requires few resources, but does require commitment from a school to educate children in skills like conflict resolution. Time needs to be made available to implement the approaches. This approach can succeed in South African schools.
School tribunals	
Tribunals or 'bully courts' are elected to consider evidence and decide on sanctions for those	The approach requires training and teacher supervision. This approach could be

involved in bullying.	successful in South Africa if well-managed.
Playground improvement	
Physically aggressive behaviour can be reduced by improving the supervision of students on playgrounds. In developed countries attention is also given to the design of playgrounds.	This approach requires school staff to be organised to take turns supervising the playground. This approach only requires teachers time and can succeed in South Africa.
Curriculum design	
Programmes that stimulate ideas and discussion are implemented at classroom level. Teaching aids including videos, literature and other resources.	This approach requires a range of available resources as well as space in the curriculum to use them. Teachers must be able to integrate bullying and resolution themes at appropriate times.
Working with specific students	
The approaches includes developing student assertative skills and, setting up groups where children can discuss issues with others.	This approach requires that teachers have counselling skills and time to implement these strategies. There are very few trained counsellors in schools so this approach is not likely to be successful in most schools.
Community conferencing	
Communities that are in conflict (like bullying) are brought together including perpetrator(s) and victim(s). Reparations are made and the matter is considered closed.	This approach requires school-wide orientation and time to implement. The approach resonates with the 'Hotla'. This approach could be successfully implemented.

The success of anti-bullying programmes is dependent on the quality of the activity programmes offered as well as the continued animation of programmes. In their study Smith and Cowie (2003) have shown that where there is no follow-up on anti-bullying programmes the impact of these programmes is only short-term. They argue that some programmes have stronger effect on primary

students than with high school students. According to them, younger students are more willing to accept teacher authority and approaches that reflect teacher influence than older students. Older students involved in bullying are more likely to reject the pro-social values of teachers and the school. Smith and Cowie (2003) also note that girls are more receptive to anti-bully initiatives and that they are more positive towards victims, especially in adolescence. They also report that girls are more willing to actively challenge bullying. Gini et al (2008) argue that anti-bullying initiatives can be strengthened by placing a strong emphasis on increasing the awareness skills of all students. This includes awareness-raising of different forms of bullying, challenge widespread beliefs that maintain victimisation and develop a culture of support. Students need to be able to move from a bystander role to a role of supporter, even if a teacher is not present.

In a recent review, Casebeer (2012) notes that many anti-bullying interventions are associated with mixed effects: a reduction in bullying, no effect, or increases in bullying. She posits the following possible reasons for these outcomes: level of staff and student involvement; student age/development; school structure; intervention type; intervention aims; outcome measure; treatment fidelity and measurement instruments (Casebeer, 2012: 168).

In another study, Smith et al (2004) also compare the effectiveness of whole-school anti-bullying programmes[62]. They conclude that the majority of programmes evaluated non-significant outcomes on measures of self reported bullying and only a small number have yielded positive outcomes. Programmes that involve a monitoring dimension are likely to be more successful. Recently, Graham (2010) observed that teachers are often reluctant to fully embrace bullying interventions, either because they believe that the curriculum does not

[62] The authors provide a valuable analysis of programme components which operate at 5 levels: School (Anti-bullying policy, increased supervision, playground reorganised, information, anti-bullying committee); Parent (staff training, information, involved in anti-bullying activities, targeted interventions); Classroom (rules, curriculum activities, social skills training); Peers (peer-led interventions) and Individuals (targeted interventions for bullies and victims.

provide time and space to implement interventions or that parents should be responsible for developing anti-bullying attitudes. She argues that even though interventions have limited success, schools should not abandon interventions and that because schools are complex institutions they should press on not be discouraged by initial lack of success..

In contrast, the results from a recent cross national study which looked at time trends in bullying behaviour in Europe and North America (Molcho et al, 2009) are more encouraging. They found that there were consistent decreases in the prevalence of bullying between 1993/4 to 2005/6 in most countries[63]. Decreases were found in Western and Eastern European countries. However, there was an increase or no change in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Canada (but not in the United States of America). They argue that the decrease in the prevalence of bullying is largely due the success of bully prevention strategies[64].

The findings of this study show a marginal decrease in reports of bullying in older students. Smith, Madsen and Moody (1999) also recognise that school-based surveys show a downward trend through ages 8 to 16. They explore four hypotheses as to why this may be the case: younger children have more older children in the school who are likely to bully them; students have not yet been socialised into understanding that you should not bully others; students have not yet acquired the social skills and assertiveness skills to deal effectively with others; students have a different definition of what bullying is, which changes with age. They interviewed students about their experiences of bullying and also interviewed adults about their definitions of bullying. They concluded that the number of older students with opportunities to bully younger students may have an influence. The victims of bullying becoming more socially skilled as they got

[63] The authors note that definitions and perceptions may vary by cultural setting, but argue that the variations are not likely to impact on the measures over time. They do recognise that a slight change in the wording of the bullying items may have had some impact on their results.
[64] The successes of the national efforts of Scandinavian countries dealing with the challenge of school bullying are highlighted. They attribute the lack of success in some European countries to the role of the media and how they report on bullying.

older is plausible and young children using less selective definitions of bullying, which included general fighting, does not take account of the imbalance of power.

In the light of the findings of their study Green, Collingwood & Ross (2010) acknowledge that that there is an increased awareness of the risks associated with bullying today. They note that in developing policies to reduce bullying particular effort should be made to ensure that young people who are 'different' are included. They recognise the difficulty of promoting understanding and tolerance of diversity, but that this is important in reducing the victimisation.

This study supports the contention of Swart and Bredekamp (2009) who argue that students should be consulted, as primary informants of their experience, when establishing any programme to address bullying in school.

Towards improved school environments

In recent times there have been calls to re-vision education. For example, Slee (2011) has called for an education that fosters trust and community dialogue; that recognises rights and does not discriminate; and that respects the voice of children and listens to them. The vision of education underpinning this study is inspired by the work of Hannah Arendt, as stated earlier:

> Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices; nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but

> to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world (Arendt, 1961: 196).

In writing about successful school reform in Finland, Sahlberg (2010) observes that teachers were identified as having a crucial role to play in developing an inclusive and creative vision for education and social change in Finland[65]. Teachers were provided with the professional skills and working environment which made them 'feel dignified and able to fulfil the moral purpose of the school' (Sahlberg, 2010: 12).

Changing the way schools organise themselves in the South African context is not easy, but the following steps may be helpful: firstly, schools as places need to be secured and made safer. On a practical level, fences and gates need to be fixed and access controlled. Care for premises is both practical and symbolic of a broader climate of care, and in this regard, litter needs to be cleared away, classroom swept, cracked windows replaced and broken doors and handles repaired.

Secondly, teachers themselves need to model respectful behaviour to students, in how they themselves act as well as in their treatment of their students. They need to show students that there are consequences for bad behaviour and for breaking the rules. More importantly, schools need to do away with the many of their own practices that foster violence. For example, using corporal punishment merely teaches children the negative values of degradation, force and humiliation - and must be stopped. Intimidation by leaders and teachers also needs to be avoided in school situations. Discipline is best carried out in ways that do not humiliate students publicly.

[65] Teaching as a profession in Finland is closely linked to sustaining Finish culture and building an open multicultural society. Teaching is regarded as an independent high level profession which enjoys public respect and praise. In Finland, there is a strong sense of trust in schools and teachers to carry out their responsibilities. There is no external inspection of schools or standardised testing of students, and the country relies on the results of testing only a small sample of students for national analysis of educational performance (Sahlberg, 2010).

Since teaching and learning are central, and learner performance is a measure for students of self-worth, each student needs to be assisted to achieve the best they can, and to know that the school cares about their achievement. Schools need to make sure that teaching time is used effectively, and that learners of all abilities are engaged in their classrooms. Discouraged students also need to experience a sense of accomplishment and students' efforts need to be recognised and rewarded.

School policies must ensure that the safety of students is ensured. The policies and codes of conduct that emerge from them must be communicated and understood by everyone in the school community. The codes need to be repeated as often as necessary, and students must be encouraged to follow the rules.

It is vitally important to teach learner how to deal with conflict when it arises, and schools should not just expect students to solve all their problems on their own. More than ever it seems clear that learning how to behave in a group is an important life skill.

In short, there are a number of immediate actions[66] any school can take to deal with low levels of violence. The school should ensure that its vision and values are articulated and make sure that the school rules are clear and are understood by everyone. The consequence of breaking the rules also need to be understood by everyone. More importantly good behaviour needs to modelled and celebrated.

Adults need to supervise students at school and they need to be visible in high risk areas in the school. These adults need to take an active interest and make

[66] Many of the actions contained on the list are based on Curwin & Mendler (1997). Their starting point is that aggression is as much a reality in schools as it is in society, and focus on methods of prevention, action and resolution are essential.

sure safety is a concern that is consistently addressed. Any acts of aggression and violence need to be dealt with. Rule breaking and 'minor' violations should not be ignored. Students need to understand that violent or aggressive behaviour will not be tolerated at school, and where violations of the law take place these should be reported to the police.

If the prevalence of drugs and weapons are a serious problem at a school then regular, unannounced searches should be conducted. Parents and guardians need to be aware that these will take place as part of the school's routine. Where possible, the police should be involved in these searches, but the student's rights must not be violated. Students should be made aware of the risks of using illegal drugs and of the dangers of guns and other weapons, in other words, they need to understand what weapons can do. Some schools find it helpful to bring in rehabilitated criminals to speak to students, help them to appreciate the grim realities of violence. Schools must also create a violence action plan to deal with serious incidents of violence, e.g. if a student pulls out a gun in a classroom.

Wherever possible the support of parents and guardians must be sought to make sure that they know what their children are up to at school and call them in when necessary and discuss their children's performance and behaviour. Students should be involved in problem-solving and violence prevention and encouraged to share ideas and their concerns. In some countries learners sign pledges against violence, this can highlight each person's responsibility in reducing violence.

Changing school cultures is not easy. The revised 'My Life in School' checklist may be a useful starting point for schools to review their own culture. But this exercise requires effort and the ongoing support of teachers. However, imagine the difference teachers can make to lives of students if the quality of all relationships in schools can be improved – if students were seen and *heard*. If schools are authentically democratic, safe and caring then they can be in a better

position to be places that provide the building blocks for a sustainable democracy in South Africa.

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Appendices

Appendix A.1

Example of the letter sent to the principals of the schools making the necessary arrangements

School of Education
University of the Witwatersrand
P/Bag 5
Wits 2050
10 October 2005

Principal
School 1

Fax: 222-2075

Dear Mr …

In May 2005 I wrote seeking permission to carry out a short survey with Grade 4 to 7 learners at your school. You were kind enough to grant permission for me to carry out this research. Your letter of permission was submitted to the Human Ethics Research Committee at Wits and I received the go-ahead from them in August 2005 (research protocol H050704).

I hereby request that I conduct the surveys with the Grade 4 to 7 learners at your school in this term. It will take the average child about 14 to 20 minutes to complete the form. I suggest that we gather the entire group together for the exercise in the school hall or in a venue that can accommodate them all. The survey form will be distributed, administered and collected by myself or an assistant.

A letter of consent will be required from each child's parent or guardian for them to participate in the study (I will have these delivered to your school). Each child will also have to complete an assent slip before completing the survey (these will be provided when the child completes the survey).

Thank you once again for agreeing to participate in this research project. The results from your school will be given back to you before the close of this term.

Yours faithfully

Mark Potterton
(Contact number 011- 433-1888)

We would like to conduct the survey at your school on 18 October at 8:00

Example of the letter sent to each of the participating schools informing them of the results of the study at their school.

Dear Principal

SURVEY RESULTS FROM THE SURVEY CONDUCTED AT YOUR SCHOOL IN 2005

Thank you for allowing us to conduct the 'My Life in School' Checklist at your school at the end of last year. I am pleased to enclose the full results as an attachment to this letter.

The summary of the results at your school are as follows:

	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**
Number of students	92	95	187
Bullying index for pupils	17.39	6.01	11.76
Bullying index by teachers	7.6	7.78	7.91
Index of care by teachers	29.22	41.16	35.82

What does all of this mean?

The development and use of these checklists in South Africa is very much in the developmental stage. However, you can gain some insight into where there may be issues at your own school from this data.

At the initial stage of the instrument's development the following values can be used as averages:

- 13 can be taken as the average bullying index by pupils (Any value above this would mean that there is room for improvement);

- 10 can be taken as the average bullying index by teachers (Any value above this would mean that there is room for improvement);
- 37 is taken to reflect average levels of care by teachers (Any value below this would mean that there is room for improvement).

If the school sample size (the number of children who participated in the survey) was below 80 then the reliability of the results is not very good.

The following items in the survey have been used to calculate the bullying index: 'Called me names', 'Tried to kick me'; 'Tried to hurt me'; 'Tried to break something of mine'; 'Tried to make me give them money', 'Tried to hit me' and 'Tried to frighten me'.

The following items in the survey have been used to calculate the index of: 'Said something nice to me', 'Was very nice to me', 'Asked about my family', 'Encouraged me to do my best', 'Made me feel happy', 'Listened to me talk about something', 'Made me feel safe', 'Saw that I had something to eat' and 'Told me I did something well'. The index of bullying of learners by teachers is based on the following items: 'Was unkind because I am different', 'Made me frightened', 'Was unfair to me', 'Made me cry' and 'Hurt my feelings'.

I hope that this information will be of some use at your school. Many thanks again for participating in this research.

Yours faithfully

Mark Potterton

Appendix A.2: School consent letter for phase 1 of the research (school-based survey grades 4 to 7).

I am currently a post-graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand in the School of Education, researching how levels of care at school might have an impact of levels of violence in school. In the first part of this research I will use surveys to collect information on the extent and nature of school violence, as well as good practices that promote care at the school.

I ask permission to conduct the survey at your school of grade 4 to 7 learners. The procedure for this will be as follows: The child's parents' permission and consent will be obtained so that the child can complete the survey. Children will also be asked to complete an assent form before completing the questionnaire. I (or a research assistant) will supervise the administration of the questionnaires and place the completed surveys in envelopes. Teachers or other school staff will not be shown the completed questionnaires. All the information I gather at the school will be kept anonymous and particular children or teachers will not be directly identified. All of the information gathered will be kept confidential. Your school's participation in this study is completely voluntary, and if you decide not to participate it will not be held against you in any way. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. The children may refuse to participate in, or answer any of the questions in the survey.

My professional conduct will be in accordance with the regulations specified in South African Council of Educators Code of Conduct for Educators. My activities at the school will not disrupt those day-to-day operations of the school.

I hope that this research will provide valuable information, which will enhance our knowledge of and understanding of violence and care in schools. Thank you for taking the time to read and respond to this letter. Please feel free to ask any questions about this research at any time. You can contact me at the number

below. If any areas of serious concern at your school are highlighted through the survey I will notify you and discuss the issue with you and put you in touch with Childline Gauteng. I will also be prepared to conduct a workshop at your school. A copy of the research report will be made available on request should you wish to receive a copy.

Yours sincerely

Mark Potterton
Researcher
Tel: (011) 782-7658

Prof Penny Enslin
Supervisor
(011) 717-3050

RESEARCH INTO LEVELS OF VIOLENCE

Please sign this letter and return it to me <u>giving your permission for your school to participate</u> in this research.

School's name:……..……..
Your name:…….…….
Your position:……..
Your signature:……
Date:…….

Appendix A.3: Parent consent letter for phase 1 of the research (school-based survey grades 4 to 7).

Hello. My name is Mark Potterton. I am a post-graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand in the School of Education. I am researching how levels of care at school might have an impact on levels of violence in school. In the first part of this research I will use surveys to collect information on the extent and nature of school violence, as well as good practices that promote care at the school.

I ask permission for your child to complete a survey form at his or her school. The procedure for this will be as follows: Your child will be asked to complete an assent form before completing the questionnaire. I (or a research assistant) will supervise the administration of the questionnaires and place the completed surveys in envelopes. Teachers or other school staff will not be shown the completed questionnaires.

All the information I gather at the school will be kept anonymous. Your child or teachers will not be directly identified. All of the information gathered will be kept confidential. Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary, and if you decide that your child should not participate it will not be held against you or your child in any way. Your child is free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Your child may refuse to participate in, or answer any of the questions in the survey on the day that he or she completes the form.

My professional conduct will be in accordance with the regulations specified in South African Council of Educators Code of Conduct for Educators. My activities at the school will not disrupt those day-to-day operations of the school.

I hope that this research will provide valuable information, which will enhance our knowledge of and understanding of violence and care in schools. Thank you for taking the time to read and respond to this letter. Please feel free to ask me any questions about this research at any time. You can contact me at the number below. If any areas of serious concern at your child's school are highlighted through the survey I will notify the school and put the school in touch with Childline Gauteng, I will also be prepared to conduct a workshop at your child's school.

Should you wish to receive a copy of the research report once it is completed, it can be made available on request.

Yours sincerely

Mark Potterton
Researcher
Tel: (011) 782-7658

Prof Penny Enslin
Supervisor
(011) 717-3050

RESEARCH INTO LEVELS OF VIOLENCE

Please sign this letter and return it to me if you give your permission for your child to participate in this research.

Child's name:…….…….
Child's class:……
Your name:…….…….
Contact number:…….
Your signature:……
Date:…….

Appendix A.4: Learner assent form for phase 1 of the research (school-based survey grades 4 to 7).

I _____(fill your name in this space), understand that my parents or guardian have given permission (said it was okay) for me to fill in a survey about how other children and teachers treat me at school. I have been told that no one at the school will be shown my answers to the questions and that my name will not be mentioned.

I am taking part because I want to, and I have been told that I can stop at any time I want to and I won't get into trouble (nothing bad will happen to me if I want to stop).

_____(sign here)

_____(date)

Appendix A.5: 'My Life in School' questionnaire

Responses to statements			
	% Not at all	%Once	% More than Once
During this week another learner …			
Called me names			
Said something nice to me			
Was nasty about my family			
Tried to kick me			
Was very nice to me			
Was unkind because I am different			
Gave me a present			
Said they'd hit me			
Gave me some money			
Tried to make me give them money			
Tried to frighten me			
Asked me a stupid question			
Stopped me playing a game			
Was unkind about something I did			
Talked about clothes with me			
Told me a joke			
Told me a lie			
Tried to make me hurt another person			
Smiled at me			
Tried to get me into trouble			
Helped me carry something			
Tried to hurt me			
Helped me with my classwork			
Made me do something I didn't want to do			
Talked about T.V. with me			
Took something from me			
Shared something with me			
Was rude to me about the colour of my skin			
Shouted at me			

Played a game with me			
Talked about things I like			
Laughed at me in horrible way			
Said they would tell on me			
Tried to break something of mine			
Told a lie about me			
Tried to hit me			

	% Not at all	%Once	% More than Once
During this week a teacher …			
Told me a joke			
Said something nice to me			
Shouted at me			
Hit me			
Asked me a question			
Helped me with my work			
Smiled at me			
Was unkind because I am different			
Explained new work to me			
Watched me play in the playground			
Was very nice to me			
Asked about my family			
Called me names			
Made me frightened			
Marked my work			
Was unfair to me			
Talked about my homework			
Encouraged me to do my best			
Made me feel happy			
Gave me a test			
Made me cry			
Left our class alone			
Listened to me talk about something			
Asked me how I was			
Made me feel safe			
Told me not to fight			
Saw that I had something to eat			
Laughed at me			
Told me I did something well			
Encouraged me to play with friends			
Helped me solve a problem			
Taught me something new			

Hurt my feelings			

Appendix B.1: Key research studies carried out in South Africa on bullying

Study	Nature of sample	Methods	Main findings
Teacher and student perceptions of bullying behaviour in Model C Primary schools in the Pietermaritzburg area (Leach, 1997).	She conducted preliminary research in a sample of 259 students in Model C primary schools in Pietermaritzburg.	Modified Olweus Questionnaire was used with a further questionnaire that was developed to gain insight into teachers' perceptions of bullying.	Leach found that possibly much higher levels of bullying existed than in European studies. Leach concluded that there was a need for further research into bullying and prevention programmes in South Africa.
Confronting the legacy of peer victimisation (Thayser, 2001).	Study explores the narratives of six women who were subjected to peer abuse, or bullying, during their school years and attempts to discover the legacy of such persecution.	Narrative analysis of the content of participants' stories to elicit common themes. Themes that emerged related mainly to participants' social interaction.	The implications for therapy were considered, together with the importance of peer relationships in childhood and adolescence. The need for unequivocal adult intervention in preventing peer abuse was emphasised.
Peer victimisation in schools: the observation of bullying (Neser,	The researchers generated a non-probability sample by means of the	A structured survey questionnaire was constructed and subjected to the	34.8% of the respondents said that students were bullied every day

Ovens, Van der Merwe, Morodi & Lacikos, 2003).	convenience sampling technique consisting of grade 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 learners from 6 primary and secondary schools in Tshwane South, Gauteng. 203 questionnaires were analysed.	criticism of colleagues and members of the Department of Education. The questionnaire comprised of 34 main questions.	and 33.8% indicated once or twice a week. Most of the learners observed the milder forms of bullying on a regular basis (being called hurtful names or being teased in an unpleasant way).
The nature and extent of bullying in Fee State High Schools (De Wet, 2005).	A random test sample of 60 of the 335 high schools in the Free State. The questionnaire was mailed and 339 were processed.	Adapted Delaware Bullying Questionnaire. The first part provided structured questions and the second provided space for open-ended answers.	48.75% of boys were attacked by fellow students. 17.5% of them were beaten and/or kicked weekly by fellow students, knocked and/or physically injured in another way. Only 16.22% of the students said that bullying was not a problem in their school.
Bullying, violence and risk behaviour in South African school students (Liang, Flisher & Lombard 2007).	5 074 adolescents in grade 8 and grade 11 students in public schools in Cape Town and Durban.	Self-report questionnaire consisting of 40 questions.	Over a third (36.6%) of the students were involved in Bullying behaviour, 8.2% as bullies, 19.3% as victims and 8.7% as

			bully victims.
Experiences of school violence in South Africa (Burton, 2008).	12 794 primary and secondary students surveyed nationally in 245 schools.	Questionnaire and individual interviews (10 students were selected randomly in each class).	A total of 15.3% of primary and secondary school students had experienced some sort of violence at school.
Bullying in the intermediate phase (Greeff & Grobler, 2009).	360 grade 4 to 6 students from single sex schools English-medium schools in Bloemfontein.	Questionnaire. Used the Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire.	The rate of bullying was 56.4%.
Non-physical bullying: exploring the perspectives of grade 5 girls (Swart & Bredekamp, 2009)	18 grade 5 girls in a Western Cape parochial school	Qualitative study using semi-structured group interviews.	There is no single solution to the problem of bullying. The authors argue some girls have innate characteristics that help maintain or protect them from bullying. The environment plays an important role in either protecting or fostering bullying.
Exploring high school students' perceptions of bullying (Blake and Louw, 2010).	Students from three coeducational Western Cape Education Department schools were surveyed: 414	Students completed an anonymous, voluntary self-report questionnaire.	40% of learners indicated that they frequently experienced bullying at school. Although the

	Grade 8 and 474 Grade 9. Students' perceptions of aspects of school life that are sufficiently serious to interfere with their schoolwork were investigated.	majority of learners indicated they thought teachers considered bullying a problem, few felt there was anything that school staff could do to counteract bullying effectively.

Appendix B.2 The schools in the study

School 1 is a girls' school located in the East of Johannesburg. This small school was located on a compact site which was very well maintained. The school attracts girls from the surrounding area and can be classified as middle class. The school provided small classes and prided itself on the excellent pastoral care offered. The school focussed on academic achievement and obtained very good matriculation results in the independent examinations.

School 2 is located in a leafy suburb of Johannesburg. The school had strong links to the local parish and the majority of students at the school were Catholic. The school had been founded by a religious congregation, and had adequate resources and excellent sports facilities. The school had a senior member of staff who was responsible for pastoral care and counselling. The high school is located across the road from the primary school which most of the students would eventually attend. The school had a close-knit family ethos and served a mainly white middle class community. The local priest attended assemblies and celebrated mass and was active in the life of the school.

School 3 is a girls' school located on the East Rand. The school served mainly white middle class families and was founded by a religious congregation. The primary school was located on the same campus as the pre- and high schools. The principal was proud of the school's comprehensive pastoral care programme. This school was one of the schools which had successfully initiated an integrated anti- bully programme and had made great strides in this area.

School 4 is located in a suburb North East of Pretoria, and was founded by a religious congregation. The school is a coeducational primary school and prides itself on an ethos of involving all children. The school is divided into three phases: Foundation, Intermediate and Senior. A broad range of extra curricula activities are offered to cater for all children. The school commits itself to

'Growing Children for life'. The prospectus makes it clear that they are a Catholic-based school but accept children from diverse religions and backgrounds. The core values of the school are respect, integrity, responsibility, faith and balance. And the school aims to help children develop in a caring and nurturing environment, which celebrates the diversity.

School 5 is located in the inner-city of Pretoria. The school was founded by a religious congregation and was over a hundred years old and is well known in the community. The school mainly serves Black children who commute from townships and surrounding suburbs. The school has developed good relationships with parents, and was seen as a school that 'cared for children'. Curriculum implementation was a concern at the school and there was a person dedicated to curriculum development and implementation.

School 6 is located in the South of Johannesburg and was founded by a religious congregation. The school aimed to provide quality, innovative education for children. The school aimed to offer a caring environment that fostered learning and personal growth. Class numbers were relatively small and the school aimed to develop a well balanced programme which exists to meet the needs of each individual whilst providing a healthy element of competition. The school was based on gospel values form the basis for every aspect of learning. The school valued "tolerance and understanding of all other faiths and cultures".

School 7 is located on the East Rand and was coeducational. The existing school was formed when two religious congregations combined their resources. The school had a vibrant religious education programme and prided itself on the pastoral care offered to students. The primary school campus is located 1,2 km from the high school campus.

School 8 is located in the West of Soweto. The school was run by a religious sister and had strong ties with a religious congregation. The school attracted

children form the West of Soweto and the fees were less than R1 500 per year. A number of children from a nearby informal settlement also attended the school.

School 9 is located to the east of Johannesburg. The school was originally established as a boys school by a religious congregation. The school became coeducational in 1979 and consists of a pre-school, primary and high school on a single campus. The school prided itself in having one of the most comprehensive care programmes in the country, and employed a director of pastoral care, a school counsellor and full-time chaplain. The school had an integrated anti-bullying policy in place as well as programmes to deal with bullying.

The school attracted students from the surrounding neighbourhood, as well as students from as far as 40km away. The school represents one of the few truly multicultural establishments in Johannesburg. The majority of the families are middle class and relatively well off.

School 10 is a large primary school located in a township North East of Johannesburg. The school was originally founded by a religious congregation but is now owned by the Diocese. The school served mainly working class families, but there were professional families represented at the school. The fees at the school were low, which made the school accessible. Most of the parents were engaged in the industries near the school. The principal also reported that there was high unemployment in the area and that some families struggled to make ends meet.

School 11 is located in Soweto and was owned by the Diocese. The school campus was split by a public road. The campus was small and there was very little space for children to play. The fees at the school were low and mainly served working class families.

School 12 was located in a more affluent suburb east of Pretoria. The school was founded by a religious congregation in 1962 and is a parallel medium school. The school was committed to providing a forward looking education of the highest quality based on a tradition that goes back over seven hundred years of commitment to education. The school seeks “to care for the whole person in order to develop in young people a love for learning, an enthusiasm for truth, a love for others, respect for the culture and religious values of all, a willingness to serve in a spirit of healing and reconciliation, flowing from an appreciation of the Word of God and a deep commitment to Christ”. The school offered a full extramural programme and was committed to pastoral care.

School 13 is located in Soweto and was originally founded by a religious congregation and is now owed by the Diocese. The school was well maintained and boasted new facilities. Teachers at the school taught large classes. The neighbourhood in which the school was located was densely populated. A large proportion of the children come from working class families.

School 14 is located in a ‘coloured area’ West of Johannesburg was founded by a religious congregation. There were a number of council housing complexes nearby. The parent community are mainly working class, but some of children’s parents were professionals. The principal reported that was a fairly high incidence of social problems in the community.

School 15 is located in an affluent neighbourhood; this girls school was small and offered small classes. The school was founded by a religious community and celebrated its Catholic identity and was proud of its pastoral care approaches. The school had mainly white students on the role, school fees were the highest in the sample of schools in the study. The primary school was located on two campuses. The foundation and intermediate schools were a couple of kilometres apart.

School 16 is located on the East Rand and was the only all boys school in the sample. This school also had a preschool, primary and high school located on one campus. The area was originally a mining town, but now has a diversified industrial base. This school served a mainly white middle class community. It had links with its local parish and also was proud of its pastoral concern for students.

The majority of the families associated with the school were flourishing at the time, with rising incomes and property. Many of the families chose to send their children to private schools as alternative to the public schools.

Appendix B.3: A matrix breakdown of the 16 school mission statements

School 1	
Education in the faith	inculcate Gospel values foster the importance of family and community
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	high quality, affordable education equipped to make a genuine contribution to the wider South African community
Education that develops positive relationships	nurture a sense of self-worth develop sensitivity to and understanding of different cultures and religions create an environment where full potential can be reached
School 2	
Education in the faith	keeping with the ideals and values of the Gospels to provide a human and Christian education for all its learners
Option for the poor	fosters attitudes of compassion, tolerance, concern for justice and service to others
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	encourages a culture of learning conducive to individual and community development
Education that develops positive relationships	Non-discriminatory, community-oriented and caring environment recognizes and respects the dignity and rights of each individual cultivates a welcoming stimulating and enriching atmosphere peace, harmony and trust
School 3	
Education in the faith	
Option for the poor	

Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	strive for excellence in education within the context of a changing South African and global society
Education that develops positive relationships	value the uniqueness and potential of each individual
School 4	
Education in the faith	Establish a Christian Community based on Gospel values and the Loreto Tradition
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	self disciplined citizens who will serve their own community and their country
Education that develops positive relationships	responsible discipline and unconditional acceptance of one another
School 5	
Education in the faith	to help children to develop fully within the ambit of a Catholic character which celebrates the diversity and talents of the whole school community
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	By stressing the importance of sharing our skills and facilities with those less fortunate.
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	By stressing the importance of sharing our skills and facilities with those less fortunate.
Education that develops positive relationships	by creating opportunities for the full development of the child in terms of personality, morality, physical and mental aptitudes
School 6	
Education in the faith	Deeply rooted in the challenge of living Gospel Values within a Catholic, Marist tradition.

Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	holistic education which will enable them to realise their full potential within an ever changing society.
Education that develops positive relationships	
School 7	
Education in the faith	Is a Catholic School. We are inspired by our faith in God, and are a people of hope, imagination and commitment. united around a set of values that shape our vision.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	participate in community service that encourages them to show compassion for those in need and to be responsible citizens.
Education for the common good	a deep sense of justice and compassion, and with this a sense of social responsibility to transform the world around them.
Academic education for service	a place of learning.
Education that develops positive relationships	where warmth of welcome, acceptance and belonging prevails. We value the unique richness of every individual member of the school community.
School 8	
Education in the faith	
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	
Education that develops positive relationships	working together and being supportive to one another… nurturing a healthy relationships
School 9	
Education in the faith	inspired by the Gospel Message

Option for the poor	Whole person and being aware of those with special needs
Formation in solidarity and community	Want to work for Justice develop our responsibility for the care for the Earth
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	
Education that develops positive relationships	improving communication among ourselves
School 10	
Education in the faith	Develop our learner's spiritually, academically, socially and culturally.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	Can be competent in our learning areas.
Education that develops positive relationships	Can promote co-operation between educators, parents and the community as a whole.
School 11	
Education in the faith	Inculcate Christian values Ensure that we are accessible to all.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	thereby also serve the community.
Academic education for service	Meaningful curriculum which reflects the changing needs of our society striving to maintain the highest academic standards, realise individual potential
Education that develops positive relationships	trusting environment of mutual respect we shall at all times endeavour to be sensitive to the needs of each child.
School 12	
Education in the faith	Evangelising the Church's Mission

	Encourage Learners to participate in the Religious Ethos of the school
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	Delivering Quality Education as per National Curriculum Statement.
Education that develops positive relationships	
School 13	
Education in the faith	Rooted in Christ's teaching of love for God, self and others, in our girls.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	
Education for the common good	committed to developing the values of compassion, service, love and respect
Academic education for service	nurture and inspire responsible, enquiring young women who strive for excellence in all facets of life.
Education that develops positive relationships	loving, secure and structured family environment.
School 14	
Education in the faith	Will strive to animate the spirituality of the school.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	We recognise the importance of community and will aim to incorporate ourselves into, and enhance the local environment
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	Prepare children spiritually, academically, physically, emotionally, morally and socially to become proactive and positive members of our society.
Education that develops positive relationships	As staff we aim to create a supportive caring environment for all members of the school.

School 15	
Education in the faith	To give witness to the importance of trying to find God in all areas of one's life
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	form young people ready to place their talents at the service of others, especially those in need.
Education for the common good	nurture each individual's talents and to produce leaders in society.
Academic education for service	help pupils to think for themselves and to communicate effectively.
Education that develops positive relationships	education for life within a caring Catholic ethos.
School 16	
Education in the faith	Upholding the truth of the gospel subscribing to prayer and work.
Option for the poor	
Formation in solidarity and community	live fully in their world
Education for the common good	
Academic education for service	culture of academic excellence, leadership
Education that develops positive relationships	enthusiasm and participation.

APPENDIX C: Survey results

Table C.1: 'Was unkind about something I did' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	153	67	41	261
		58.6%	**25.7%**	**15.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	143	105	58	306
		46.7%	**34.3%**	**19%**	**100%**
5	Boys	133	77	47	257
		51.7%	**30%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	162	120	53	335
		48.4%	**35.8%**	**15.8%**	**100%**
6	Boys	132	91	50	273
		48.4%	**33.3%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	165	107	56	328
		50.3%	**32.6%**	**17.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	118	95	42	255
		46.3%	**37.2%**	**16.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	163	111	56	330
		49.4%	**33.6%**	**17%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	536	330	180	1046
		51.3%	**31.5%**	**17.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	633	443	223	1299
		48.7%	**34.1%**	**17.2%**	**100%**

Table C.2: 'Tried to make me hurt another person' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	153	67	41	261
		58.6%	**25.7%**	**15.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	190	63	48	301
		63.1%	**20.9%**	**16%**	**100%**
5	Boys	133	77	47	257

		51.7%	**30%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	209	66	58	333
		62.7%	**19.9%**	**17.4%**	**100%**
6	Boys	132	91	50	273
		48.4%	**33.3%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	235	55	43	333
		70.6%	**16.5%**	**12.9%**	**100%**
7	Boys	118	95	42	255
		46.3%	**37.3%**	**16.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	212	53	68	333
		63.7%	**16%**	**20.3%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	536	330	180	1046
		51.2%	**31.6%**	**17.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	846	237	217	1300
		65.1%	**18.2%**	**16.7%**	**100%**

Table C.3: 'Tried to get me into trouble' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	138	66	53	257
		53.7%	**25.7%**	**20.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	164	87	52	303
		54.1%	**28.7%**	**17.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	132	56	62	250
		52.8%	**22.4%**	**24.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	205	79	50	334
		61.3%	**23.7%**	**15%**	**100%**
6	Boys	131	78	58	267
		49.1%	**29.2%**	**21.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	205	81	49	335
		61.2%	**24.2%**	**14.6%**	**100%**
7	Boys	129	67	55	251
		51.4%	**26.7%**	**21.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	201	80	48	329
		61.1%	**24.3%**	**14.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	530	267	228	1025

		51.7%	**26.1%**	**22.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	775	327	199	1301
		59.6%	**25.1%**	**15.3%**	**100%**

Table C.4: 'Tried to hurt me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	145	67	46	258
		56.2%	**26%**	**17.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	171	77	46	294
		58.2%	**26.2%**	**15.6%**	**100%**
5	Boys	126	70	53	249
		50.6%	**28.1%**	**21.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	196	82	55	333
		58.9%	**24.6%**	**16.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	129	80	60	269
		48%	**29.7%**	**22.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	195	82	57	334
		58.4%	**24.5%**	**17.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	129	67	51	247
		52.23%	**27.13%**	**20.65%**	**100%**
	Girls	186	80	62	328
		56.7%	**24.4%**	**18.9%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	529	284	210	1023
		51.7%	**27.8%**	**20.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	748	321	220	1289
		58%	**24.9%**	**17.1%**	**100%**

Table C.5: 'Made me do something I didn't want to do' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	175	48	34	257
		68.1%	**18.7%**	**13.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	199	74	37	310

		64.2%	**23.9%**	**11.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	155	56	39	250
		62%	**22.4%**	**15.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	234	65	38	337
		69.4%	**19.3%**	**11.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	183	53	36	272
		67.3%	**19.5%**	**13.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	226	76	34	336
		67.3%	**22.6%**	**10.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	177	45	30	252
		70.2%	**17.9%**	**11.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	222	68	40	330
		67.3%	**20.6%**	**12.1%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	690	202	139	1031
		67%	**19.6%**	**13.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	881	283	149	1313
		67.1%	**21.5%**	**11.4%**	**100%**

Table C.6: 'Took something from me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	146	60	51	257
		56.8%	**23.4%**	**19.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	165	74	67	306
		53.9%	**24.2%**	**21.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	128	80	42	250
		51.2%	**32%**	**16.8%**	10**0%**
	Girls	185	75	70	330
		56.1%	**22.7%**	**21.2%**	**100%**
6	Boys	139	73	58	270
		51.5%	**27 %**	**21.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	186	86	64	336
		55.4%	**25.6%**	**19.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	100	76	75	251
		39.8%	**30.3%**	**29.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	171	92	68	331

		51.7%	**27.8%**	**20.5%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	513	289	226	1028
		49.9%	**28.1%**	**22%**	**100%**
	Girls	707	327	269	1303
		54.3%	**25.1%**	**20.6%**	**100%**

Table C.7: 'Shouted at me - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	112	77	72	261
		42.9%	**29.5%**	**27.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	130	79	98	307
		42.4%	**25.7%**	**31.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	106	70	73	249
		42.6%	**28.1%**	**29.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	133	93	98	324
		41%	**28.7%**	**30.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	104	90	73	267
		39%	**33.7%**	**27.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	133	105	99	337
		39.4%	**31.2%**	**29.4%**	**100%**
7	Boys	95	81	76	252
		37.7%	**32.1%**	**30.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	130	122	72	324
		40.1%	**37.7%**	**22.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	417	318	294	1029
		40.5%	**30.9%**	**28.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	526	399	367	1292
		40.7%	**30.9%**	**28.4%**	**100%**

Table C.8: 'Laughed at me in a horrible way' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	158	58	47	263
		60.1%	**22.1%**	**17.8%**	**100%**

	Girls	180	61	70	311
		57.9%	**19.6%**	**22.5%**	**100%**
5	Boys	149	61	46	256
		58.2%	**23.8%**	**18%**	**100%**
	Girls	203	71	57	331
		61.3%	**21.5%**	**17.2%**	**100%**
6	Boys	142	78	53	273
		52%	**28.6%**	**19.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	211	73	57	341
		61.9%	**21.4%**	**16.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	146	53	48	247
		59.1%	**21.5%**	**19.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	193	99	42	334
		57.8%	**29.6%**	**12.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	595	250	194	1039
		57.3%	**24%**	**18.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	787	304	226	1317
		59.8%	**23.1%**	**17.1%**	**100%**

Table C.9: 'Said they would tell on me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	128	72	55	255
		50.2%	**28.2%**	**21.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	179	69	59	307
		58.3%	**22.5%**	**19.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	152	64	40	256
		59.4%	**25%**	**15.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	226	69	36	331
		68.2%	**20.9%**	**10.9%**	**100%**
6	Boys	158	64	50	272
		58.1%	**23.5%**	**18.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	249	46	48	343
		72.6%	**13.4%**	**14%**	**100%**
7	Boys	95	81	76	252

		37.7%	**32.1%**	**30.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	171	42	40	253
		67.6%	**16.6%**	**15.8%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	609	242	185	1036
		58.8%	**23.4%**	**17.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	903	245	164	1312
		68.8%	**18.7%**	**12.5%**	**100%**

Table C.10: 'Told a lie about me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	128	72	55	255
		50.2%	**28.2%**	**21.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	153	86	75	314
		48.7%	**27.4%**	**23.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	152	64	40	256
		59.4%	**25%**	**15.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	165	92	77	334
		49.4%	**27.5%**	**23.1%**	**100%**
6	Boys	158	64	50	272
		58.1%	**23.5%**	**18.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	175	93	72	340
		51.5%	**27.3%**	**21.2%**	**100%**
7	Boys	95	81	76	252
		37.7%	**32.1%**	**30.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	176	96	61	333
		52.9%	**28.8%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	609	242	185	1036
		58.9%	**23.3%**	**17.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	669	367	285	1321
		50.6%	**27.7%**	**21.6%**	**100%**

Table C.11: 'Tried to hit me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total

4	Boys	145	57	62	264
		54.9%	**21.6%**	**23.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	212	56	54	322
		65.8%	**17.4%**	**16.8%**	**100%**
5	Boys	139	65	52	256
		54.3%	**25.4%**	**20.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	207	75	61	343
		60.4%	**21.9%**	**17.7%**	**100%**
6	Boys	118	87	68	273
		43.2%	**31.9%**	**24.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	214	68	60	342
		62.6%	**19.9%**	**17.5%**	**100%**
7	Boys	127	66	63	256
		49.6%	**25.8%**	**24.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	229	56	51	336
		68.1%	**16.7%**	**15.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	529	275	245	1049
		50.4%	**26.2%**	**23.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	862	255	226	1343
		64.2%	**19%**	**16.8%**	**100%**

Table C.12: 'Tried to kick me' – responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	150	61	42	253
		59.3%	**24.1%**	**16.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	221	48	38	307
		72%	**15.6%**	**12.4%**	**100%**
5	Boys	146	71	33	250
		58.4%	**28.4%**	**13.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	233	56	37	326
		71.5%	**17.2%**	**11.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	147	77	49	273
		53.9%	**28.2%**	**17.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	235	68	35	338
		69.5%	**20.1%**	**10.4%**	**100%**

7	Boys	152	60	38	250
		60.8%	**24%**	**15.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	253	50	20	323
		78.3%	**15.5%**	**6.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	595	269	162	1026
		58%	**26.3%**	**15.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	942	222	130	1294
		72.8%	**17.2%**	**10%**	**100%**

Table C.13: 'Tried to make me give them money' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	177	49	28	254
		69.7%	**19.3%**	**11%**	**100%**
	Girls	221	50	36	307
		72%	**16.3%**	**11.7%**	**100%**
5	Boys	183	42	23	248
		73.8%	**17%**	**9.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	262	47	20	329
		79.6%	**14.3%**	**6.1%**	**100%**
6	Boys	197	43	28	268
		73.5%	**16%**	**10.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	250	61	26	337
		74.2%	**18.1%**	**7.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	166	49	41	256
		64.8%	**19.2%**	**16%**	**100%**
	Girls	227	57	47	331
		68.6%	**17.2%**	**14.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	723	183	120	1026
		70%	**18%**	**12%**	**100%**
	Girls	960	215	129	1304
		73.62%	**16.49%**	**9.89%**	**100%**

Table C.14: 'Tried to frighten me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	166	59	28	253
		65.6%	**23.3%**	**11.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	191	63	45	299
		63.8%	**21.1%**	**15.1%**	**100%**
5	Boys	150	73	32	255
		58.9%	**28.5%**	**12.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	212	79	45	336
		63%	**23.6%**	**13.4%**	**100%**
6	Boys	154	75	39	268
		57.5%	**28%**	**14.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	230	81	27	338
		68%	**24%**	**8%**	**100%**
7	Boys	166	58	30	254
		65%	**23%**	**12%**	**100%**
	Girls	222	74	30	326
		68%	**21.7%**	**8.3%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	636	265	129	1030
		62%	**26%**	**12%**	**100%**
	Girls	855	297	147	1299
		66%	**23%**	**11%**	100%

Table C.15: 'Tried to break something of mine' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	164	58	38	260
		63%	**22.4%**	**14.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	199	65	47	311
		64%	**21%**	**15%**	**100%**
5	Boys	162	58	31	251
		64.5%	**23.1%**	**12.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	226	69	35	330
		68.5%	**21%**	**10.5%**	**100%**

6	Boys	184	52	38	274
		67.2%	**19%**	**13.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	248	60	32	340
		73%	**17.6%**	**9.4%**	**100%**
7	Boys	162	54	34	250
		65%	**22%**	**13%**	**100%**
	Girls	243	64	24	331
		73.4%	**19.4%**	**7.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	672	222	141	1035
		65%	**21.4%**	**13.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	916	258	138	1312
		70%	**19.7%**	**10.3%**	**100%**

Table C.16: 'Tried to get me into trouble' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	138	66	53	257
		53.7%	**26%**	**20.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	164	87	52	303
		54%	**28.7%**	**17.3%**	**100%**
5	Boys	132	56	62	250
		53%	**22.4%**	**24.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	205	79	50	334
		61.4%	**23.6%**	**15%**	**100%**
6	Boys	131	78	58	267
		49%	**29.3%**	**21.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	205	81	49	335
		61%	**24.3%**	**14.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	129	67	55	251
		51.4%	**26.6%**	**22%**	**100%**
	Girls	201	80	48	329
		61.1%	**24.3%**	**14.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	530	267	228	1025
		51.7%	**26.1%**	**22.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	775	327	199	1301

		59.6%	**25.1%**	**15.3%**	**100%**

Table C.17: 'Told a lie about me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	142	59	59	260
		54.6%	**22.7%**	**22.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	153	86	75%	314
		48.7%	**27.3%**	**24%**	**100%**
5	Boys	138	59	58	255
		53%	**24%**	**23%**	**100%**
	Girls	165	92	77	340
		49%	**27.5%**	**23.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	126	80	69	275
		45.8%	**29.1%**	**25.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	175	93	72	340
		51.5%	**27.4%**	**21.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	127	71	54	252
		50.4%	**28.2%**	**21.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	176	96	61	333
		52.8%	**28.8%**	**18.4%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	533	269	240	1042
		51.1%	**25.8%**	**23.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	669	367	285	1321
		50.6%	**27.7%**	**21.7%**	**100%**

Teacher bullying

Table C.18: 'Hit me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	162	52	45	259
		62.5%	**20.1%**	**17.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	214	39	53	306

		70%	**12.7%**	**17.3%**	**100%**
5	Boys	154	40	52	246
		62.6%	**16.3%**	**21.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	214	42	70	326
		65.6%	**12.9%**	**21.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	169	31	65	265
		63.7%	**11.7%**	**24.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	239	43	56	338
		70.7%	**12.7%**	**16.6%**	**100%**
7	Boys	141	49	56	246
		57.3%	**20%**	**22.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	242	41	41	324
		74.7%	**12.7%**	**12.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	626	172	218	1016
		61.6%	**17%**	**21.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	909	165	220	1294
		70.3%	**12.7%**	**17%**	**100%**

Table C.19: 'Was unkind because I am different' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	175	28	49	252
		69.4%	**11.1%**	**19.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	248	28	25	329
		82.4%	**9.3%**	**8.3%**	**100%**
5	Boys	187	29	39	255
		73.3%	**11.4%**	**15.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	265	24	40	329
		80.6%	**7.3%**	**12.1%**	**100%**
6	Boys	199	34	28	261
		76.3%	**13%**	**10.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	266	34	37	337
		79%	**10%**	**11%**	**100%**
7	Boys	195	25	33	253
		77%	**10%**	**13%**	**100%**
	Girls	268	27	31	326

		82.2%	**8.3%**	**9.5%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	756	116	149	1021
		74%	**11.4%**	**14.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	1047	113	133	1293
		81%	**8.7%**	**10.3%**	**100%**

Table C.20: 'Called me names' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	191	36	26	253
		75.5%	**14.2%**	**10.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	259	27	24	310
		83.6%	**8.7%**	**7.7%**	**100%**
5	Boys	173	29	45	247
		70%	**11.7%**	**18.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	244	50	31	325
		75%	**15.4%**	**9.6%**	**100%**
6	Boys	184	40	42	266
		69.2%	**15%**	**15.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	290	25	27	342
		84.8%	**7.3%**	**7.9%**	**100%**
7	Boys	182	34	33	249
		73%	**13.7%**	**13.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	278	29	22	329
		84.5%	**8.8%**	**6.7%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	730	139	146	1015
		71.9%	**13.7%**	**14.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	1071	131	104	1306
		82%	**10%**	**8%**	**100%**

Table C.21: 'Made me frightened' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total

4	Boys	163	41	41	245
		66.6%	**16.7%**	**16.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	214	52	39	305
		70.2%	**17.1%**	**12.7%**	**100%**
5	Boys	165	41	41	245
		65.6%	**16.7%**	**16.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	221	52	56	319
		66.1%	**16.3%**	**17.6%**	**100%**
6	Boys	163	57	46	266
		61.3%	**21.4%**	**17.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	226	57	50	333
		67.9%	**17.1%**	**15%**	**100%**
7	Boys	167	41	41	249
		67%	**16.5%**	**16.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	204	69	54	327
		62.4%	**21.1%**	**16.5%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	658	177	177	1012
		65%	**17.5%**	**17.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	855	230	199	1284
		66.5%	**18%**	**15.5%**	**100%**

Table C.22: 'Was unfair to me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	154	60	37	251
		61.4%	**23.9%**	**14.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	222	49	34	305
		72.8%	**16.1%**	**11.1%**	**100%**
5	Boys	150	50	49	249
		60.2%	**20.1%**	**19.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	227	52	48	327
		69.4%	**15.9%**	**14.7%**	**100%**
6	Boys	148	74	45	267
		55.4%	**27.7%**	**16.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	222	71	42	335
		66.3%	**21.2%**	**12.5%**	**100%**

7	Boys	134	69	50	253
		53%	**27.3%**	**19.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	199	82	45	326
		61%	**25.2%**	**13.8%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	586	253	181	1020
		57.5%	**25%**	**17.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	870	254	169	1293
		67.3%	**19.6%**	**13.1%**	**100%**

Table C.23: 'Made me cry' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	175	49	39	263
		66.5%	**18.6%**	**14.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	202	61	43	306
		66%	**19.9%**	**14.1%**	**100%**
5	Boys	177	39	32	248
		71.3%	**15.7%**	**13%**	**100%**
	Girls	210	67	48	325
		64.6%	**20.7%**	**14.7%**	**100%**
6	Boys	203	32	32	267
		76%	**12%**	**12%**	**100%**
	Girls	233	62	41	336
		69.4%	**18.4%**	**12.2%**	**100%**
7	Boys	188	36	26	250
		75.2%	**14.4%**	**10.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	241	54	37	332
		72.6%	**16.3%**	**11.1%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	743	156	129	1028
		72.3%	**15.2%**	**12.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	886	244	169	1299
		68.2%	**18.3%**	**13%**	**100%**

Table C.24: 'Laughed at me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not m at all	Once	More than	Total

				once	
4	Boys	157	51	48	256
		61.3%	**20%**	**18.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	211	42	49	302
		69.9%	**13.9%**	**16.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	156	37	47	240
		65%	**15%**	**20%**	**100%**
	Girls	218	63	48	329
		66.3%	**19.2%**	**14.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	156	65	44	265
		58.9%	**24.5%**	**16.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	237	56	39	332
		72%	**17%**	**11%**	**100%**
7	Boys	156	50	44	250
		62.4%	**20%**	**17.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	244	36	50	330
		73.9%	**10.9%**	**15.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	625	203	183	1011
		61.8%	**20.1%**	**18.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	910	197	186	1293
		70.3%	**15.3%**	**14.4%**	**100%**

Care of students by students in schools

Table C.25: 'Talked about clothes with me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	149	51	51	251
		59.4%	**20.3%**	**20.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	137	66	112	315
		43.5%	**21%**	**35.5%**	**100%**
5	Boys	144	51	55	250
		57.6%	**20.4%**	**22%**	**100%**
	Girls	103	86	148	337
		30.5%	**25.5%**	**44%**	**100%**

6	Boys	148	59	63	270
		54.8%	**21.9%**	**23.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	102	89	147	338
		30.2%	**26.3%**	**43.5%**	**100%**
7	Boys	121	56	79	256
		46.3%	**21.8%**	**30.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	86	92	153	331
		26%	**27.8%**	**46.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	562	217	248	1027
		54.7%	**21.1%**	**24.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	428	333	560	1321
		32.4%	**25.2%**	**42.4%**	**100%**

Table C.26: 'Told me a joke' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	49	72	138	259
		18.9%	**27.8%**	**53.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	62	70	178	310
		20%	**22.6%**	**57.4%**	**100%**
5	Boys	41	74	139	254
		16.1%	**29.1%**	**54.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	57	90	182	329
		17.3%	**27.4%**	**55.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	39	81	152	272
		14.4%	**29.8%**	**55.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	62	87	192	341
		18.2%	**25.5%**	**56.3%**	**100%**
7	Boys	37	57	159	253
		14.6%	**22.5%**	**62.9%**	100%
	Girls	37	100	192	329
		11.3%	**30.4%**	**58.3%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	166	284	588	1038
		16%	**27.4%**	**56.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	218	347	744	1309

		16.5%	**26.5%**	**57%**	**100%**

Table C.27: 'Smiled at me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	167	52	43	258
		63.2%	**20.2%**	**16.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	173	59	75	307
		56.3%	**19.3%**	**24.4%**	**100%**
5	Boys	192	30	30	252
		76.2%	**11.9%**	**11.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	224	59	48	331
		67.8%	**17.8%**	**14.4%**	**100%**
6	Boys	213	33	27	273
		78%	**12.1%**	**9.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	250	52	38	340
		73.5%	**15.3%**	**11.2%**	**100%**
7	Boys	190	40	21	251
		75.7%	**16%**	**8.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	248	52	32	332
		73.7%	**15.7%**	**19.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	758	155	121	1034
		73.3%	**15%**	**11.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	895	222	193	1310
		68.3%	**17%**	**14.7%**	**100%**

Table C.28: 'Helped me carry something' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	108	61	89	258
		41.9%	**23.6%**	**34.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	112	92	103	307
		36.5%	**30%**	**33.5%**	**100%**

5	Boys	123	62	67	252
		48.8%	**24.6%**	**26.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	130	95	112	337
		38.8%	**28.2%**	**15%**	**100%**
6	Boys	122	77	70	269
		45.4%	**28.6%**	**26%**	**100%**
	Girls	139	96	100	335
		41.5%	**28.7%**	**29.9%**	**100%**
7	Boys	116	69	66	251
		46.2%	**27.5%**	**26.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	128	113	88	329
		38.9%	**34.4%**	**26.7%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	469	269	292	1030
		45.5%	**26.1%**	**28.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	509	396	403	1308
		38.9%	**30.3%**	**30.8%**	**100%**

Table C.29: 'Helped me with my classwork' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	116	64	77	257
		45%	**25%**	**30%**	**100%**
	Girls	122	73	107	302
		40.4%	**24.2%**	**35.4%**	**100%**
5	Boys	105	78	65	248
		42.4%	**31.4%**	**26.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	117	93	124	334
		35%	**27.8%**	**37.2%**	**100%**
6	Boys	80	91	96	267
		30%	**34%**	**36%**	**100%**
	Girls	86	104	146	336
		25.6%	**31%**	**43.4%**	**100%**
7	Boys	90	84	77	251
		36%	**33.4%**	**30.6%**	**100%**

	Girls	92	93	149	334
		27.6%	**27.8%**	**44.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	391	317	315	1023
		38.2%	**31%**	**30.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	417	363	526	1306
		31.9%	**27.8%**	**40.3%**	**100%**

Table C.30: 'Talked about T.V. with me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	94	74	147	315
		29.8%	**23.5%**	**46.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	64	55	132	251
		25.5%	**21.9%**	**52.6%**	**100%**
5	Boys	80	98	160	338
		23.7%	**29%**	**47.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	65	53	135	253
		25.7%	**21%**	**53.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	67	75	192	334
		20.1%	**22.4%**	**57.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	58	64	147	269
		21.6%	**23.7%**	**54.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	54	76	202	332
		16.3%	**22.9%**	**60.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	39	83	131	253
		15.4%	**32.8%**	**51.8%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	295	323	701	1319
		22.4%	**24.5%**	**53.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	226	255	545	1026
		22%	**24.9%**	**53.1%**	**100%**

Table C.31: 'Shared something with me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than	Total

				once	
4	Boys	61	70	120	251
		24.3%	**27.9%**	**47.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	65	73	161	299
		21.7%	**24.4%**	**53.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	87	66	96	249
		34.9%	**26.5%**	**38.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	79	78	174	331
		23.8%	**23.6%**	**52.6%**	**100%**
6	Boys	73	74	126	273
		26.7%	**27.1%**	**46.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	67	83	184	334
		20%	**24.9%**	**55.1%**	**100%**
7	Boys	59	70	117	246
		24%	**28.4%**	**47.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	71	71	188	330
		21.5%	**21.5%**	**57%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	280	280	459	1019
		27.5%	**27.5%**	**45%**	**100%**
	Girls	282	305	707	1294
		21.8%	**23.6%**	**54.6%**	**100%**

Table C.32: 'Talked about things I liked' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	58	79	125	262
		22.1%	**30.2%**	**47.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	65	73	170	308
		21.1%	**23.7%**	**55.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	72	65	116	253
		28.4%	**25.7%**	**45.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	68	74	183	325
		20.9%	**22.8%**	**56.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	57	80	134	271
		21%	**29.5%**	**49.5%**	**100%**

	Girls	48	63	225	336
		14.3%	**18.7%**	**67%**	**100%**
7	Boys	38	74	140	252
		15%	**29.4%**	**55.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	50	74	204	328
		15.2%	**22.6%**	**62.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	225	298	515	1038
		21.7%	**28.7%**	**49.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	231	284	782	1297
		17.8%	**21.9%**	**60.3%**	**100%**

Teacher care shown towards students

Table C.33: 'Said something nice to me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	62	84	116	262
		23.7%	**32%**	**44.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	51	83	179	313
		16.3%	**26.5%**	**57.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	77	69	106	252
		30.5%	**27.3%**	**42.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	63	90	183	336
		18.7%	**26.8%**	**54.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	58	88	122	268
		21.7%	**32.8%**	**45.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	63	109	172	344
		18.3%	**31.7%**	**50%**	**100%**
7	Boys	87	73	97	257
		33.8%	**28.4%**	**37.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	79	99	155	333
		23.7%	**29.7%**	**46.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	284	314	441	1039
		27.3%	**30.2%**	**42.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	256	381	689	1326

		19.3%	**28.7%**	**52%**	**100%**

Table C.34: 'Helped me with my work' – responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	70	69	118	257
		27.2%	**26.8%**	**46%**	**100%**
	Girls	77	65	162	304
		25.3%	**21.4%**	**53.3%**	**100%**
5	Boys	84	72	94	250
		33.6%	**28.8%**	**37.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	82	84	159	325
		25.2%	**25.9%**	**48.9%**	**100%**
6	Boys	90	68	107	265
		34%	**25.6%**	**40.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	83	95	160	338
		24.6%	**28.1%**	**47.3%**	**100%**
7	Boys	77	70	103	250
		30.8%	**28%**	**41.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	80	85	166	331
		24.2%	**25.7%**	**50.1%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	321	279	422	1022
		31.4%	**27.3%**	**41.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	322	329	647	1298
		24.8%	**25.4%**	**49.8%**	**100%**

Table C.35: 'Smiled at me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	76	70	107	253
		30%	**27.7%**	**42.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	56	56	188	300
		18.7%	**18.7%**	**62.6%**	**100%**

5	Boys	106	60	81	247
		42.9%	**24.3%**	**32.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	70	68	193	331
		21.2%	**20.5%**	**58.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	80	67	114	261
		30.7%	**25.6%**	**43.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	64	74	197	335
		19.1%	**22.1%**	**58.8%**	**100%**
7	Boys	90	68	85	243
		37%	**28%**	**35%**	**100%**
	Girls	100	62	164	326
		30.6%	**19.1%**	**50.3%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	352	265	387	1004
		35.1%	**26.4%**	**38.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	290	260	742	1292
		22.5%	**20.1%**	**57.4%**	**100%**

Table C.36: 'Was very nice to me' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	65	72	116	253
		25.6%	**28.5%**	**45.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	44	67	193	304
		14.5%	**22%**	**63.5%**	**100%**
5	Boys	76	72	97	245
		31%	**29.4%**	**39.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	61	79	181	321
		19%	**24.6%**	**56.4%**	**100%**
6	Boys	59	77	131	267
		22.1%	**28.8%**	**49.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	66	84	189	339
		19.5%	**24.8%**	**55.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	69	95	91	255
		27.1%	**37.3%**	**35.6%**	**100%**

	Girls	82	88	161	331
		24.8%	**26.5%**	**48.7%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	269	316	435	1020
		26.4%	**31%**	**42.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	253	318	724	1295
		19.5%	**24.6%**	**56%**	**100%**

Table C.37: 'Encouraged me to do my best' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	72	55	126	253
		28.5%	**21.7%**	**49.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	86	63	161	310
		27.7%	**20.3%**	**52%**	**100%**
5	Boys	76	62	109	247
		30.8%	**25.1%**	**44.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	78	80	172	330
		23.6%	**24.3%**	**52.1%**	**100%**
6	Boys	71	65	137	273
		26%	**23.8%**	**50.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	83	83	172	338
		24.6%	**24.6%**	**50.8%**	**100%**
7	Boys	65	66	119	250
		26%	**26.4%**	**47.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	61	90	178	329
		18.5%	**27.4%**	**54.1%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	284	248	491	1023
		27.8%	**24.2%**	**48%**	**100%**
	Girls	308	316	683	1307
		23.6%	**24.2%**	**52.2%**	**100%**

Table C.38: 'Made me feel happy' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than	Total

				once	
4	Boys	56	62	136	254
		22.1%	**24.4%**	**53.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	37	57	207	301
		12.3%	**19%**	**68.7%**	**100%**
5	Boys	58	80	114	252
		23%	**31.7%**	**45.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	46	66	220	332
		13.9%	**19.8%**	**66.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	48	74	150	272
		17.7%	**27.2%**	**55.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	48	85	207	340
		14.1%	**25%**	**60.9%**	**100%**
7	Boys	55	81	115	251
		21.9%	**32.2%**	**45.9.%**	**100%**
	Girls	52	78	195	325
		16%	**24%**	**60%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	217	297	515	1029
		21.1%	**28.9%**	**50%**	**100%**
	Girls	183	286	829	1298
		14.1%	**22%**	**63.9%**	**100%**

Table C.39: 'Listened to me talk about something' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	93	73	85	251
		37.05%	29.08%	33.86%	100%
	Girls	93	72	147	312
		29.81%	23.08%	47.12%	100%
5	Boys	102	70	77	249
		41%	**28.1%**	**30.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	114	77	141	332
		34.3%	**23.2%**	**42.5%**	**100%**
6	Boys	99	84	89	272

		36.4%	**30.9%**	**32.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	103	84	151	338
		30.5%	**24.9%**	**44.7%**	**100%**
7	Boys	98	77	75	250
		39.2%	**30.8%**	**30%**	**100%**
	Girls	122	86	120	328
		37.2%	**26.2%**	**36.6%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	392	304	326	1022
		38.3%	**29.7%**	**32%**	**100%**
	Girls	432	**319**	559	1310
		33%	**24.3%**	**42.7%**	**100%**

Table C.40: 'Asked me how I was' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	99	74	85	258
		38.3%	**28.7%**	**33%**	**100%**
	Girls	96	85	124	305
		31.5%	**27.9%**	**40.6%**	**100%**
5	Boys	135	59	59	253
		53.4%	**23.3%**	**23.3%**	**100%**
	Girls	129	82	120	331
		39%	**24.7%**	**36.3%**	**100%**
6	Boys	131	71	67	265
		48.7%	**26.3%**	**25%**	**100%**
	Girls	126	107	104	337
		37.4%	**31.8%**	**30.8%**	**100%**
7	Boys	122	77	52	251
		48.6%	**30.7%**	**20.7%**	**100%**
	Girls	150	95	86	331
		25.3%	**28.7%**	**26%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	487	281	263	1022
		47.2%	**27.3%**	**25.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	501	369	434	1304
		38.4%	**28.3%**	**33.3%**	**100%**

Table C.41: 'Made me feel safe' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	83	69	99	251
		33.1%	**27.5%**	**39.4%**	**100%**
	Girls	83	69	161	313
		26.5%	**22.1%**	**51.4%**	**100%**
5	Boys	131	43	73	247
		53%	**17.4%**	**29.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	98	66	165	329
		29.8%	**20.1%**	**50.1%**	**100%**
6	Boys	124	67	79	270
		46%	**24.8%**	**29.2%**	**100%**
	Girls	120	79	137	336
		35.7%	**23.5%**	**40.8%**	**100%**
7	Boys	125	53	76	254
		49.2%	**20.8%**	**30%**	**100%**
	Girls	131	77	120	328
		40%	**23.5%**	**36.5%**	100%
Total	Boys	463	232	327	1022
		45.3%	**22.7%**	**32%**	**100%**
	Girls	432	291	583	1306
		33.1%	**22.3%**	**44.6%**	**100%**

Table C.42: 'Told me I did something well' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	62	55	138	255
		24.3%	**21.6%**	**54.1%**	**100%**
	Girls	59	72	175	306
		19.3%	**23.5%**	**57.2%**	**100%**
5	Boys	97	59	94	250

		38.8%	**23.6%**	**37.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	84	92	154	330
		25.5%	**27.8%**	**46.7%**	**100%**
6	Boys	79	98	94	271
		29.2%	**36.2%**	**34.6%**	**100%**
	Girls	84	86	163	33
		25.2%	**25.8%**	**49%**	**100%**
7	Boys	85	85	79	249
		34.1%	**34.1%**	**31.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	108	98	123	329
		32.8%	**29.8%**	**37.4%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	323	297	405	1025
		31.5%	**29%**	**39.5%**	**100%**
	Girls	335	348	615	1298
		25.81%	26.81%	47.38%	100%

Table C.43: 'Taught me something new' - responses by grade and gender

Grade	Gender	Not at all	Once	More than once	Total
4	Boys	50	52	152	254
		19.7%	**20.5%**	**59.8%**	**100%**
	Girls	55	59	193	307
		17.9%	**19.2%**	**62.9%**	**100%**
5	Boys	68	66	119	253
		26.9%	**26.1%**	**47%**	**100%**
	Girls	59	55	218	332
		17.8%	**16.6%**	**65.6%**	**100%**
6	Boys	52	70	143	265
		19.6%	**26.4%**	**54%**	**100%**
	Girls	62	66	209	337
		18.4%	**19.6%**	**62%**	**100%**
7	Boys	45	59	149	253
		17.8%	**23.2%**	**59%**	**100%**
	Girls	66	58	204	328

		20.1%	**17.7%**	**62.2%**	**100%**
Total	Boys	215	247	563	1025
		21%	**24.1%**	**54.9%**	**100%**
	Girls	242	238	824	1304
		18.6%	**18.2%**	**63.2%**	**100%**

Table D.1: Pearson Chi squared (X^2) by grade for students by students

	Question	**Boys**		**Girls**	
		X^2	P	X^2	P
1	Called me names	9.06	0.17	17.59	0.00
2	Said something nice to me	5.94	0.43	7.67	0.26
3	Was nasty about my family	8.37	0.21	7.57	0.27
4	Tried to kick me	11.65	0.07	5.02	0.54
5	Was very nice to me	20.37	0.00	3.57	0.73
6	Was unkind because I am different	10.08	0.12	6.24	0.39
7	Gave me a present	40.11	0.00	21.39	0.00
8	Said they'd hit me	10.51	0.10	9.17	0.16
9	Gave me some money	12.54	0.05	5.43	0.48
10	Tried to make me give them money	18.20	0.00	8.83	0.18
11	Tried to frighten me	11.28	0.80	6.46	0.37
12	Asked me a stupid question	3.41	0.75	24.07	0.00
13	Stopped me playing a game	58.20	0.00	3.16	0.78
14	Was unkind about something I did	1.91	0.92	11.22	0.08
15	Talked about clothes with me	25.2	0.00	11.09	0.08
16	Told me a joke	12.62	0.49	7.62	0.26
17	Told me a lie	17.68	0.00	37.85	0.00
18	Tried to make me hurt another person	11.10	0.08	3.16	0.78
19	Smiled at me	12.18	0.05	2.93	0.81
20	Tried to get me into trouble	4.93	0.55	4.06	0.66
21	Helped me carry something	6.88	0.33	7.64	0.26
22	Tried to hurt me	1.45	0.96	3.93	0.68

23	Helped me with my classwork	21.63	0.00	17.91	0.00
24	Made me do something I didn't want to do	3.27	0.77	4.20	0.64
25	Talked about T.V. with me	27.8	0.00	17.16	0.00
26	Took something from me	3.22	0.78	22.46	0.00
27	Shared something with me	2.67	0.84	10.48	0.10
28	Was rude to me about the colour of my skin	14.84	0.21	4.83	0.56
29	Shouted at me	14.51	0.02	3.38	0.75
30	Played a game with me	13.59	0.03	5.92	0.43
31	Talked about things I like	14.21	0.02	14.30	0.02
32	Laughed at me in a horrible way	18.7	0.00	5.62	0.46
33	Said they would tell on me	38.36	0.00	17.73	0.00
34	Tried to break something of mine	13.90	0.03	2.04	0.91
35	Told a lie about me	3.65	0.72	6.79	0.34
36	Tried to hit me	5.7	0.45	11.69	0.06

Table D.2: Pearson Chi squared (X^2) by grade for teachers by students

	Question	**Boys**		**Girls**	
		X^2	P	X^2	P
1	Told me a joke	5.49	0.48	7.70	0.26
2	Said something nice to me	11.38	0.07	13.42	0.37
3	Shouted at me	9.98	0.12	9.93	0.12
4	Hit me	9.40	0.15	11.56	0.07
5	Asked me a question	14.80	0.02	18.15	0.00
6	Helped me with my work	4.27	0.63	5.12	0.52
7	Smiled at me	19.31	0.00	14.36	0.02
8	Was unkind because I am different	4.60	0.59	9.59	0.14
9	Explained new work to me	12.63	0.49	6.05	0.41
10	Watched me play in the playground	37.60	0.00	28.00	0.00
11	Was very nice to me	16.29	0.12	14.92	0.21
12	Asked about my family	14.24	0.02	24.40	0.00
13	Called me names	17.10	0.00	8.06	0.23

14	Made me frightened	6.69	0.35	5.03	0.53
15	Marked my work	9.09	0.16	7.18	0.30
16	Was unfair to me	15.01	0.02	8.43	0.20
17	Talked about my homework	4.50	0.60	7.76	0.25
18	Encouraged me to do my best	9.60	0.14	3.88	0.69
19	Made me feel happy	8.14	0.22	9.99	0.12
20	Gave me a test	21.72	0.00	18.17	0.00
21	Made me cry	5.85	0.44	8.15	0.22
22	Left our class alone	7.28	0.29	6.50	0.36
23	Listened to me talk about something	9.05	0.17	2.06	0.91
24	Asked me how I was	22.71	0.00	17.66	0.00
25	Made me feel safe	23.06	0.00	24.70	0.00
26	Told me not to fight	56.58	0.00	19.75	0.00
27	Saw that I had something to eat	54.15	0.00	18.01	0.00
28	Laughed at me	12.19	0.05	6.71	0.34
29	Told me I did something well	27.32	0.00	43.28	0.00
30	Encouraged me to play with friends	22.51	0.00	17.35	0.00
31	Helped me solve a problem	6.35	0.38	11.46	0.07
32	Taught me something new	2.12	0.90	13.07	0.04
33	Hurt my feelings	1.51	0.95	17.84	0.00

Table D.3: The sample size in relation to school size and gender

	School															
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
School Size	449	503	554	398	597	673	440	329	579	889	664	580	946	372	132	471
Sample Size	65	187	128	168	96	218	125	76	78	374	78	189	456	77	33	101
Sample Boys	-	92	-	78	62	105	65	25	50	180	25	83	217	43	-	101
Sample Girls	65	95	128	90	34	111	60	51	28	194	53	108	239	34	33	-

Table D.4: Breakdown of the Grade 4, 5, 6 and 7 cohort in Gauteng Catholic schools in 2005

	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Totals
Boys	1 166	1 086	1 067	1 083	4 402
Girls	1 500	1 374	1 256	1 163	5 293
Total	2 666	2 460	2 323	2 246	9 695

Table D.5: Construct 1 - Bullying index of students by students

	School															
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Boys	-	0.66	-	0.69	0.70	0.54	0.72	0.48	0.38	0.70	0.54	0.81	0.51	0.67	-	0.61
Girls	0.76	0.49	0.75	0.76	0.80	0.55	0.66	0.70	0.73	0.63	0.48	0.76	0.66	0.66	0.61	-

Table D.6: Construct 2 - Care of students by students

	School															
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Boys	-	0.75	-	0.80	0.75	0.54	0.78	0.44	0.81	0.66	0.74	0.86	0.66	0.57	-	0.65
Girls	0.66	0.68	0.81	0.66	0.82	0.52	0.74	0.83	0.79	0.46	0.56	0.81	0.64	0.57	0.67	-

Table D.7: Construct 3 - Bullying of students by teachers

	School															
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Boys	-	0.66	-	0.57	0.58	0.45	0.74	0.37	0.88	0.65	0.60	0.85	0.71	0.68	-	0.66
Girls	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.75	0.73	0.37	0.87	0.63	0.70	0.63	0.71	0.79	0.64	0.69	0.38	-

Table D.8: Construct 4 - Care of students by teachers

	School															
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**
Boys	-	0.82	-	0.81	0.87	0.59	0.84	0.74	0.71	0.67	0.62	0.86	0.72	0.81	-	0.81
Girls	0.87	0.84	0.79	0.83	0.81	0.58	0.87	0.83	0.81	0.77	0.76	0.85	0.73	0.82	0.65	-