AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PHENOMENA OF BULLYING AND VIOLENCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN DURBAN (UMLAZI & MEREBANK)

MONICA GOVENDER

.

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK, UNIVERSITY OF KWA-ZULU NATAL, DURBAN.
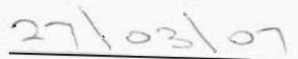
JANUARY 2007

DECLARATION

I, Monica Govender, declare that this thesis is my own work. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Master of Social Science at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, South Africa. It has not previously been submitted for examination at any other university.

_____
Monica Govender

27\03\07
_____
Date

DEDICATION

This effort is dedicated to:

- *My parents, Ronnie and Silvy Naidoo*
- *My mum-in-law, Vijialutchmee Nanthekasen*

all of whom epitomize sheer hard work and sacrifice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

A surge of interest on bullying and violence has emerged as precursors for aggression become ominously present on a global level. There is growing evidence of these phenomena among school children and anecdotal proof of their consequences. Despite frequent reporting of the same in the popular media little empirical research is available in the South African context. More specifically in the discipline of social work, the issue remains largely neglected. Social workers are considered to be well placed in their capacity-building, therapeutic and facilitative roles. If they are to provide holistic and inter-related services to learners both within and outside of the school, it is vital that they become familiar with the dynamics of this public health scourge. The thrust of this effort was to examine the nature and extent of bullying and violence in Durban South high schools, to glean childrens' lived experiences in this regard and to investigate the structural/procedural impediments to systematic, mandatory, school wide responses.

A survey was conducted with 251 grade 8 and 9 learners, where quantitative data was obtained on a range of issues relating to the nature and extent of school bullying. Additionally, four key informants were interviewed and two focus groups were conducted with an average of 10 members in each group. Interviews and group sessions allowed for a more spontaneous, meaningful and in-depth account from educators and group members. In this way, contextually and culturally rich information was obtained. Focus groups were deemed to be valuable as learners possessed 'insider' knowledge of the school and shared emotions in a less threatening environment among their peers.

The reporting of bullying and violence was concluded to be problematic as current school procedures are ad hoc. The frequency with which bullying occurred was reported as alarmingly high. There was overwhelming support for curriculum changes, the services of a social worker/counsellor and for more stringent punitive measures for bullies. Educators confirmed the need for social services and indicated that the school ethos has deteriorated considerably, with general disregard by learners for authority.

Recommendations include the development of an anti-bullying school policy as well as comprehensive school/community efforts that monitor and address bullying and violence systematically. This study also recommends the integration of social and academic services in promoting learner well being. The recommendations are aimed toward extinguishing any notion that predatory or aggressive behaviour is normal, in the minds of youth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER TWO: FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO BULLYING AND VIOLENCE

CHAPTER THREE: MANIFESTATIONS AND INTERVENTION MEASURES RELATED TO BULLYING AND VIOLENCE

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

LIST OF GRAPHS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Least we forget that amidst all the fanfare of research, children suffer untold misery as a result of being bullied as the poem by Adrian Mitchell (cited in Tattum, 1994: 108) reflects:

Back in the Playground Blues

Dreamed I was in a school playground, I was about four feet high

Yes dreamed I was back in the playground, and standing about four feet high

The playground was three miles long and the playground was five miles wide

It was broken black tarmac with a high fence running all around

And it had a special name to it, they called it the Killing Ground.

Got a mother and a father, they're a thousand miles away

The rulers of the killing ground are coming out to play

Everyone thinking: who they going to play with today?

You get it for being Jewish

Get it for being black

Get it for being chicken

Get it for fighting back

You get it for being big and fat

Get it for being small

those who get it get it and get it

For any damn thing at all

Sometimes they take a beetle, tear off its six legs one by one

Beetle on its black back rolling in the lunchtime sun

But a beetle can't beg for mercy, a beetle's not half the fun

Heard a deep voice talking, it had that iceberg sound;

'It prepares them for Life' – but I have never found

Any place in my life that's worse than the Killing Ground

We need to be genuinely concerned with the depth of the messages contained in this poem, if we are to engage with the children we carelessly term 'aggressive, energetic, shy or withdrawn.'

Bullying and school violence have been allotted more serious consideration in the past decade. Although the myth that bullying is a normal part of growing up still prevails, it has been challenged to a substantial degree as indicated in the literature. This increased interest is evident in the plethora of programmes and proposals of an international scope [Carney, Hazler & Higgins cited in Hazler, Carney & Granger (2006)]. In truth such awareness is not completely encouraging as it speaks to the increased precursors for bullying and violence that remain ominously present. Further, the gaps in this particular type of research relate to local ambiguity in responses (individual and procedural) to bullying and the effects of such inconsistency. The focus of this effort is on bullying, which may or may not occur within the context of violence. Both issues exist as vast entities. This study draws from elements of each one and the overlap (viz the motivation for aggression and the piecemeal responses to bullying and violence) becomes evident.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS

Section 29 in the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution provides that 'everyone has the right to a basic education.' The constitutional rights of learners are contained in Section 2B of the Education Law and Policy Handbook (2003:21). It deems that, "Learners have the right to a clean and safe environment that is conducive to education. Security of property, well cared for school facilities, school furniture and equipment, clean toilet facilities, water and a green environment, absence of harassment in attending classes and writing exams all create an atmosphere that is conducive for education and training." In reality the basic shortage of classrooms and equipment looms before the education planners as is discussed in this chapter. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 2006) speaks to the rights of health, education, equality and protection in guiding children toward their maximum capabilities. All rights are deemed to be interconnected and of equal importance.

From the Declaration on Professional Ethics, SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers' Union, 2001:1) has adapted and outlined ten commitments educators have toward learners, some of which read as follows:

- To promote the rights of children in ensuring that they benefit from those rights that apply especially to education, as outlined in the UNICEF Declaration (2006).
- '…to make every effort to protect students from bullying and from physical or psychological abuse.'
- To exercise confidentiality and care in matters that affect learners' welfare.
- To be vigilant in protecting children from sexual abuse.
- To ensure that the relationship between learner and educator is not exploited in any way, while exercising authority with justice and compassion.
- To recognise the uniqueness of each person and so guide learners into developing a desirable set of values.

CONTEXT OF STUDY

The oppressive nature of schooling

In reality South African learners find themselves in an uneviable quagmire of socio-political difficulties, where a lack of resources, poverty and violence feature daily. The following are captions of various recent newspaper articles: 'Bullying at schools reaches epidemic proportions' (Mthethwa, 2006), 'Dealing with school bullies' (Kistnasamy, 2006), 'Learning fear at school' (Naran, 2006), 'Alarming trend of abuse' (editorial in Daily News of 5/09/06), 'Pupil stabbed for soccer ball' (Mbongwa, 2006), 'Schoolboy slain for cell phone' (Laganparsad, 2006) 'Student stabbed by classmate' (editorial in Chatsworth Tabloid of 18/10/06), 'Taunted by technology' (Meyer, 2005), 'Teachers attacked in front of pupils' (Barbeau, 2006) and 'Learning lessons in fearful loathing' (Singh & Pillay, 2006). It is in these kinds of reports that bullying and violence seem to meld. One response to this trend of aggression is reflected in Laura Clark's (2006) article entitled 'Parents to pay kids' 'bully fines,' where a fine of up to R13 700 may be imposed on parents in the United Kingdom.

Nicole Turner produced a Carte Blanche segment (M.NET: 17/10/06) on the appalling conditions of many Eastern Cape schools (see appendix G). She informed viewers that there were 572 disaster schools with 20 billion rand required for this region alone. Apparently some schools receive one textbook for the teacher only. While the auditor general blamed inept management and political instability for the backlogs, he noted that only emergency repairs could receive consideration. In the meantime James Ferreira (educator) warned that there was no security to keep the gangs away. The shortage of essentials in KZN schools is noted in Chapter Two.

Weare (2000) asserts that most societies reflect increased illness and crime statistics as well as the breakdown of traditional family life, leaving individuals more isolated and facing greater demands. That violence is known to result from a multiplicity of factors, is corroborated by many writers (Olweus cited in Sullivan, 2000; Furlong, 1985; Whyte, 2004). Olweus, cited in Sullivan (2000) specifically states that bullying occurs to a greater degree in economically depressed areas where deprivation, alcoholism, vandalism, theft, etc, exist. The longer lasting effects of apartheid are felt most severely in rural areas where a dire lack of resources has stunted children's physical growth and cognitive development (Education White Paper 5 on Early Childhood Development in the Education Law and Policy Handbook, 2003). According to Wiesner & Ittel (2002), the development of normal cognitive skills is relevant to the success of program intervention.

Physical conditions of the selected sites

From a historical perspective, the Durban South area was zoned for industrial development and Blacks were allowed to live close to these sites for a ready access to cheap labour. Five major industrial belts exist in the Durban South Basin containing approximately 600 industries (Groundwork: The Community Air Monitoring Report, 2003). These include oil refineries, a paper mill, an airport, a sewage treatment plant, the polluted Umlaas Canal, landfill sites and several manufacturing industries. The report contains the results of a 2001 joint study by the Universities of Natal and of Michigan – the rate of respiratory illness for Merebank residents was deemed to be the highest recorded in scientific literature!

These devastating effects of apartheid in its varied forms are well known by social workers who are already placed in community building, therapeutic and facilitative capacities. In keeping with the ecological perspective, we find an enlarged sector of potential targets for intervention, viz. the family, youth groups, community agencies as well as ineffective/detrimental school approaches (Dupper, 2003). It is highly relevant that social workers themselves experienced vastly different conditions in their training and service delivery as polarization 'mainly on the basis of racial and ideological interpretations of the role of social work' arose during apartheid (Letsebe cited in Sathiparsad, 1997)

ANTI-BULLYING PROGRAMMES

While the absence of an anti-bullying policy in local schools is acutely felt, researchers readily attest to its usefulness where applied. The Resolving Conflict Creatively Programme (RCCP) is alluded to in Chapters Two and Three. It was heralded as a great success by parents, participants and educators of several American states (Crawford & Bodine,1996). The evaluation of the Olweus Bully Prevention Programme by the University of Colorado reported a reduction in bullying and other anti-social behaviour of over 50% in the 42 schools that participated (Wiesner & Ittel, 2002). This particular programme is classified as a blueprint in reducing adolescent aggression and deemed the most effective in addressing school bullying. For the greater part, bullying in South Africa goes unattended to by educators and policy makers (Nadasan, 2004; Muribwathoho, 2003). 'Despite the important contribution school Guidance and Counselling can make to the social, academic and personality development of African school age children, it does not feature as an important aspect of the curriculum in most African countries' (Mwamwenda cited in Muribwathoho, 2003:90).

RATIONALE FOR STUDY

In selecting appropriate intervention strategies with their clientele, social workers need to understand the total life world of the adolescent and his/her daily stressors. From an empirical point of view, the issue of school bullying and violence is not

studied in social work. According to Robinson (1978:9), 'Teachers and social workers are concerned about the same children from the same families, often those very children who both fail to attain their educational potential and also break down socially.' The common concerns for both professions are aptly noted here.

The media and literature on social problems give ample evidence on the existence of bullying and violence locally and worldwide. Ricardo April speaks in the documentary 'Blackboards under Siege,' produced by Sasha Smith (2006) – "Many youngsters are armed and dangerous. Teachers cannot deal with it. We must be educators, police and social workers." This programme discusses four brutal attacks on learners while at school, three of them being fatal (see appendix G). Smith (2006) quotes the principal of Hanover Park Secondary in Cape Town who says, 'On a weekly, even daily basis, we find weapons mainly on the grade 8s, 9s and 10s. They say it's for protection.'

The criteria for victimization is probably as varied as the aggressor needs it to be. However, certain traits have been outlined by some authors in developing a framework for understanding victimization. A study by Glover, Cartwright & Gleeson (1998) with 3417 children found that those who were physically over-developed, rich, hard workers, disabled or who belonged to different ethnic groups were targeted more often by bullies. It appears that sectors of 'differently' vulnerable children are found in schools.

Parents sometimes become familiar with a sense of 'automatic victimization.' This means that individuals or groups exist in schools who, by virtue of their dreaded reputations, manage to instil fear into other learners without directly confronting them. The response of trepidation by some serves to effectively establish the aggressors as dangerous or important. Specific guidelines are provided for parents of bullied children (see appendix H).

Many bullies/aggressive youth on reaching adulthood, lead lives that envelop sexual promiscuity, poly drug use, marital violence and occupational instability (Conradie & Cloete 1983). When troubled behaviour emerges, it seems to recur throughout a

person's lifetime therefore interventions aimed at young children in their homes and schools, demands priority (Crawford & Bodine,1996).

Douglas (2002:1) asserts that, '...an anti-bullying strategy may be the single most proactive intervention a school can make in the cycle of violence, racism and gendered abuse in South Africa.' As this study will indicate, the prevalence of bullying and violence is of global concern. While it is true that unique problems exist in Africa, bullying and violence simultaneously erode the well being of learners and cannot be ignored. This effort motivates for the inclusion of policies and strategies at schools to systematically address these concerns. A whole school approach is advocated. It combines the energies of various community agencies to create safe and healthy learning environments.

VALUE OF THE STUDY

We generally look to the school as the focal point for the creation of social and knowledgeable beings (Elliot et al, 1998).

The value of this study lies in its potential to streamline therapeutic and preventative social services to learners. It shows an awareness of the violence that plagues our country and province and the need for relief from these oppressive realities. While being an extension of related efforts, this study recommends the continued investigation of related topics that are expected to enhance the understanding of school bullying and violence. Setiloane (1991) conducted a study with 116 grade 8 pupils from Mamelodi (Pretoria). He concluded that while children may live in a violent community, they do not necessarily accept it as a way of life. The participants in his study had come to reject violence. Herein lies the evidence that there is potential to develop non violent beings through concerted effort.

This study advocates the inclusion of counsellors/social workers as permanent staff members at schools. A multi-disciplinary team effort is envisaged where the expertise of different consultants becomes available to learners. Social workers have generalist experience in policy, community and clinical spheres, among others. The profession is already dealing with teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, behavioural disorders

and violence within the family/community. Therefore the joint expertise of social workers and educators may better address the needs of learners.

When social workers understand the dynamics of bullying and violence, they can create/implement programmes for schools. The credibility of the social work profession lies in its ability to formulate sound programmes and to network with other relevant agencies (Hornick & Burrows, cited in Sathiparsad, 1997).

The participants of this investigation:

- were afforded the opportunity to express concerns, share experiences, recommend possible support methods and procedures to assist victims as well as perpetrators of bullying,

- were enlightened on the societal concern for their well being, which is the right to be free from bullying and intimidation.

It is hoped that participants gained some intrinsic value during the data collection phase of this study

Social workers may also inform policy at local and national levels. Aside from recommending the inclusion of an anti-bullying policy as part of national legislation, various methods/strategies for dealing with bullying and violence are presented in Chapter Three. These are simple, cost free ways that require the planning and commitment of all staff members. The more creative, comprehensive programmes mentioned are aimed at youth who present with various types of recurrent problem behaviour. All of these strategies afford learners the opportunity for leadership and life skills training. The literature reveals that there is a move away from the punitive style of responses to misbehaviour, to a more accepting, tolerant, mediative sphere. Some measures regarding learner offences and discipline are noted in Chapter Three where The Education Law and Policy Handbook is quoted. The document does not direct the reader to legislated preventative measures with regard to the unwanted behaviour of bullying, nor to strategies that educate learners on their rights and responsibilities as far as peer victimization is concerned.

It is unlikely that local schools themselves will undertake investigations of this sort in the near future as educators feel overwhelmed by their current tasks/responsibilities

(Nadasan, 2004; Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003). This is resultant in part to the host of difficulties and challenges that have been passed on from the apartheid era as well as inter-organisational impediments alluded to in this study (Chapter Two). Muribwathoho (2003) reveals a clear disparity in Durban schools that were exclusively African as compared to others with regard to the lower matric pass rates of African learners. This is reflected in Chapter Five. Christi Naude, the Department of Education's spokesperson, comments unreservedly on African education as never being a priority for centuries in South Africa (Daily News of 5/09/06). She adds that as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the inferior quality of buildings and structures for Africans are now collapsing.

Aluedse (2005) gives an alternate perspective to bullying. He rightly notes that child labour, early girl-child marriage, child trafficking, etc that occur outside the school take prominence over problems like bullying in many countries and that it therefore remains under-reported. Such lack of reporting occurs for reasons peculiar to the community and school circumstances. Research indicates that bullying is recognized as a serious problem and that while some schools are making efforts to address it, this effect has not been felt in the daily lives of millions of children. Ralston (2005) cites a report by the National Association of School Psychologists [U.S] which estimates that 160 000 learners absent themselves daily from school to avoid being bullied. National statistics like these are not formulated in most African countries, South Africa included (Muribwahtoho, 2003).

Our life experience shows that bullying has received scant attention as teacher unions/authorities do not systematically address the problem. While the rights of learners are documented in the legislation, all of the newspaper articles quoted in this study bear grim testimony to the prevalence of bullying and violence in South African schools.

Disruptive behaviours are more common than severe violations of school rules although it is this latter conduct that is worthy of newsprint (Wright-Gallo, Higbee, Reagon & Davey; 2006). Frequent misdemeanours will develop a cumulative effect if not timeously attended to. The suggestions contained in this study are geared toward those common displays of misbehaviour.

Adults are often unwilling to accept that bullying is a common phenomenon and responses to it are at best ambiguous (Smith & Sharp, 1998). Interestingly this study will show that although adults are aware of the problem, their responses are still ambiguous for various reasons, some of which relate to a lack of directives.

This study seeks to understand how children cope with bullying and violence at school and to shed light on their lived experience. Aggressive behaviour such as fighting, weapon carrying and bullying among our youth, remains a significant public health issue.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

SYSTEMS THEORY

This study was shaped by the eco-systems theory which concerns itself with the overlapping connectedness among different social spheres of influence (Raby, 2005). As such the individual and his/her family were felt to comprise the micro system. The effect family life has on an individual is crucial, yet not exclusive to the development of his/her attitudes and values. The mezzo system describes the interrelations between the micro system and school. Neighbourhoods, formal (eg health and welfare) and informal (social networks) structures form the exosystem. The socioeconomic, cultural and political climate that envelops these smaller systems is known as the macro system (Bronfenbrenner cited Berk, 2001). The interdependent elements that are found within each system share some commonality in their goals, functions, boundaries and identities according to the author.

Kasiram, Keen & Naidoo (1996) assert that the measure of interdependence between these systems should meet human needs to a satisfactory degree. Systems are said to be congruent when the interacting energies among them are proportionate to the functioning of each system. This implies then that an upset in one system affects the processes in the complementary systems. We need to take cognisance of the unique roles and resources of the systems described that ultimately create a non-static pattern of interaction. Values and beliefs that are peculiar to different cultures come to be reflected in these patterns. While conflict of an interpersonal or inter-community level

is unavoidable, it is the responses to provocation that needs to be examined (Crawford & Bodine, 1996; Sathiparsad, 1997). South Africa faces several challenges as it seeks to stem crime, advance its economy and present itself as a noteworthy contender in the process of globalization. The eco-systems approach strongly advocates a wide range of responses to target the interacting influences among the micro, mezzo and macro systems.

An example of the processes of this approach is provided: A flux of information and energy passes between the family, school and the community. Baldry & Hargreaves (1996) and Elliot et al (1998) note that a high population turnover for instance results in the fragmented running of local institutions as people wish to move away and lack commitment to developmental initiatives. In this way a degree of instability manifests in the system. It affects the remaining organizations and individuals when levels of support decrease.

According to Meyer (cited in Kasiram, 1995) the value of this perspective lies in it being free from methodological dictates. The all encompassing nature of the eco-systems framework considers the needs of each system and recommends a multi-facetted approach to address those needs. It is sometimes known as the bioecological model in that it sees the unique biological characteristics of an individual interacting with environmental sub-systems (Bronfenbrenner cited in Berk, 2001). He regards the chronosystem as the changing life experiences that result from a combination of environmental and personal characteristics. It recognises that people are both 'products and producers' of their surroundings (Berk, 2001:26). We cannot hope to reconstitute the family, organise the peer group or eliminate neighbourhood risk factors, but in making an effort to understand their inter-related nature, we may work toward authentic preventative measures for adolescent aggression. Simmons-Morton, Hartos & Haynie (2004) noted that parenting practices, levels of academic success and the culture of aggression all contributed to individual/student behaviour. They found for instance that constructive school engagement and appropriate disciplinary measures, steered children away from the association with 'problematic' friends. A relationship is apparent in these findings that link the individual, family, peers and school.

Within the broad eco-systems perspective, social learning and labelling theories are noted as these are especially relevant to peer association and to aggression. In seeking to understand the motivation for aggression, brief mention is made of these two theories.

Social learning theory

Violence is learned behaviour and it is therefore possible to learn better responses to any perceived provocation (Setiloane, 1991; Mc Partland & McDill, 1977). According to Patterson (cited in Freeman et al, 1998) juvenile aggression is believed to result in part from external circumstances. The following possibilities for anti-social adolescent behaviour as compared to conventional behaviour are given:

- when reinforcement for normal behaviour is low,
- when punishment for undesirable behaviour is quite low,
- where there is greater reinforcement for anti-social behaviour,
- when punishment for normal behaviour is heightened.

For the purposes of this study, the classroom behaviour problems described by Erchul & Martins (in Dupper, 2003) clarify these four guidelines - more appropriate behaviours may not have been learned, are ignored or lead to unwanted consequences. There could be reward of a sensory, edible or social nature that follows the disruptive behaviour. Also, such actions might have been initiated by others and are being modelled upon. Chapter Two continues the discussion on the value of role models.

Labelling theory

Sociologists concur that some aspects of ethnocentricism, stereotyping or group identification are practically universal (Maddi, 1980). It appears then, that people prefer the association of those who are similar to them and may therefore risk being labelled according to certain group characteristics. According to Conradie & Cloete (1983:65) people who cannot legitimately reach the standards of the dominant culture try to increase their status by defying social norms. They are quoted as follows,

'Collectivization indicates that a particular labelled person is identified with the deviances and crimes for which he is known, and in terms of which he is labelled.' This means that an innocent person who is under constant suspicion, may see himself in the role of a delinquent and behave accordingly. This is how labels like 'stupid,' 'lazy, 'troublemaker,' etc,' come to have a stabilizing effect on learners.

A labelled youth may start to organize his/her identity around other anti-social youth where s/he finds sanction for unacceptable behaviour. The premise that bullying occurs in a group context, may be understood by the need for this sanction.

.

OBJECTIVES

This study sought to investigate:

- the nature or kinds of bullying and violence described by learners and key informants,

- the frequency with which bullying and violence occurs in the 4 selected schools,

- what policies, structures or procedures exist to deal with bullying and violence and

- the felt experiences of the two groups of learners intended for participation.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions formed the crux of this work:

1.   What are the perceptions and experiences of bullying and violence revealed by the respondents of this study?

2.   How frequent is the manifestation of bullying?

3.   What kinds of structures operate in schools for

        - learners to channel their grievances effectively

        - educators to deal with the consequences of bullying and violence?

4.   What are the personal experiences of bullying and violence of the grade 8 and

        9 learners?

RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design essentially means the manner in which information is gathered and therefore becomes highly dependent on the characteristics of the subjects/participants involved. The design concerns itself with the sample to be used, the most effective data collection methods, the frequency with which data is gathered and the statistical techniques to be employed when analysing results. Learners from grades 8 and 9 were selected from two suburbs, one being predominantly Indian and the other, African. It was expected that these newcomers to high school, were more likely to be bullied.

 Patton (1990) notes that the credibility of a study hinges on the degree to which it is congruent with the research approach and the selected theoretical background. With this in mind, a triangulated approach was adopted where elements of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms were incorporated during the data gathering and analysis stages. A quantitative approach allowed the researcher to collect specific information from a large group where 251 respondents completed the questionnaire. This created room for comparisons and statistical ordering of the data. Being approximately 13 years of age, it was assumed that these learners were literate and capable of sharing some of their experiences.

Semi-structured interview schedules were designed for contact with key informants and group members. These were felt to be most appropriate in that some specific information was obtained and there was still room for subjects to respond freely. Key informants provided insight into the structural obstacles that schools experienced

when dealing with bullying and violence. Members of the focus groups shared some personal information and complaints freely with the researcher. In this way the qualitative approach enriched the scope of the study. Observation of the physical settings yielded insight into the relative lack of resources as well as the daily activities of the learners. In an effort to enhance continuity, results are presented and discussed jointly.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

SCHOOL

A pre primary, primary or secondary school (National Education Policy Act, no 27 of 1996)

EDUCATOR

'Any person who teachers, educates or trains other persons at an educational institution...as defined in section 1 of the Public Service Act (No 146 of 1993).

LEARNER

'Any person receiving education or obliged to receive education' in terms of The South African Schools Act (No 84 of 1996). The terms 'student' and 'pupil' are used interchangeably to mean 'learner.'

VIOLENCE

According to Van Acker in Tattum & Herbert (1997:31), there are four types of violence at schools. They are:

- situational, that which arises from the heat of the moment,
- relationship, created when one or more individuals cannot get along with others,
- predatory, when a bully uses dominating behaviour over a range of victims,
- psychopathological, that which is connected with serious behavioural problems.

BULLYING

The University of Minnesota conducted a Drug Awareness Resistance Education [DARE] project. The term bullying was defined as the type of behaviour 'intended to harm or disturb the victim and occurs repeatedly over time, including such behaviour as physical attacks, or verbal name calling or threats' (Komro et al, 2004:336).

It is clear that bullying exists somewhere on the continuum of violence. A bully may or may not employ aggressive tactics. Threats, extortion, physically aggressive behaviour and taunts relate appropriately to the term bullying in a school context (Sullivan, 2000; Rigby, 2005).

CONCLUSION

Morrel, (cited in Mwahombela, 2004:11) asserts that African schools experience worse violence than others and is quoted as follows, 'In conditions of poverty, violence and the threat of violence are the most effective means to get a material reward, even a small sweet.' This is a contextualized statement that serves to describe the negative influences some learners are exposed to. A myriad of factors present when human aggression comes under the spotlight. This study delves into a few of these variables and recommends immediate, multi-level intervention to further the objectives outlined. When everybody in the school environment becomes accustomed to expressing their feelings, bullies will become aware of a strong voice that is opposed to their behaviour (Grunsell, 1989).

This introductory chapter has illuminated the contextual and theoretical frameworks that have shaped the study. The need for an investigation of this nature is contained in the chapters that outline the rationale and value of this study. Finally, brief mention is made of the research design that was employed.

Chapter Two details some factors that contribute to bullying and violence.

Chapter Three describes how these phenomena manifest and suggests methods for intervention.

Chapter Four features the research methodology used to gather and present information.

Chapter Five provides an analysis and discussion of the results garnered.

Chapter Six comprises the major conclusions and recommendations that emerged from the study.

CHAPTER TWO

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO BULLYING AND VIOLENCE

INTRODUCTION

Vonnegut, cited in Decker et al (1981:7) offers that a major group in society is 'ignored, faceless and invisible.' They consequently see themselves as not more than objects of fear and disapproval. It was found that members of this group are mainly poor and view education with suspicion. Rudeness, aggression, intellectual under-functioning and disruptive behaviour among these children becomes standard description from teachers.

In attempting to understand this anti-social behaviour, Chapter Two discusses factors that contribute to bullying and violence within the scope of social, psychological and individual dynamics. Currently, South African children exist on a vast continuum between extreme deprivation and abundance. Farrington cited in Smith & Sharp (1998) notes that there is no longitudinal study that separates individual, family, peer, school and community influences on the anti-social behaviour of youth. Brief attention is given to these groupings, in understanding their role toward bullying and violence. The evidence that urban schools have specific stressors in and around their environment is re-iterated throughout this study, which aims to highlight and understand some of those stressors as well as other precursors for aggression. Each child is an inseparable part of different social systems (school, home, neighbourhood and peer group) within which s/he operates, therefore problems are seen as a lack of 'goodness of fit' between these systems (Sathiparsad, 1997:12).

Figure One is presented on page 19 and features the systemic interconnectedness among the variables that perpetuate and describe the dynamics of violence. It is considered to be highly relevant to the present day South African youth.

Figure One: System model of effect of societal violence on youth:
[Reproduced from Setiloane (1991) in Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work, vol 27(1)].

Societal Variables

:ting/Causing violence
1 Family
2 School
3 Street condition
4 Law enforcement
5 Political situation, whereby toughness is the order of the day

Precipitating Factors

- Feelings of hopelessness and helplessness

- Stress resulting from unclear future

-Inability to plan one's life

Youth and Violence

-Rape

-Inter-youth violence

-assault on the elderly

-Intra-family fights

-Inter-family fights

Consequences on the individual
-Aggressiveness

-Sex-role definition

-Dogmatism

-Authoritarianism

-Anxiety

Consequences for Society

- Mistrust among the races

- Stigmatisation of other groups

- Factionalism

- School gangs

- Hatred of law and order

Individual Characteristics of the youth

Personality traits:
Education and intelligence
Aggressiveness
Compulsiveness

Psychological traits:
Psychosis
Drugs
Alcohol

Occupation

Political Variables

1 Unequal opportunities

2 Feelings of being a non-person

3 The value that the system places on violence i.e. reports of black-white and white-black violence and the way the press reports them

4 The way the law seems biased

5 Harshness of the system

Consequences for the State

-Use of violence for social control e.g. hangings, increase in police powers

-Condoning of Institutional violence

For our purposes the micro and mezzo environments are concentrated upon, which in this study include the family and school-neighbourhood respectively. The socio-economic and political culture in which people grow up includes the technology, language, laws and customs peculiar to them and is termed the macro environment.

MICRO CONTEXT

The family is just one system comprising interacting and influencing elements. The literature is replete with discussion on how significant the family is with regard to the development of aggressive or non-aggressive tendencies. This is a primary socializing unit with its own strengths and weaknesses that influences a person's values and attitudes to a large extent, though not exclusively.

PARENTING

Randall cited in Glover et al (1996:5) asserts that although schools are portrayed as 'breeding grounds of bullying' significant evidence exists to show that aggression is learned at home. The desired attitudes and skills of parents are paramount in reducing the motivation for aggression. Contact with brothers and sisters usually precede interactions outside of the family and may serve as a bridge between the family and peer systems. According to Peppler (2006) poor child rearing practices often involve an indifference or inability to stop chronic aggressive behaviour between siblings. Patterson in Freeman et al (1998:137), concurs that ineffective parental discipline related positively with coercive acts between those victimized children and their siblings. She is quoted as follows, "Delinquency and aggression among children are known to be related to their parents' inability to care about, supervise and punish the children's anti-social behaviour appropriately." The literature indicates that deviants are sometimes born into an inferior environment, where parents set poor examples, take minimal interest in the well being of their children or remain absent for long periods of time (Furlong, 1985; Baldry & Hargreaves, 1996).

Child abuse in relation to aggression

Batsche, Knoff & Lincoln (cited in Elliot et al, 1998) proposed that one who is bullied at home, becomes a perpetuator at school. The authors note that this hypothesis is supported by many other studies. They studied youth who suffered parental abuse and who witnessed the same of one parent by the other. The result was that those youngsters demonstrated an assault rate on non-family children that was six times greater than children who had not been subjected to such trauma. A positive

correlation also existed between boys' aggression at school and a convicted parent. According to a 1999 report by the Surgeon General, an estimated 3 million children suffer maltreatment yearly in the United States (Dupper, 2003).

Children with anti-social behaviour may have a history of being assaulted by family or peers and feel that adults, together with being inconsistent, are ineffective at protecting them from harm. It is important for us to remember the complexity of aggression. It's relevant dynamics are; the meaning of a situation to a person, the people involved and an individual's past experiences. Social learning theory informs that these factors interact uniquely in as much as each person is an individual entity. Research has repeatedly shown that the abuse of children correlates with their inclination to display aggression (Simmons-Morton et al, 2004; Decker et al, 1999; Whyte, 2004).

Parenting styles

Educators and social workers cannot plan for youth without taking cognisance of the influence of parenting styles on children's motivation and behaviour. Sears and colleagues (cited in Woods, 2000) conducted a longitudinal study with 379 parents in Boston. They made the following conclusions:

Permissive parents, although warm, were inconsistent in setting rules, clarifying expectations to their children and were lax with discipline. These children were found to be aggressive at age 5 and six years later. Authoritarian parents were cold and also did not communicate sufficiently to their offspring. Their discipline was harsh. These children were found to be aggressive at age 5 but less aggressive and unfortunately more anxious at age 11. Authoritative parents seemed to exhibit the most valuable style of parenting. They were warm and clarified what rules existed and why. Discipline was not excessive, but fair – their children were less aggressive at age 5 and remained like that six years hence.

A fourth type of parenting, i.e. *neglecting or rejecting* parents refers to those who are indifferent to their children and remain quite uninvolved in raising them. Levels of aggression, as well as difficulties in relationships prevailed for most of their lives.

The case studies quoted hence, concern themselves with this type of problematic child who is known as the bully or delinquent/deviant.

A sample of 347 school children from Reykjavik in Iceland were included in a study to determine the relationship between their substance abuse and parenting styles (Adalbjarnardottir & Hafsteinsson, 2001). Children who described their parents as authoritative were more protected against substance abuse than those who regarded their parents as neglectful. At age 14, family indulgence reduced the need for experimentation, but at age 17 a lack of parental control promoted such experimentation. Parents characterized as authoritarian were less able to prevent their 14 year old children from drinking than the authoritative parents were, making the latter the desirable medium. It must be remembered however that the crime rates for Iceland are lower than in most other countries and this may affect the degree of freedom granted to the youth who apparently move freely/safely outside their homes.

Although not included in the above categories, there are parents who fully support their children when the school seeks to punish them. The aggressive child may then wreak abuse on teachers and become disruptive in class, showing scant regard for the property of others. When the basic needs of a small child are not met, latent anger festers (Jones, 2001). The anger visible in the adolescent, stems from past disappointments according to this school of thought. The author adds that parents may allow fights to continue long after other parents would have intervened, label the inability to fight as babyish or unmasculine or constantly threaten to punish children if they cannot "stand up for themselves." Such children may genuinely have no faith in non-violent means and are quick to resort to violence as they are subjected to the anger of somebody else. Mc Partland & McDill (1977) assert that there are pockets of society that hold a set of values, attitudes and beliefs where physical aggression is employed in conflict resolution. Apparently this ethos of power over others is generally found in the lower socio-economic class. They warn that the use of force can be seen in child rearing practices, street gang/group behaviour, domestic quarrels and bar room brawls.

In Tanzania the patriarchal order of homes extends to schools and these communities reflect and reproduce the socio-political relations of South African society at large,

writes Lucas Mwahombela (2004). This has implications for male aggression from one generation to the next. Boys have an aggressive trait as well as weaker inhibitions against displaying aggression (Olweus, cited in Wiesner & Ittel; 2002). Yet the actual rate of bullying between the sexes is difficult to determine as girls may subtly taunt while boys could resort to outward aggression, both of which may go unobserved or unreported.

The sense of morality related to parenting

Clifford (2001) urges parents to talk things over with their children and not to insist that their children are immune to bullying or victimization. She advises that parents exercise great caution in their speech, opinions and actions as they can only teach what they're willing to learn. Researchers learned from participants invited to complete their questionnaires (29 male and 59 female college students) that those who felt it morally wrong to use harmful substances were less likely to, compared to their peers who believed in their own autonomy (Abide et al, 2001). Bear (2006) and his colleagues in a cross cultural study found that American children held a self centred motivation for behaving well, with a fear for recriminations. Japanese parents appealed to their children's emotions and objectives in shaping their moral reasoning. These children were found to have greater self discipline than their American counterparts. It becomes apparent from these results how far reaching parental/family influences are.

The home environment

The Daily News of 05/09/06 (p12) presents an editorial entitled 'Alarming trend of abuse' and describes disturbing behaviour of young children. Parents are expected to model good behaviour firstly and to be aware of the internet and cell phone downloads with highly inappropriate material that children generally have easy access to. Sexually inappropriate behaviour in schools is becoming commonplace (Mhlongo & Miranda, 2006). It is possible that parents who face greater economic constraints are actually physically absent from the home for long periods of time. They may neglect their children as they prioritize earning a livelihood. Further, substance abuse and family discord could result in parents' indifference to the needs of their children.

The literature is replete with information on the effects of poor parenting practices on children's motivation and actions (Crawford & Bodine, 1996, Kindlon & Thompson, 2000). This means that parental bonds must be strengthened, children must be taught self discipline as well as conflict resolution from the primary school stage. Bezuidenhout (2004) notes that in SA the trend is toward single parenthood where the mother is usually divorced, widowed, separated or never married. He adds that family composition may or may not relate to delinquency and that delinquent children often had substitute parental figures.

The opportunity for a group of children to tease or scapegoat another child, is greater at school than at home. Olweus (cited in Lawrence, Steed & Young 1984) proposes that such a group phenomenon of aggression is a developmental precursor of robbery committed by small bands of youth on the street, and of delinquent gang activity in the community. There may be similar risk factors at home and at school (e.g. aggressive siblings or peers). However the levels of aggression displayed at home and at school, are not necessarily the same. It is expected that there are long standing interchanges between the child and family members. Therefore responses at home may be experienced as somewhat 'automatic.' The difficulty then is when those responses come to be treated as normal by family or peers.

DISCIPLINE

A cross cultural comparison

As early as the 1800's, Sidgwick (1886) asserted that in any social setting, nothing automatically became disorderly and that a child would probe the limits of endurance in a particular setting. His warning was not to slide into a relaxed state of discipline. The author's observations support social learning theory and were as relevant then as they are now. Haigh (1979) reflects on immigrant (Asian and West Indian) children in England. Asian parents who were informed of their children's misbehaviour immediately asked why those defaulters had not yet been caned. According to him these children came from backgrounds of rigid discipline where disobedience was not tolerated therefore little resistance was expected from these students when enforcing rules. It appears then that the White indigenous child was granted more individuality

than his/her Asian counterpart. Discipline may be based on reason rather than authority and some parents are more supportive of their children questioning school authority. In South Africa the Indian youth are fifth and sixth generation decendants and generally consider themselves fully fledged citizens who are aware of their rights. However the vast cultural differences that prevail may make alternate eating habits, style of dress and religious practices potentially contentious issues. A South African based cross cultural study regarding discipline would provide valuable data in understanding and dealing with misdemeanours as well as the levels of parental control that exist among different ethnic groups.

When disruption is treated with punishment, the underlying assumption is that the child is fully responsible (Lawrence et al, 1984). The authors note that children were previously told by their teachers what to do, how to do it, when to begin and end and how to think. He advises that they be given the power of speech to express themselves and to engage in more peer discussion. Our socialization often dictates that severe discipline will make a man out of a boy. The belief that boys' capacity for hurt and anger is different to that of girls is then perpetuated (Kindlon & Thompson, 2000:54). They are quoted as follows: 'We use harsh discipline, rigid expectations and the threat of rejection to toughen up a boy.' Kindlon & Thompson (2000) present the results of a US survey representing more than 25 million children - here researchers learned that for every one White and one Asian girl, six and eight boys respectively were hit. No further details are given.

Any one disciplinary strategy is unlikely to be universally appropriate. Rewards are thought to be as objectionable as punishment in some literary circles (Duke, 2002). To this end, he proposes that a range of consequences be designed with positive, negative, punitive and non-punitive measures in response to misbehaviour.

Role models

Within the constraints of deprivation, parents need to instil a work ethic in their charges to foster responsibility. Adults may be oblivious or indifferent to the effects of their undesirable behaviour and so children come to regard rude, dominating mannerisms as normal or essential to succeed among others.

People learn by observing those around them and may choose to imitate behaviour. Models include parents, siblings, TV characters and teachers among others. Bandura (1977) proposes that it is more likely for children to imitate people who are similar (e.g. same sex or age), powerful (such as a parent or pop idol), caring (any significant individual in the child's life) or those who reward them for their behaviour. When someone is encouraged for showing aggression, it is termed vicarious reinforcement. One's personality then develops as the behaviour of different models is adopted.

Farrington cited Smith & Sharp (1998) warns that many anti-social adolescents who later become fathers, continue to abuse their families and perpetuate the cycle of aggression, by teaching that violence is normal. This is echoed by Sathiparsad (1997) who proposes that the continued exposure to aggressive role models results in the imitation of that undesirable behaviour. Since children model aggression when they are being punished, it is suggested that punishment be given in the context of a good relationship between the child and punisher. Woods (2000:139) warns that, "We are punishing a child to get what we want, so we show the child – this is how you get what you want." This study will make frequent references to the short-sightedness of this kind of cognition. However in the main, literature on this topic contains information on risk factors, the incidence of bullying and violence and the fragmented approaches to dealing with it.

The differences in punishment for boys and for girls

Sears (cited in Woods, 2000) notes that parents tolerated aggression and meted out punishment to a greater extent in their sons than their daughters. Further, they were more likely to punish a boy if he hit a girl, than if he hit another boy. Fathers were found to show greater concern about their sons displaying appropriate gender behaviour as compared to girls who were tomboys. So, there is greater pressure for boys to be masculine and probably to emulate their fathers. While Beck (cited in Viljoen, 2005) argues that Asian and Black youth are more likely to be bullied in multiracial schools, other researchers [e.g. Whitney & Smith, 1993] have not found such a distinction. Bullies apparently experienced harsher forms of discipline and had lower levels of family involvement whereas victims were either adequately or overly connected with family (Beck cited in Viljoen, 2005). The author asserts that the

increased permissiveness of a mother toward her child's demands contributed to the child's bullying behaviour.

The literature does allude to inter-generational disciplinary methods as being sexist, conservative or excessive, as parents perpetuate that which they experienced. It is possible also that in attempting to maintain a sense of individuality while acculturation unfolds, parents adopt severe cultural modes when disciplining their children. Park & Collmer cited in Baldry & Hargreaves (1996) add that a lack of knowledge and unrealistic expectations of parents sometimes results in the maltreatment of children. As boys and girls are differently socialized, their capacity for empathy may differ significantly (Menesini cited in Rigby, 2005). The author learned that children who repeatedly bullied displayed significantly lower levels of empathy. Nadasan (2004) found that while 75% of the girls in her study were unhappy when others were bullied, 68% of the boys indicated an indifference to the torment of others. Mooji (in Tatum, 1993) concurs that males are more inclined to bully than females. His conclusions come from two separate studies undertaken at schools in the Netherlands (1991/2) involving 2000 and 5000 pupils respectively.

THE INDIVIDUAL

Development stages

Morris & Aber cited in Elliot et al (1998) present the following developmental stages in regard to aggression:

Early childhood (2-5): The quality of childcare, early education and family support, are seen as relevant to the probability of later aggression. Self regulation in a person stems to some extent, from the quality of the caregiver/child dyad – i.e. whether it was sensitive and nurturing as compared to insensitive and punitive.

Middle childhood (6-11): the development of youth violence is great in this stage, since childrens' normative beliefs about aggression are consolidated here. Their interpersonal negotiation strategies are also formed in middle childhood. These youngsters could learn the influential beliefs or behavioural strategies of classmates. Further, they are subjected to the teachers' perceptions of what anti-social behaviour is.

Early adolescence (12-14): A salient issue in this stage is the establishment of a stable peer group, whose orientation then, affects individual action

Middle adolescence (15-18): Here the formation of an identity (personal, racial and ethnic), are established.

According to Yoerger, cited in Freeman et al (1998), the Late Starter Model shows that children in early or middle adolescence, start displaying aggression which is due to social and environmental conditions (e.g. peer pressure for early sexual activity, joining a gang, etc).

The onset of puberty brings with it a host of problems as well. The child that is physically developing or starting menstruation is at risk of being teased when they are seen with tampons or ask to be excused from physical training for instance. With boys, late maturation may be a source of ridicule for their older, bigger peers and behavioural difficulties could emerge (Duncan, 1999). The author quotes a student as follows, 'If she's going out with someone and another boy asks her out, she will knock him back and he goes straight into name calling and says it was just a joke (the asking out) anyway.' Indian and African children treat menstruation especially as an oppressive matter to be concealed, swamped with 'bad luck' stories (Mudaly, 1998). This sense of shame/embarrassment can only serve to erode one's self confidence.

Self esteem

It is important to understand self esteem as it is crucial to our emotions and actions. What we already know of ourselves is compared to our ideal self (i.e. the kinds of talents, values, popularity etc, that we wish to experience). The closer we feel we are to this ideal, the greater the self esteem, therefore it is advisable to have a realistic ideal self. Satisfaction with our appearance, also serves to enhance self esteem.

Dreyden (cited in Magnusson, 1983), asserts that attractive and gracious individuals are welcomed and appreciated in today's society, whereas those awkward, gauche and passive people have their limitations confirmed by the world. This contribution is relevant in that many studies aim to glean the psycho-social make up of children victimized by aggressors.

Intelligence, physical attractiveness, talents and skills are all valued by our society and as children constantly search for information while developing their self esteem, those who lack in any socially desirable traits will have a diminished self esteem. Where a child is told that s/he is problematic, treated as problematic and described to others as problematic, his/her cognition envelopes this information. The label is gradually internalized (Duncan, 1999; Conradie & Cloete, 1983).

Coopersmith (cited in Woods, 2000) learned the following through a study spanning 10 years [with 60 individuals] that sought to understand the relationship between the home environment and self esteem. They found that where parents gave responsibility with adequate guidelines and fostered an accepting home environment, their sons had higher self esteem. These children enjoyed greater popularity and as adults, had more success than boys with low self esteem. As girls were not included in this sample, comparisons between the sexes could not be made.

People generally consider their positive aspects to be more significant than their negative ones. In any role we play, we risk rejection when we deviate too far from the norms of the role. We have for instance, developed specific terms for such deviation, viz bullies and victims. To gain the acceptance or support of a group, we choose to conform to group norms. When in a large group, we can 'forget ourselves' and behave in an impulsive or anti-social way. This helps understand gang behaviour, where destructive acts are carried out together. Steele (cited in Decker et al, 1999) states that the act of not caring and being uninterested in education is a basis for some learners' self esteem. Such forms of rebellion against social order are encouraged by deviant peers as noted in Chapter Three.

The need for affiliation

The relationship between human behaviour and peer acceptance is well documented. (Magnusson, 1983; Engels & Ter Bogt (2001). Affiliation allows for comparison, where we can measure ourselves against others. People provide approval of our actions, making us feel re-assured/appreciated. We are also able to gauge what appropriate behaviour entails in a particular context. Fox & Boulton (2005) in their study with 477 nine to eleven year olds from Stoke-on-Trent targeted children who

lived in neighbourhoods of great deprivation. They confirmed that a friend who was not weak or a victim themselves, served as a moderating factor in peer victimization, as did a larger number of friends. As far as victimization was concerned, Whitney & Smith (1993) concluded that children who were alone at break time endured more harassment. These isolated children were deemed 'easy bait' for bullies as their lack of popularity became apparent to all.

Engels & Ter Bogt (2001) studied the relationship between peer pressure and bullying. Their study involved five hundred and eight 12 to 18 year olds who completed questionnaires which aimed to gather information on the relationship of peer association with risky behaviour. They found that the quantity (chumship, size of group and time spent) as well as the quality (attachment, support, acceptance, etc) of the peer group were positively related to substance abuse and anti-social behaviour. Jenkins (2001) in his study with 361 rural grade 9s to 12 concluded that peer acceptance, the desire to have fun and curiosity created difficulty in resisting alcohol/drugs. The author learned that these engaging behaviours served to enhance the social acceptance of individuals, thus making them more confident.

Frustration – aggression hypothesis

Dollard & colleagues (cited in Woods, 2000) offer that while aggression is innate, it is elevated by frustration, hence the frustration – aggression hypothesis emerged. It proposes that we aggress when frustrated. A child however, who is subjected to aggression at home, may well displace their frustration as they cannot challenge a parent or powerful figure. Dollard (cited in Woods, 2000) modified the hypothesis to understand why an individual may not show aggression when frustrated. He suggests that a person may believe that the one who frustrated them, did it unintentionally or, feel it is wrong to display aggression. The person could also have learned to keep aggression concealed, or fear that the other person would become upset.

Aggression related to reinforcement

Maddi (1980) and Bandura (1977) postulated that behaviour is strengthened by positive and negative reinforcement and is diminished by punishment. Praise is

considered a primary reinforcer by some theorists, as it satisfies the primary need for approval from others. When reinforcement stops, the behaviour is expected to cease. Secondary reinforcement may be a hug or money. So while there may be praise and acceptance among bullies and their supporters, we find monetary reward and acknowledgement among gang members, both of which meet human needs. From this we can apply the Law of Effect to bullying, which states that responses are learned when pleasant consequences result. Partial reinforcement refers to the occasional occurrence of a desired response, which serves to perpetuate behaviour in the hope of again getting that response. In this way, a person may become a confirmed bully.

Victimization can be understood in part, by avoidance theory. It proposes that a person avoids the cause of his/her fear (e.g. a place or individual). Therefore there is no means created to overcome it. Pro-social behaviour occurs if someone, for instance helps a victim who is being humiliated or injured in some way. We feel arousal that is unpleasant when we witness somebody in difficulty and by assisting, we reduce that arousal (Bandura, 1977).

Giving help stops the unpleasant sensations and we are likely to do the same in the future, as we have learned how to get 'relief.' In the bully-victim dyad, a child may give money to a bully to stop the distressing experience of being harassed. When the bully approaches him/her in the future, money may be handed over more quickly so that the unpleasant experience ceases. Another example of negative reinforcement is when a child stands up to a bully and is likely to do the same in the future. The behaviour of asserting him or herself ends the distressing encounter.

PHYSIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES ON ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Innumerable volumes have been written on physiological functions in relation to behaviour and the following input gives a mere hint of its complexity. Aggressive behaviour, personality and depression can be affected by diet, allergies and blood density (Bezuidenhout, 2003, Shafii & Shafii, 2001). Certain vitamins and minerals, as well as a high intake of artificial colouring or sugar in food, is believed to stimulate anti-social behaviour, however studies remain inconclusive in this respect.

Abnormal level of androgens (male sex hormones) is associated with violence, sensation seeking, dominance and poor verbal skills. Thus adolescents, with their incumbent hormonal changes, experience greater anxiety, restlessness and mood swings, than older males. Cotisol is a hormone that is produced in equal quantities in males and females. When its levels remain high in the body, the ability to make good decisions becomes reduced as do the systems that are responsible for the 'fight or flight' responses (Hazler et al, 2006:5). The ability of the body to produce any type of hormone in the correct quantity varies from one person to the next, thus uniquely individual roles come to be shaped (e.g. bully or victim). This in turn influences the environmental responses and the reinforcement that follows.

In women, serotonin levels drop prior to menstruation and this is believed to increase irritability/agitation. Filley et al (cited in Bezuidenhout, 2003) assert that the low serotonin levels in women were linked to impulsive crimes. A large proportion of incarcerated women had engaged in criminal activity during the pre-menstrual stage and a smaller percentage who were vulnerable to their cyclical changes, were more prone to anxiety and hostility.

About 50 to 60% of adolescents with behavioural disorders, have abnormal EEG readings which have also been associated with violent crime as revealed by Siegel (cited in Bezuidenhout, 2003). Difficulty during the perinatal stage or birth itself sometimes results in physical or neurological impairment. Such impairment relates strongly to aggression as abstract reasoning, problem solving skills and motor skills are part of the executive brain functioning. This is a highly significant issue as children are not generally tested for such impairment, rather intervention is aimed at the behaviour presented. In the South African context it is even more unlikely that such testing would occur in view of the lack of basic resources.

It was found that men with the XYY chromosome were more violent than those with the XY chromosome (Shafii & Shafii, 2001). It appears that high levels of testosterone pre-empt a heightened ability to respond vigorously to provocation. Such levels are also responsible for greater irritability in males. Testosterone levels were found to be significantly higher in those who engaged in violent behaviour, compared to other incarcerated men. GLSEN (Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network) is

an organisation that concerns itself with human rights. Its founder Kevin Jennings (cited in Cook, 2005) says their aim is to reduce the bullying of all students not just homosexuals and warns that children who are in constant fear of being harassed cannot focus on academic work. GLSEN has shown through its research that the most common reasons for taunting were a person's appearance, after which sexual orientation featured as a risk factor. Their conclusion was that students were bullied because they were not 'typical' boys or girls. However research remains inconclusive in this regard and the understanding of biological factors as contributing to aggression is clearly in its infancy. As far as the victim is concerned, headaches, anxiety, stomach aches and relatively poor health were reported (Laukkanen et al & Rigby cited in Hazler et al, 2006).

MEZZO CONTEXT

THE SCHOOL

From the confines of a family, a child finds him/herself in the school environment where a vast range of experiences await. Powell cited in Furlong (1985) undertook a study with 20 secondary schools in Tower Hamlets (London) but could not find detectable factors for the differences in anti-social behaviour. They concluded that 'non-deviant' families consciously opted for high reputation schools that seemed to protect children from peer misconduct to a significant degree.

Dysfunctional School Systems

The apartheid legacy undoubtedly created oppressive schools, especially for African children. In the 1970s and 1980s, schools were a vehicle used by students to assert their role in society. Violence met with support in the goal of liberation (Mudaly, 1998; Ntshoe, 1999). Post apartheid S.A still exhibits poor or non existent facilities and disgruntled communities and is evident from Nadasan's (2004) input – the 13 educators in her study confirmed that although bullying was a problem, other more serious issues demanded their attention, in under-resourced, overcrowded conditions.

Seventy seven percent of the learners/respondents thought bullying at their school was moderately serious and 23% felt it was highly problematic.

"I trusted them with my son, they let him down," is the caption of an article (03/09/06) by Mtolo, a Sunday Tribune reporter. It tells the story of Sihle Msomi, a grade 11 Umqhele Secondary School pupil who was stabbed by a 15 year old schoolmate and certified dead on arrival at the local clinic. The boy's mum said the school had failed to discipline its learners while the Minister of Education (Ina Cronje) questioned the kinds of homes and neighbourhoods these children came from, asking parents to take more overall responsibility. She writes in the Sunday Tribune of 04/06/06 on plans and difficulties in making schools safer.

Nadeem Ali, a Moorlands Primary school learner was cut with a broken piece of mirror and hit with a brick on the 7th October 2006 (Chatsworth Tabloid of 25/10/06). What is gripping about this report is that the principal had in his possession weapons belonging to other learners but did not mention any action taken against them as nobody was harmed! Rademeyer (2006) and Reddy (2006) confirm that bullying in South Africa has reached frightening levels and Bateman (2006) suggests ways of dealing with it in his newspaper article entitled 'Break the Silence.' The 'safer schools' programme was launched in the face of people being shot and killed on school premises (Van Niekerk et al, 2002; Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003). However, it appears that a lack of resources, ineffective school governing bodies and inconsistent parenting practices, are at odds with the teaching of respect for life and property.

The weapons learners carry to school may be used to protect them, commit a crime or to win the 'admiration' of peers. A local needs assessment survey by Kasiram, et al (1996) reflected that learners carried weapons to school. According to Mc Partland & McDill (1977), where a subculture of violence exists, the ability to withdraw or articulate in the face of provocation is only minimal as there is a ready resort to physical aggression. In this way small groups are created in schools that applaud violent responses to any altercation (Freeman et al, 1998). This is probably a cohesive factor in gang/group affiliation.

Another risk factor that exists in schools is the ability of teachers to bully/abuse learners as was previously considered legitimate, when corporal punishment was in effect. Prof de Wit of the Free State University learned from his survey that 55% of the educators interviewed admitted to verbal bullying, 50% to physical bullying and more than 6% to sexual bullying (Sunday Times of 23/07/06). This is a clear indication of abuse of power as teachers are granted 'in loco parentis' and so become responsible for the well being of children in their care during the school day (The South African Schools Act, no 84 of 1996).

Physical amenities

According to Sharp & Smith (1994), corridors, playgrounds and classrooms should be designed and furnished to allow for safety, enhanced creativity, outdoor work, games, shelter and greenery. Lawrence, et al (1984) observed that the physical properties of many schools do not allow for the unhampered flow of masses of students during breaks and confrontations then become inevitable (see appendix J). Smith (2006) states that previously disadvantaged South African schools still have varying degrees of deprivation, in terms of water, furniture, toilets, etc. She adds that doors, aluminium, pipes etc are sometimes stolen from schools and sold to obtain provisions. These sentiments are echoed by Naidoo, A (2006); Packree (2006) and Naidoo, R (2006), all of whom are journalists for local newspapers.

The Department of Education, parents and students, bear the financial and psychological brunt as meagre funds are utilized in repairing vandalized buildings (see appendix G).Yet other schools enjoy adequate security, computer & sporting facilities, music centres and the like. This acute contrast may leave learners of the former institutions, at risk of becoming involved in anti-social behaviour.

The lack of policy/guidelines in addressing bullying and violence

While parental control is diminishing, the youth have little or no fear of authorities at school since the power to discipline children has been removed from the educators (Van Niekerk et al, 2002). Ramsey (cited in Glover et al, 1994), asserts that the lack of clear rules for behaviour, inability to enforce school rules/policies and ineffective

academic instruction, all lend for the beginnings of anti-social behaviour). With regard to the culture of violence, Van Niekerk et al (2002) cite Burrows who cautions that recent South African estimates on violence, place the youth especially at high risk of injury.

The policies relating to discipline and security, determine the levels of tolerance for anti-social behaviour of pupils. Such policies appear to be sorely missing or are being applied in a piecemeal fashion. The South African Schools Act (No 84 of 1996) deems that the governing body of each school develop its own code of conduct, confirming that there are no national prescriptions in this regard. As noted in Chapter One, the basic functioning of some schools is problematic. An adverse atmosphere in a school could encompass these characteristics: Staff act only in crisis situations, pupils frequently challenge rules and have their own inter-group code of conduct and parents or the community see the resolution of problems through conflictual means, not through co-operation. In such a climate, it is to be expected that children beg their parents not to approach the school in response to bullying, thus strengthening the barrier of silence.

Teaching methods and school climate is linked to learners' loyalty to school, academic achievement and general behaviour in the community as noted in Rutter's (1979) book '15000 hours,' cited in Lawrence et al (1984). It seeks to understand the relationship between deviant behaviour and schools. Twenty five items were studied in twelve secondary schools and it was concluded that the worst intake behaviour did not necessarily produce the worst classroom misdemeanour rates. Statistics for bullying however, were not presented. It is clear that the school ethos plays a vital role in fostering or reducing the levels of bullying and violence. To this end Corbin (cited in Dupper, 2003) warns that another risk factor for bullying and violence is the hostile and suspicious relationships that sometimes exist between administrators and staff or educators and students This undercurrent has the potential to thwart programme intervention.

THE LEARNER

In considering the high school learner, the following quote by Magnusson (1983:144), is valuable. "........adolescence is characterized by instability and feelings of inadequacy on one hand, and exaggerated attempts to establish stability and a favourable level of self esteem on the other."

In 1980, 85 London schoolboys were studied and with teachers, a list of personality traits for disruptive children was created (Lawrence et al, 1984). These included, being temperamental, needing little provocation, disliking authority and getting a thrill from being wild. With regard to schoolwork the list comprised an inability to cope with lessons, not liking the tasks, the inability to read and being a newcomer to the school. It is significant to remember that primary school completion does not necessarily imply a functional level of literacy. In addition Rigby (2005) lists the following personality traits that characterize deviant youth: a lack of concern for others, poor personal skills, destructiveness, impulsiveness, enjoys dominating others and being unable to accept responsibility for one's own actions. It is noteworthy that research on youth regarding personality often occurs in an institutional context, which itself may serve as a catalyst for certain traits.

Life experience informs us that failure relates strongly to self-esteem. Some causes of failure at school may be excessive absenteeism, inadequate academic skills, suspension or dropping out. A strong association existed between dropout rates and delinquency (Jones, 2001; Barbeau, 2006). Where suspended children are released into the community without supervision or structured activities, they may well seek to recruit gang members from within the school to engage in activities discussed in the next chapter.

There are several reasons for children not acquiring skills, example no opportunity for learning or inadequate teaching methods (Zulu et al, 2006; Naidoo, 2006). They come to be seen as 'in need of learning.' As they harbour an attitude of failure, there is an almost automatic panic when these learners are faced with new tasks (Mudaly, 1998; Decker et al, 1999; Elliot et al, 1998). People believe they are 'mental, dumb, nuts or stupid,' when they are recipients of therapy which is the general recommendation for

those slow learners. Contact with a counsellor, for instance, may reinforce children's demeaning views of themselves.

The levels of loyalty a person feels towards an institution is expected to affect his/her actions there. Hayden & Blaya (2005) support the sentiment by saying that bonding to the school was regarded as an important protective factor against violence. Such bonding depends in part, on the opportunities provided for active involvement in the education process. Otherwise, schools would not be able to deflect the influence of bullies and gangs. With this in mind many researchers are recommending learner involvement in activities to 'green' or otherwise improve the conditions of schools (Sharp & Smith, 1994; Dupper, 2003, Tatum, 1993). Peer counselling which is discussed in Chapter Three is another method of fostering joint decision making and participation by children in the hope of youth taking responsibility for themselves.

Relevance Difficulties

The value of schooling may be questionable to many learners if they are physically or emotionally lacking and cannot adapt to the learning process. The literature provides several possibilities in this regard (Meyer, 2006; Whyte, 2004; Mtshali in Setiloane, 1991). A few of these variables are presented:

When one has little authentic interest or motivation in learning something, it becomes more tedious to approach. Children who need to help supplement the family income, are understandably attracted by employment, instead of schooling, hence their desire to achieve in class may wane. The attitude of caregivers may also be imbibed by children and if it is one of indifference, the learner is at a disadvantage.
The problems of addition and subtraction become irrelevant to the existence of many, since that existence is an immense struggle in itself.

Learner achievement

Weare (2000) cites Mc Carthy who says there is overwhelming support to show that pupils' happiness and self esteem correlate positively with their achievement in academic subjects. The following hypotheses are presented:

Poor grades – aggression hypothesis: Rutter & Hindelang (cited in Magnusson, 1983) propose that low school achievement results in aggressive behaviour. They found that 'troublesome' individuals achieved below average school results. Olweus (cited in Magnusson,1983) in a study of 444 adolescent boys, found that the pressure for good results is emphasized from grades 6 to 9.

Aggression – poor grades hypothesis: It is opposed to the above hypothesis, and postulates that aggressive behaviour leads to poor grades.

Attitudes and behaviour patterns enveloped in habitual aggression will gradually lead to a reduced motivation toward schoolwork. The rejection of the school system may include the ideals of the school, in respect of good grades.

Reciprocal causation hypothesis: Over time, grades and aggressive behaviour influence each other in a reciprocal manner. Both factors may be similar in strength, or one may be dominant over the other.

Apparently aggression was also influenced by social status, parents' ages and the marital status of parents. It would seem that the third hypothesis is most popular, however according to these authors, the poor grades – aggression hypothesis is more widely accepted in literary circles. A child with a negative perception of school fuelled by his/her own defective progress is likely to absent him or herself as a result. (Robert & Counsol in Aluedse, 2005) concur that absenteeism and poor academic achievement related positively with the tendency to bully.

Children at risk for victimisation

In a study of 25 schools in England, Tattum & Herbert (1997:27) found that the following factors lent for discrimination against others:

6% for being of a different ethnic group,

7% due to some disability,

8% because they worked hard,

13% for being too clever,

13% for being different in looks,

17% for having alternate dress,

66% as a reaction to past events.

They state that the size of a school, may well impact on the incidence of bullying. In a larger setting, there is the possibility of keeping away from 'troublemakers.' The physical properties of schools may contribute to overcrowding as noted in this chapter.

THE EDUCATOR

Teachers' dilemmas:
Basic academic goals are the provision of knowledge and skills and to succeed in the ever increasingly competitive workplace. Public health and safety issues as well as the means for social and psychological development, are expected to be dealt with, within these broad goals (Mc Partland & McDill, 1977). They warn that incidents of gangsterism, drug use, unprotected sex and the like, are decreasing the school's capacity to achieve its central mission.

It is expected that the educators in the disorderly schools described, will become discouraged by circumstances. Some leave the field or put in less effort, while others may take many days off, attend union meetings, protests, etc. Such absenteeism is symptomatic of disorder in the school and sets an example of irresponsibility to learners (Buizedenhout & Joubert, 2003). The fact that South African schools are experiencing a fragmentation of ethics is verified by Juggie Naran's Sunday Tribune (27/08/06) comment entitled 'Teachers shirk, seduce, abuse.' The SA Council of Educator's CEO, R. Brijlal says in the article that officials should identify and report those who tarnish the profession. So, there is increased opportunity for victimization of learners by their peers, in an unsupervised or poorly supervised setting. Teachers' complaints about the banning of corporal punishment may not simply be their support of the practice, but rather the lack of feasible alternatives. As noted in Chapter Three, bullying can be unobtrusive thus may take place in the teacher's presence although s/he is not aware of it.

Turner (2006) states that since many youth do not appreciate their educators as role models, there is no expected respect from them or even their parents. The support of parents in promoting discipline in school, is also not a given variable. Some teachers may fear for their own safety or simply be weary of supervising unruly children (see

40

appendix G). Teachers and learners come to school with their own expectations, attitudes and behaviours, which are formulated in the surrounding neighbourhoods. According to Weare (2000) violence in a specific community may result in the limited availability of educators before and after official hours for extra lessons or supervision, decreased levels of learner motivation and less or no participation in extra-curricula activities, an indifference to academic matters and lowered classroom discipline.

As in many professions, teachers may feel uninvolved in the policy making that affects them. While educators must be careful to label the unacceptable behaviour and not the individual, they should avoid sarcasm, which can be copied by children. Learners who are threatened with severe sanctions become more difficult to control when they learn that these are empty threats (Smith & Sharp, 1998). It is possible that defying authority then becomes a challenge as the disruptive child seeks to impress his/her peers.

Teachers, although aware of the demands of emotionally disturbed children, may need support themselves in executing their duties (Turner, 2006; Smith, 2006).
The true costs of violence in a school relate to the trauma felt at many levels. These include among others the children's ability to learn, retention of teachers, accessibility to grounds and the overall quality of what is supposed to be a learning environment. Leitman & Binns (cited in Buizedenhout , 2003) revealed the following through the Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher: Educators believed that it was parents' failure to supervise their children adequately that led to violent student altercations. That attitude, when transported home, may have diffused parent interest in prevention programmes. This exact dilemma is revealed in newspaper articles where parents and teachers each think the other is not performing their duty adequately (Mcetywa, 2006). Lastly, inflexible attitudes of educators may serve to deflect the potential for inter-disciplinary intervention as well as parental involvement. The latter concern is evident in Kasiram's (1995:68) comment which reads, '...the authoritarianism of the educationist may serve only to entrench a culture of non-involvement and disinterest in parents.'

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Socio-economic factors

The eco-systems perspective surfaces again in the quote by Lawrence et al (1984:10) as the dynamics of the neighbourhood, school and home become enmeshed. It reads 'The derelict house and the sordid street may lead children to accept and develop a school environment which resembles them. The despair of families where parents are unemployed may turn children to a bitter opting out from the goals of the schools of the same community.' According to Willis (in Tatum, 1993) when cultural and normative differences exist between the home and school, children from lower socio-economic backgrounds were found to be more bullying and disruptive at school. We acquire language, identity, learn social roles and norms within the family and neighbourhood circles. Baldry & Hargreaves (1996) offer that neighbourhood dynamics determine the risk levels for performing or suffering violent acts. The authors cite Garbarino & Crouter who estimated that about 40% of the variation in child abuse levels across the state of Omaha was related to socio-economic status. According to them these include socio-economic inequalities, racial, ethnic and family composition, housing density, infrastructure, etc. We should be mindful of the fact that official records of criminal acts, may be vastly different to the actual crime/violence perpetuated.

Whitney & Smith (1993) included 6758 Sheffield school children in their investigation on bullying. School disadvantage was measured in terms of social class and the quality of housing in certain neighbourhoods. While bullying behaviour and ethnicity did not yield significant correlations, schools in poorer areas showed higher rates of bullying. Kasiram et al (1996) concluded from their study of the South African manifestations of violence, that the daily activities in certain neighbourhoods seems secondary in nature to that of fighting. This aggression includes physical abuse, child exploitation and domestic violence.

The literature informs us that deprivation creates "socially disorganized" communities where people have relatively fewer social ties and resources, noted earlier.

Such neighbourhoods may be characterized by the following: close proximity to industrial sites, physical deterioration, mainly rented properties and a high percentage of immigrants. Merebank and Umlazi were the chosen suburbs for inclusion in this study. The former is surrounded by industry viz the Mondi Paper Factory, the Durban International Airport, an oil refinery and the city's sewer disposal. Umlazi comprises shack dwellings and a lack of supportive infrastructure. The environmental hazards facing these communities have been prevalent for decades now (see appendix J). Sampson & Laub, cited in Whyte (2004) suggest that people with a lower income have difficulty in forming links (formal and informal), that are needed to stem crime. Simmons, cited in Freeman et al (1998), informs us that the following are likely to serve as catalysts for aggressive adolescent behaviour: illegitimate opportunities, association with delinquents and failure to comply with school rules.

Children's coping skills become diminished by frequent exposure to violence (Shafii & Shafii, 2001; Duncan, 1999). The normalization of violence means that when distressing episodes are commonplace, they become less personal to the individuals subjected to it (Nishina & Juvonen, 2000)

Neighbourhood Composition

In a study of 479 African American and White 7th graders conducted by Peeples & Loeber, cited in Elliot et al (1998) they learnt that race and ethnicity were not prominent contributory factors to the delinquent behaviour of low-income neighbourhood boys, rather the environmental factors described above exerted a greater influence. There was an over-representation of Black and working class children who were alienated from mainstream society in some way. Baldry & Hargreaves (1996) cite Salzinger who found the social networks of abusive mothers to be inferior to those in their control group study. The former group by virtue of their relative isolation were considered to be more resistant to change/learning in their parenting styles.

School funding is directly related to family and neighbourhood wealth, so public schools become stratified by class, race and ethnicity as are the private and public schools in South Africa. All of the studies noted in this literature review may seek to

draw comparisons among various contributing factors with regard to bullying and violence, yet it is the unique combinations of an individual's traits and his/her circumstances that will guide the kind of behaviour s/he engages in.

Neighbourhood crime

According to Massey (cited in Lake, 2004), children who see violence carry a greater risk of suffering from low self esteem, nightmares, self blame and aggression toward others. There is a need to understand community violence because research shows that children, who've normalized violence in their lives, become the perpetrators or victims of some forms of aggression. Theunissen (2002:1) cites American psychologist, Paul Godwin who says, 'In America you will find gangs in densely populated, low income areas. This is not dissimilar to the situation in your own country [S.A].' It appears that there is a low police presence in this type of neighbourhood with overriding corruption and mistrust between law enforcers and residents. From a historical perspective, the police were seen by the masses as upholding and enforcing the laws of apartheid and resistance to their efforts may be felt for some time to come.

Theunissen, 2002 and Elliot et al, 1998 found a direct relation between disadvantaged neighbourhoods and delinquency, which differs from other studies quoted in this investigation. Life experience teaches us that a stable neighbourhood will have inherent social norms and opportunity structures that encourage pro-social behaviour. A dysfunctional family may find a buffer in the community support of individuals and groups. Social capital refers to the friendships and institutions that are crucial to all families, especially single parent types.

It is important for us to bear in mind that there is nothing inherent in low socio-economic status or race or any other variable mentioned, that results in increased crime levels. Rather, the interaction of living conditions, family relations and personal motivation, work to pre-dispose people to experience the effects of violence.
The interplay between the school and neighbourhood is seen as Robinson (1978) cites a school head who says that while he is concerned about the deprivation suffered by many learners, he has to focus on the task of teaching for which he is qualified and

paid. He adds that this focus may give some learners a chance to break out of the cycle of poverty.

THE MACRO CONTEXT

The legacy of apartheid

The Eurocentric influence in S.A is visible in legal, education and religious systems. Unemployment, migration, cheap labour practices and brutality of their own societies, all impacted severely on African youth (Buizedenhout & Joubert, 2003). Lack of opportunity was etched in apartheid malpractices of forced removals, inferior schooling and child labour among others. Historically African schooling was created to fit children into subordination in terms of the facilities and opportunities afforded to them in the workplace.

The social and political marginalization of Africans fostered aggression and frustration which materialized in acts of crime/violence. Today's Black youth and their parents have been enmeshed in a "culture of violence." A disregard for life and property resulted, as violence was perpetuated from the authorities to suppress the masses and from the latter who aspired for political freedom (Mudaly, 1998). As youth mobilized, parental control diminished and ties with tradition decreased. The expectations of democracy in S.A have not been met, as the atrocities of inequality prevail, yet the challenge of global competence enshrouds us.

'One + one = more than two. Apartheid and other chickens have come home to roost,' is the title of an article by Christi Naude (Daily News: 05/09/06). The shortage of classrooms for KZN is reflected as 12000, with a plan to provide 1750 by 2010. She is quoted as saying 'There are thousands of other schools in the queue, given the backlog we inherited.' There is confirmation in this article that children are learning in overcrowded steel containers that become either unbearably hot or cold. African education became a priority only in the late 1990s. The youth especially, face a myriad of difficulties – viz: dysfunctional schooling systems, a lack of bridging programmes, high failure/dropout rates, fragmented family units, ignorance regarding sexuality and corporal punishment.

Anti-social behaviour occurs the world over and apartheid cannot be simplistically linked to youth misdemeanours, yet its historical influence on the existing socio-economic climate, cannot be ignored. As the demographics of large cities change, their urban schools increasingly forge together children at risk for being perpetrators or recipients of bullying and violence, since a myriad of psycho-social elements mingle (Freeman et al 1998; Naidu, 2006; McPartland & McDill, 1977). The problems of families and communities are brought with students into a school hence we say that school violence is a reflection of the neighbourhood.

The media as a promoter of violence

Jones (2001:7) aptly notes that "Violence is often made to look like a glamorous, sexy, successful or entertaining method of resolving disputes." It should be expected that with the barrage of violent imagery surrounding us, we become desensitized to the wrongness of what we see. The fact that death is permanent and unalterable, escapes our cognisance as a result. Simmons (cited in Lake, 2004) states that on average, a child views over 8000 murders on TV, before the age of 12 and that pre-schoolers are most susceptible to mimicking what they see without comprehending the full import. The American Psychological Association (1995) warns that unsupervised children display more violence related behaviour.

An example of operant conditioning described by Bandura (1977) is when a child acts out violent scenes from television in front of his peers, whose support he gets. He will not do so in the presence of his teacher for fear of chastisement. The principle states that since behaviour is shaped by its outcomes, that behaviour will be performed in a setting where reward is provided. Some research has shown a positive correlation between the amount of time spent in front of the TV and stereotypical views of children (Eron cited in Woods, 2000:140). The media provide models for behaviour and examples of reinforcing behaviour. In this way, prejudiced attitudes may be promoted and pessimistic views of the world garnered.

While teenage violence may occur sporadically throughout the world, in industrialized nations we find; movies, TV drama, children's TV, toys, video games,

adolescent music, world news and graphically upsetting print in abundance. In all of our lives, brutality/violence has come to have a commonplace existence, as a result.

Myths regarding bullying

Myths about bullies enhance its endurance and downplay its seriousness. They are dangerous in that they perpetuate stereotyped views which often erode the self esteem of victims and comprise the following:

You have to learn to stand up for yourself, being bullied is character forming.

It was just a bit of fun. No harm was done.

Can't you take a joke?

Boys will be boys.

Bullies are thick kids. They come from dysfunctional families and pick on nerdy children wearing glasses.

They were asking for it. They got what they deserved. Olweus, cited in Smith & Sharp (1998) calls those children with provocatively annoying behaviour 'provocative victims.'

Teachers know how to handle bullies, it's their job (Juvonen, 2005).

This study will show that while bullying is often not reported to teachers, it generally occurs out of their view. Further, teachers are not automatically expert in handling this problem. As a society we also accept bullying as inevitable when we laugh at movies and cartoons depicting the bully-victim scenario or when we believe children will outgrow a difficult stage.

CONCLUSION

The literature indicates that the institutions responsible for the development of youth are 'losing ground' and these shortfalls affect the psycho-social growth of children negatively. Latchkey children and teenage parents are proof of these variables. All groupings/communities need to organize to achieve common goals. According to Sullivan (2000), schools may under-report violence because they fear that their image may be tarnished. A reliable estimate of early violence helps educate policymakers, administrators and the community at large. Durkheim (1938), terms the deviant a

moral frontiersman that society measures itself against, to stay on the right track. However, we have seen that deviance itself, is incumbent upon a myriad of influences. The limits tolerated by different societies are ever changing, so we could generally accept, that it is a departure from expected behaviour, within a particular grouping. Yet there is global derision for bullying and violence as is the concern for victims and bullies themselves.

Mwahombela (2004) cites Van den Aadweg who says that school violence has increased in South Africa and the rest of the world, destroying the fabric of the learning environment in the process. There is a need to consider both the stimuli existing in the family, neighbourhood and schools that encourage aggressive responses and, the personal characteristics of learners (e.g. impulsiveness), when creating intervention strategies for bullying and violence. This chapter has shown that individual and environmental factors interact to motivate individual behaviour and that neither race nor low income per se are responsible for increased rates of aggression.

The next chapter discusses the manifestations of bullying and violence and strategies to deal with them. It is an extension of this chapter, as therapeutic intervention, networking or policy making hinge on an understanding of the factors that contribute to bullying and violence.

CHAPTER THREE

MANIFESTATIONS AND INTERVENTION MEASURES RELATED TO BULLYING AND VIOLENCE

INTRODUCTION

The 'Dance Macabre'

The smallest system external to the intra-personal system exists between two people, one of which is described here. According to Fogel cited in Slater & Muir (1999), a frame [i.e. a pattern of interactions] develops over time among people. In the case of a bullying scenario, there is a 'dance macabre' or ritual that develops between the bully and victim, which often has a stable form but may vary slightly at intervals. Apparently, behaviours become complementary within this dyad.

The author informs us that two critical components, viz positive feedback and coupling, are responsible for organisation within the system. Positive feedback means that a bully's constant threats or harassment may lead to the victim becoming more submissive, thus increasing the former's motivation to enjoy domination. Secondly the behaviour emerging between the bully and victim creates a separate unit of interaction. As the victim's fear is coupled with the bully's behaviour, their relationship starts becoming predictable and the developing pattern becomes fixed (e.g. where a victim quickly hands over money to prevent any abuse).

As a degree of stability is fostered, the victim follows a 'ritual' of avoidance or submission (Glover et al, 1998; Fox, 2005; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000). The bully gains more confidence as his/her dominance is entrenched while the victim may start feeling the abuse is justified. Hence we come to see how long term abuse is created and sustained and how the cognition sustaining this unit is created. The strategies to fragment the dyad are included in this chapter where bystanders, teachers, parents and counsellors are viewed as key role players. Much of the literature confirms that children who bully become lifelong aggressors who are likely to be involved in

criminal acts, to abuse their spouses and own children, thus perpetuating another generation of bullies (Douglas, 2002; Hazler, et al, 2006; Peppler, 2006). Students then should be targeted in an attempt to engender favourable intrinsic values and mannerisms that would contribute to a positive school and home ethos.

Types of perpetrators

Three main types of offenders are listed in the literature. They are the reactive, the mission and thrill seeking individuals (Jones, 2001; Tattum & Herbert, 1997). The first kind of person reacts to any perceived threat to his/her relationships, way of life or privilege. There is little or no guilt as the bullying behaviour is viewed as normal and the perpetrator holds a false sense of entitlement. In relation to adolescents this description might fit that person who suspects boyfriend or girlfriend 'stealing' or who seeks to defend the family honour. It is quite different from the thrill seeking offender who wishes to experience a psychological or social thrill, to be accepted by peers or to gain bragging rights. There is no real hatred for the victim. It is likely that many school children fall into this category as peer pressure and the need to be popular are at heightened levels during this developmental stage (Simmons-Morton et al, 2004). The mission offender is often that psychotic being whose mental illness may cause hallucinations, withdrawal or an impaired sense of reasoning. The person subscribes to notions of conspiracy and has a need of urgency about the violence which is targeted at a particular group. The infamous Waterkloof Four assaulted an African man, then shortly after killed another man in a Pretoria park, when they were 16 years of age (Sunday Tribune of 30/07/06). The article records a similar racist attack by Reon Cloete (an 18 year old scholar) who assaulted one Samuel Mucanaze with two accomplices, then drove over the injured man who later died (Carter, 2006). These assailants described are mission offenders.

LOCATIONS OF BULLYING

The literature informs us of bullying and violence that occurs within and around the school premises, on busses and electronically. This study has focussed on the physical school environment. The 1996 Keele Partnership investigation, noted in Glover et al

(1998:37) researched the areas where learners experienced bullying. The results are tabled as follows:

Table 1: Location of bullying: Keele Parnership investigation

	PHYSICAL BULLYING		TEASING	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Out of school	58%	63%	34%	32%
Playground	46%	40%	51%	39%
Corridors	17%	21%	28%	28%
During lessons	19%	15%	16%	19%

n= 1900 boys

n= 1700 girls

The environment itself may amplify the problem of bullying and violence where there are unsupervised areas tucked away from general observation, as the high percentages for out of school and playground bullying in Table One indicate. Of the thirteen educators Nadasan (2004) interviewed, none felt that learners were usually safe at school with regard to peer harassment. They revealed that they did not go on duty at break time, yet 62% confirmed that there are five or more bullies in their classes. [This study involved 184 grade 7 learners and 13 educators from a semi-rural school in KZN in 2003]. The literature consistently refers to the playground as the most common location for bullying, as is to be expected since it is the common space for out of class congregation.

Apparently bathrooms, dead end passageways and the perimeter of school grounds are the most common areas for bullying as revealed by the US Department of Education (cited in Lake, 1999). This body suggests that class and school size be reduced as a means to enhance supervision. The classes in Umlazi schools are currently overcrowded and the situation is unlikely to improve due to a seemingly chronic lack of funds. As far as unsupervised places are concerned, Weare (2000) is quoted as follows "The toilets can be a 'black hole' in many schools, a haven for dirt and bullies. Some pupils make the health damaging effort not to use them' for fear of

being attacked. This study alone makes three references to attacks on pupils in toilets, for example 11 year old Dane Darries who was stabbed to death in the toilet of his Stephen Road Primary school, reported by Smith (2006) [see appendix G). Also, in July 2006 a Rustenburg pupil was savagely assaulted by a fellow pupil after he allegedly insulted the boy's girlfriend. The attack was filmed on a cell phone and broadcast on ETV's 10:00 pm news (18/07/06). Non aggressive children were likely to bully in the playground and the aggressive types, in the classroom (Hazler et al, 2006). To behave inappropriately in a teacher's presence challenges his/her authority and may establish the bully as a role model. This brazen attitude is considered quite simply as arrogance.

THE GOALS OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR

1. Impression management

In certain sub-cultures, the use of violence or weapons earns the males social reward and pride as noted by Hagedorn in Elliot et al (1998). To present oneself as powerful seeks to command the respect of others or to develop 'fearsome' reputations. It also serves as a deterrent in avoiding conflict. Mwahombela (2004) concurs, adding that if violence in schools is perpetuated mainly by males, then a dysfunctional kind of masculinity is being created that needs to be challenged. Displays of toughness include facial expressions, symbols & clothing, physical postures and unique speech among others. The authors emphasize that the status of a street corner group or gang rests on being willing to use violence in interpersonal conflict situations.

2. Materialism

An elaborate show of wealth earns high status on the street. Possessions like clothing, jewellery, takkies, cell phones and hairstyles are actively sought after in schools. Rivonia Naidu of the Daily News (20/09/06) informs readers of the theft of designer clothing, footwear and jewellery in schools, where she reports on a national proposal to adjust the school uniform requirements. Wealth is a glaring manifestation of a person's achievement especially in an environment where legitimate status is hard to come by. The need to acquire then, becomes paramount. Tattum (1993) and Rigby

(2005) offer that aggression may be used to get things that one wants or to establish dominance.

PEER GROUP SIGNIFICANCE

As noted in the previous chapter, most adolescents still measure their worth in terms of the approval received by others. A low self esteem, the rejection or indifference of significant persons and a lack of opportunity to participate in activities, may contribute to social isolation. The need for group acceptance then, underpins the happiness of a child and actually prescribes to a large extent, the daily experiences that unfold.

We are aware that changes in adolescence relate to vocabulary, dress, music, etc. According to Mussen et al (1974:576), the reason the adolescent world is so different or bizarre, is because they seek to establish a line of demarcation from adults. He is quoted as follows – "They aim to preserve their separateness." The 'turn' to the peer group is strengthened when parents believe they cannot really guide their children. His research, found that teenagers with a strong peer orientation were more likely to hold negative views of themselves. Participants here confirmed the researcher's view with a low rating of parents in regard to their affection, support and discipline, greater anti-social behaviour, like truanting, teasing other children or lying as well as having a poor view of their future.

Aggressive behaviour formed early in childhood, sometimes determines who a child will associate with and the behaviours s/he will model or adopt (Smith & Sharp,1998; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Villani & Ward, 1991). The authors warn that the grouping of academically deficient peers, may well promote delinquency. Sometimes gang association manifests. It may provide reward for anti-social behaviour, allow for a sense of membership and lend for the creation of one's identity. It is expected that children of similar ability, socio-economic status and ethnicity as well as those who are rejected by peers, will form mutual relations.

The role of peers as bystanders or accomplices

Craig et al (cited in Slater & Muir, 1995) assert that peers play a significant role in bullying, where they provide an audience or become involved in the dynamics between the bully and victim. The attraction of schoolmates to a bullying episode can be compared to the millions of TV viewers who watch violent movies. Barbara Coloroso (2005:49) writes that 'A bullies bystanders are never innocent,' reminding readers that no matter their inclination, onlookers form one of the three chief characters in the bullying scenario as noted in this chapter.

Social learning theory informs us that positive reinforcement is provided to the bully when others give favourable comments or join in the harassment. There is heightened excitement and arousal due to aggression. It is equally harmful when onlookers distance themselves from such incidents. Goldbloom (2001) comments on schools in Toronto that submitted to 120 hours of video surveillance, under the guidance of Toronto's Board of Education. He found that in 20% of the incidents, onlookers reinforced the torment by bodily or verbally joining in. In 54% of the cases, children observed but did not take part in the conflict and there was victim support 25% of the time. Forty seven percent of the secondary school students in Whitney & Smith's (1993) study [with 24 Sheffield schools] reported that they did nothing as bystanders but felt they ought to have helped while 20% of them felt it was not their business. An overall majority of these respondents indicated they would not join in a bullying episode. These results are in keeping with Sigwick's (1886:47) comment that 'no boy will give evidence against his comrades.' The loyalty toward a friend or fear of reporting a misdemeanour appear to have been stable constructs over the ages.

The presence of other people has been found to affect the possibility of rendering help to someone in distress. Assistance is quickly forthcoming when nobody is around, yet we look for the reactions of others when a crowd is present. The following information about observers, helps understand why learners may not assist a peer who is being bullied:

Reactions of other bystanders: When an incident is ambiguous, we apparently note the responses of others more keenly and research has shown, there is a tendency to

conform to the non-involvement that is observed (Rodin cited in Woods, 2000). This phenomenon is termed pluralistic ignorance.

Number of other persons: Darley & Latane (cited in Woods, 2000) learnt through their experiments that the motivation to help decreased as the number of other possible helpers increased. Diffusion of responsibility is the belief that someone else will assist. It appears that people are more likely to intervene when they have observed another person model helping behaviour.

Bystander behaviour is also dependent on whether one feels capable enough to intervene, as people do not generally wish to appear incompetent before others. Also, assistance is more likely when the rewards of involvement outweigh the costs (Maddi, 1980). It would in all probability be quite scary to stand up to a bully, whether one is a child or an adult for fear of being beaten or embarrassed. An intrinsic factor that motivates helping is the moral reasoning that guides our actions.

Twemlow (in Shafii & Shafii, 2001) summarizes four kinds of bystanders as follows: The victim-type onlookers are those abused or frightened individuals who may be co-opted to assist the bully. Next is the bully-type bystander who enjoys the scene that unfolds but does not wish to do the bullying himself. S/he may act as a lookout, provide verbal encouragement or prevent the victim from escaping. An interesting category noted here is the avoidant bully. These are the educators or principals who deny the existence of bullying in various ways. Lastly, Twemlow (cited in Shafii & Shafii, 2001) describes the chameleon-type bully. S/he adopts the role of bully, victim or bystander to manipulate the social setting at a particular time. For fear of becoming the next victim, a bystander could be sociable toward the bully or refrain from speaking of their unacceptable behaviour. In this way the status of the bully and victim unwittingly becomes entrenched.

We see why children learn to align themselves or what behaviour to avoid, so they may not be future victims. When peers are educated to stop being an audience the resistant bully-victim dyad can be targeted. Thus an upset may be created in one system that affects others. The ability of the aggressor to 'put on a performance' becomes thwarted. Those learners who support the victim are at great risk of being victimized too. Tattum & Lane (1994) note that it is only when observers understand

the suffering of the victim that they may try to change their behaviour. However they generally do not work to stop the harassment.

THE DYNAMICS OF BULLYING

It should be noted at the outset that bullies and victims do not have to be separate entities, as indicated in the discussion on bystanders. Viljoen et al (2005) investigated the prevalence, types and correlates of bullying in 193 male and 50 female adolescents who were incarcerated. More than 37% stated that they were bullies and victims, 32% were bullies only, 23% remained uninvolved and 8% were pure victims. Reporting of sexual gestures and comments was greater for the females than the males. While pure bullies were more likely to have had previous gang association, pure victims indicated higher levels of psychological distress and suicidal feelings.

The following are specific types of bullies identified by Clifford (2001);

- physical, who assault another or damage their property,
- verbal, who use words to distress someone,
- relational, who influence their peers to isolate another child and
- reactive victims, who taunt other aggressive youth, fight and claim self defence.

Actions of bullies

The anonymity of the Web allows the more technically 'armed' individual to harass others with minimal concern for being found out (Meyer, 2005). Hate filled web pages or sms's may now be created to threaten, taunt or insult somebody. Defamation and emotional distress are sufficient grounds for suing the parents of cyber bullies (Aftab, 2005). However this is an unlikely possibility in view of the potential inconvenience. Electronic bullying makes it even more difficult to accurately estimate the rate of bullying.

Rigby (2005), Sullivan (2000) and Duncan (1999) assert that physical bullying may involve hitting, stabbing, suffocating, burning, pinching, biting, being spat on, made

to fight etc. Apparently verbal abuse (e.g. name calling, teasing and gossip) are the most common types of harassment. The authors add that bra snapping, using terms like fag, slut whore etc and physical displays of affection all constitute sexual abuse. Lake (2004) described her case study as a bully because he engaged in truanting, stealing, hitting and the threatening of other students over many years.

According to Tattum (1993) and Coloroso (2002) relational abuse happens when one is pointedly left out of the group activities and emotional abuse includes defaming, belittling, intimidating or blackmailing someone. The Daily News (10/05/06:6) lists examples of such bullying, involving girls. They include malicious teasing for wearing unfashionable clothes or leaving hurtful messages on an answering machine. Some may exclude a victim from a party or entice her away from her friends, only to 'drop' her later on.

Peppler (2006) asserts that to destabilize the dyad suitable teacher intervention, pity for the victim by the bully or the victim becoming assertive were possibilities that needed to manifest. She found that when teachers genuinely understood the distress felt by some children, they worked actively toward change. However these are unlikely possibilities when the relationship is advanced. Where the intended victim is confident and believes in his/her own effectiveness, the interaction would probably take a different course so the dyad is not established in the first place.

Telltale signs of victimization

Carnell (2006) highlights the following factors for parents to be wary of: Children,

- Coming home with bruises or torn clothes
- Asking for stolen items to be replaced
- 'Losing' lunch money
- Being moody or quiet or withdrawn
- Avoiding leaving the house
- Insomnia or anxiety
- Doing less well at school
- Aggression with siblings or disputes with previous friends

It is imperative for educators as well to be alert to these learner changes in their ambit and to facilitate appropriate relief and problem solving measures. Sexton-Radek (2005:208) mentions that school violence which ranges from bulling to murder is on the increase. She therefore warns that adults need to be cognisant of the experiences of children in their care. It is highly probable for victims to internalize the negative comments made about them thus lowering their self esteem even further. Suffice to say that the life of a bullied child becomes a misery.

Bullying, committing violence, intimidating or harassing others have overlapping criteria. Gang membership is seen as synonymous with these actions. Shaw & Tshiwala cited in Bezuidenhout (2004:67) list the following criteria that hint at gang affiliation; abrupt personality changes, when a child repeatedly does not come home on time, unexplained wealth or the need to borrow money, evidence of mental or physical abuse or a particular dress style. With the high percentages of single parent families in South Africa, where parental supervision is compromised, ignorance of a child's whereabouts/difficulties may be expected (Mudaly, 1998).

The awareness, sensitivity and behaviour of parents and teachers as well as school policy regarding learner conduct influence the extent to which opportunities for harassment arise. The cognition and behaviour of bullies and victims also affect the frequency of bullying and violence. Slater & Muir (1995) assert that the cognition of a victim may be 'I cannot fight back' while that of the bully could be 'I am dominant.' The behaviour of the former is shaped by physical weakness, timidity/anxiety and overly protective family relations.

Teasing

Teasing is ambiguous by nature and may be light hearted, irritating or debased. Further, what annoys one individual may not upset another. Therefore an observer may not determine the intention of the teaser correctly. Playful fighting will occur as normal youthful exuberance. When children begin to feel taunted/hurt, then coping skills or policies at school must be available for their relief.

Boulton & Hawker (cited in Tattum, 1993:53) found that many teachers felt learners should cope with teasing on their own. They believed that children should learn to ignore it and that giving it attention would encourage over-sensitivity. The study involved 138 teachers, 170 high school learners and 96 junior learners. A part of their investigation with 137 adults revealed that:

- 58% remembered feeling depressed as youngsters,
- 33% felt sad currently (at the time of the study) about the episodes and
- 11% still experienced depression as a result of teasing incidents.

Leach (in Nadasan, 2004), learnt that of the 259 respondents from his study with two Pietermaritzburg schools 55% and 37% of the pupils respectively, reported being called insulting names. Similar findings are evident in Whitney & Smith's (1993) study conducted in 24 Sheffield schools with over 6000 children – the most common form of bullying was name calling [50% for middle school and 62% for secondary school]. Physical abuse, being threatened and spreading rumours followed respectively in terms of the frequency of bullying.

It should be remembered that teachers may have several other priorities with running the school or may truly not understand the dynamics of bullying. Blatchford & Sumpner (cited in Magnusson, 1983) concluded that over the years, children were becoming more aggressive during breaks. So, the nature of banter must be monitored and teachers must be educated on what constitutes unacceptable taunting.

The next 2 incidents written by Coloroso (2002) give some warning of the extremities in relation to teasing.

    a) A 14 year old (Elizabeth Bush) shot her friend who began joining her tormentors in calling her 'idiot, fat and ugly.' (Pennsylvania)

    b) In his suicide note, Hamed Nastih (14) informed his mother that the teasing at school was intolerable. He leapt off the Patullo Bridge (Canada) in March 2000.

Statistics regarding bullying and violence

Goldbloom (2001) quotes Toronto's Board of Education regarding the grades 4 to 8. He found that one in five learners was bullied occasionally while one in 12 was bullied daily or weekly. Seven thousand pupils were included in a 1994 Sheffield University study conducted by Devlin (cited in Magnusson, 1983). She found that her sample reflected a greater tendency to be bullied than the national average indicated. She learnt that children with special educational needs were 3 times more likely to be picked on.

Chandler (cited in Glover et al, 1998), in a study with 6500 high school students calculated that half the group remained with others and avoided certain parts of the school, for fear of being bullied. Gordon (cited in Glover et al, 1998:36) observed that children "go for the coloured kid" because s/he is not seen as genuinely part of the English community. He informs us however, that as students get older, disability and race are better understood and protective stances emerge. Raby cites Bowditch (2005:72) who notes that disciplinary procedures used to "get rid of" students considered troublemakers were disproportionately Black, Hispanic and low income.

Ayanda Mhlongo quotes The Independent Projects Trust study that revealed a 5% increase in crimes committed by children in Durban (Daily News of 06/05/05). In their survey of over 500 high school males under the age of eighteen, 8% had killed a person and almost 80% of the boys claimed that they had a history of violent behaviour.

With regard to pupil's perceptions of reporting bullying Tattum et al (1993) discovered that in a sample of 115 learners, up to 13% believed teachers would not be interested. The study by Sexton-Radek (2005:208) revealed that younger children felt adults would be able to help. At high school, only 6% of the 66% of bullied students, believed teachers could genuinely assist. The Chatsworth Tabloid of 18/10/06 informs readers of a 12 year old Moorlands Primary School learner who was stabbed by her classmate outside the school premises. Although she was threatened earlier in the day by the attacker, she did not tell a teacher and remained highly traumatized after the incident. Cowley (2006) asserts that in the U.K, the number of bullying incidents

reported to Childline increased by 12% between 2005 and 2006. He is cited as welcoming the figures saying it was not necessarily an indication of increased bullying but that children had identified Childline and were capable of informing experts of the problem.

WEAPON CARRYING

It is critical that we never underestimate the potential for serious violence at a school, no matter its surroundings or status. Schools may under-report violence on and around their premises to maintain satisfactory reputations.

The Children's Institute International commissioned a 1995 national poll of American adolescents, conducted by Walker et al (cited in Elliot et al, 1998:4.) It revealed that:

- 47% of the participants felt their schools were becoming more violent.
- One in every ten reported a fear of being shot or hurt by weapon carrying students.
- Over 20% were afraid in certain unsupervised areas where victimization occurred.
.

'School violence on rise,' is the headline of the Mercury (11/05/06). The article describes 2 separate incidents in which 2 youth were shot and one was stabbed. One 17 year old lost his life and one is paralysed – the burning question regarding accessibility of weapons, remains (Zulu, et al 2006). We also learn of two deaths of learners at schools in Olivenhoutbosch and Mamelodi in the preceding 2 days. Singh & Pillay (Sunday Tribune of 24/09/06) present the following report on school violence in the previous month in Pietermaritzburg (KZN):

Eleven classrooms in two Northdale schools were set alight resulting in their total ruin. Two Raisethorpe Secondary students are facing criminal charges after a violent altercation at their school. At Heather Secondary gang rivalry resulted in the attempted stabbing of one pupil. About a thousand pupils then boycotted classes as they feared five suspended boys may have been eligible to return. 'Everyone at school is a law unto themselves,' was the poignant comment made by a learner. This article

confined itself to one city and one can only imagine the national scope of the problems of school violence.

Jones (2001:169) offers the following insight – "Probably more people are carrying knives or other edged weapons today than at any time in history. These are most commonly used in schools....." He notes that there is a growing availability of handguns and the flourishing of street subcultures that propagate many kinds of anti-social behaviour. Our daily experience shows that scholars can acquire knives/scissors with little or no suspicion. Keys, necklaces, combs and umbrellas can all be adapted to conceal knives. There are different sorts of pens that conceal blades, one of which is the executive ink pen. The belt buckle knife holds a three inch double bladed knife that is quickly removed without loosening the belt. Some pictures are included (see appendix I). Recent media articles mention stabbings and shootings in local schools as the most common form of armed attack. Villani & Ward (2001:14) rightly state that 'Youth violence in schools is an extreme extension of unhealthy academic environments.' As noted previously, it is also considered an extension of societal breakdown.

GENDER ROLES

In Tattum & Herbert's (1997:33) study of 25 schools in England, they learnt that:

1. Boys reported taunting more than girls, but that by grade 11, settled into maturity. [Whitney & Smith (1993) supported these findings].
2. Spreading lies and rumours occurred most frequently in grades 9 &10.
3. Girls were more likely to damage school property than personal goods and, to be excluded from social groupings.
4. A strong ringleader determined the extent of misery suffered by the victim.

There was greater likelihood of males having delinquent associates, than females. The more serious personal offences are apparently committed by them with the support of others. Youth may intentionally group together and become intoxicated to engage in 'problem behaviour.' This is termed the psycho-pharmacological effect. Fox & Boulton (2006) cite Salmivalli who conducted a study with 573 Finnish

children aged 12 to 13. The 3 sub scales of his questionnaire were; counter-aggression, helplessness and nonchalance. The first two constructs were found to propagate bullying. The absence of helplessness in girls and the feature of counter-aggression in boys were revealed as factors that diminished bullying.

The Mercury of 05/04/06 refers to Prof Olweus who concluded that boys who bully are "4 times more likely than others to engage in relatively serious crime in later life." He was funded by the Norwegian government and his sample represented 10% of the grade 2 to 9 population in 1993. With both sexes, he found the incidence of bullying to decrease as the children increased in age. Rigby (2005) supports this statement and adds that boys offend more frequently than girls. A study conducted by Peppler (2006) with 1896 students between early and late adolescence found that boys experienced more overall sexual harassment and bullying compared to their female counterparts. The result is opposed to Vijoen's (2005) findings on page 5 of this chapter, still boys and girls are both confirming the prevalence of bullying in their schools, as evidenced in the literature. In Peppler's (2006) study, it was found that bullying was most prevalent at the school transition stage.

Females have a greater desire for social approval and are apparently more afraid of punishment. Conflict usually involves boyfriend issues – these boys may be seen as objects of ownership (Flahive, 2005; Duncan, 1999). Goldbloom (2001) observed that although both genders were equally affected, there were more subtle forms of bullying among girls. They engaged in whispering, shunning or damaging the reputations of others. Bullying of girls on girls is on the increase according to Besag (cited in the Daily News of 14 July 2005), as is the use of violence learned from TV.

Girls and criminal activity

Molidor (cited in Freeman et al, 1998:22) interviewed 15 female gang members at a treatment facility in Texas. She learnt that secluded places were chosen for planned fights. Some offenders described their neighbourhoods as slums, projects, ghettos or the pits. The relationship between behaviour and socio-economic circumstances is apparent in this study.

Freeman et al (1998:26) also cite Bowker & Klein who observed an increase in serious criminal activity by teenage girls during the 1970s and 1980s. One 15 year old is quoted as saying, "When I was hangin' with the Crips, nobody messed with me then. They respected me." In as much as these girls are often victims of appalling circumstances, they are perpetrators of crime. Bullies and victims do not have to be separate entities and individuals may fall into both roles.

Turner (2006) refers to the youth gangs in the Western Cape as an example of the limitations of one's environment – this means youth interact only with others of their district/area. Thus children at risk need to be identified by the school which is often the one constant medium that is aware of the difficulties they face and that can make suitable recommendations.

CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING AND VIOLENCE

Children may be victims, witnesses or perpetrators of violence. Poor co-ordination among significant adults together with learners being ignored or misunderstood may lead to fragmented strategies when dealing with youth and anti-violence measures. Lyans cited in Elliot (1998:170) asserts that there is sufficient evidence showing how children exposed to violence experience adverse developmental problems, eg a lessened ability for concentration, sleep disturbances, flashbacks, a fatalistic outlook toward their future. Juvonen (2005) concurs with this statement, adding that socially withdrawn children are at greater risk of being victimized and become even more introverted afterward. An elevated heart rate and skin conductance were measured on victims recalling bullying episodes (Janson & Hazler cited in Hazler et al, 2006).

In a Scandanavian study with 11000 children Olweus, (cited in Sullivan, 2000) found that 33% did not like coming to school while 27% could not eat properly as a result of being bullied. Other researchers learned that children stayed home, missed some classes regularly or stopped talking about school (Aluedse , 2005; Rigby 2003; Nadasan, 2004).

How a child copes with a traumatic event hinges on many factors, some of which are;

- the physical distance between the child and the event,

- the victim's relationship with the child if s/he is not directly involved,

- the availability of a caregiver to adequately console or support the child.

Over eleven thousand, six hundred children aged between 11 and 16 were included in an Exeter University survey as noted by Balding (cited in Tattum & Herbert, 1997). It was found that those learners most likely to fear bullies had a higher incidence of illness/disease and doctor referrals. Other symptoms of victimized children included suicidal ideation, increased self pity and feelings of humiliation, anger, vengefulness and aggression.

The most extreme consequences of bullying are murder and suicide, as depicted by the following episodes: Staff (cited in Elliot, 1998:3) informs readers of a 14 year old in Washington, who killed a teacher and two students. He also makes reference to a shooting in Arkansas at the Westside Middle School in 1998 - an 11 year old and a 13 year old lured people out with the fire alarm, then fatally shot one teacher and 4 learners, wounding 11 others. Colorosso (2002) describes a 14 year old Canadian boy who was known as "everybody's best punching bag." He killed a 17 year old fellow student and submitted to arrest. .The Daily News of 14/03/06 informs us of a 19 year old Umlazi youth who took his father's gun to school apparently to protect himself. Gangsters burst into the school and took the firearm away. The boy's father was subsequently arrested (Sookha, 2006). These incidents ultimately indicate a lack of coping skills as children become overwhelmed by their circumstances and give in to anger or despair.

INTERVENTION MEASURES

There are easily available violence prevention programmes on the internet, for anyone planning an intervention effort. The Anti-Bullying Network, Bully B'ware and Bullying Online all provide a range of valuable information for school wide anti-bullying initiatives. At a neighbourhood level it is important that police concentrate on hotspots of crime to reduce gangsterism, the exchange of weapons and similar

community stressors. A toll free line for the reporting of gang or criminal happenings can be set up within a community. The family, pre-school and primary schools are significant areas to start generating an awareness of bullying and for learners to develop a constructive attitude toward others.

The home

Although we model a westernized style of parenting where reward and punishment feature greatly, alternate ways of parenting do exist with apparently better results as evidenced by Bear and colleagues (2006). Two hundred 5th graders from the US and Japan were individually interviewed. These researchers concluded that the emphasis on rules and punishment as a strategy for controlling behaviour needs to be re-visited. The Japanese children had internalized the desire to behave well for their own sakes rather than in response to an outside force. They were concerned with intrinsic reasons for not harassing peers and enjoyed better relationships with their parents. The Daily News of 04/04/06 quotes a London based study using 1000 children which found that the earlier children went to nursery school, the worse their behaviour, although social and academic skills were superior to those cared for by their mothers.

The S.A Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states that every child has the right to basic amenities and family care that are considered essential in the prevention of anti-social behaviour.

Wilson & Howell (cited in Bezuidenhout, 2004:141) suggest that parents:

- Set unambiguous expectations for children's behaviour,
- Reinforce positive behaviour,
- Outline sanctions for unacceptable conduct ,
- Ensure effective communication is in place and
- Enhance children's bonding within the family unit.

The authors believe that internalizing the traits of discipline, self respect, morality and responsibility bode well for good citizenship.

A principal of a KZN school (The Mercury of 05/04/06) provides tips for parents whose children are bullied and thus provides an example for schools to assist these parents (Bateman, 2006). Similar advice given to parents of victims is available at http://www.bullying.co.uk/parents/parents1-advice.htm, some of which is replicated (see appendix H). The FAST (Families and Schools Together) programme was created in America to provide support to those low-income, stressed and isolated families where the aim was early intervention for children at risk of developing anti-social behaviour. It now operates in over 450 schools in 5 countries and has been evaluated as highly successful (McDonald cited in Dupper, 2003). Parents must be helped by teachers to appreciate a child's positive school behaviour as it is all too familiar for problems only to be highlighted. Kasiram (1995) found that low parental involvement was often a feature of disadvantaged schools and recommends that schools recognise and reward the efforts of parents, while striving for maximum transparency in their dealings.

The individual

Two learners had committed suicide as a result of bullying in Norway as noted by Karlin & Berger (cited in Freeman et al, 1998). Thereafter children were asked to monitor the amount of violence seen on TV. Teachers concurred that the learners became sensitized to the amount of violence in society and agreed to work toward combating it. An awareness of violence was generated in the minds of these youngsters. Learners could avail themselves as 'buddies' of newcomers to help them adjust to high school.

Some suggestions are made at (hhttp://www.antibullying.net/ypannemarieinfo.htm) – they are to develop peer counselling schemes, to use the student council to increase awareness of harassment, mediation and special campaigns. A school council is a medium for the channelling of grievances so these are systematically raised and brought to the attention of staff. Local schools have Leaner Representative Councils (South African Schools Act, no 84 of 1996) that should creatively bring attention to the problem of bullying at regular intervals in the school calendar.

Childline @www.com.org presents the following guidelines for children to develop healthy relationships:

to respect the dignity of all people, earning their loyalty, trust and confidence,

to work co-operatively with others & tell them they are valued,

to respect the beliefs, life, privacy and property of others,

to try and resolve disputes amicably and to be mutually supportive.

Peer mediation

Here, students undergo a conflict resolution training programme and have the opportunity to serve as impartial mediators in a problem situation. It is a practical way for youth to take responsibility for themselves and to resolve disputes among their peers. The conflict resolution programme developed by Sathiparsad (1997) involved learners defining conflict, creating an awareness of the feelings associated with violent and non violent behaviour as well as their responses in the face of provocation. In addition, it facilitated an appreciation for diversity in people, informed participants of the pitfalls of labelling and stereotyping and involved them in conflict resolution processes through group work methods.

The Quality Circle Method involves groups of 5 or 6 individuals who meet weekly and are trained to identify, analyse and recommend solutions to various problems that arise throughout the school. They can facilitate for example, lunchtime games, tournaments, school wide surveys on bullying and violence, the presentation of plays, booklets or projects that create awareness of the issue (Sharp & Smith, 1994).

Fox & Boulton (2005) cite Hodges who conducted a longitudinal study with 393 French-Canadian children aged 10 to 11 years. While teachers completed the Child Behaviour Questionnaire, the Friendship Qualities Scale was filled in by the learners. Supportive friendship was found to be a protective factor against the incidence and effects of victimization. There is no reason why children may not offer friendship and kindness to all of their peers, within and out of their kinship groups.

The South African Schools Act (no 84 of 1996) deems schooling to be compulsory for children up to the age of 15 years. Van Niekerk (2002) maintains that schools are valuable sites of intervention where children undergo critical development and where their identities are shaped. Section 2B of the Education Law and Policy Handbook (2003:24) lists 7 measures for maintaining school discipline, all of which are general and place eventual decision making in the hands of the school governing body. This document stipulates what kinds of behaviour are considered unacceptable. Offences that may lead to suspension include;

- Conduct which endangers the safety and violates the rights of others,
- Possession or use of weapons or drugs,
- Fighting, immoral behaviour, racism, sexism, theft,
- Victimization, bullying and intimidation of other learners.

The current status of South African schools has been described in preceding pages as generally bleak. The fact that bullying and violence have reached alarming proportions in South African schools is confirmed by Noelene Barbeau who writes for the Sunday Tribune (22/10/06). Readers learn from the article how the national Education Minister has proposed that unruly children be removed from school by teachers/principals and placed under their parents' supervision so normal learning may resume, as a reactive measure. The article cites 3 stabbings in Ixopo, the Eastern Cape and in Gauteng in the previous week. Other role players are quoted as saying that the support and management from the Department of Education is inadequate.

Therefore intervention/corrective measures must be designed with due consideration for the strengths of the school, neighbourhood and individual. The temperament, attitudes, interests, emotions and intellectual capacities of students will also play a major role in determining the success of programmes. Lee (in October, 2004) informs readers that the school with a reputation for its anti-bullying strategies will receive greater popularity and higher standards. He explains that while bullying may be a reflection of the school culture, the incumbents of that very culture can work to bring

about desired changes. Social workers adhere to the same belief that solutions to community problems do not have to be 'imported' but lie among the people themselves.

There ought to be public awareness of the consequences of bullying and violence in schools where the intolerance for unacceptable behaviour is openly displayed. A mission statement may simultaneously be displayed with the goals of creating a safe, welcoming learning environment in which students feel engaged. At any general school level, these measures are desirable and are listed by different authors (Sullivan, 2000; Tattum, 1993); Duke, 2002). They are valuable suggestions that do not require extensive funding:-

- a school wide conference day on bullying & violence
- children and staff being involved in improving the attractiveness of their schools, in the hope that learners foster a sense of loyalty toward the school,
- regular teacher – parent telephonic/personal contact,
- teacher groups that develop a safe school climate.

Other literature alludes to an anti-bullying policy. Jennings (in Cook, 2005) affirms that a strong policy against bullying actually does reduce its incidence. Such a document avails the necessary resources/information to students and teachers when disruptive behaviour manifests. In reality it is a basic need in all schools which are constitutionally bound to protect the physical and mental well being of learners (The South African Schools Act 108 of 1996). In the same vein, schools have a responsibility to enable that child who requires special assistance to be appropriately referred.

Bully boxes, similar to suggestion boxes must be available in all schools for learners to share their grievances anonymously. Essay writing, art, visualization and assertiveness training speak directly to the needs of the victim and are useful for both primary and secondary school learners. An extension to Sathiparsad's (1997) Conflict Resolution Programme is that of Crawford & Bodine (1996). It involves the development of a corps of peer trainers to transfer the skills and techniques of conflict resolution through a structured outreach programme to communities.

The literature on intervention alludes to many creative ways of addressing the problems of bullying and violence. They are youth mentorship or adventure therapy programmes, family group conferencing, remedial education for children with limited learning resources, recreational facilities and holiday programmes as well as therapeutic and entrepreneur efforts. As is evident, some of these aim to steer the energies of youth into challenging, exciting activities where self gratification is afforded.

The following strategies are mentioned at hhtp://www.bullying.co.uk/school/bullying-policie.htm

1. Telling schools: This is a straightforward method where all bystanders know they are duty-bound to tell a teacher of any bullying incident. Correct implementation ensures that students don't feel like tattletales and bullies know they will be found out.

2. The no – blame approach: Here the focus is on resolving the issue, not on punishment. The perpetrator does not feel threatened and can be part of the solution. Onlookers learn that their lack of action is harmful. A teacher works with a group (including aggressors and bystanders) over many sessions.

3. Peer group programmes: Volunteers undergo extensive training to be able to support or assist victims or friendless children – a room to complete homework or play board games is set up. Learners can also approach these volunteers by placing notes in boxes available all around the school.

The Pikas Method of Shared Concern and Circle Time are more recent methods that attempt to steer away from the blame/punishment and recrimination cycle our society generally practices. With the first method, a counsellor speaks to the ringleader of a bullying group, then to the associates, clarifying that there is no intention of placing blame. These students are asked how circumstances for the victim may be improved. It is expected that the perpetrators will not resort to retaliation as the possibility of punishment is removed. Over a period of time individual meetings are held with all those involved and finally a group contact, that confirms that the situation has been resolved.

Circle time is different from the quality circle method described. Here, learners regularly sit in a group and engage in enjoyable activities. Many issues may be discussed in this way of which bullying is one. Teachers may access the scale of the problem in their schools.

Gales et al (2001) confirmed that since teachers had a greater degree of bonding and informal networks with students, they were found to be more effective in implementing programmes regarding children's social well being than health experts. At a classroom level, the opportunity for speaking be allowed as well as the creation of work groups where peer recognition is established. The legislation by the South African Qualifications Authority (Act No 58 of 1995) requires that such teamwork be facilitated in an outcomes based learning process, whereby social skills also become enhanced. Learners and educators are currently adjusting to this process.

Further, a teacher needs to cope with learners in such a way that they are not rejected although their behaviour may be. In a classroom, books, videotapes and role play could stimulate discussion of the topic. The concept of 'learning for life' actively promotes the skills of getting along with others. Fine et al (1995) found that in their study with the Downtown Alternative School (Toronto) children, they developed an increased capacity to use language for negotiation, became clear thinkers and careful listeners through the use of dramatizations and open discussions on conflict. Bothma cited in Conradie & Cloete (1983) advises that teachers apply authority with dignity and consistency, while giving some attention to the personal development of learners. Usha Naidoo who writes for the Mercury (1/03/06) warns that teachers should not promote the notion of machismo and ought to be receptive and sensitive to the problems children carry with them.

Victims of harassment could undergo assertiveness training and lunchtime supervisors could circulate the grounds and toilet areas. A weak rejoinder by a victim is believed to reinforce taunting (Sullivan, 2000; Tattum, 1993). The 'broken record technique' is advised instead – this means saying the same response over and over until the tormentor gets bored and is unable to provoke the desired reaction (e.g. It may seem that way to you). Other specific forms of possible responses in a bullying situation are provided in the anti-bullying programmes. As far as aggressors are concerned,

training in mediation and negotiation are generally hoped to increase their verbal confidence.

Smith & Sharp (1998) advise that with regard to learners, educators should 'catch them being good.' This alters the expectation of a negative, policing role that staff adopt. The authors suggest that the same merit levels be awarded for good 'people skills' as they are for academic achievement. Simple verbal praise could maintain the buoyancy of pro-social behaviour, hopefully making it desirable to observers. If we are to move away from punitive forms of control then teachers should re-direct children to work out their differences together where possible and engage students in more co-operative learning activities. Legislation ought to determine that the curricula include ethics and value-driven lessons that focus on family, friendships, community, etc.

General measures required in schools for controlling access are:
- Minimizing entrance & exit points
- Removing all decorations from windows
- Defining the school perimeter with adequate fencing
- Visitor screening procedures
- ID cards for staff and students (Duke, 2002; Sharp & Smith, 1994).

Any systematic attempt to address the problems of bullying will be dictated by an anti-bullying policy. At a provincial or national level, directives regarding school responsibility in dealing with bullying and violence must be stipulated. Kathy (2005) lists various requirements for different American states in this respect – in Connecticut for instance, students must be able to report bullying anonymously and teachers are bound to report all observed or written accounts to the school administrators. This means a teacher's own judgement in handling bullying may not be applied after an altercation. Here we find streamlined approach in responding to bullying, being advocated.

Current dilemmas

The legislation is clear on the procedure to be adopted in the event of suspension/expulsion, but these are extremely rare situations and do not consider the day to day needs of learners.

1. The South African Schools Act (no 84 of 1996) orders that a learner may be expelled only by the Head of the Education Department and if found guilty of serious misconduct after a fair hearing. Section 3(1) confirms that a learner is subject to compulsory education. This means the Department must make alternate arrangements for his/her placement at a public school, thus transporting the problem.

2. A governing body may suspend a child when s/he;
   - violates the rights of other learners to receive education by being disruptive,
   - conducts him or herself in an improper or disgraceful way.

Upon returning to school a previously suspended child is then left to face the disdain of learners and educators in the absence of a positive school climate or follow-up intervention. Punitive measures do exist for serious disciplinary transgressions (expulsion, prison sentences, probation, legal consequences for parents and suspension). Their effectiveness is highly debatable, as many authors suggest that inverse outcomes are actually achieved with stringent discipline (Haigh, 1979; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; Shafii & Shafii, 2001, Woods, 2000). It is very likely that teachers who use harsh disciplinary measures, endured the same in their youth and therefore believe it is acceptable especially without alternative or creative measures which may be out of the financial range of schools.

INCLUSION OF A SOCIAL WORKER/COUNSELLOR

The following generally fall within the school social worker's domain:

- Alcohol and drug abuse
- Anger management/conflict resolution
- Peer pressure and self esteem
- Sexual abuse and racism
- Interpersonal negotiation and social competence
- Bullying and gang affiliation
- Problem solving and dropping out

His/her role in a school is multifarious as tasks include classroom activities, networking with community agencies and assisting school leavers in their transition to the community. S/he may also serve as a consultant to staff members and lobby for the implementation of programmes to the school board. Through mediation and group work the tendencies for bullying, taunting, stereotyping, etc may be reduced. Programmes may be developed with or for staff, youth or community members (Dupper, 2003). Specifically, social workers in high risk areas can facilitate school crisis teams or serve on community task forces to contemplate violence reduction methods. S/he ought to then prepare for the implementation and evaluation of programmes used.

When dealing with a bully, a non accusatory climate is not applicable in all situations. To that end Liz Carnell (2006) the director of Bullying Online candidly states that broken bones cannot be dealt with in a 'no blame' or mediative setting which are the newer, non punitive measures being introduced in schools. She warns that bullying is a thriving business. This means that companies have developed intervention packages of sorts and the discrimination of the social worker/counsellor is required in selecting such products. Douglas (2002) supports Carnell (2006) by concluding that while bullies and their supporters should be educated on the consequences of their actions, the fact that suspension and expulsion exist as alternatives, must remain unambiguous. These measures are possibly one end of the continuum regarding ways of dealing with bullies and may be recommended by the social worker in the interest of school safety.

Reform measures should be broad enough to include all representatives of children, especially those in power who can effect change. What is actually possible to accomplish in the school setting is determined by the resources available and Chapter One gives an indication of the deprivation felt in many South African schools. Some role-players feel that the educational process will be compromised when human services amalgamate with education (Kotze,1995; Kasiram,1995). Therefore propagating the inclusion of social workers as part of school staff may well be met with resistance in certain quarters. It is unlikely that a single method of intervention would be equally beneficial to different communities. Thus, the requirements and dynamics of each district must be considered in creating effective responses to bullying and violence.

CONCLUSION

Contained in this chapter, are the manifestations, consequences and possible intervention methods regarding bullying and violence. The literature is replete with information on how bullying seems to stoke the ego in the presence of others. Hence the influence of bystanders is also noted. Role players in education must be cognisant of the short and long term effects of bullying. Importantly, anti-bullying measures are not only mandatory, but have proven effective in other countries and deserve serious consideration in South Africa. Some if not all of the intervention measures listed can be adopted in local schools. The research methodology was adopted in view of the needs of this study and is outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter justifies the use of a triangulated approach to the critical questions outlined. The research methods, research tools and choice of the sample are discussed. Lastly, the ethical concerns relating to this particular framework of investigation together with its possible limitations are furnished.

A review of the research undertaken by Smith & Sharp (1998), Sullivan (2000), Tattum (1993) and Hazler (2006) among others illuminates the following perspectives:

1. Bullying is a phenomenon that transcends cultural, class, racial and socio-economic barriers.

2. It is thought to be under-reported for a variety of reasons. Some reasons include, a pre-occupation with more pressing issues, dysfunctional reporting measures or a prevailing culture of aggression/societal acceptance of violence.

Attempts to understand the local dynamics surrounding bullying confirmed that addressing the issue is complicated as:

- There is no policy in respect of school bullying, although it is regarded as unacceptable.
- There are no preventative initiatives alluded to in the documentation.
- There is no structure at schools for learners to channel their grievances efficiently and without fear of repercussions.
- Corporal punishment is now banned as a disciplinary measure, with no apparent workable alternative in its place.

Out of these concerns came the development of the following research questions:

1. What types of bullying and violence are learners subjected to?
2. How frequent is the manifestation of bullying and violence?
3. What kinds of procedures are there in schools that systematically deal with bullying and violence in a preventative and responsive fashion?
4. What are the personal experiences of bullying and violence of the grade 8 and 9 learners.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research concerned itself with the prevalence and experiences of bullying and violence in four Durban schools. Two of these were populated only by African learners and the other two enrolled Indian and African children. The work was exploratory in nature and a triangulated approach was deemed suitable to enhancing the congruency between the research problem and the population under investigation (Newman & Newman, 1995). As such, the paradigms of quantitative and qualitative frames were employed, together with multiple data sources.

Triangulation allowed firstly for the gathering of standardized data which was comparable with previous studies and from which estimates about the learner population could be made. This deductive approach was then enhanced with information of a qualitative styling. The interviews with educators and the focus group accounts were meant to add depth and meaning to the figures/percentages gathered. The literature indicates that while both quantitative and qualitative methodologies have emerged out of different needs, quantitative studies utilize qualitative methods as well (Guba & Lincoln, 1990; Patton, 1990). In this way the qualitative approach makes information come alive as tables and graphs cannot. It enriches the quantitative report making it more readable and so a greater audience is envisaged. To this end, Smith & Glass (1987) have cautioned against viewing methodology as dogma.

The quantitative paradigm guides the researcher to obtaining statistically significant correlations. This means that results compiled may be subjected to a computerized analysis that would reflect differences in the sample itself (Roberts, 1996). It is from

these correlations that new insights may be gained which is interesting to the reader, viz. comparisons between the variables of age, school and gender.

The quantitative (conventional) design dictates that inquiry be carried out in a controlled environment, using objective instrumentation (Guba & Lincoln, 1990). Hence the stance of the researcher needs to be neutral as s/he is considered a passive observer in and an 'outsider' to the research. The conclusions and theories that emerge from the quantitative paradigm are described in a technical way, by the use of graphs, tables, grids, etc. These visible presentations make for easy and immediate comparisons.

Participants with different world views are expected to be differently influenced in a group context (Patton, 1987). This was applicable to the focus groups. Its members were from different cultural backgrounds and it was intended that a greater variety of information would be gathered. The qualitative approach allowed for the researcher to be accommodated within the social setting where a degree of trust and confidence was established with the participants (ie, key informants and group members). In this instance, the researcher became an active participant to the research process. Information that was teased out of the data was not necessarily specified prior to the data collection as noted by Smith & Glass (1987). A report was then developed from the meanings, causes and relationships of the phenomena under investigation. Mouton (cited in Mudaly, 1998) advises against 'reducing social life to variables and their relationships.' The emphasis instead, was on understanding learners' and educators' perspectives on bullying and violence, while allowing for semi-structured interaction.

SAMPLING

Sampling refers to the choice of subjects for a particular study, which will eventually influence the results obtained. A good sample should accurately represent the population from which it is taken as there are marked regularities in human experiences, according to Knight (2002). The kinds of generalizations made from the results are therefore determined by the sample.

The questions this study sought to answer related to learner's experiences and perceptions of bullying and violence. 'Strictly speaking, we cannot generalize beyond the population from which the sample was taken' according to Newman & Newman (1995:14). The authors agree that researchers still do generalize and the validity then depends on the research questions being asked. Those questions that focus on attitudes, motives, beliefs, etc, become obliged to consider the backgrounds of the subjects involved, as Newman & Newman (1995) point out that socio-historical factors are influencial in shaping attitudes. Due to cost, time and proximity constraints, four co-educational schools in Merebank and Umlazi were approached for inclusion in this effort.

With regard to the questionnaire, a combination of purposive and convenience sampling was considered most appropriate as the topic under investigation was pertinent to school going youth and their educators and was thus not prescriptive in terms of race, class, cultural background, etc. In respect of the learners, the researcher relied on the most available subjects who were willing to participate in the study. Convenience sampling related to the principals' willingness to allow the researcher access into the respective schools, that were previously categorized as disadvantaged.

By using two grades at each of the four schools, stratified random sampling allowed for sampling equally from different strata or levels of the school. Incumbents of these grades represented the youngest learners in the school and it was hypothesized that they were most prone to bullying by virtue of their age and as newcomers to the processes of the school. The literature bears clarity on the issue that bullying is most prevalent at the lower grades of secondary school life and lessens as children grow older (Sullivan, 2000; Tattum, 1993).

Group members were also selected according to their availability and therefore formed a convenience sample. Participants were chosen by the deputy principal. It appeared that some children were believed to be in need of therapeutic counselling (details of which are outlined in the Data Analysis). They were possibly considered by the deputy principal to be perpetrators or victims of bullying. With this in mind, the sampling could be described as purposive.

Purposive sampling was used with regard to the key informants. A deputy principal, one head of department, one guidance counsellor and one educator were felt to be representative of the range of staff members at a school. Criteria for the inclusion of key informants rested with principals who deemed these individuals to be most knowledgeable about issues of the school, relevant to the needs of the study. Their responsibilities differed in the following ways (Education Law and Policy Handbook, 2003):

- The deputy principal and the principal liaise with the governing body in respect of serious conduct violations. S/he also serves as the contact person in a public relations sense, requests the assistance of the SAP when necessary and holds structured discussions with parents. The deputy principal may recommend that specialized services be offered to particular individuals.

- The Head of Department is responsible for the well being of his/her department members and as such, deals with offending students within the subject domain. This staff member is generally called to sit in on matters of a disciplinary nature. The experiences of a 'middle manager' therefore varies significantly to that of an educator.

- The educator is often more familiar with learners and also subjected to greater levels of disruption in the classroom context. This individual may issue verbal warnings and make appointments with parents when needed. The educator is probably the most valuable person on the school staff in respect of his/her knowledge of bullying and violence by virtue of the greater levels of contact with learners inside and out of the classroom. The educator is meant to supervise interval and extra-curricula time. Finally, the literature reveals that educators are in a better position to conduct social programmes with learners than outsiders (Gales et al, 2001).

- The guidance counsellor in his/her pastoral role, comes into contact with bullied children and their aggressors. Learners may present with a variety of issues, relating to behaviour, substance abuse, problematic home life, etc.

Upon investigation of these factors, the guidance counsellor then relates the child's difficulty to the educators in such a way as to maximize his/her school functioning, without prejudice and with increased understanding. The guidance counsellor may provide therapeutic and preventative services to learners and staff members, may serve on school and community bodies and may network with other agencies in the interests of the learners (Dupper, 2003).

These key informants were approached to confirm what policies, procedures and structures existed at schools to address the problem of bullying and violence.

DATA COLLECTION

A more holistic view of participants' perceptions of bullying and violence was envisaged with the multiple data collection strategy. Berk (2001) advises that research must adhere to scientifically valid procedures which involve many options. It was decided therefore that with triangulation, the range of data sources and methods would increase. Inaccurate information might be garnered when a single data collection instrument is used (Yin, 1988). All instruments were designed in consultation with fellow researchers and the supervisor of this project. The four schools involved in this study were, Kwamgaga High, Vukusakhe High, Ganges secondary and P.R Pather Secondary two of which are located in Umlazi and two in Merebank respectively.

1. Objective: To investigate the nature and extent of bullying and violence, occurring is selected schools in Durban.
   Data collection method: Questionnaire (see appendix D)
   Sample: 251 learners between the ages of 11 and 17

Newman & Newman (1995) suggests that a survey be used to collect specific information from a fairly large group where participants have the necessary cognition and capacity to respond. Therefore the questions were designed in what was considered to be a simple, yet thorough spectrum.

The questionnaire was developed as a result of various factors. These included local media reports on the escalating trend of school bullying and violence (noted in

Chapter One), informal discussions with eight of the educators from and outside the schools approached as well as participation in parent meetings at a local secondary school. The questionnaire was comprehensive in that it addressed a broad range of issues. Questions were designed in a checklist fashion, in an attempt to provide several alternatives.

2. Objective: To examine what structures exist at schools in dealing with bullying and violence.
   Sample: Four key informants
   Data collection method: interviews (see appendix E)

Contact with educators sought to address the critical question that related to the procedures currently being employed at schools to deal with student bullying and violence. It involved personal liaison with the participants, where semi-structured interview schedules were used as a guide. This mode of inquiry attempted to maximize respondent co-operation, within a specific target group. Information here is treated as an external reality or internal experience of the participant. The qualitative approach allowed for participants to share information, vent frustrations and provide suggestions about improved methods of handling offenders who are generally classified as 'problematic' students. In this way a greater volume of contextually significant information was obtained.

With educators, semi-structured interviews were felt to be most effective. Some specific information was obtained like the need for the SAP at schools, weapon carrying, school directives, etc. The freedom with which the respondents shared concerns and personal information reflected the rapport that had been established.

3. Objective: To understand the lived experience of learners with regard to bullying and violence.
   Sample: Two focus groups of between 10 to 12 members each (one male and one female) [see appendix F]

Since the emphasis here was on personal encounters/feelings, a fair degree of leeway was allowed in the management of responses. In this way rapport was established and

some learners enthused over further group work sessions. Issues were keenly felt by learners and their feedback was not restricted to the questions as emotion and frustration were expressed. Interaction among the participants on one topic could be observed in the allotted time period. Due to such interaction, there was greater emphasis on learners' points of view. An interview guide was designed for use with the focus group, where information was simultaneously extracted from many people (Knight, 2002).

The main questions here attempted to gain an understanding of;

- Learners' experiences of bullying and violence,
- Their perceptions on whether or not being the youngest learners in the school was a risk factor to being bullied.
- The attitudes of and actions taken by educators when bullying was reported,
- The Life Orientation syllabus as they experienced it,
- Perceptions about the kinds of people bullies were and their environmental circumstances,
- Suggestions on ways of dealing with this problem at the school level.

While topics were being explored, useful data was generated sometimes without the direct input of the researcher as informed by Newman & Newman (1995). Varied information was received in a flexible environment, to the extent that learners assisted with the recording and re-organizing of the venue. As with the interviews, data from the focus groups were intended to support that which the questionnaire revealed. The use of a tape recorder allowed the researcher to return to the data in its original form, as many times as needed. It is possible that the respondents' awareness of being recorded may have prejudiced or limited their feedback.

Quantitative methods may be criticized for placing the researcher in a spectator position with regard to the knowledge s/he seeks, yet social and pure sciences rely on this approach when a larger sample size is necessary and information needs to be confirmed or validated (Roberts, 1996; Rubin & Babbie,). The strength of the qualitative approach is that it allows the researcher to play an active role in collecting information. Neither one needs to be viewed as superior; the methods can complement each other and be gainfully used to enhance the validity and reliability of data.

Naturalistic observation in this case was gained from a few visits to the schools, where the physical amenities and levels of rowdiness were gleaned. Berk (2001) warns that subjects who are under observation may behave/respond differently because of that knowledge. This appeared not to have been the case as noted in the next chapter.

DATA ANALYSIS

By presenting the analysis and interpretation of results simultaneously, a sense of wholeness was achieved in terms of comprehending the feedback. The views of educators and learners were sometimes quite unique as were their roles. At other times, there was similarity in the responses since they all functioned in the same surrounding/learning environment. The main volume of information was extracted from the questionnaire responses. Information from the interviews and group contact were interwoven as supporting data.

Responses to the questionnaire were subjected to a computerized analysis. This meant that the options provided were allocated to specific themes and categories. With a graphic representation of the results, comparisons were made;

- Between the learners who were younger than 15 and their older classmates.
- Between the sexes
- Between the two suburbs

Major themes

These included;
- learners experiences, perceptions and responses to bullying.
- the frequency with which bullying and violence occurred,
- the willingness of students to disclose bullying to teachers.
- the sense of vulnerability of students,

- the degree to which they felt alternate means to address bullying and violence was needed at school.

Secondary feedback

The secondary information that emerged concerned itself with;
- the predicament teachers find themselves in as students apparently become more difficult to manage in the absence of corporal punishment or other suitable alternatives,
- the various types of pressure learners endure from their peers.

The information reflected on the graphs and tables of the data analysis is described as hard, precise data that may be compared, but not interpreted (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). On the other hand a thick description was provided with regard to data from all interviewees. The reader is able to draw conclusions on issues prevalent in the themes presented. In comparison with the existing body of literature on the topic, various similarities and differences were noted. The objective of identifying patterns and synthesizing themes was achieved.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

In selecting a research design, one seeks to place their results within a context of maximum reliability and validity. Reddy in Mudaly (1998) recommends multiple methods triangulation and multiple sources triangulation to enhance the validity of research.

Multiple methods triangulation

The use of interviews and photographs comprised the qualitative aspect of the work. From a feminist point of view, interviews with learners and educators allowed for greater intimacy, egalitarian and collaborative processes as well as empathy (Steiner in Guba & Lincoln,1990). Many issues lent themselves to discussion that did not strictly adhere to the topic at hand, but was considered valuable as an extension of

participants' thoughts and feelings. This rich data was compared with the quantitative data of the questionnaire feedback. Here a huge volume of responses to various issues were obtained. In this way the researcher was able to check the consistency of responses in order to increase validity.

Multiple sources triangulation

The different sources in this study included visual information, interview transcripts from key informants and group members and documentation. There was ample opportunity to triangulate data from these different sources.

Face validity was obtained through the informal contacts with educators, already mentioned. This is termed democratic validity as people who are already in the field, are engaged (Patton, 1987). The researcher was able to discern their areas of concern and so modify the interview schedules. This study was context based where the goal was not to develop truth statements. The aim instead was to gather in-depth feedback on bullying and violence with the objective of furthering the interests of the participants. This is hoped to be achieved through the recommendation of anti-bullying policy creation and school wide strategies to address and eliminate the problem.

The interpretive validity is evident in the data analysis, where responses are presented in the language of the participants, relying on their words, ideas and concepts (Mudaly, 1998).

Reliability of this study is increased with the use of the questionnaire (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). It is a standardized instrument that allows for consistent administration from one group to the next. The researcher administered the questionnaire with different educators, each of whom was given the same information, in an attempt to minimize their influencing or confusing the participants.
Guba & Lincoln (1990) state that the use of triangulation subjects the results gathered, to an objective standard.
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

When a study seeks to maximize its reliability and validity, then the strengths and weaknesses of measures used in obtaining data must be addressed. Those advantages and limitations in respect of the design and methodology are as follows:

Sample size

It is always desirable to use a large sample that would be more representative of the population under investigation (Knight, 2002). The ratio of the sample to the learner population in this study (grades 8 and 9) is about 1:8. The perception and experience of respondents can be generalized to other learners whose biopsychosocial circumstances are similar. In depth information from the focus groups and educators was adequate for the exploratory purpose of this effort.

Possible researcher bias

As an individual who identifies with the frustrations of educators, the researcher may have accorded lesser regard to some of the group members' complaints in respect of:
- educators' insistence on the school uniform as opposed to trendy clothes,
- educators discouraging the free mixing of boys and girls and being unnecessarily stern.
These grievances seemed to have been quite the norm as each generation of youth strain against the controls imposed on them, which in this instance, was normative.

Researcher effect during observation

The researcher's presence during the completion of the questionnaire may have either pressurized learners into providing responses or lead them to omit questions. As an outsider to the school, the researcher may have been viewed with suspicion. Patton (1987) notes that human behaviour is quite different when it is under observation as compared to when it is not.

Participant responses

It is possible that interviewees/group members were hesitant to portray their schools or own abilities in a negative light. The researcher sensed that this was the case at times. Respondents may have been influenced by the researcher's presence to the extent that there was bias in their feedback. This means that answers could have been perceived as useful to the researcher, to themselves or their schools. Sufficient feedback was obtained from the questionnaire respondents and interview participants outlined their dilemmas and needs in terms of bullying and violence.

Infrastructure

The time allotted for group contacts were reduced as the venue that was prepared, was used for another purpose. Disturbances included high noise levels with constantly unsupervised children from relief classes. One educator interrupted the sessions with complaints about certain group members. His actions showed disrespect for the researcher and the participants. This might be reflective of a lack of value for social work intervention in secondary schools, as highlighted by Kasiram (cited in Sathiparsad, 1997). Use of an audio recorder, as already noted, was both helpful and distracting. While feedback was accurately captured, it is possible that individuals may have felt self conscious, thus limiting their participation.

Possible researcher bias

Rubin & Babbie (1993) warn against the researcher developing or structuring the research in a manner that would gravitate toward desired results, making the effort look worthwhile. Objectivity was injected into the data collection by using the same interview schedules and not leading participant responses. This is evidenced by some feedback which contradicted one hypothesis of this study and sometimes contradicted information that was contained in the literature.

Reliability and validity of research instruments

The questionnaire may have been problematic in that learners could have misunderstood questions and therefore responded incorrectly or omitted them, despite the researcher being on hand to assist. Further, the requirements of the consent form make it lengthy. This could have served to intimidate respondents or mystify the intentions of the work.

Observation was also used as a data gathering method, hence some information is subjectively interpreted. However, multiple data collection strategies were used and these focussed on the same themes. Photographs and recordings also served to minimize bias and sufficient consistency was inherent in the feedback received.

Limitations in methodology

Although triangulation was employed in an attempt to gather data from various sources and in different ways, greater accuracy may have been achieved if diaries were used with daily entries of the experiences/perceptions in regard to bullying and violence. However, this study was not geared for long term data collection. Bullies and victims may themselves have been independently interviewed but the scope of the study would have extended considerably. All of the participant responses were of a self-reporting nature. Therefore their perceptions, thoughts, attitudes, etc relied on past experience which may have been subject to memory biases (Guba & Lincoln, 1990).

Limitations in data analysis

The possible limitations of data analysis could have occurred by relating results to the themes outlined. In reducing such limitations, the interpretation of information was discussed with two lecturers and with the key informants.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Mill, in Knight (2002) an individual may have many rights but does not have the right to harm others. The author reminds researchers to treat subjects as thinking, willing beings who are free to make choices. On the other hand, there should be an awareness that the research is often an intrusion into people's lives and that their co-operation is needed for a venture they did not specifically request. Participants are sometimes required to reveal personal details about their lives, therefore the principal of 'no harm' must be adhered to in the greatest possible measure. Ethics is associated with morality, a sense of what is right and what is wrong. For research purposes, we translate this morality to mean that which is ethically acceptable.

Access into the school setting

The Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu Natal accepted a proposal with regard to this undertaking in 2005. A letter was drafted to the principals of the 4 schools mentioned, with the assistance of the supervisor. Principals of all schools granted written consent for the study. They are 'in loco parentis' (Education Law & Policy Handbook, 2003) which means that they have decision making power in the absence of parents, where such decisions are deemed to benefit learners in some way. Upon receipt of formal consent from them, the researcher liaised with secretaries and educators at schools to arrange for visits.

Informed consent

Weber, in Patton (1990) emphasizes that subjects have the right to complete information about the undertaking in respect of its nature and consequences. After being notified of the purpose of the study, the duration, methods and perceived risk, their participation must be totally voluntary. There is no need for the researcher to be deceptive or ambiguous. To that end, students were introduced to the topic and invited to participate. Copies of consent forms were administered to each learner and clarified by the researcher. The following important points were highlighted:

1. That the researcher was fluent in Zulu and could interpret any question that was difficult to understand, although educators and learners had indicated that the English medium was adequate.

2. That the research was relevant to all school going children in that it sou address a universal problem.

3. That bullying and violence were not an acceptable means of conflict resolution and that all learners had the right to a safe learning environment.

4. That their input was valuable in bringing attention to the problem to all people concerned with the school environment.

5. That their participation was totally voluntary and that non-involvement would not disadvantage them in any way.

6. That all information was treated as strictly confidential and so their identities would not be disclosed to any person for any reason.

7. That the eventual report would be available to them/their schools.

Guba & Lincoln (1990:198) state that it is a myth that 'local respondents will cooperate because their superiors have commissioned them to do so.' The researcher found that this was not the case as participants seemed happy to comply with the research needs. Only two questionnaires were submitted unfilled. It is possible that these learners were suspicious of the intentions of the researcher or believed it would be in their best interests not to respond.

Privacy and confidentiality

The privacy and confidentiality of subjects was upheld in that they were treated in an anonymous manner and their identities cannot be linked to their schools. The personal information shared, cannot be traced back to them as pseudonyms have been employed for educators and no identifying criteria have been presented for the group members. Further, the random selection of schools ensured that they were not repeatedly subjected to research as Merebank residents sometimes are in relation to the exceptionally high levels of toxic gas emissions (noted in Chapter One).

Guba & Lincoln (1990) assert that research in the social sciences ultimately benefits the people under investigation. The Ethics workshop that the researcher was obliged to attend as well as a signed declaration to the University of KwaZulu Natal, ensured that the researcher was cognisant of the ethical requirements involved.

92

to attend as well as a signed declaration to the University of KwaZulu Natal, ensured that the researcher was cognisant of the ethical requirements involved.

CONCLUSION

All of the relevant details regarding data collection have been furnished in this chapter. The researcher acknowledges that in this small scale effort, all prescriptions of data collection may not have been adhered to and is in keeping with Knight's (2002) sentiment that researchers should not claim to have prepared for all facets of the process.

The next chapter details analysis and discussion of the results.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The analysis and interpretation of the results are contained in this chapter. In seeking to establish a sense of continuity, the results are presented and discussed jointly. Different data collection strategies were used and while there are unique perspectives, there is also a fair degree of overlap. The interconnectedness of the data is expected as all participants function within the same environment. Most of the analysis and discussion revolves around the questionnaire with the interviews and focus groups serving as additional sources of information. The feedback is presented in a descriptive manner in the main, with percentages that depict frequencies so a quantitative understanding may be obtained. All graphs and tables relate to the questionnaire.

RESPONDENTS

Graph 1: Distribution of learner sample

94
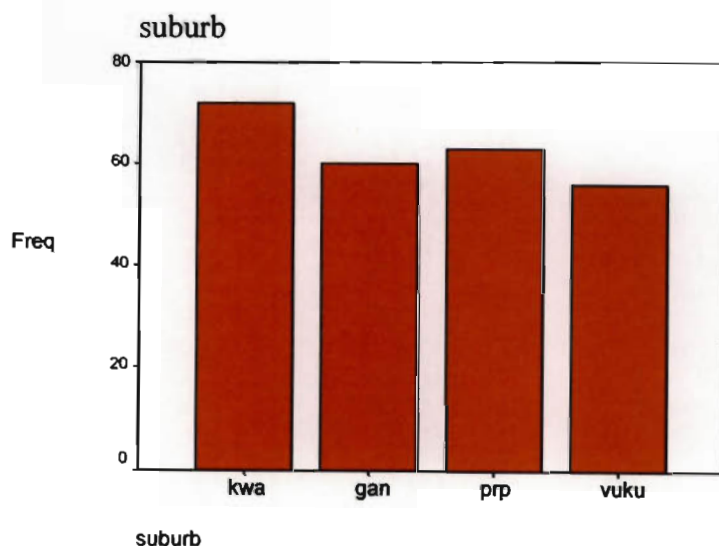
A total of 251 learners responded to the questionnaire, of these 28,7% were from Kwamgaga, 23,9% from Ganges, 25,1% from P.R Pather and 22,3% from Vukusakhe.

A description of key informants

Background information regarding key informants is included here to gain some insight into their characteristics and experiences. In maintaining ethical consideration, pseudonyms are being employed and the names of their schools will not be linked to them.

Mr. Naidoo lived in Merebank as a youth and has since moved to a suburb 20 minutes away. His input was valuable since he taught some of the members on his staff and had 25 years of experience. The frustration he voiced related to learners' lack of discipline and inability to abide by school rules. Mr. Naidoo found the drug taking, weapon carrying and promiscuity of learners' to be quite unmanageable. He explained, "So the banning of corporal punishment I wouldn't say has increased or decreased bullying but the general behaviour of students, ja, that has changed drastically; the internal stuff, their attitudes, the way they talk and their rowdiness, not complying with school rules, not doing homework, in terms of uniform, etc. Because of their rights, they feel they can get away with basically anything."

He appeared to be 'set in his ways' but was rightfully concerned about children who were lacking adequate parenting, as evidenced by this sentiment, "Ultimately it's the responsibility of the parent to come to school. They take long to respond to the call because they are working. Some of them have just got a job and they can lose the job if they call at school." On the whole he admitted to being unpopular as there were constant interruptions in a day regarding disciplinary matters whereby he needed to take a forceful stance. Apparently, his lessons and administrative work were chronically disturbed when parents called or children became aggressive. Mr. Naidoo believed he had transcended the poverty/deprivation that learners found themselves in. He was of the view that they weren't taking responsibility for their actions despite having had sufficient information on drug addiction, gangsterism, etc.

The next person to be interviewed was Mr. Joseph, a mild mannered individual with 7 years teaching experience, all in a predominantly Indian staffed school. He presented

as extremely orthodox in the view that children ought to be caned to recognize the authority of the school and to abide by its rules. He is quoted as follows, "Most of the time in our culture, if a child has done something wrong, we used to punish the child, cane him. If they are not getting punished they continue to do the same thing." He accepted in a 'matter of fact' way that some learners came from squatter camps and did not seek to highlight their difficulties. It was not the intention of the researcher to specifically delve into the African contextualized experience, however it emerged from this interview and was both radical and thought provoking.

For him, bullying and violence was the norm in African townships and learners were simply modelling the violent or anti-social behaviour they observed. He stated, '...you know learners, they learn from the environment and then they think that's the right behaviour. No matter how hard we try to tell them that this thing (bullying) is wrong, they still do that.' His observation was that children may enlist the help of outsiders in ganging up to fight, to cut fences, etc. Mr. Joseph felt that supervision was a problem as the ground area was too vast to patrol. He stated, 'The area is too big for the security or educators to observe. But you know the children, you never know the way they do things.' Still, he seemed to genuinely believe that the school could start to make a difference to children's attitudes and values. Interestingly he mentioned that teachers needed to give respect to receive it, which is alluded to in this statement, 'It's not that because teachers go to university that there must be a difference. They have to be good role models firstly. It is not only to work in class, to teach only, we must also look at our behaviour and talk about it. We must start here, from the ground.' This sentiment hints at the fact that while learners' attitudes toward school may have worsened, teachers are also engaging in less than professional conduct at times.

The guidance counsellor was interviewed to gain insight into the rate of bullying and structures in place to assist learners. She was employed on a governing body basis, which meant she was paid from the school fund. Mrs Gopal was an ex social worker returning to the workforce after an absence of 12 years. Her salary was R3000 per month (8:00am to 1:30pm). When asked about the frequency of bullying she replied that incidents were brought to her attention almost daily. It became clear that polarization existed between her goals and those of the educators, as she attempted to

establish her role as legitimate. The irony is that educators agreed on the need for a counsellor but accorded her a sub-status that was evident in the following comment, "What I find very disconcerting is that the educators don't give too much respect to that (class conducted by counsellor). I felt very hurt on Tuesday last week when one of the educators said 'Listen, this is my time.' They were not prepared to release the kids and I feel there is a dire need for help."

Mrs Gopal was extremely sympathetic towards learners who she saw as victims of family or societal dysfunction. Her concerned nature had been manipulated by learners who wished to avoid lessons. She acknowledged this and felt capable of differentiating the genuine cases from the pretenders. In this regard she said, "I think it's my job to attend to any pupil, that is my role, to listen to them. Some of the students were coming, but some were making it a habit, trying to bunk classes." Mrs Gopal was vociferous about the general lack of concern regarding problems facing the school-goers, by the Department of Education. She exclaimed, "... yes, they've (the department) got counsellors. I don't see why they can't come out once a week to help the children with specific problems. If the school psychologist is asked to come, I don't see why he can't! What's 8 weeks in his schedule?" Her emotion confirmed that there was no regular contact between schools and the Department of Education with regard to pastoral care of children.

Mrs Nandani had several qualifications to her credit and was quite focussed on efficiency. With 19 years of teaching experience she held a management position in the largest department of her school. She therefore became responsible for the discipline of a majority of the learners. There was an immediate sense of frustration when the topic of bullying and violence arose. Her difficulty in handling the issue was apparent by the following statements which were in response to parental support and the availability of school programmes for behaviour problems; 'No, not at all. Parents are often not informed of the problem and we find that weeks later after we really pressurize the learner into bringing some figure of authority, when the learner eventually does arrive with somebody, who sometimes ends up to be a fraud...just brought in off the street...any adult figure. I believe they pay them a small sum of

money. We definitely have a problem getting a hold of parents' and 'We don't have any programmes formally in school that address the problem of bullying and violence.'

Mrs Nandani explained that needles are 'used to threaten, to bribe, to traumatize, to coerce.' She agreed that the fear surrounding AIDS was sufficient for some learners to forcibly manipulate others, by jabbing them at random. (This form of threat is discussed later on in this chapter). She saw the partnership of social workers and educators as essential especially since most of the children in her care lived apart from their parents and even served as caregivers themselves. According to Mrs Nandani she needed to consistently enhance the pupils' well being while supporting and encouraging the educators in her ambit. What she found most challenging was learners' apparent indifference to the goals of the school and the tasks of teachers. Her comment that only about 10% or 20% of bullying probably reached the attention of teachers' indicated an awareness of its overt and subtle forms. It also speaks to a gap in the reporting of this problem.

Unanimous feedback was received from all four interviewees with regard to their feeling unappreciated in a job with comparatively low pay/departmental support and limited promotion opportunities. When asked about assistance from the state, Mr Naidoo answered that, 'The school can engage the department, but the process, it does take long those kind of processes and the number of schools...I think they look at the very serious issues.'

All key informants empathized with the plight of working parents who have difficulty in keeping school appointments. Mr Joseph said, 'Others they co-operate, others they don't. Most of the parents of learners, they are busy, they don't have time to come in. Some of the parents are not living with the learners. They are living elsewhere.' In the same vein Mrs Nandani is quoted as follows, 'Many of our learners do not reside with their parents...the parents are often out of the picture, for socioeconomic and other reasons.' The three educators were in agreement on the lowered standards of discipline and general disorder in schools where they were expected to carve out an organized learning environment, without effective guidelines for discipline. Mr Joseph's input on security was, 'Sometimes they can break the gate, they can go out,

they can do whatever they want to do. That is what is happening. There's one boy that stabbed another boy around here (indicating the eye). They took him to Wentworth Hospital. I think the boy (attacker) he used a pen'

Focus groups

Two focus groups were conducted, one with boys and one with girls. The former comprised ten learners of whom six were African and four, Indian. The female group consisted of six Indian and five African children. It was hoped that while in the company of members of their own sex, these children would have felt at greater ease to share personal experiences/opinions. The boys were more playful and distracted than their female counterparts. The presence of a tape recorder served to intimidate some of them who 'gushed' out complaints/needs after the sessions.

<u>*a) Group characteristics and feedback*</u>

It appeared that at any part of the school day there were children who remained unsupervised. In one school for example, six educators had gone on FET training leaving many noisy learners roaming the corridors. Educators from other schools had also attended the sessions, but the researcher did not discern how many were absent at the time. Although group members were selected according to availability, a few may have been included in the hope of getting some therapeutic benefit, in spite of the deputy principal being informed of the nature of the study. This was apparent by the two boys who were glassy-eyed and one girl who was forceful and dominating in her group session. One boy had difficulty staying on his seat and had to make an effort not to fall off. He admitted to smoking cigarettes confirming that his status increased by doing so. Three of the girls were extremely subdued. Only after the session did they discuss some personal problems and urged the researcher to return. Their difficulties related to disharmony at home as a result of their parents' marital and alcohol issues. The concerns were forwarded to the principal for possible classroom intervention, while learners' identities remained confidential. Three girls spoke to the researcher until she reached her car. This was encouraging and confirmed that rapport had been established with them.

Group members had not bonded significantly and had no reason to trust the others, therefore the reluctance of some to participate in the discussion was understandable. Any of these learners may have been afraid to be quoted by their schoolmates outside the session, although the rules for group conduct were outlined at the beginning.

The reasons for bullying provided by these children, were in keeping with those found in the literature (viz for attention, to prevent becoming victims themselves, due to environmental influences, etc). What was insightful was their awareness of the promiscuity/disruptiveness of fellow learners and the fact that parents are sometimes 'blind' to the faults of their children, as evidenced by this statement, 'They do those things (misbehave) in school, but the parents are not aware. They (learners) go home and act like saints and when they come here it's a different story.'

Most members were clear in not wishing to report bullying and expressed a lack of confidence in teachers' ability to respond appropriately to their complaints, for example 'You see when it's a small problem, then they (educators) leave it, it gets big then they call the parents.' This study sought to understand the 'felt' experiences of learners which alternately emerged as muted agreement; as the show of emotion/hurt and unanimous complaints about the general unfairness of educators. The perception of unfairness related to the prohibition of free mixing between boys and girls, to the insistence on the use of uniforms and the constant reprimands for tardiness. Such complaints are expected to emerge generation after generation as youth feel stifled by rules. A fair amount of information was gathered at the end of these sessions, with the critical questions being answered.

Questionnaire respondents

TABLE 2: Demographic details

CHARACTERISTICS		No. of Participants
AGES:	11years	1
	12years	7
	13years	66
	14years	107
	15years	53
	16years	12
	17years	5
TOTAL:		**251**
GENDER:	Males	96
	Females	155
TOTAL:		**251**
GRADE:	8	145
	9	106
TOTAL:		**251**

Table Two indicates that a majority of the participants were between the ages of 13 to 15 years. Dupper (2003) states that primary prevention programmes are increasingly being geared toward adolescence to meet the peculiarities of this developmental stage. The literature pertaining to the young adolescent is replete with information on intra and inter-personal conflict, some of which concerns teenage sexuality, substance abuse, peer pressure and the formation of an identity separate to their parents.

This study proposed to include 12 to 15 year olds for participation however 6,8% of them were older than 16 years. It is significant that children from grades 8 and 9 spanned a seven year age difference. Academic failure has been related to heightened levels of frustration and to bullying. The poor grades – aggression hypothesis discussed in Chapter Two informs us that the low achiever is more likely to display hostility as s/he experiences frustration in the grade oriented environment of the school. It is probable that persons within this 6,8% range experience conflict or

humiliation at being in the lower grades when their age related peers are not. Hence they may well be victims of ridicule or behave as bullies themselves to protect their self esteem. Respondents were not asked whether or not they bullied others which could have yielded results suitable for correlation with age. The physical development of the 16 and 17 year olds is dramatically different to their 11 and 12 year old classmates, as is their sexuality and emotional maturity. The data that Whitney & Smith (1993) gathered showed that of 6758 pupils, 34% reported older children as aggresssors and 43% were bullied by learners of their own grade. Other age related correlations are made in this chapter.

The above table also indicates that about a third of the respondents were male with the remainder being female (38%: 62%). Interestingly the total number of boys for grades 8 and 9 totalled 1027 and the figure for girls was 980. It is possible that the sample population was overrepresented by girls in both suburbs. Over 57% of the respondents were in grade 8 and 42.2% in grade 9. The availability of these learners determined their inclusion in this effort. According to Tattum (1993) and Whitney & Smith (1993), the bullying tendency is greater in junior high and tapers off as children grow older.

ANALYSIS

Questions 2 and 3 are discussed separately and other questions are grouped into the prevalent themes. Questions 2 to 10 (except question 8) comprised four or more alternatives which were not exclusive therefore learners may have selected more than one option.

Graph 2 - Learners threatened by "after school" confrontation (15 and younger)

Age category=below 15 years
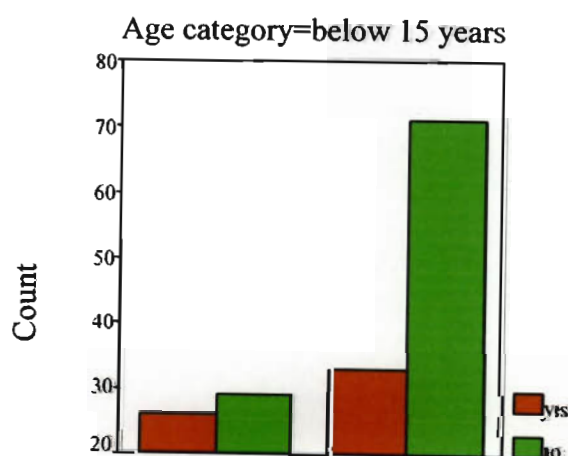
Question 2a read as 'I felt scared when a person or group threatened to wait for me after school' and is cross tabulated with age and sex variables in graphs 1 and 2. Within the confines of gender, 36% of the boys and 27% of the girls were threatened with after school confrontation.

Graph 3: Learners threatened by "after school "confrontation (16 and older)

Age category=16+
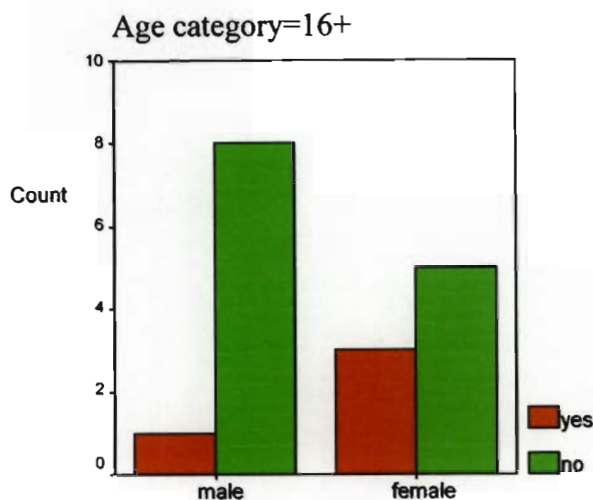
Thirty percent of the respondents confirmed that a person or group had threatened to 'wait' for him or her after school. This is significant as the aggressor's intentions to intimidate or harm another is clear and deliberate. Bullies are aware of the increased vulnerability of their peers in the absence of educators/adults. Grunsell (1989:5) quotes her adolescent case study as follows, "When someone comes up to me and says for no reason 'I'm going to get you after school,' I start to panic. I think to myself 'Why are they getting at me?' I'm terrified." There is no visible proof of bullying so reporting becomes even more remote.

There was a 'yes/no' option for 2b (I received a note telling me to do something or to stop something). Graphs 4 and 5 show a cross tabulated result, with no significant difference between the boys and girls, although girls are expected to engage in this kind of subtle activity to a larger degree as the literature conveys. "Female bullying is worse that male bullying because it is more personal, more psychological and much more emotionally destructive," according to Besag quoted in the Daily News of 10/05/06.

Graph 4: Learners who received a threatening note (15 and younger)

Age category=below 15 years
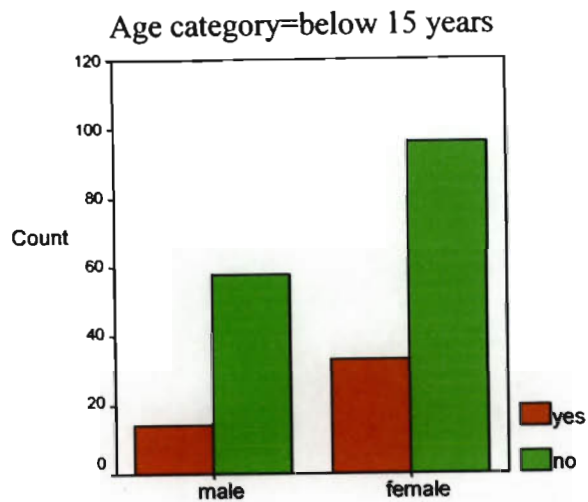
From 96 boys, 18% were affected and within the girls' sample, 23% gave affirmative responses.

Graph 5: Learners who received a threatening note (16 and over)

Age category=16+
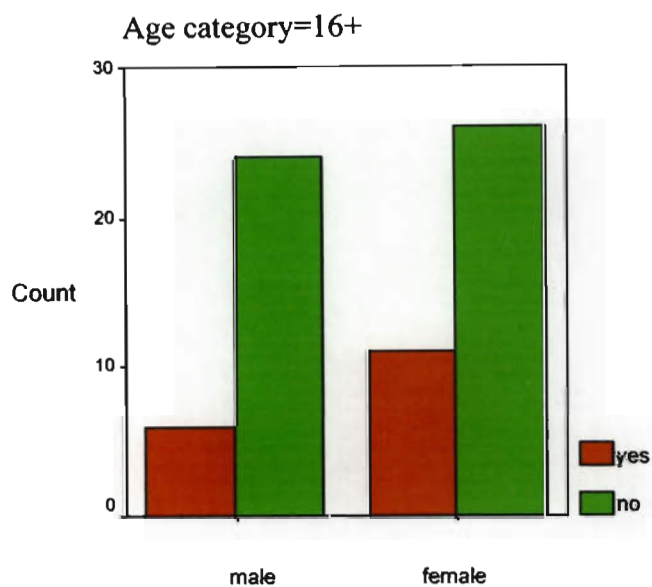
A threatening note is a subtle form of bullying that simultaneously instils fear in the recipient and protects the identity of the sender. It is a means of intimidation without

drawing attention to oneself. 'Real bullying is very easy to hide and often relies on a covert or unspoken threat' (Douglas, 2002:2). He adds that teachers are hardly as alert to this form of bulling as they are to the more visible abuse. As a result verbal and relational bullying are not taken very seriously and continue at a low level, emitting the same harm as overt acts. Another fairly sinister form of threat is the use of needles. These are flashed around and jabbed into people so they would believe the HI virus was being transmitted to them. The mere sight of a needle then can become a source of worry and the aggressor may effectively use this to their advantage. According to Mrs Nandani 'The ignorance and fear surrounding AIDS allows for some children to traumatize others and although there have been strict warnings in this regard, a needle is inconspicuous and can disappear very quickly.' The researcher suggested to some educators that specific disciplinary measures be put into place in this regard and that reporting be made mandatory.

Forty three percent of the respondents felt afraid when somebody threatened their friend. Such a threat is an indirect form of instilling trepidation into another person and is often as potent as a direct threat as friends share physical proximity and emotional closeness. The cohesion of a pair or group establishes it as one unit. A friend then becomes obliged to support or defend his/her companion who has been challenged. The literature abounds with the importance of peer association for adolescents and this statement by a group member gives insight into the nature of loyalty toward friends: 'I'm the type of person, I can stand (confront) for anybody. If somebody interferes with my friend, then I will stand for her. Anyone here can tell you, I'm not afraid.'

The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention in Cape Town, reported in May 2006 that one in five South African youth were threatened with harm and frightened or injured at school. No other details on the sources of their statistics are provided (Sunday Tribune of 30/07/06).

105

Graph 6: Threat to a friend (15 and younger)

Age category=below 15 years
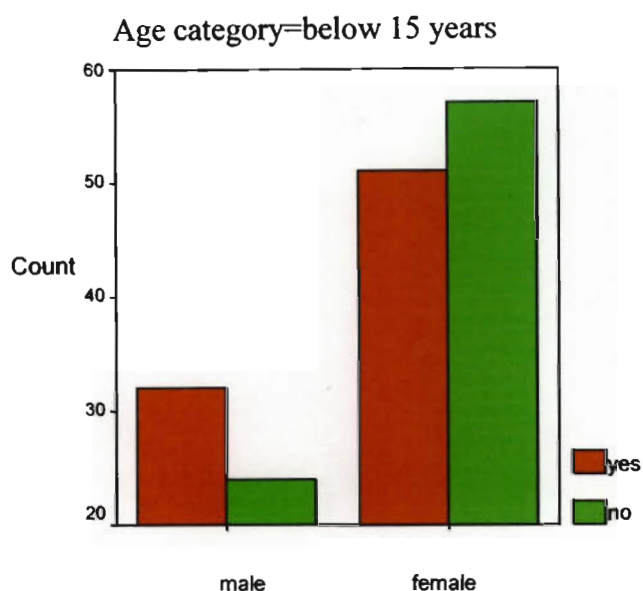
Graphs 6 and 7 confirm that this indirect form of bullying is highly prevalent and creates fear in both younger and older learners. In view of the comparatively smaller number of boys who participated in this study, a larger percentage felt scared when a friend was threatened. Within the boys group, a 39% response was received from 96 learners and a 43% response from 155 girls. This could mean that threats among boys are not idle and actually manifest more often into a confrontation of sorts.

Graph 7: Threat to a friend (16 and older)

Age category=16+
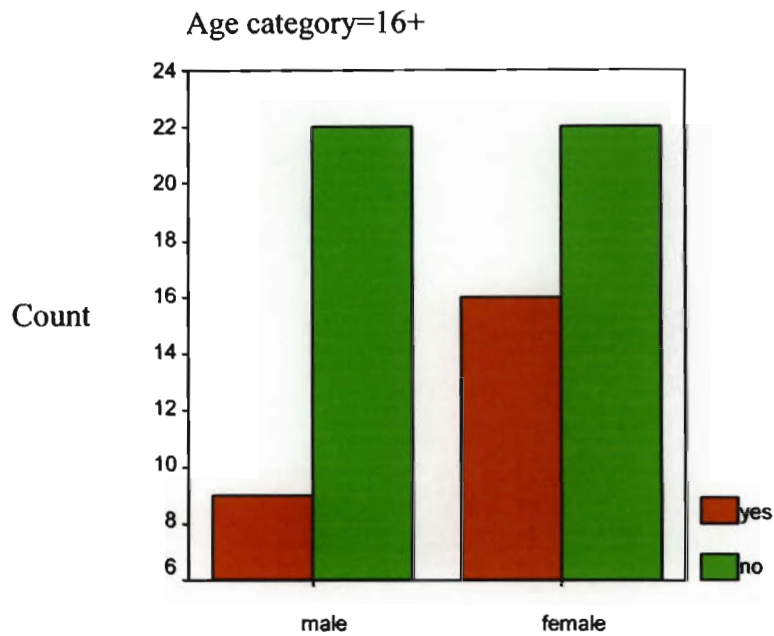
Both boys and girls provided a 43% response within their gender groupings. A larger sample would have afforded for greater comparison between the older and younger groups.

Graph 8: Other forms of threat

Age category=16+
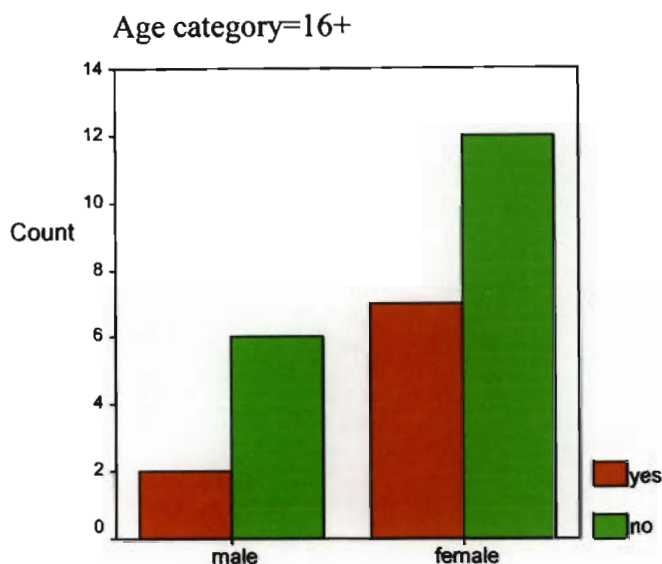
Children who felt afraid for reasons other than those listed, numbered 31 or 12,4% of the sample. Of these, 8 of them were over the age of 16 as depicted in graph 8. Although learners did not provide the detail required, it may be assumed that a bodily gesture, a disturbing phone call or sms are used to the same effect. The advent of electronic bullying has already been noted in the literature review.

The responses to questions 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d are what learners considered to be common reasons for people to bully. The frustration – aggression hypothesis is relevant to all of the reasons provided. Dollard & colleagues (cited in Woods, 2000) offer that while aggression is innate, it is elevated by frustration. The hypothesis proposes that we aggress when frustrated. A child however, who is subjected to aggression at home may well displace their frustrations as they cannot challenge a parent or powerful figure. It appears that children find the opportunity to harass others within a range of possibilities. It may be because of someone's size or that they wear funny shoes or come from a certain background. The list is as varied as the bully needs it to be, for it is true that other pupils would have the same characteristics.

While 59,4% believed bullies seek attention, 51,8% mentioned that bullying served as a deterrent to potential troublemakers. When group members were asked why they

108

thought children bully, the chorused responses included, 'money, to impress others, to make you scared.' Male group members responded in the same vein when asked why some children bully and responses were, 'for money, to steal lunches, sometimes cell phones or jackets.' One learner gave the following opinion, 'Some children don't get attention at home. They think if they bully other children, they get more attention doing that.' All of the feedback provided by educators and groups regarding the inclination to bully are found in the literature and relate to individual or situational deficiencies that permeate from one sub-system to another. 'Yes it can be what they watch in the neighbourhood, you just came past the flat area, you can see the unsavoury characters hanging around there. Now these kids want to be like bristons (masculine),' was Mr Naidoo's comment. With regard to parental influences, Mrs Gopal was asked about the parental support received in assisting bullies and victims. The uncaring/intolerant image of men was suggested when she replied, 'The male figure, very difficult to come in...' Mr Joseph mentioned that 'particularly the boys, they want to do that (bully); they want to be more popular.' The harassment of peers is an indicator of lifelong anti-social difficulties as childhood bullies often become violent adults where there is a lack of suitable intervention (Crawford & Bodine, 1996).

More than 45% of the learners asserted that the environment affected the behaviour of aggressors, of whom 53 live in Umlazi and 62 in Merebank. 'Sometimes they have to do these things otherwise others will push them around...even where they come from, it's dangerous,' is the comment of one learner which showed the need to appear tough to survive in certain neighbourhoods. About 32% of the sample felt that poor academic performance was a catalystic factor in bullying. Alsaker & Brunner cited in Sullivan (1999), argued that where students were more academically focussed, more successful and pro-social, the incidence of bullying is lower. However, research remains inconclusive in this respect. The cross tabulation for perceptions regarding school performance and the two suburbs is presented: Forty four of the eighty learners who gave affirmative answers to this question live in Umlazi and thirty six in Merebank. Lower academic achievement in African schools is apparent from Muribwatholo's (2004) findings: The matric pass rate for four African secondary schools in 2000 was as follows; Illanga High (40%), Sithokozile Secondary (67%), Buhlembenfundo Secondary (50%) and Umqhele High (55%). In contrast Westville

Boys had a 97% pass rate, Pinetown Girls, 100% and Westville Girls, 100%. It must be remembered that all learners observed in Umlazi were African and that their under-resourced conditions did not attract members of other race groups.

The SAP's Sgt Mchunu says that drug use prevails in all schools despite levels of affluence and that Chatsworth, Kwa-Mashu, Phoenix and Umlazi have schools known for constant drug dealing (Daily News of 24/08/06). The same article quotes a principal who condemns parents for being too lenient with their children, saying that classes hold an average of 40 children each and that teachers cannot be expected to monitor behaviour adequately. Learners and educators were filmed for E-TV's 7 pm news edition (10/10/06) and the complaint that teachers have far too many pressing issues to attend to on a daily basis, was highlighted. Educators confirmed in this broadcast that they were fully aware of drug use in their schools but were unable to 'police' students. This sentiment was in keeping with Mr Naidoo's belief that "...ultimately a child must be disciplined at home first. He must be taught the correct values at home, but sometimes the parent has the attitude '...do what you want and he's not interested. So the child knows he's going to get away."

Twenty two individuals felt that bullies may have other motives for their behaviour. It is possible that the option of being mentally unstable is relevant here. 'They're stupid, like mental' [indicating retardation] is the comment by one group member.

The perceived locations for bullying

TABLE 3 : Location of Bullying

Area :	Number of responses	Percentage
A) Toilets	112	44,6%
B) Tuck shop	86	34,3%
C) Playground	121	48,2%
D) During sport	66	26,3%
E) When classes move	48	19,1%
F) Outside school premises	102	40,6%
G) Other	23	9,2%

The responses to question 4 are reflected in table 3.

Toilets serve as an ideal location to entrap a potential victim who in all probability must use the facility at some point in the school day. It was observed in the schools visited that there is nobody on duty outside the toilets, which reek of cigarette smoke although prefects and educators patrol the grounds randomly. Over 44% of the respondents felt that the toilet area is a possible location for bullying. According to group members, 'It (bullying) can happen anywhere, like mostly in the toilets or this side grounds' [pointing]. When asked about the teachers on duty this was the feedback, 'They're not even around. Some of them come, but if they (learners) want to do something they can do it...' indicating the laxity in supervision. The need for teachers to be seen patrolling the 'out of the way' zones is discussed in Chapter Six.

Harassment around the tuck shop may well be related to wanting service during the 20 and 25 minute breaks so shoving or place skipping could feature commonly. It is also likely that money is extorted here. Mr Naidoo is quoted as follows '...taking away their money, forcing them to bring money, we had a case where a child was forced to bring, was stealing money from home. Generally when the grade 8's come in at the beginning of the year, the bigger boys, er, extortion is quite common then.' Mrs Gopal added that, 'When it's money involved... when children are being intimidated and others just steal their money...' confirms that learners bully for money. The visibility of money or foodstuff could place a learner in a vulnerable position. There are several hawkers on the premises of Kwamgaga High selling various kinds of food. Fewer lines or clusters are formed as compared to Ganges Secondary for instance, where one tuck shop venue has a restricted selling space. Eighty six individuals (34,3%) believed the tuck shop is a place where bullying occurs.

The greatest number of responses for question 4 were obtained where 121 participants (48,2%) felt the school grounds to be an opportune area for bullying. This relates to the cautioning that adequate supervision of grounds is essential in stemming the problem (Olweus, cited in Wiesner & Ittel; 2002). Nadasan (2004) in her study with 184 Durban learners found that 72% reported bullying to be most frequent on the school grounds. She cited Krige (2000) who advised that while the law did not expect educators to supervise children for all hours of the day, it required that they perform a duty in maximising school safety. This study concurs with others in terms of the high

percentages of playground bullying that is reported (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Nadasan 2004).

Sixty six people (26,3%) noted that bullying happened during sport and forty eight learners (19,1%) acknowledged that children were bullied when classes move to different subject rooms. The Keele Partnership Investigation in Table One showed similar results to this small scale study where 17% of the respondents agreed that bullying occurred in the corridors.

The 9,2% of respondents who felt that bullying is likely to occur in other places, did not stipulate where. The remaining areas include the classroom, at assembly time or in the busses/taxis during the morning and afternoon trips. Professor de Wet's study noted in the literature review, revealed that over 32% of the pupils interviewed were assaulted mainly in taxis and in the toilets. It is to be expected that the commuters of public transport as well as other adults have the opportunity to harass children. A group member says, 'When I came late one day, Mr X gave me a slap' and another described his abusive father. In the column 'Readers have their say' the Minister of Education [Ina Cronje)] has been accused of listening to corrupt officials by ignoring apparent violence against children, perpetuated by educators (Daily News of 24/08/06). The public are thus being informed of abusive behaviour of educators, which some children may have come to accept as 'normal' in the teacher-pupil relationship.

Bullying and violence may also occur on the periphery of the school premises. Shabeer Moses, a 17 year old Brindavan Secondary pupil was killed for his cell phone in November 2005 (Daily News of 27/09/06). Judge Rowan was quoted in the article as saying, 'a young boy losing his life over a cell phone defies belief in a normal and civil society.' This incident speaks to the potential and current violence in and around schools as the perpetrator was a 22 year old outsider who confronted Shabeer at the school gate and stole R3 from his friend who witnessed the attack.

Pressure to smoke and to conform

Question 5a relates to the pressure to smoke, 5b to use coloured braces or contact lenses, 5c to own smart school gear and 5d to other forms of pressure. Those children who knowingly or unknowingly do not conform to the predominant models of masculinity or femininity run the risk of being harassed by the 'in' group (Douglas, 2002).

Question 5a is discussed separately. Approximately one third of the questionnaire respondents were boys and contact with the group of boys clearly indicated their inclination to smoke. One group member is quoted as follows, 'No, there's no account, you just buy it. You see ma'am, when you are smoking you can't just stop.' Forty learners (15,9%) which was inclusive of girls and boys, felt pressurized to smoke. It is significant that these children would be in their first or second year of secondary school and already felt such pressure into a habit which leads to illness and fatality. Many references were made to smoking and drug use although the researcher did not search out more information. Drug taking is a grave concern among educators as indicated by this statement from Mr Naidoo, '...in the flat area, there the drug taking is rife, sale of drugs is rife, they use our children...there's quite a few people, actually three, who engage our children to sell. A child once told me he sells drugs for a dealer from the flats and he stopped selling now but he was making a lot of money.' This flat area is about 1,5 km away from the school and consists of 10 and 12 family dwellings in a single building. There are no recreational facilities here and cars often park along the road (refer to photo's in appendix F). Mr Naidoo states that not only are the drug dealers living here, but that youngsters from the flats come and congregate outside the school gate. This association with learners is mentioned further on in this chapter. 'The reason behind so many school pupils becoming addicted to hardcore drugs is a sinister plot hatched by dealers looking to expand their drug market and pupils who belong to gangs sell drugs for older gang members.' This is the comment by journalist, Bhavna Sookha (Daily News: 24/08/06). It is clear that the learner population is a viable market for the sale of drugs and again the need for structured intervention demands attention.

Pressure to be fashionable/trendy

Questions 5b, 5c, 6b, 6c and 7d were all computed as the 'need to be stylish' and cross tabulated with the variable of sex. Seventy five boys and 129 girls felt peer pressure to be trendy. The results seem to support the age old view that females are required to or have a greater need to look attractive as compared to males; however within the confines of gender, 78% of the boys experienced this form of pressure and 83% of the girls.

TABLE 4 : Pressure to be fashionable

	Respondents	Percentage
MALE	75	29,88%
FEMALE	129	51,42%
MISSING SYSTEM	47	18,7%
TOTAL	251	100%

Coloured braces/contact lenses are considered radical and attract the attention of others. They are expensive and often unnecessary. The need to use these items is expected to be more prevalent in the higher income social stratum. One hundred (39,8%) of the respondents stated that they endure pressure to have smart school gear. Thirty eight individuals (15,1%) noted that they feel pressured in other respects but did not elaborate.

The percentage of 41,4 was the highest with regard to question six and read as 'I believe I am often insulted in school because I am not as stylish as other children.' This result has implications for children's self esteem and the demands they make on their parents. The Daily News of 20/09/06 reports on a new school uniform being proposed by the Department of Education that will consider religious and cultural issues. The optional items of sandals, takkies and jackets are to be included as part of the uniform in the hope of reducing financial cost. Mr Ngqengelele a department spokesman states that, 'The uniform will assist school officials in recognizing unauthorized people entering the school, help parents and pupils to resist peer

pressure that leads children to make unnecessary demands for particular and expensive clothing, decrease theft of designer clothing and footwear, minimize gang violence....' The researcher observed that while some learners (who by virtue of traditional norms) dressed conservatively, many learners attempted to deviate as far away from the school dress code as possible, in the Indian suburb. This was done by wearing a variety of jerseys, jackets or stockings and pants of different shades. A large majority of the African learners wore the complete school kit.

Perceived Reasons for being bullied

a) Race

Although similar to the question five, here we looked at the actual experiences of children and why they felt they are picked on. Forty two respondents (16,7%) noted that their race served as a precursor to being bullied or harassed, of whom twenty were from Umlazi and twenty two from Merebank. It is possible that some Africans and Indians behave in a biased way in the presence of other race groups. However, when asked if there were tensions between Indian and African children, one group echoed, '...no, everybody gets along.' The following question was posed to the guidance counsellor: 'With regard to bullying and violence, do you have mainly African or Indian children that come to you?' Her response was, 'We have about 50/50.' Mr Naidoo replied that 'bullying is generally not related to race.' A similar perception was presented by Mr Joseph who is quoted as, '...bullying because of race, I cannot say that is the case in our school. Bullying and violence are not based on race. These are singular incidents, it can happen Indians among Indians or Africans among Africans.' This means that intra – racial bullying was as prevalent as any other form. In South Africa the aftermath of apartheid has left its citizens with an increased sensitivity toward the issue of race.

Although 19,1% of the respondents stated they were insulted for reasons other than those mentioned in the options for question 6, they did not elaborate. The feedback from group members and key informants indicate that race was not a highly significant contributory factor to bullying.

b) Family background

Questions 7a, b and c speak to the family as a source of ridicule. Sixty seven learners (26,7%) asserted that they have their religious beliefs picked on. It speaks to the imbibing of stereotypes and bias and is therefore disturbing, but was not within the scope of this study to be elaborated upon. Children from a different religion, who wear alternate styles of dress or have marked physical differences also run a greater risk of being bullied, according to Furlong et al, cited in Dupper (1985). With regard to family background, of the 52 children that responded, 23 were from Umlazi and 29 from Merebank. One's family background can have distinct features such as wealth, notoriety, etc. Familial association is inevitable and the episodes or history of a family that are well known may lead to pre-judging an individual. Also related to socio-economic environments, people may be classified as belonging to either dangerous, elite or deprived areas.

Mr Naidoo is quoted as follows, 'The most common problem for us as educators is that they (parents) take long to respond to the call, because they are working...and in our present society, it's difficult to get a job.' This statement is in keeping with the unemployment statistics presented in Chapter One. Forty three individuals reported being taunted because of their apparently inferior neighbourhoods or possessions. 'We're living with a different generation now and we're exposed to TV. We're exposed to all sorts of things...also the breakdown in family life, these are all contributing to so much of the learner problems,' according to Mrs Gopal. It would appear that since bullying is the unprovoked physical or psychological abuse of an individual, a range of characteristics suffices in taunting others. The tremendous significance of the neighbourhood in influencing behaviour, is noted in Chapter Two. Sixty six learners confirmed that they are harassed as they have little or no pocket money and thirty six of the respondents were taunted for other reasons.

Different types of bullying

Question 8 sought to understand the levels of physical, emotional and psychological bullying and the results are depicted as follows;

Graph 9: Verbal threat/s experienced
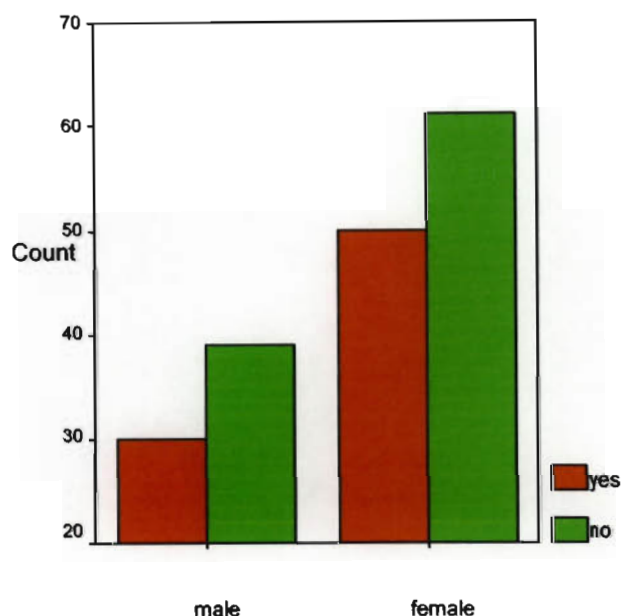
Questions 8a, 8c and 8d reveal a similar pattern in the experiences of boys and girls. Kindlon & Thompson (2000) state that for boys to admit to hurt feelings is seen as a sign of weakness, so they attempt to divert attention from themselves onto others. The authors calls it a psychological war. Although they do not speak of girls, the same is possibly true for them. The literature however alludes to girls creating more emotional and psychological damage when they bully as compared to boys who display greater physical aggression. Fifty of the eighty respondents in graph 9 were girls. The covert form of harassing a person can be understood by this quote from a female learner: "…it was the first day of school and she started with me, always picking on me. She said I was with this man and that man and the bar man…she was…all my life…I'll do everything with her and then she said 'I don't like you,' all because of rumours she's listening to." This learner was visibly affected by the insensitive treatment meted out to her and other girls patted her on the shoulder.

117

Graph 10- Physical threat experienced
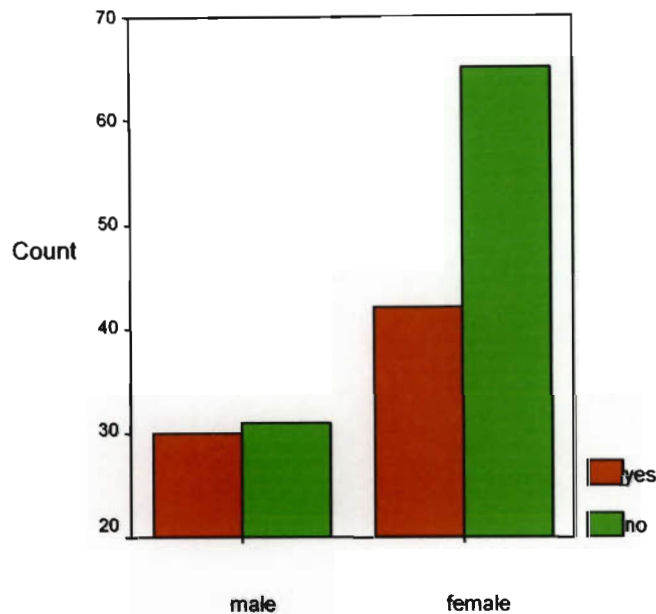
Those boys who are labelled as weaklings are more likely to show cruelty to others as a means of defending themselves (Kindlon & Thompson, 2000). The result reflected in graph 10 supports the notion that boys are more physically aggressive than girls. Seventy two people (28,7%) reported being threatened with physical harm of whom 30 were boys and 42 were girls. Within the sexes, a 31% response was received from the boys and a 27% response for the girls' sample. Girls who engaged in physical displays were seen as deviating more from social codes than boys (Duncan, 1999). Apparently girls' fights attracted just as much attention and spectators were just as vociferous in goading the fighters on. The important difference is that with the boys it was more sporadic and with the girls, more orchestrated.

The Daily News of 1/08/06 (p5) informed readers of 10 year old Carl Forbay who was afraid to return to school as he was stabbed thrice by two schoolmates. The attackers both aged 13, accosted Carl in the toilets as he'd refused to give them his soccer ball. The article is entitled 'Pupil stabbed for soccer ball: Schoolchildren at mercy of bullies – mom.'

Once again, we see how physical abuse gains attention over the more subtle forms of bullying as one group participant clarified, 'If we tell them (teachers) when there's a

118

problem, they just ignore it. When it gets big, they ask why we never tell them meanwhile we told.' A question posed to group members was, ' When do you feel educators will respond' and the answer was 'When it's something really major, like if somebody dies (for emphasis) or gets hurt. If it's a big fight, then they call you to the office and give you a letter for your parents.' The flipside of this dilemma is that educators also only get to know of the visible incidents with possible injury as Mrs Gopal states, ' … but usually teasing and things, they're not prepared to come forward.' Mr Naidoo adds that, 'If someone just teases someone and that person doesn't take offence to it but if a bigger brother or sister hears about it, it gets taken further. So to prevent any serious repercussions from a minor problem, all problems should be brought to the attention of the educator.' When asked for an example of physical bullying he stated, 'One child who used a knuckle duster, he assaulted the other quite badly, where the child had to go to the hospital for stitching.' According to Mrs Nandani, '…cases of physical violence as well, have been handled by the SAP.'

About 37% of the learners suffered emotional hurt and 33% experienced psychological threat. Chad Rowley, a 15 year old rugby player at Bosmansdam High School, was brutally murdered in an apparent gang attack (Sunday Times of 23/07/06). Before his death he is quoted as saying ," I'm scared mom. You don't know how bad it is at school." As in Chad's case, the fear of something terrible happening is psychologically damaging. This 'impending doom' is apparent in the tear stained suicide note of Dawn Marie, a 14 year old Canadian girl who hung herself from the rafters in her home, in November 2000 after being threatened by 3 school mates. It reads, 'I'm sorry, it's killing me mom. If I tried to get help, it would've gotten worse. If I ratted, it would've gotten them kicked out of school. These are the toughest girls' (Flahive, 2005).

When asked what happened to a victim after being bullied a group member explained the need for avoidance by saying, '…they keep away' meaning that a conscious effort was made to remain out of the perpetrators sight. Seventeen individuals (6,8%) were threatened in other ways. Being shoved is a highly visible way of enduring domination by someone. Fifty nine respondents (23,5%) experienced such humiliation. Another form of physical abuse is when one's belongings are damaged, as indicated in graph 11 which reflects a similar experience for both sexes.

Graph 11- experienced belongings being damaged
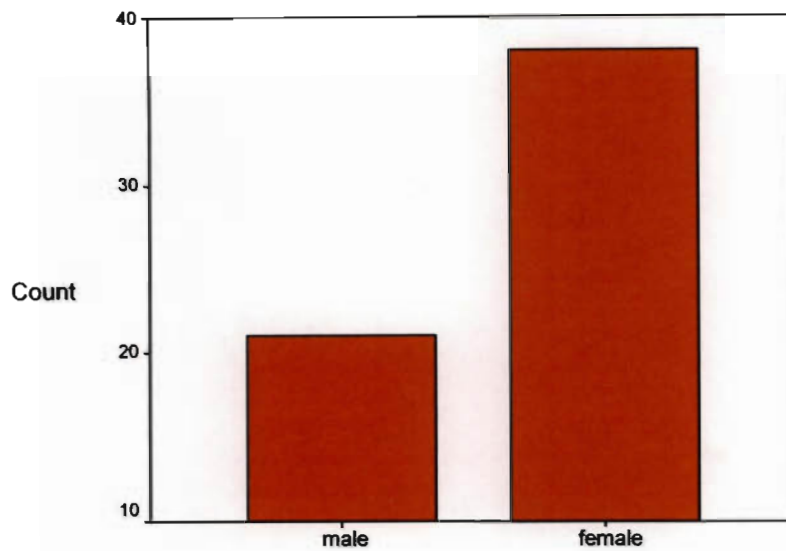
If people throw around the belongings of someone else, they serve to taunt as a group, where each person encourages the actions of the others. However even when one individual inflicts this kind of treatment on another, there is blatant disregard for property that cannot be easily replaced. Therefore damaging one's property may well result in its loss (e.g. calculators, pens, watches, etc)

The next 2 graphs show that girls report higher levels of emotional and psychological trauma than boys. Bearing in mind the estimated one third ratio of boys to girls, their experiences are fairly similar.

Graph 12: Emotionally threatened
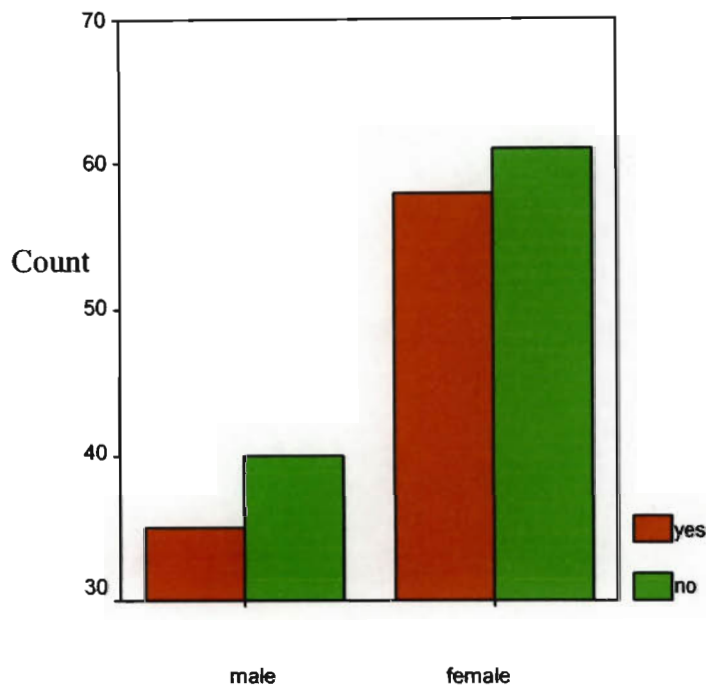
An example of emotional threat provided in the questionnaire is when someone threatens to embarrass a person or their family member. Besag is quoted in the Daily News of 10/05/06 that among girls, the confidence of the victim is eroded upon, hereafter she is isolated. The harassment is more subtle as intimate information that girls learn about one another may be used for gossip. A group member said, 'They (other girls) can pretend to be your friend.' Another highly relevant comment was, 'She didn't want to allow me to have other friends.' These manipulative measures serve to confuse and dominate children whose emotional reserves then wear thin as they are not really valued as companions and become unclear about their loyalties. Approximately 47% of the sample experienced embarrassment in the presence of their friends.

Graph 13: Psychologically threatened
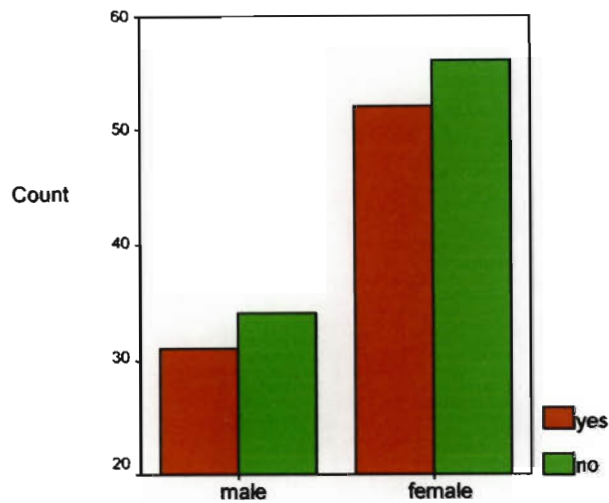
Of the 93 affirmative responses received for this question, 35 (37,6%) came from boys and 58 (62,4%) from girls. Psychological damage is often considered that deep rooted effect that induces latent forboding and lowered self confidence. The discussion under graph 14 gives greater insight into such effects.

Duncan (1999) in interviews with boys found that the most damaging kind of bullying was an insinuation of being gay, especially since this perception became difficult to correct. Boys who used words like 'gay' or 'homo' identified others as inferior or separate from them although they did not believe their victims had any homosexual tendencies. One boy explains that, 'If you were not a wimp/gay and you didn't take advantage of those who were, then you might end up being treated like one yourself' Duncan (1999:107).

Responses to being bullied

In keeping with the experience of being bullied, the researcher sought to understand the different types of victim responses. The following possibilities were noted.

Graph 14: 'cried and walked away'
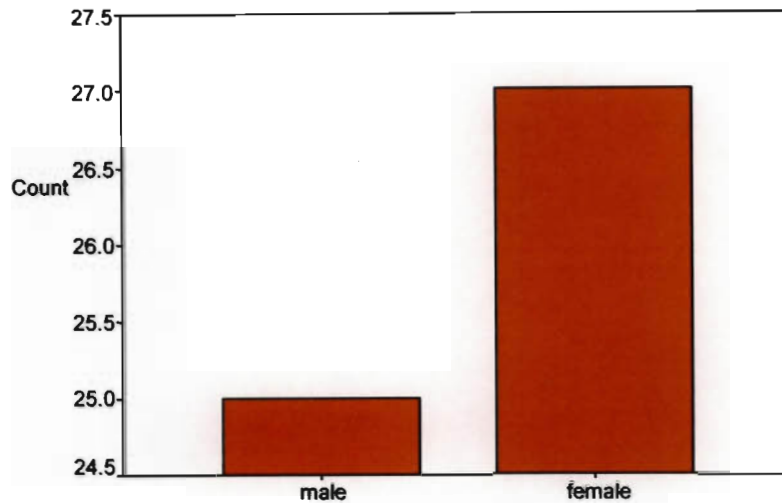
Graph 14 reflects a high frequency of boys who reported crying and walking away. This is contrary to the literature that alludes to society's attempts at toughening up boys as compared to girls. 'Boys are direct; they act and speak in simple terms. Their language skills develop more slowly and their humour is unsophisticated – boys prefer action over negotiation,' (Kindlon & Thompson, 2000). The author adds that boys have a need to feel empowered and therefore express themselves in an action-oriented way. Duncan (1999) proposes that the status of boys and girls remains separate as boys enjoy the macro-social advantage of male power and a belief in universal male supremacy.

With regard to the parental influence on aggressive behaviour, a permissive attitude towards anti- social behaviour and the use of power-assertive discipline methods were found to correlate with male aggression Olweus, cited in Smith & Sharp (1998). The expectation therefore in this study was that a greater number of girls would show emotion as compared to boys. It is possible that the peculiarities of a situation, the personality of an individual or a combination of both, led to the responses in graph 14 and that these variables were felt/experienced similarly by both sexes.

More than 20% of the participants cried and walked away, which means that feelings of vulnerability, embarrassment and defeat were left to fester in them. Of these learners, 49 were 15 years and below while 3 were 16 and older. The percentages

within each gender were not significantly different with 32% for boys and 38% for the girls. A grade 10 Cato Manor student was assaulted with a belt, slapped and kicked by two girls aged 13 and 16, who allegedly attempted to kill her. (Sunday Times of 23/07/06). The victim then slashed her wrists in a suicide attempt, confirming the gravity of the situation. About 40% of the respondents ignored the incident at the time but felt unhappy afterward. Although they may have exercised restraint in not crying, the emotional trauma is latent when there is no immediate relief or retaliation. Dollard (cited in Woods, 2000) provides the modification to the frustration – aggression hypothesis discussed in Chapter Two. It is relevant to these concealed emotions. A bullied pupil may be coerced into saying that s/he has not been harmed (Sharp & Smith, 1994) therefore the actions of school personnel and parents are vital in alleviating the misery of victimized children. These are included in Chapter Six [recommendations].

Graph 15: Reporting of bullying
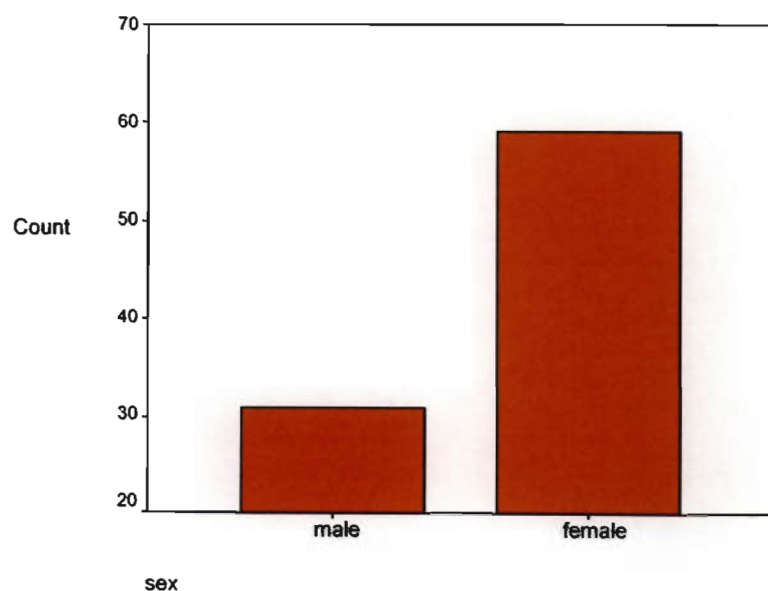
Approximately 42% of the learners stated that they did report bullying to an adult (parent/teacher) or older sibling. A parent is likely to bring the matter to the attention of the school, so these children are seeking intervention to stop the bullying and as suggested in the literature, should be encouraged to do so. This was not in keeping with the feedback received from the focus groups, who felt it was futile to report bullying to the educators and this disparity is discussed under graph 22. Two

124

important points must be noted here. Firstly, respondents may have specifically meant they would report bullying to a family member. Secondly, question 13 asked whether or not learners were afraid of recriminations for bullying/harassing other learners. About 58% of the respondents felt that bullies were not afraid of educator reactions to their unacceptable behaviour. Therefore reporting to educators becomes questionable. Learners in one group exclaimed, 'No, no we don't use her (counsellor) and teachers accuse us of bunking and lying. She'll ask what happened and you can't give other names."

Graph 16: Learners who responded aggressively
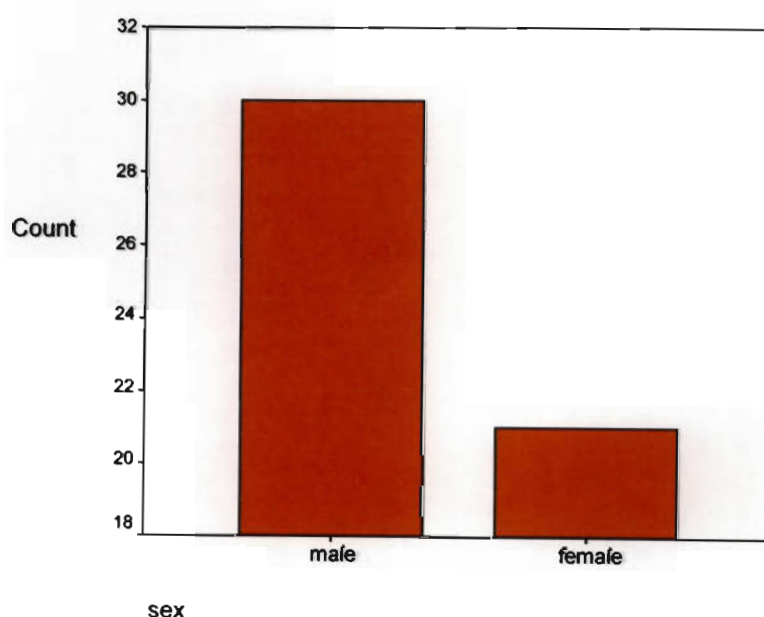
Fifty one respondents did retaliate with physical aggression of whom 58,8% were male and 41,2% female. The result concurs with the literature that differentiates girls as more subtle bullies. There is a well known association between bullying, physical violence, crime and masculinity (Wearer, 2000). She adds that boys express their anger more readily in physical ways while girls exclude others or engage in psychological mind games. Campbell (1993) clarifies that girls who learn to become violent often do so after experiencing aggression at home, in troubled families, as compared to their male counterparts. Mrs Nandani describes an incident revealing male violence – 'Last month we had a grade 11 boy who walked into a grade 11 class

and stabbed a boy on his head with a screwdriver, while a lesson was being conducted.' Such retaliation (graph 16) may be spontaneous or the culmination of long term derision/animosity. One male group member shared this experience: 'The boy was insulting me and calling me names and when I went for him (retaliated) then the teacher said we must both learn to behave. They didn't see it was him who started it.' In this instance the precursors for a brawl seemed to have been in place. A heightened aggressive response may well jeopardise the victim's reputation where educators mistake him/her to be the aggressor.

It is possible that latent frustration becomes displaced in familial or peer circles when an individual is bullied and cannot adequately express his/her distress. 'Physical prowess and the willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflicts are considered hallmarks of adolescent maturity' (Elliot et al, 1998). Eighteen learners (7,2%) of the sample indicated that they had reacted in other ways.

Graph 17: Being embarrassed in the presence of others
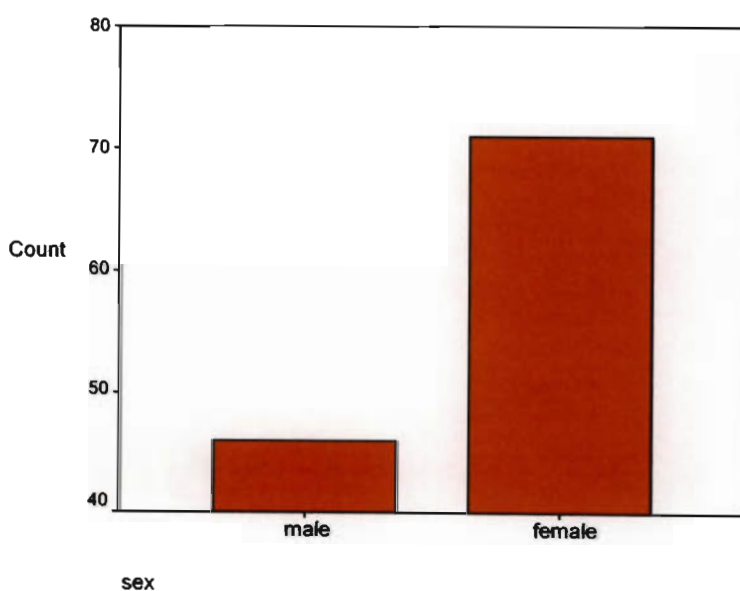
Graph 17 looks at responses to a question which read as 'The most hurtful kind of bullying is when I am embarrassed in front of my friends.' It shows a similarity in the experiences of boys and girls. Forty eight percent of the 96 boys and 46% of the 155 girls indicated that they were embarrassed in the presence of others, supporting

126

Kindlon & Thompson's (2000) argument that members of both sexes share similar emotions.

Graph 18: The experience of being teased
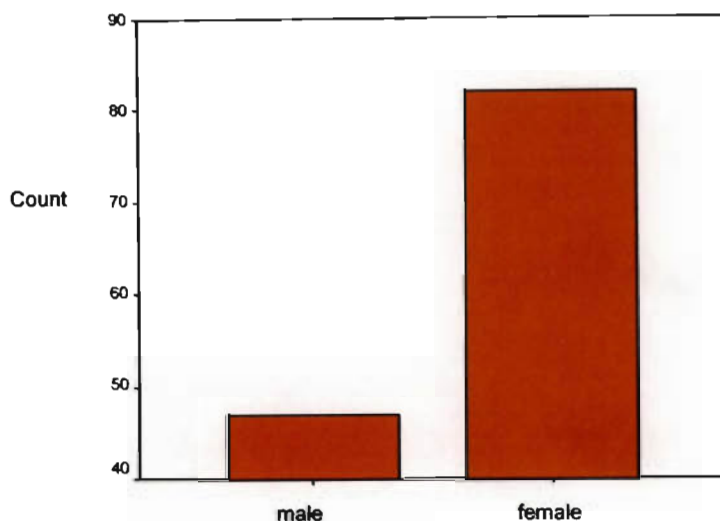
In graph 18 the variable of sex is cross tabulated with the experience of being teased and as in the previous graph, girls appear to endure more teasing than boys. The fact that teasing is common is indicated by the 51,4% (129) of learners who confirm that it is hurtful. Forty seven of the respondents here were boys and eighty two were girls. This meant that out of a total of 96 boys, about 49% of them endured teasing and 52,9% of 155 girls endured the same. The result indicated is almost the same for both sexes. A teasing name seems to be part and parcel of a schooling career. One's personal characteristics or shortcomings could be a source for such humiliation. According to Douglas (2002) adults who see bullying as a normal part of growing up often hold the notion that verbal derision does no harm, yet bullying is the abrasive, dysfunctional behaviour that children do not simply outgrow. 'I think learners are exposed to much teasing and lower level misdemeanours. But often you find, they build up a certain degree of frustration over time and eventually vent that frustration in physical violence. It occurs among both boys and girls.' This is the opinion of Mrs Nandani. While teasing is often overlooked as trivial Mr Naidoo states that parents are equally indifferent to the various forms of bullying as confirmed by this statement, '...but the problem is in the case of a child hitting another child, or bullying or teasing...some parents feel it's not serious enough to come in.'

Terms like 'porky, baby, nerd and blacky' are commonly used by learners, the devastating effects of which can be gleaned from the following episode: Nathan Faris was subjected to taunts regarding his weight and intellect, from the age of nine (Greenbaum cited in Tatum, 1989). Insults such as chubby, fatso and walking dictionary were constantly used on him. In 1987 after four years of such abuse, he took a gun to school, shot one boy, wounded two others and killed himself. This is a clear indication of the level of trauma suffered by children who are repeatedly teased and become overwhelmed by it.

Graph 19: Humiliation when a family member is insulted
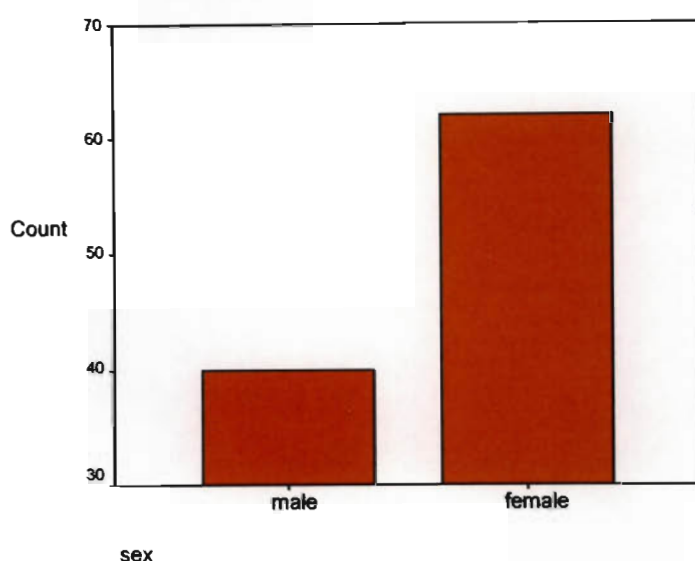
Graph 19 records the discomfort experienced when a family member is insulted. One hundred and two learners (40,6%) noted their distress when their family members were insulted. Forty of these respondents were boys and sixty two were girls. A greater percentage (41,7%) is obtained when male responses are tabulated within their own gender. From the girls subset 40% percent experienced this type of harassment. As future 'men' these boys are expected to defend their family's honour therefore the insult is more poignant to them. Support for this view is found in Jones (2001) who warns that boys may see the need to fight to protect a mother's honour, a girlfriend's fidelity or to build their own reputation. Taunting seeks to provoke a reaction. Boulton (cited in Tattum, 1993), affirms this by saying that children find it hard to show no reaction when family members are picked on. There is a need to 'pay back' the antagonist to avoid earning the reputation of being weak.

Graph 20: The presence of bystanders: "Bullying occurs mainly when a person is with his buddies or a gang:
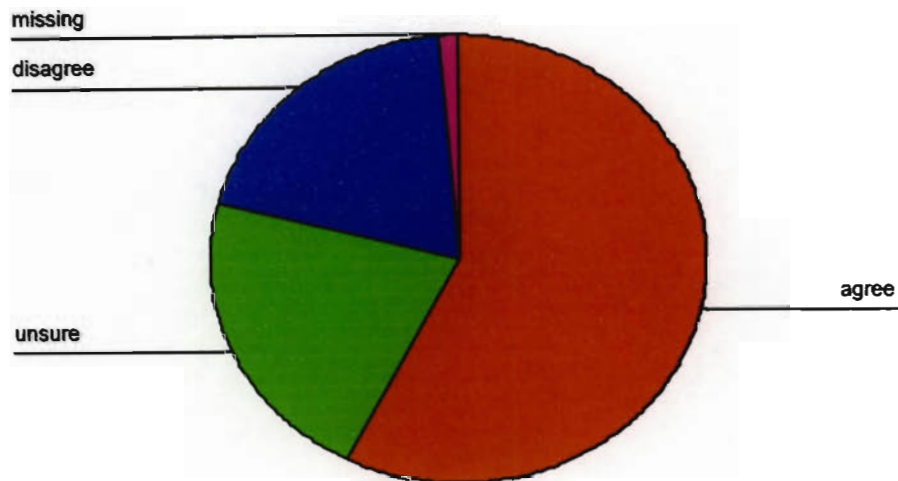
A majority of the respondents (57,4%) agreed that bullying occurs mostly when a person is in the company of his/her friends while 19,5% disagreed. Fifty five learners (21,9%) were undecided with regard to this question. The input of one educator was, '...particularly the boys, they want to do that (bully), they want to be more popular.' Other participants in this study stated that bullying occurs with or without the group element. The question of loyalty arose without the researcher's probing as the group response was, '...they want to show they're big (important). But sometimes when they're alone too, so it can be with spectators, when their friends are around or when they are alone. When you have a friend, then someone stands up for her, then it gets bigger.' Mr Naidoo says, '...troublemakers, meaning those that stay together, you have different categories now, those that are bunking, those that truant, those that do drugs, those that gang up on others...they are in groups, like people join each other. It's more of a group than an actual gang but when it comes to a fight, they all give support, ja this one guy had a brick and the other had a knife. If one of the members of the group is involved in anything, they react as a group.' Mrs Gopal echoed the

same sentiment with the following observation, 'Yes, there is the group effect because be it boys or girls, when they get into fistfights, they are in a group. It's just this loyalty to the friend, you see if it is my friend involved then I'm going to butt in.'

Perceptions of educator awareness of bullying

Graph 21: Perceptions of teachers' awareness regarding bullying
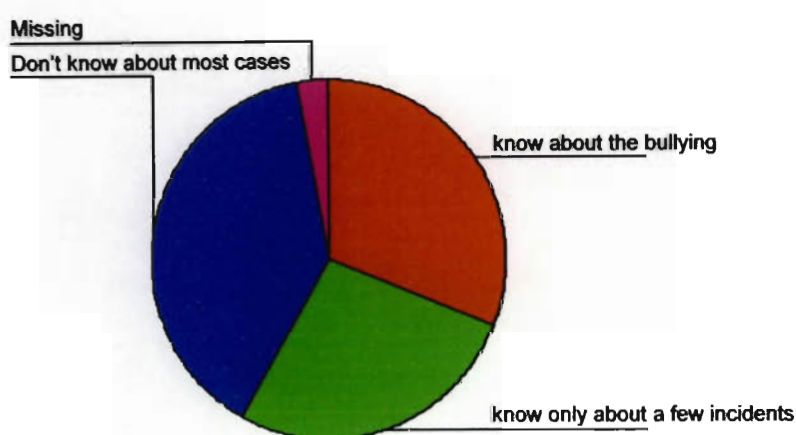
Question 12 concerns itself with the difficulties in reporting bullying. Responses from key informants support the statistics received.

Here, most respondents (39% = 98 learners) believed that educators were unaware of the scope of bullying in school. Their perceptions are created from teacher responses to altercations, observation or grapevine information. About thirty one percent however felt that educators are cognisant of the problem and a twenty seven percent response was received for the statement 'I think that teachers know only about a few incidents, where there was a complaint or physical assault.' This feedback was supported with that provided by all interviewees. Mr Naidoo for example stated that "Children do not tell you the truth in terms of when you're trying to solve a problem. They do complain but leave out important details. Only when you bring in the friend who will say '...this person did more than that' or 'it's been going on for much longer,' then you realize that this is a serious case. Then you realize you need to act

130

immediately." When asked about the frequency in reporting of bullying, Mrs Gopal estimated, 'About 30%, I think comes to the attention...when it's serious, when they actually hit each other and things like that, then it comes to the attention of teachers.'

Reporting of bullying

Graph 22: Learners' confidence in reporting bullying.
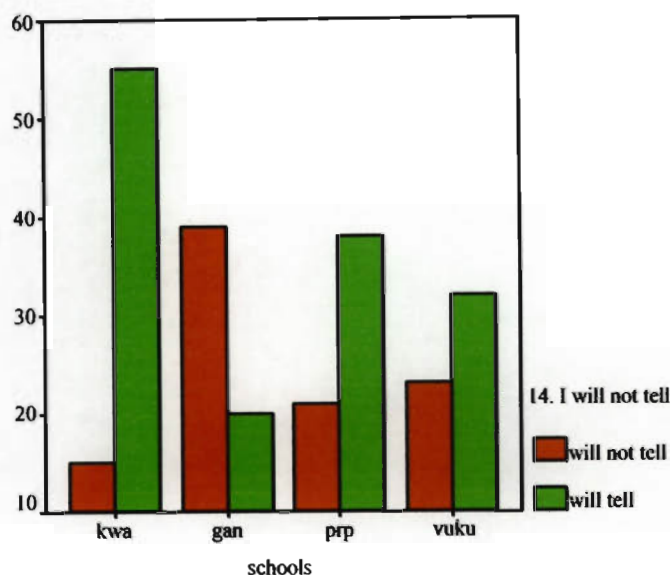
One of the critical questions in this study asked what kinds of structures existed in schools for the effective channelling of learner grievances. The underlying assumption was that such structures are lacking and is confirmed by the opposing results gathered from the different sources.

Thirty nine percent (98 learners) of the sample said they would decline to tell educators when they witnessed acts of bullying or violence. Almost sixty percent concurred that they would inform educators of unacceptable behaviour. This is encouraging in terms of the awareness that bullying is unacceptable and must be reported. A contradictory sentiment was expressed by group members. In trying to assess their confidence in approaching educators, these were some of the feelings: '...then if I tell Mr X, he will just say it's nothing' and ' They (teachers) won't do anything about it.' Feedback from interviewees showed an appreciation of the

131

position students find themselves in. "They fear repercussions. If they report it they probably feel people will catch them outside school or 'sort them out,' that's their biggest fear I think" was the response from Mr. Naidoo. Mrs Nandani is quoted as follows, 'I think learners are afraid of being victimized by others and therefore they will not report. They're afraid they will be teased or that they've carried a tale to the teacher, they worry about their status in this regard.' A 58,2% response was received with regard to question 13, which asked whether or not learners were afraid of repercussions for bullying. This meant that a majority of respondents believed their fellow learners were unafraid of any possible actions taken by educators as a response to bullying.

An additional difficulty is that the apparently inferior status accorded to the guidance counsellor may well be sensed by learners who in turn do not regard her as capable of dealing with their problems. The following learner statements support this view: 'No, she's (counsellor) going to discuss it with other teachers and they're going to ask us, that's why we just rather leave it,' and 'We even gave up.' Although there was no proof regarding a breach in confidentiality, Mrs Gopal appears to be treated dismissively even by this youngest group of learners. According to her, 'Sometimes they are afraid to go to some of the educators. I thought we could run a class for 8 weeks, helping them to cope with their problems. I find the girls are more co-operative, they're prepared to discuss their feelings. But the boys, they're a little more...reserved, keep to themselves.' The eagerness of the girls to discuss various problems with the researcher (after the recording) was a concise reflection of the need for group and individual sessions that speak to adolescent issues. Group work was being conducted with other children, the sustainability of which was in question.

a) Possible reasons for the disparity in results

The questionnaire took between 10 and 15 minutes to complete after a brief input into the objectives of this study. Up to this point (question14), learners had provided details on their experiences and perceptions of bullying. The desire to report bullying may have been felt strongly as a result of the lowered self esteem and humiliation issues enveloped in the previous questions. It is highly possible that respondents felt this questionnaire would plot the way for the effective reporting of bullying. The focus group members voiced a lack of confidence in teachers' ability to deal with

bullying and said they would not report the problem. The two responses are not necessarily a contradiction. The group members appear to be more accurate in their responses to bullying and violence, which have come to be 'normalized' with little expectation of a workable solution. Twelve newspaper articles that described bullying and violence in South African schools over the past two years, have been appended. The phenomenon of groupthink may have prevented some children from offering a different opinion.

However the underpinning notion of reporting bullying and violence, is that it is fraught with difficulty. The mother of a victim writes to a psychologist, Guru Kistnasamy, who runs a column in the Post (July 26-30, 2006, p12). Her son endured teasing and physical assault that was reported to the teacher, who seems to have done nothing about it. Kistnasamy confirms that parents have a right to request school policy regarding bullying and should work to develop one where it is absent.

Perception of educators' authority

Graph 23: Learners' fear for punishment: "Learners are not really afraid of being scolded or punished by educators."
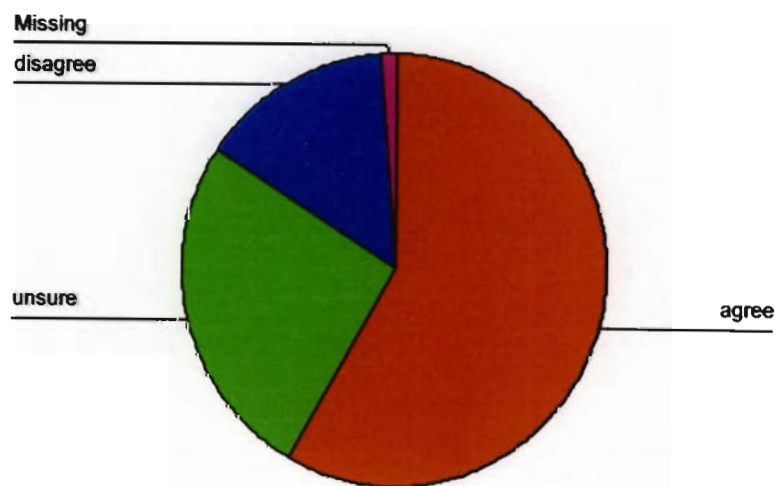
Question 13 is significant as it speaks to the discipline/controls that exist in schools. If learners continue to harass others believing there is no real retribution, they begin to have a sense of power over the latter group. A large majority (58,2%) indicated that students are not afraid of the repercussions for bullying. 'Children are more aggressive, is what we've seen,' is a comment by Arina Smit of Nicro (Sunday Tribune: 30/07/06). She notes that youngsters harbour a lot of aggression which is often expressed in unacceptable ways, yet the fear for the consequences of their actions, is minimal.   It was not within the scope of this study to gain more information on the effectiveness of disciplinary measures at schools, yet educators' frustration at the lack of a suitable alternative to corporal punishment was clearly outlined by Mrs Nandani who when asked whether or not the banning of corporal punishment had increased the rate of bullying/violence, answered as follows, 'It possibly has because schools find themselves in a position where they cannot find something as workable as corporal punishment used to be. Despite the negatives of corporal punishment, it was a form of discipline that yielded good effects...overall discipline of the school was far better when corporal punishment was legalized.' Her view was supported by Mr Joseph and Mr Naidoo as noted by previous comments in this chapter. A different view provided by Mrs Gopal was 'I don't think that hitting a child is the answer. Children are just not taught...it starts from home, they're given instructions there.' About 15% of the learners disagreed on laxity of discipline at their school. They may themselves have feared punishment for transgressions. Sixty five people were unsure about the motivation of aggressors and whether or not disciplinary measures served as a deterrent.

Learner recommendations regarding offenders

Graph 24: Views on punishment: "We need harsher punishment for bullies"
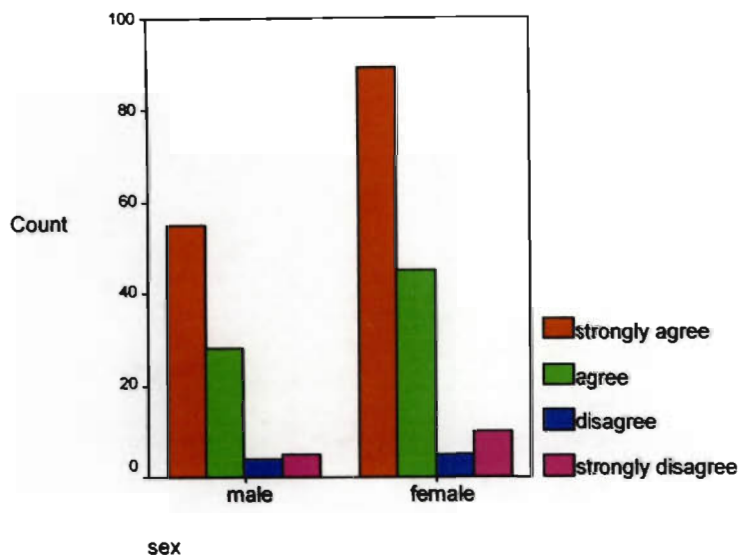
There was clear agreement that more stringent punishment is needed to deter bullies, with 90% or 220 learners concurring and 9,9% disagreeing. Of the 96% response received, 57,4% strongly agreed that the repercussions for bullying be made harsher while 29,1% agreed. One possible reason for children to have selected 'strongly agree' is that they may have endured or witnessed such victimization where the bully had little or no recrimination. Two hundred and forty one responses were received in total. Hypothesis 2 proposed that learners are overwhelmed by bullying and violence. The above result supports this hypothesis. The very emotional learner whose father was abusing his family murmured, 'They (bullies) must go for some treatment or something.' Another boy replied, 'You can suspend' and another said 'but they come back.' A fourth respondent shouted, 'out, one way!' It is apparent that while the group members on the one hand did not wish to be 'dictated to' they were frustrated by bullies but understandably had no clear suggestion for the violent bullies as incidents were being handled in a piecemeal fashion. The girls were a little more coherent but provided similar opinions. Information on the Pikas Method (where the bully and victim are dealt with in a non accusatory environment), role play etc were met with great enthusiasm by the girls. When asked about his view on punishment, Mr Joseph exclaimed, 'I can say ja, ja they've (learners) become more aggressive since corporal punishment has been abolished here at schools.' Bodine & Hoglund (1996) warn that

punishment that is intended to control the behaviour of others may heighten subversiveness.

Graph 25: Views on expulsion
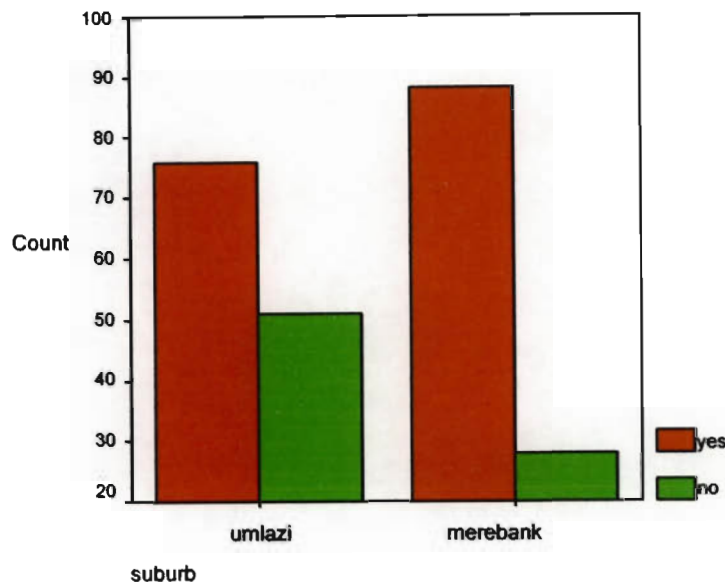
One hundred and sixty four individuals (65,3%) wished for serious offenders to be expelled while 31,5% maintained that they should remain at school. Question 19 read as, 'Bullies (example those who have raped or stabbed someone) should be expelled.' The notions of raping or stabbing are brutal, yet the latter respondents remained supportive of persons who would normally be feared. It is therefore possible that they were perpetrators of similar crime or had such errant companions. They may also have accepted that the culture of violence envelopes whole communities and did not see individual responsibility in certain transgressions. Mr Naidoo explained that in the duration (25 years) of his career, he did not recall a single expulsion. However the parents were asked to remove their child from school last year as she was dealing in drugs. He says, 'Ultimately that would have led to expulsion because the child was found with a large quantity of drugs, 65 mandrax tablets. Look, expulsion is the last, the last resort and to expel a pupil, the child has to commit a very serious offence, meaning that basically he has to rape someone or hurt someone very badly.' An opposing view was presented by Mrs Gopal who is quoted as, "...but you know, I'm not happy with it. I know they (educators) have to discipline children but my theory is that if they cannot cope with issues, right, whether they're bunking or what, we have

136

to help the child and not say 'out.' We need to know why..." This discussion is continued after graph 30.

The frequency of bullying

Graph 26: Frequency of bullying per school
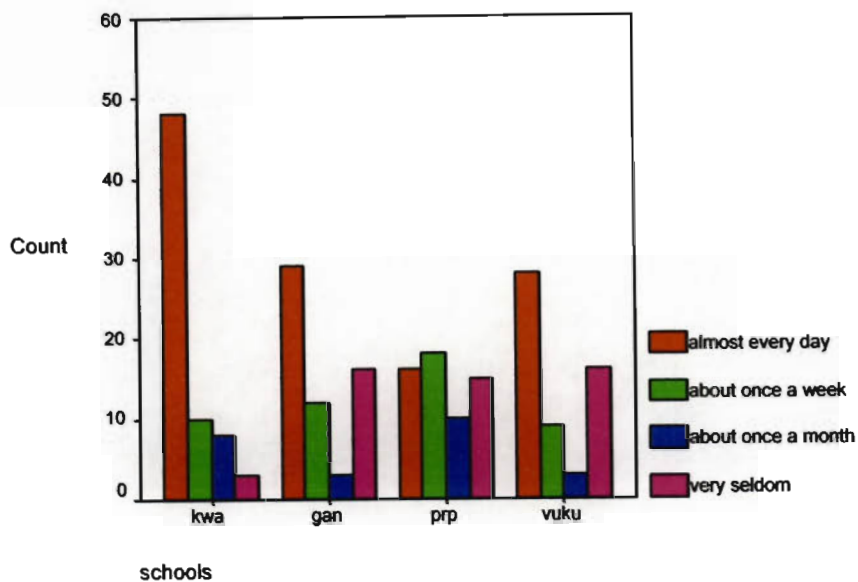
One critical question asked, 'How frequent is bullying and violence' to ascertain its overall prevalence in Durban schools. At a glance graph 26 reflects a higher rate of daily bullying for the Umlazi schools as compared to those in Merebank. The respective counts for the four schools listed were 69, 60, 59 and 56. Of the 69 learners for Kamgaga about 40% noted that bullying is a daily occurrence with 24% for Ganges, 13% for P.R.Pather and 23% for Vukusakhe. Approximately twenty percent (49) of the sample felt it was a weekly occurrence, 9,6% (24) that it occurred about once a month and 19,9% (49) noted that bullying is an infrequent occurrence. An underlying assumption in this study was that learners in under-resourced schools are more prone to bullying and violence as their socio-economic deprivation is greater.

The levels of affluence vary in both suburbs, although the infrastructure in Merebank is more established (the lack of resources in Umlazi has been noted in this chapter). Since learners in both the Merebank schools use public transport, it may be assumed that some of them reside in the neighbouring suburb of Umlazi. The grade 8 and 9

137

enrolment for 2006 in P.R.Pather Secondary reflects that 122 African learners and 275 Indians were admitted to the school. The two Umlazi schools registered a total of 1016 grade 8s and 9s, whereas the schools in Merebank admitted a total of 978 learners. The significance of these figures becomes apparent as classroom availability in Umlazi is far lower, resulting in large numbers being accommodated per room. It is possible that this difference in number contributes to greater levels of bullying in Umlazi as well as decreased teacher control.

This result lends support to the need for further investigation and programme implementation regarding bullying and violence at schools. Whitney & Smith (1993) studied the rate of bullying with 6758 children and found that in the secondary schools, 5% of the boys and 4% of the girls endured bullying once a week or more while 10% of each gender experienced the same in middle school. "I would say every day or every second day," is the comment by the guidance counsellor interviewed, with respect to the frequency of bullying. Mr Naidoo gave a fair response when asked about the frequency of bullying in the following reply, 'That is a difficult one to answer because we don't know exactly how much bullying happens in a day and the learners do not always report it.' According to Mr Joseph, '…it is about twice a week or more than that.'

Gangs

Graph 27: Group/gang prevalence at school
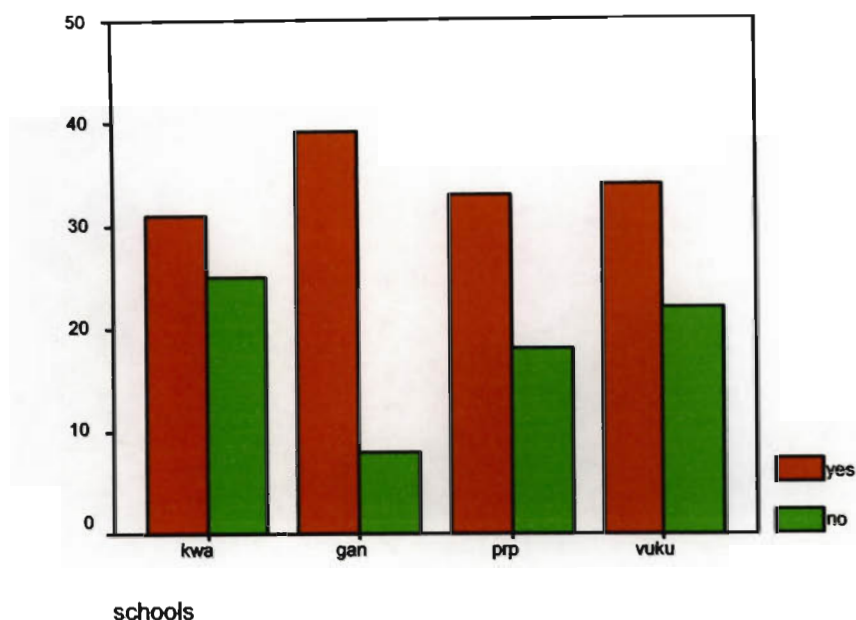
Question 16 was included to glean the nature of the areas in which these schools are located, as were questions 3, 4 and 11 to educators. They deal with gang association and weapon carrying. The term 'gang' may have been synonymous in the minds of learners as cliques/groups. The purposes for any group formation varies according to the needs of the members. While gang members may need to bully as part of the status quo, bullies do not necessarily have to be gang members. However they often serve as group leaders and need to impress others - ('They want power or something' was a learner's opinion). Of those who responded a high proportion (65,2%) revealed that gangs operate within the school and 34,8% did not recognise gangs inside the school. One hundred and thirteen respondents (45%) stated that gangs exist outside the school boundaries, while 16,7% believed there was no gang activity in the surrounding vicinity. Mr. Naidoo is quoted as follows: 'Look, we have children from the flats that do come and congregate outside the school...in the afternoons. They seem to have a large influence on our kids because some of our kids go straight out and stand with them. Money is an enticing factor and they're also given drugs, so they are definitely influenced by the outside. Ninety six learners did not respond to the question. These children may have been suspicious of the questionnaire or may have come to 'normalize' gang existence.

Three key informants listed the following items that were used in recent fights or that served to threaten others: a knuckle duster, a brick, a screwdriver, knives or other sharp objects, needles and pens included. Mr Joseph explains group affiliation with this statement, 'If the learners, they got pressure here at school, they can phone their friends to come and gather around the school. In the townships they name them (gangs) according to groups. If you belong to a certain group you have to act in a particular way. They take it and apply it even here at school. Outside the school they got a group leader and that person that's a member there will want to be a group leader here at school.' Where friends are contacted in an orchestrated show of strength/support, a clear intent for confrontation is evident which hints at the more serious gang affiliation.

In gang related retaliation, five youth were massacred in Langa (Cape Town) in July 2006, after some tension at the local school that led to the death of one gang member (Sunday Tribune of 30/07/06). The Sunday Times of 23/07/06 carries an article on three prefects in Kearsney College who assaulted younger learners in August 2006, two of whom claim to have been passive observers. The potential for malevolent group activity was depicted by this incident.

Types of aggressors

Graph 28: Sources of bullying: "It is not only a gang/group that bullies people. Everybody does it at sometime."
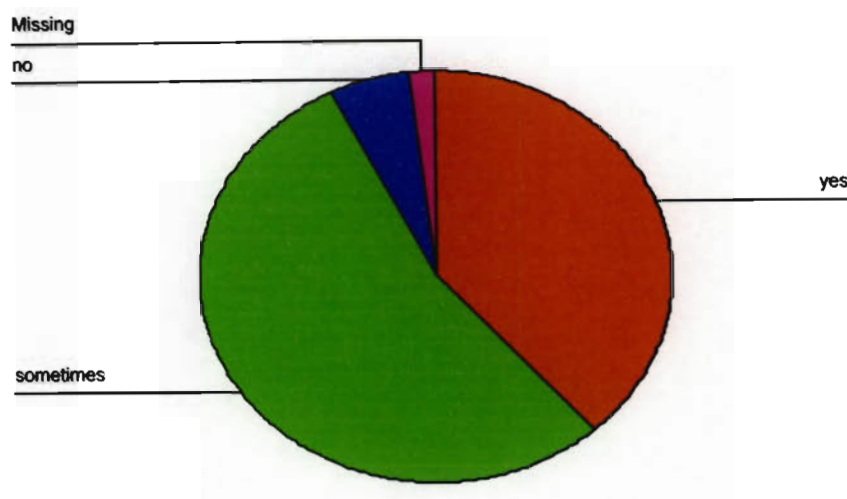
Question 17 sought to understand how much of 'lesser bullying' goes on in schools, among learners and friends. An estimated forty percent of the learners believed that all children experience hurtful jibes and taunts. Fifty five percent mention that it occurs occasionally and 5,6% felt it does not happen. The 'We won't talk to you anymore if...' and 'I won't be your friend anymore' statements are all too familiar in emotional blackmail (Grunsell, 1989). This form of harassment occurs among so called friends where the bully/victim dyad could well exist in the guise of friendship. A trauma doctor at St Augustine's Hospital (Durban) revealed that teenagers were regularly injured as a result of inter-personal conflict, especially at parties {Daily News of 19/07/06}. His comments support the view that disputes among friends can spiral out of control, especially when alcohol is available and thus becomes a contributing factor in the deaths of many adolescents. The remaining questions look to a way forward in dealing with bullying and violence.

Graph 29: The need for counsellors: "I feel a counselor is essential in every high school"
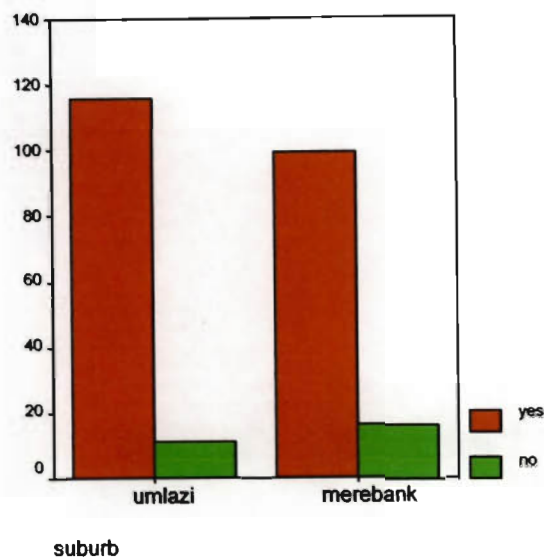
Questions 20 and 21 look to a way forward in addressing the problems of bullying and violence. The need for a counsellor at school was felt by 85,7% of the learners. 10,8% thought it non essential. There is information from the focus group to show a lack of confidence in the functions of a school counsellor as discussed in this chapter (p139). The former respondents probably view behaviour problems as well as interpersonal conflict as being within the domain of a counsellor rather than an educator. Mrs Nandani re-iterates the need for ongoing intervention by the following comment, 'We have psychological services from the side of the department that may come in, but we have found that the social workers, their intervention is often more successful. The social workers give us a letter with a letterhead of that organisation saying what intervention has begun and documenting all other successive interviews, so that some kind of progress we hope, will come of it. I would like to see a full time social worker attached to every school, not in a temporary capacity, but to be on the staff and work in a permanent capacity.' In support of this statement, Mr Naidoo recommends that, '...guidance counsellors be brought back into mainstream education, for the school to actually acquire someone who is suitable, that is prepared to stay extra hours, etc.' When asked about possible assistance to the bullies and victims, he mentioned, '...support to the bully, I don't know. Those children have to

of behaviour, that they shouldn't be dominating, that they're all equals and must learn to behave as such.'

Only one of the four schools approached had a guidance counsellor. It is unlikely that a guidance counsellor and social worker may be employed simultaneously by a school, however it is hoped that some therapeutic intervention is afforded to all schools on a permanent basis. The roles of a guidance counsellor and social worker within the school setting are discussed. The guidance counsellor was traditionally responsible for career guidance and should possibly continue with that role. S/he could create programmes that deal with:

- life skills, example conflict resolution,

- the expression of creativity

- the awareness of environmental concerns

- behaviour problems as they emerge on a daily basis where the necessary support and recommendations are available.

A social worker may also perform the functions outlined (including or excluding career guidance). His/her responsibilities should include drug and sex education, therapeutic intervention for behavioural problems and liaison with family members where necessary. Other school social work roles are listed in Chapter Three (intervention measures) and include assistance to staff/management as well as networking to increase the school resource base.

Graph 30: Changes to the curriculum: "Dealing with the issues of bullying and violence should be part of the formal curriculum."
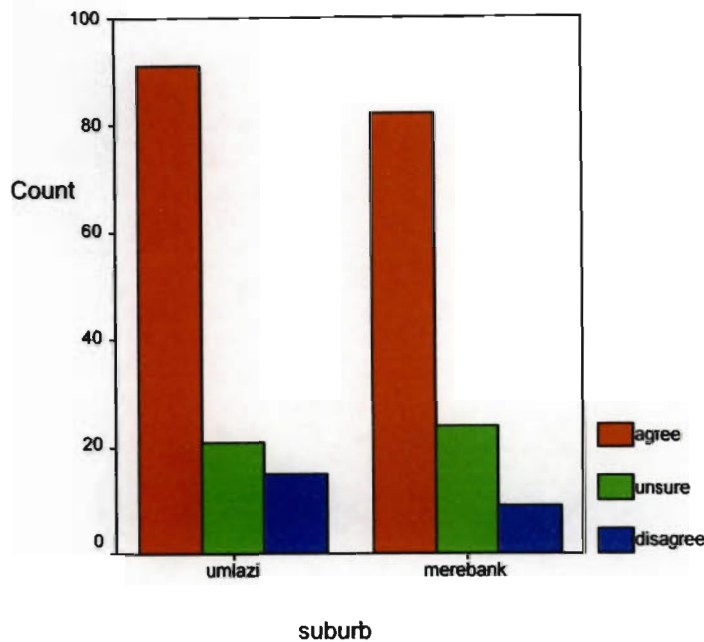
Of those who responded, 71,5% (242) agreed that the dynamics of bullying and violence ought to be included in the formal curriculum and 18,6% were unsure. Approximately 10% of respondents did not see such inclusion as necessary. However the initial percentage is significantly high in terms of recommending that learning time be structured so the experiences, perceptions and methods of dealing with bullying and violence are genuinely and systematically addressed. 'It may be said that the society that is best is that which provides the most alternatives' (McPartland & McDill, 1977:35). The curriculum adjustment is envisaged as one such alternative.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion the clear messages obtained from learners and key informants in this study were that:

- bullying and violence are serious concerns and warrant specific consideration,

- more stringent disciplinary measures are required for learners who bully,

- there is a need for counsellors at schools and

- the issues of bullying and violence should be dealt with within school curricula.

The following chapter is an extension of the data analysis in that it furnishes the major conclusions and recommendations of this study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The failure of learners, their alienation and misbehaviour cannot be attributed solely to their inadequacies. The need for structural change in schools is clear from the data in this study and the literature it rests on. Such change relates to the organization and curricula within schools as well as their contact with the wider community. Some theorists (Young et al cited in Lawrence, 1984) found the school system to be flawed in that it was committed to the "production" of people suitable for the working world. The multi-facetted needs of learners are being considered globally (Sullivan, 2000; Tattum & Lane, 1994) and is worthy of local consideration.

This study was introduced to readers as taking place within a context of alarming societal violence where the issue of school bullying was being investigated within this broad framework. The objectives therefore related to learners' perceptions/experiences of bullying and the frequency with which it occurred, as well as the procedural methods in responding to bullying. It was hypothesized that the current measures at schools were inadequate in promoting learner rights/safety.

With regard to the research methodology, a triangulated approach was adopted in an attempt to maximize the validity and reliability of this work. The quantitative paradigm allowed for the collection of data in a structured manner from many respondents. A questionnaire was distributed to 251 grade 8 and 9 learners from four different schools. Major themes that arose from the bulk of information were highlighted with the aid of a computer analysis programme. The researcher conducted 4 interviews with key informants and held 2 group sessions with learners. In this way qualitative, in-depth, subjective data was gathered and used to support results from the questionnaire. Visits to the research sites provided the opportunity for naturalistic observation, which was significant as the researcher was an outsider to the school environment.

146

This chapter provides an overview of the feedback received in this study and attempts to detail some of the gaps in addressing bullying and violence. The recommendations that follow are neither novel nor unique but remain a matter for genuine consideration.

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

Conclusions regarding types of bullying

With regard to the types of bullying related by participants, affirmative responses were received for physical, verbal and emotional abuse. Some incidents were worthy of media attention (e.g. the child who was stabbed with a screwdriver on his head during a lesson) and the fact that they stayed out of the limelight reflects that a fraction of bullying and violence may be reported by the media. Such recording by principals was highly subjective as the location of schools and their resources dictated what was extreme and what was not. The effects of being shunned, slandered and gossiped were discussed in the girl's group session and not the boys. The sentiments echoed by the girls' group were congruent with the findings of other research where females were more subtle and orchestrative in their victimization (Kathy, 2005; Sharp & Smith, 1994). It was interesting to note that of the 51 respondents who did re-act aggressively to being bullied, 58,8% were male and 41,2%, female. This is a high percentage for the boys given that they constituted about one third of the sample and is supportive of the theory that boys are more prone to aggression than girls (Shafii & Shafii, 2001).

Conclusions regarding educator responses

Educators and group members all agreed that minor provocations, over time led to fighting. This is well documented in the literature (Sullivan, 2000; Rigby, 2006; Ralston, 2005). These authors concurred that efforts to deal with physical outbursts received priority while the catalysts were generally ignored. Hayden & Blaya (2005) found that bullied children sometimes became more isolated as a result of being victimized. Behaviour, according to Hayden & Blaya (2005) may then include passivity, self-exclusion and a lack of participation or aggressive/disruptive stances, of which the latter receive more adult attention. A majority of the questionnaire

respondents (51,4%) noted that the most hurtful kind of bullying was a teasing name that 'stuck.' Realistically, there is no certain way of measuring frustration or hurt and many indicators presented in Chapter Two show why these minor incidents are considered trifling. Yet again, the need for school wide measures to teach alternatives to fighting begs attention, as does the need for awareness of the effects of taunting/name calling.

Conclusions regarding the reporting of bullying

This study hypothesized that the reporting of bullying was problematic in part because learners feared repercussions from bullies. Smith & Sharp (1998:5) are quoted as follows, 'Bullying is difficult to stop because of the reluctance of peer groups to provide information and the reluctance of the bullied pupils to complain very loudly.' The assumption that there was no regulated means by which learners could inform educators of bullying was confirmed. Learners expressed a lack of confidence in the school system. None of the four schools approached had a written policy on the issue of bullying, nor were there systematic ways in which reporting could occur. Each incident was handled as an isolated act of misbehaviour. Learners could not identify a person with whom complaints could be lodged. The limited feedback with regard to teacher duty at break time, revealed that such monitoring was quite ad hoc. More than 58% of the respondents stated that learners are not afraid of the repercussions for bullying.

The tendency to keep silent when enduring or observing bullying can be counteracted by extensive educative measures (Sullivan, 2000; Tattum et al, 1997). The extreme disinclination of all group members to report bullying was in keeping with the lack of information/directives at schools. Educators postulated that only a small percentage of bullying actually came to their attention. They unanimously acknowledged that learners were afraid for their safety in this respect. A majority of questionnaire respondents however, revealed that they would report bullying at school. While 39% of the sample said they would not report bullying to the teachers, approximately 60% said they would. One percent of the learners did not respond to the question. Admittedly, there was concern when two opposing responses were received from the different data collection sources. This was not necessarily a contradiction as learners

had completed several questions where personal experiences were divulged and so may have felt it was the right thing to do. It is also possible that learners believed this questionnaire would translate into school based action and wished to be seen as agreeable. An affirmative response could have been seen as a logical option. Another probability is that some respondents experienced positive results when they reported bullying in their school. Learners in this sample strongly recommended the inclusion of a counsellor at school and agreed that bullies needed harsher forms of punishment. The degree of threat felt between the boys and girls in the sample, did not differ significantly.

Conclusions regarding social services at school

The one school with a counsellor voiced her disappointment in the lack of respect and co-operation she received from staff members. It appeared that she had been accorded an inferior status by educators. Still, a range of issues came to her attention as evidenced in the interview (e.g. behaviour problems, family discord, bullying and violence, truanting, substance abuse and the like). Participants from the three different sources agreed on the need for social work/psychological services on a regular basis – such agreement for social services at school was almost unanimous with approximately 86% of the questionnaire respondents concurring.

Conclusions regarding the school response to bullying

The third research question sought to identify the school based measures that dealt with the consequences of bullying and violence. Responses here were ambiguous and fragmented. These very responses crystallized the lack of policy level initiatives that should advise educators on their roles in this respect. It seems that a 'business as usual' approach is adopted unless learners have been placed in visible danger. New insight was gained as an overwhelming number of questionnaire respondents (90%) agreed that harsher forms of punishment be designed for bullies. We may infer that these learners experienced little or ill-timed relief as victims or observers of bullies and identify with a sense of vulnerability. We need to take cognisance not only of their strong desire for reform measures at school, but that there was no other question

where so many participants chose to make a response. Sixty five percent of the respondents agreed that serious offenders should be expelled.

Educators, in very concise terms shared their frustration at not having adequate guidelines with regard to disciplinary measures. The South African Schools Act (no 84 of 1996) stipulates that each governing body develop its own framework for discipline although it clarifies behaviour which is unacceptable. The Act confirms that learners may not endure corporal punishment or detention. The governing body is seen as localized 'governance' so there is a wry irony to the lack of guidelines in this respect.

Educators did not make an effort to conceal their disdain for the apparent arrogance and disobedience of learners. They emphasized that this intolerable attitude arose not only out of the banning of corporal punishment, but the lack of suitable alternatives. At the time of this investigation, bullies were being given verbal warnings, letters to their parents or considered for disciplinary hearings. Victims were offered a degree of sympathy and medical attention where necessary. A fair amount of input from educators related to a lack of contact with parents, who did not keep school appointments for various reasons. Disciplinary hearings require much preparation and are for those serious offenders. Learners under fifteen are entitled to compulsory education and cannot be expelled without alternate schooling arrangements being made. The article by Barbeau (Sunday Tribune of 22/10/06) warned that suspended or expelled learners are often left to their own devices, which perpetuates anti-social behaviour. Essentially then, we see a move from corporal punishment to verbal warnings, with minimal parental support where neither the student nor the educator seems satisfied.

Conclusions regarding the personal experiences of learners

The fourth objective of this investigation was to glean the 'lived' experiences of the grade 8 and 9 learners with regard to bullying. The focus group members were unanimous in their feedback that educators did not seem to have an interest in their complaints which were apparently treated with a usual repertoire of verbal advice. It was interesting to note that these learners did not forward many ideas on what kinds

150

of punishment they felt would be more effective for bullies. Their muffled responses were in keeping with the range of current disciplinary measures. Group members related well to the researcher whom they viewed as a sympathetic listener and shared personal information with after the sessions. Learners urged the researcher to return indicating the need for further similar discussions. There is no doubt that they experienced very real and burdensome problems (viz. the alcoholism and marital discord of their parents). Some of these worrying concerns required specific therapeutic measures.

Conclusions regarding the suburbs visited - (Merebank and Umlazi)

The researcher had assumed that the two suburbs visited would be distinctly different in their socio-economic make up, with a larger percentage of bullying and violence being reported where deprivation was greater. A visit to the area confirmed that Umlazi had less infrastructure in terms of roads, electrification, housing, etc. There was a great deal of interaction between these suburbs. Transport services, schools, businesses and NGO's operated between both areas. Approximately 50% of the learners in the two Merebank schools were African who may or may not have resided in Umlazi. The difference in the frequency of bullying reflected for Umlazi is slightly higher than that for Merebank. As noted in Chapter One, African people were historically disadvantaged and the conditions prevalent in Umlazi were far inferior to that of Merebank. It is evident that students in Umlazi face greater constraints than their Indian peers and to re-iterate, Mwahombela (2004) indicates that violence is worse in African schools for various reasons.

Conclusions regarding peer pressure

The pressure for adolescents to comply with the wishes of their peers is well documented (Tatum, 1993; Weare, 2000; Sharp & Smith,1994). There is a need to enjoy a sense of belonging that triggers all sorts of behaviour prescribed by the peer group, like drinking (Jenkins, 2001), shunning (Besag, 2005) and bullying/vandalism (Jones, 2001). A majority of the questionnaire respondents (57,4%) in this study agreed that the impetus of a bullying scenario, stems from the group context. Key informants supported this perception. The context envisioned here comprises friends

and onlookers. Although there was no focus on bystander behaviour in this work, it is important to note that their unwillingness to help the victim or report the problem perpetuates bullying. The various types of onlookers who wittingly or unwittingly aid the bully have been described as has the urgent need for re-education on their negative roles. This means that the mindset of the onlooker may be 'tweaked' in the direction of constructive behaviour in an environment where "telling" is mandatory and bullies know they will be found out. The recommendations in this chapter lean toward the creation of such an environment.

In an attempt to understand this peer pressure that is frequently alluded to, several questions in this study were jointly tabulated as 'the pressure to be stylish/fashionable.' Both boys and girls endured pressure to wear or have trendy items (51,42% were girls and 29,88% were boys). As mentioned in Chapter Two adolescents who do not conform to the standards of their peers are targets for harassment or ridicule. In extreme cases that ridicule has resulted in violent attacks on oneself or on others. Importantly, peer association/friendship also served as a protective factor where victimization was a threat (Fox & Boulton, 2005).

The recommendations that follow are envisaged to strengthen or stabilize the various systems described in Chapter Two thus contributing to the harmony of the learner's eco-system.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations at a departmental level

Bronfenbrenner (cited in Berk, 2001) regards the macro level of the ecological approach, as comprising the values, laws and resources of a society. In targeting this level, it is recommended that the School's Act (no 84 of 1996) be modified to recognize bullying as harmful behaviour that has serious implications for the emotional and physical well being of learners and to make anti-bullying policy mandatory. Such a policy should:

- Explicitly outline why bullying is unacceptable behaviour and describe on a continuum what it entails.
- Prescribe to learners, parents and educators their roles, responsibilities and rights when dealing with episodes of bullying and violence.
- Outline disciplinary measures for misdemeanours while encouraging the use of non punitive, non authoritarian methods.
- Establish grounds for the facilitation of community networking that specifically addresses bullying and violence.

With an anti-bullying policy, the incidence of bullying may not visibly decline but ought to be recognized sooner and responded to with greater efficiency (Sharp & Smith, 1994). Over a period, the authors assure readers that levels of bullying will drop. Kathy (2005) informs readers that in some states [e.g. New Jersey and Oregon] the commissioner is required to update and circulate a model plan for overall student discipline. It takes cognisance of school policy (viz a student handbook that outlines the prohibitions, reporting and penalties for bullying), parent involvement and data collection for provincial statistics and public information purposes.

Given the brief references to South African school violence comprised in this and related studies, it is crucial that the Department of Education be responsible for the inclusion of age appropriate materials on the effects of violence/aggression in the curricula. In this way learners may be sensitized to their attitudes and behaviour in conflictual situations and develop life skills in this regard.

The Department of Education must also work to ensure that schools have the capacity to teach. This means that adequate networking and resources are needed for communities to function without fear of attack. As far as schools achieving their mission and goals, the environment described in The Education Law and Policy Handbook (Chapter One) must be held as a desirable ideal.

The departments of health, education and welfare lie on the macro level stratum. It is recommended that these agencies conjointly develop national policy and awareness initiatives aimed at changing societal attitudes toward bullying and violence, both in a top-down and bottom-up manner. It is hoped that:

- The general disinterest in bullying and its consequences will be challenged
- Individuals will be guided into internalizing non violent, constructive alternatives when faced with potential conflict.
- Again, in conjunction with other sectors, communities should be afforded the opportunity to combat crime. This may stem from broader level attempts at eliminating the environmental risk factors for violence/aggression. The relevance of community crime to school going children arises from gang activity, weapon exchanges and the modelling of delinquent/harmful behaviour (Godwin in Theunissen, 2002; Furlong, 1985).

The local role players in education are strongly urged to facilitate research ventures into identifying and targeting bullying behaviour. Protocols must then be put into place regarding the treatment and referral of bullied children and their tormentors.

Surveys that are conducted at regular intervals will measure the impact of policies and shape ongoing intervention efforts (Wiesner & Ittel, 2002). The author observes that in American schools, there are short term violence prevention programmes that have shown positive results however it seems that long term evaluations are still lacking (e.g. the zero tolerance policies enforced in certain states have not ensured that 'troubled' students are not stigmatized or alienated).

Recommendations for further investigation

It was not within the scope of this effort to delve into the:
- Parenting styles of South Africans unfolding in a background of fading traditional influences and greater socio-economic demands.
- Motivations of bullies/aggressors and their circumstances.
- Actual types of punishment at schools being meted out currently.
- Apparent brazen attitudes of learners who have reportedly deviated far from the norms of school conduct.
- Gang membership of scholars.

All of the above were felt to be highly relevant to the subject of bullying and violence and their detailed investigation is recommended as an extension to the information gathered here.

Recommendations regarding the school

The linkage between the mezzo and macro systems is apparent in Kasiram's (1995) proposition – she advises that social workers, together with local school authorities consult relevant educational administrators regarding obsolete or detrimental school policies. It is envisioned that the adjustment of these policies would create optimal potential in meeting the needs of learners and educators.

The literature abounds with data on the effects of problematic family life on individual beliefs and aspirations. Schools and local organisations should combine to develop and implement programmes that would assist 'stressed' families in ways that enhance their independent survival.

Kasiram (1995) suggests that new roles be established for educators. This study postulated that social workers, with sufficient information, create programmes for schools regarding bullying and violence. It is envisaged that educators would then use such material and generate new data for evaluative purposes. Again, this is not deemed to be a simple procedure but is undoubtedly worth striving toward.

As far as school safety is concerned, a vast body of literature exists with regard to the potential threat of learners/educators. The more sophisticated measures are costly (e.g. security cameras, ID chips, electric fencing) while others involve human effort (e.g. body searches). Community members may be encouraged to 'supervise' the movement of children, ensuring that they remain free from harassment. Sasha Smith (SABC 3: November 2005) interviewed Ivor Nober, the principal of Lavana Primary in the Western Cape. His school has recently become safe with the active involvement of community members (e.g. the Bambanani volunteers who serve as guards). In the same documentary, lies a report of 11 year old Dane Darries who was stabbed to death 14 times in the school toilet. His principal (Edward Barker of Stephen Road Primary) is quoted as follows, 'What guarantee can I give?' On the whole, Barker's comment appears to be accurate as he is not empowered or assisted adequately to

ensure school safety, although SADTU provides guidelines on the school obligation to learner well being (detailed in Chapter One). Such wellness relates to the physical and emotional health of the individual.

It is further recommended that random searches for drugs and weapons be mandated in light of the great concern educators expressed over learner substance abuse. According to Boyd Webb who writes for the Daily News (23/08/06), schools may be publicly displayed as gun free and drug free zones, when they allow for such searches. At the present time, this may be seen as an infringement on learners' rights to privacy and dignity although there are legislated exceptions.

Each of these and other methods are open to criticism as it is believed that schools should not resemble prisons. Yet in light of the crime that plagues us they must be afforded consideration.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

Livingston & Rocher in Kasiram (1995) comment on the general lack of school social work services in South Africa. The social work curriculum at some universities encompasses school social work training and researchers have, over the years, advocated for practioners inclusion in schools (Muribwathoho, 2004; Kasiram et al, 1996; Nadasan, 2004). To date there is no model or tradition developed in this regard that would take into account the variables of our society. 'A lot of spadework has to be done' in paving the way for counselling services, especially in the absence of a local framework (Muribwathoho, 2004:91). This study acknowledges that the permanent inclusion of social workers at schools may appear to be drastic as the two professions (education and social work) have maintained their autonomy and the incumbents of each, have adhered to specific roles in the South African context. Locally, we see a pressing need for such supportive services that are gaining momentum in America and the United Kingdom (Douglas, 2002; Crawford & Bodine, 1996). Sathiparsad (1997) cites Chetkow-Yanoov who declares that social work has historically been involved in conflict resolution and suggests that practioners' skills be refined through the course curricula.

156

A few considerations in this respect would include:

- Cognisance of the overriding objectives of the school as well as the procedural measures that govern it.
- Some understanding of the sub-cultures that prevail in and around schools.
- The development of skills to link up with the South African Police Services, courts and other bodies that deal with juvenile delinquency, for instance (Johnson in Kotze, 1995).

The fact that social workers already deal with a host of adolescent problems and are therefore suitably informed on the needs and experiences of youth, has been noted in Chapter Three. The lack of flexibility, leadership and trust together with the need to 'defend one's own turf' are some of the barriers to joint efforts of different professionals (Dupper, 2003:178). The author adds that job descriptions should make reference to collaborative ventures and that professionals examine their own conceptual orientations.

Social work efforts with learners are confined to a traditional mould, where crisis intervention and individual/family counselling (on the micro level) are practised in the main. The researcher's work experience in a child welfare setting supports this statement. In this vein social work training may specifically be directed at eliminating negative belief systems that thrive in the midst of social rejection, academic difficulty and the lure of anti-social groups (Freeman et al, 1998).

Kotze (1995) envisages the functions of a social worker to be primarily within the family/community spheres (e.g. by probing the plight of the potential drop-out, the social worker may assist or refer the learner appropriately). He recommends the 'community school model' be implemented to assist disadvantaged students while targeting the conditions of that deprivation. Group work may involve therapeutic and non-therapeutic designs. Numerous violent or otherwise unpleasant episodes have been endured by the learners referred to in the literature review. Their need to share experiences or fears in a supportive, therapeutic environment is obvious. Other types of groups can promote a more enjoyable school life. Here provision may be made for

extra curricula activities that essentially have a skills enhancing or entertainment value.

Were social workers to be incorporated into the school system, they would probably focus on crisis intervention for a while in the country's disadvantaged schools/violent neighbourhoods, before preventative measures are developed. Information in Chapter Three extends the function of the social worker to one of support to staff members and as a school representative on local committees. The firm establishment of this professional as a supportive constituent of the school system will lend credibility to ongoing social work initiatives and foster the co-operation of teaching staff and administrators. While recommending that school social work become a reality, it is not expected to progress in an unhampered manner. According to Kotze (1995), the effort described in his study was subjected to a clear lack of co-operation from the Department of Education and their consent was conditionally approved with regard to after school hours. Social workers themselves were found to be reluctant to change their modus operandi and felt comfortable in the role of therapist. The challenge lies in utilizing the skills of advocacy, consultation and mediation with learners, staff, parents and community figures/organisations.

Community networking would involve contact with local politicians and businesses, with social/other agencies and experts such as clinical psychologists, religious leaders, health specialists, etc. Networking from a school social work perspective may focus on learners building attachment to their communities (Dupper, 2003). This can be achieved as community agencies provide the opportunity for youth to be gainfully occupied for instance. In supporting individual interest/skill, tutoring or apprenticeship may be embarked upon. A structured volunteer programme could see learners working in the community and so experiencing pro-social activity. Counselling and the implementation of anti-bullying programmes may be administered by social workers but the more severe expressions of bullying and violence would be referred to a mental health professional (Wiesner & Ittel, 2002). In keeping with the ecological framework the tasks of the school social worker are aimed at the various levels described (i.e. individual, family, school and community).

It is recommended that school social workers be well compensated for permanent posts so they may feel attracted and committed to this challenging role. They should not be mistaken for volunteers of sorts who put in ad hoc appearances. Kotze (1995) found that the Elsies River community became more interested in school activities after social work intervention. To this end, Kasiram (1995) suggests that a social worker serve a maximum of two schools for a period of at least two years.

CONCLUSION

The growing body of research on the prevalence of school bullying and the possibility of bullies to develop socio-emotional maladjustment, has been outlined. One final statistic is presented to remind the reader that bullying is not only prevalent, but directly hinders the school's main purpose. The National Centre on Education Statistics in America revealed that for the 1999-2000 period, '29% of schools reported having more difficulty with student bullying than with any other single discipline problem' (Kathy, 2005:725). The same body found that academic success was inversely related to the likelihood of being bullied.

It is generally accepted that the main service of the school is to educate learners and that social services will be accorded a lesser status. South African educators are finding their efforts being thwarted in the hostile relations that permeate some schools, as indicated in the preceding chapters. There is no hope for 'quick fixes' to the ravaged communities of our province and nation. The comprehensive, consultative planning of the relevant sectors is crucial and in that planning is a place for the social worker to shape a holistic, supportive learning experience for the school going youth.

This study has complemented and extended the findings of other research and has achieved its objectives for the following reasons:

1. It has examined the nature and frequency of bullying and violence, within the school context.

2. The study probed the current methods (including policies and procedures) of dealing with bullying and violence.

3. It has proposed the inclusion of social workers as a supportive element in the learning environment, for which overwhelming participant agreement was noted.

4. The study has proposed that specific policies be introduced in schools with an overarching framework being provided by the National Department of Education. It has also shed light on interim measures to improve school safety and health.

While bullying and violence remains a concern to parents and teachers, it is inextricably linked to them as children model the behaviour of people in their communities. "Hitting kids may not help them, but by God it makes you feel better," is a statement contained in the fictional prologue by Francis et al (1975:28) where he described the difficulties in an English public school that mirrored his own teaching experiences. Kindlon & Thompson (2000) are critical of parents who not only model aggression but treat their sons and daughters differently, erroneously believing that boys need to be emotionally tougher. To this end, he informs readers of the native American Pawnees who wake young boys early in the morning and throw them into the snow in an attempt to prepare them as future warriors. Let us take cognisance of the fact that an individual's self concept develops through a myriad of ideas about oneself. These ideas are largely created through the interaction of family, peers and educators.

The reader is left with the comments of Jane Clifford (2001) to ponder over:

"…They who tripped you, mocked you, grabbed your lunch. Stole your dignity, your confidence, your spirit. You remember because you just can't forget.

Studies show this is what school is like for one in seven children. Every day. All year long.

When bullies are not stopped, they grow up and start rumours about you at work, follow you too closely on the freeway, beat up their spouses…and raise new little bullies next door.

Bullies bully because they can. Because school and families don't or won't recognize their behaviour, and victims and witnesses don't speak up.

It has to stop."

References

Abide, M.M., Richards, H.C & Ramsamy, S.G. (2001). Moral Reasoning and Consistency of Belief and Behaviour: Decisions about Substance Abuse. **Journal of Drug Education**, 31(4), 367-384.

Action Plan For Bullying. Undated. http://www.bullybeware.com/tips.html. Accessed 5 March 2006

Adalbjarnardottir, S & Hafsteinsson, L. G. (2001). Adolescents' Perceived Parenting Styles and Their Substance Abuse. **Journal of Research on Adolescence**, 11(4), 401-423.

Aftab, P. (2005) Schoolyard e-bullies. **Communications of the ACM**, Vol. 48 (5), 9-10.

Aluedse ,O. (2006). Bullying in Schools: A Form of child Abuse in Schools. **Educational Research Quarterly**, 30(1), 37-49.

Anonymous ex- school pupil. (2005, June 18) .Schools must act to stop bullying. **Saturday Independent**, p. 16.

Anti-Bullying Network: Young people's Section. Undated. http://www.antibullying.net/ypropy.htm Accessed 5 March 2006.

Anti-Bullying Network: Young people's Section. Undated. http://www.antibullying.net/ypannemarieinfo.htm Accessed 5 March 2006.

Bandura, A. (1977). **Social Learning Theory**. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

Baldry, E & Hargreaves, J. (1996). Neighbourhoods, Networks and Child Abuse. **The British Journal**, Vol.26 (4), 523-531.

Barbeau, N. (2006, October 22). Delinquents 'to get a boost' from minister's house arrest plan. **Sunday Tribune**, p. 5.

Barbeau, N. (2006, September 3). Anger over Engen pollution. **Sunday Tribune**, p.18.

Bateman, C. (2006, April 5). Bullying: Break the Silence. **Daily News**, p.11.

Bear, G.I., Manning, A.M. & Shiomi, S. (2006). Children's Reasoning about Aggression: Differences Between Japan and the United States and Implications for School Discipline. **School Psychology Review**, 35(1), 62-77.

Berk, L.E. (2001). **Development Through the Lifespan**. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (2003). **Child and Youth Misbehaviour in South Africa.** Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Bezuidenhout, F. J. (2004). **Social Issues (3rd edition)**. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Bully B'ware: About Bully B'ware. Undated.
http://www.bullybeware.com/about.html Accessed 5 March 2006.

Bully B'ware: Materials Available. Undated.
http://www.bullybeware.com/prgrm.html Accessed 5 March 2006.

Bully B'ware: Tips & Strategies Action Plan for Bullying. Undated .
http://www.bullybeware.com/tips.html Accessed 5 March 2006.

Carnel, L. 1999. Advice to Parents.
http://www.bullying.co.uk/parents/parents1_advice.htm. Accessed 5 March 2006.

Carnel, L.1999. The 2006 National Bullying Survey.
http://www.bullying.co.uk/school/bullying_policie.htm Accessed 5 March 2006.

Carter, C. (2006, July 30). School Violence Cuts Across Race, and Class Lines. **Sunday Tribune**, p.27.

Carter, C. (2006, July 30). Young Blood Spilled. **Sunday Tribune**, p. 27.

Childline Family Centre KZN. Undated. Lets Stop Abuse. www.childlinekzn.org.za
Accessed 29 September 2005.

Clark, L. (2006, November). Parents to pay kids' 'bully fines.' **Daily News**, p.22.

Clifford, J. 2001. Facing down the enemy.
http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/reports/younglives/20010414-
9999_1c14bully.html. Accessed 5 March 2006.

Coloroso, B. 2002. Stories about Bullying. http://www.bullybeware.com/story.html.
Accessed 5 March 2006.

Colorosso, B. (2005). A Bully's Bystanders are Never Innocent. **Leadership
Compass,** Vol. 2, 49-51.

Conradie, H & Cloete, M.G.T. (1983). **Juvenile Delinquency in a School Context.**
Pretoria: HAUM Educational Publishers.

Cook, G. (2005). A New Study Shows the Prevalence of Bullying and Harassment at
School. **American School Board Journal**, Dec 2005, 1 – 3.

Cowley, N. (2006). Are Anti-Bullying Policies Failing. **Education.** Vol 236
ISSN: 1741-9867

Crawford, C & Bodine, R. (1996). **Conflict Resolution Education**. Office of Juvenile
Justice and Delinquency Prevention: U.S. department of Justice

Cronje, I. (2006, June 4). Making our schools safer. **Sunday Tribune,** p. 20.

Daily Mail and Daily News reporters. (2006, April 4). Bullying via e-mail is
increasing in the UK, but it's not a problem here yet. **Daily News,** p. 6.

Daily News reporters. (2006, May 10) .Parents fear for safety. **Daily News,** p. 5.

De Boer, H. (2006, July 19). Despair as Pupil Dies. **Daily News**, p.1.

Decker, S. Kirby, S. Greenwood, A & Moore, D. (1999). **Taking Children Seriously**. New York: Cassell.

Douglas, J. 2002. How to beat bullying and intimidation.
http://www.sadtu.org.za/ev/nov_dec_2002/how.html Accessed 25 July 2006.

Duncan, N .(1999). **Sexual Bullying**. New York: Routledge.

Dupper, D.R. (2003). **School Social Work**. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Duke, D.L. (2002). **Creating Safe Schools for all Children**. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Durkheim, E. (1938). **The Rules of Sociological Method.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Editorial. (2006, October 18). Student Stabbed By Classmate. **Chatsworth Tabloid**, p. 1.

Editorial. (2006, April 4). Kids in nursery school 'become aggressive.'
Daily News, p. 6.

Editorial. (2006, September 5). Alarming trend of abuse. **Daily News,** p.12.

Education Labour Relations Council. (2003).**Education Law and Policy Handbook.** Kenwyn: Juta & Company, Ltd.

Declaration on Professional Ethics.2001.
http://www.sadtu.org.za/ev/HTML_Nov_Dec_2001/declaration.htm
Accessed 25 July 2006.

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

Engels, R.C.M.E & Ter Bogt, T. (2001). Influences of Risk Behaviours on the Quality of Peer Relations in Adolescence. **Journal of Youth and Adolescence,** 30(6), 675-695.

Fine, E. S., Lacey, A. & Baer, J. (1995). **Children as Peacemakers**. Toronto: Library of Congress.

Flahive, Gerry. (2005): Producer of **It's a Girl's World** (SABC 3, Special Assignment)

Fox, C.L & Boulton, J. (2006). Friendship as a Moderator of the Relationship between Social Skills Problems and Peer Victimisation. **Aggressive Behaviour**, Vol. 32, 110-121.

Francis, P. (1975). **Beyond Control? A Study of Discipline in a Comprehensive School.** London: Clarke, Dobble & Brendon Ltd.

Freeman, E. M.., Franklin, C. G., Fong, R., Shaffer, G.L. & Timberlake, E.M. (1998). **Multi-system Skills and Interventions in School Social Work Practice.** Washington: NASW Press.

Furlong, V.J. (1985). **The Deviant Pupil.** Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Glover, D., Cartwright, N. & Gleeson, D. (1998). **Towards Bully-Free Schools**. London: Open University Press.

Goldbloom, R B. 2001. Parents' Primer on School Bullying. http://www.readersdigest.ca/mag/2001/10/bullying.html?printer version=1. Accessed 5 March 2006.

Groundwork: South African member of Friends of the Earth International. (2003). Community Air Monitoring Report. Pietermaritzburg: groundwork.

Guba, E.C. and Lincoln,Y.S. (1990). **Fourth Generation Evaluation. The Coming of Age of Evaluation. 2nd edition**. California: Sage Publications.

Haigh, G .(1979) . **On our Side**. London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd.

Hayden, C. & Blaya, C. (2005). Children on the margins. **Policy Studies Institute** Vol. 26 (1), 67-70.

Hazler, R.J, Carney, J.V. & Granger, D.A. (2006).Integrating Biological Measures into the Study of Bullying. **Journal of Counselling & Development**, Vol. 84. 298-307.

Jenkins, J.E. (2001). Rural Adolescent Perceptions of Alcohol and Other Drug Resistance. **Child Study Journal**, 31(4), 211-224.

Jones,T.L. (2001). **Effective Response to School Violence**. Illinois: Charles C Thomas Ltd.

Juvonen, J. (2005). Myths and Facts about Bullying in Schools. www.behavioral.net. Accessed 2April 2005.

Kasiram, M.I. (1995). Trial Use of the Ecological Model in School Social Work Practice. **Social Work/Maatskaplikewerk**, 32(1), 65-72.

Kasiram, M.I., Keen A.W.& Naidoo, C.D. (1996). Peace Promotion in South African Schools: A Multi-faceted Prevention Programme. **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**, 32(4), 373-377.

Kathy, C. (2005) Chasing the bullies away. **Phi Delta Kappa**, 86 (10), 725-726.

Kindlon, D & Thompson, M. (2000). **Raising Cain**. Toronto: The Random House Publishing Group.

Kistnasamy, G. (2006, July 26-30). Dealing with school bullies. **Post**, p.12.

Knight, P. T. (2002). **Small Scale Research**. London: Sage Publishers Ltd.

Komro, K.A, Perry, C.L, Mortenson, S.V, Stigler, M.H, Bosma, L.M, Munson,K.A, Farbakhsh, K. (2004). Violence-Related Outcomes of the D.A.R.E Plus Project. **Health Education & Behaviour**, 31(3) 335-343.

Kotze, F.G. (1995). Education support Services: A Proposed Model for School Social Work. **Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk**, 31(2) 183-194.

Laganparsad, M. (2006, September 27). Schoolboy slain for cell phone. **Daily News**, p.1.

Lake, V E. (2004). Profile of an aggressor. **Early Child Development and Care**, 174 (6), 527-537.

Lawrence, J., Steed, D & Young, P. (1984). **Disruptive Children - Disruptive Schools?** New York: Nichols Publishing Company.

Leedy, P. D & Ormrod, J. E. (2001). **Practical Research (7th edition)**. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

Maddi, S.R. (1980). **Personality Theories: a comparative analysis (4th edition)**. Chicago: Dorsey Press.

Magnusson, D. (1983). **Human Development: an interactional perspective**. New York: Academic Press.

Mbongwa, L. (2006, August 1). Pupil stabbed for soccer ball. **Daily News,** p. 5.

McPartland, J.M & McDill, E.L. (1977). **Violence in schools**. Toronto: Lexington Books.

Meyer, J. (2005, October 16). Taunted by technology. **Sunday Tribune**, p. 20.

Mhlongo, A & Miranda, A. (2006, September 4). School's sex shame. **Daily News,** p. 1.

Mhlongo, A. (2005, May 5). The killer pupils. **Daily News,** p. 5.

Mthethwa, B. (2006, July 23). Teen begs dead boy's mom for forgiveness. **Sunday Times**, p. 5.

Mtolo. (2006, September 3). Stabbed pupil dies waiting. **Sunday Tribune,** p 1 - 2

Mudaly, R. (1998). **Accessing and using students' cultural beliefs about human reproduction in the secondary school biology classroom**. Unpublished Research Report. Durban: University of Durban-Westville

167

Muribwathoho, H.N. (2003). Guidance and Counselling Services in High Schools: Problems, implications and solutions. Unpublished Research Report, Durban: University of Durban Westville

Mussen, P. H., Conger, J.J. & Kagan, J. (1974). **Child Development and Personality**. New York: Harper & Row.

Mwahombela, L. (2004). **Perceptions of Violence in a Secondary School**. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Durban: University of Kwa- Zulu Natal.

Nadasan, A. (2004). **The Nature of Bullying at a Semi-rural School in Kwa- Zulu Natal**. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Durban: University of Kwa- Zulu Natal.

Naidoo, A. (2006, October 10). Needy schools left empty. **The Mercury**, p. 4.

Naidoo, R. (2006, October 27). Poor parents demand higher school subsidy. The **Daily News**, p. 3.

Naidu, R & Kuppan, I. (2006, August 24). Violence among children increasing. **The Mercury**, p. 1.

Naidu,U (2006 March 1). Teachers need to use their authority wisely. **The Mercury**, p. 12.

Naran, J. (2006, August 27).Teachers shirk, seduce, abuse. **Sunday Tribune**, p. 3.

Naran, J. (2006, October 8). Learning fear at school. **Tribune Herald**, p. 4.

Newman, B.M & Newman, P.R. (1995). **Development Through Life**. London: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Nishina, A. & Juvonen, J. (2005). Daily Reports of Witnessing and Experiencing Peer Harassment in Middle School. **Child development**, Vol.76 (2), 435-450.

Ntshoe, I.M. (1999). The Impact of Political Violence on Education in South Africa: Past, Present and Future. **Current Issues in Comparative Education**, 2(1) 1-7.

Packree, S. (2006, May 23). Weapons, drug searches of pupils. **Daily News,** p. 2.

Patton, M.Q. (1987). **How to use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation**. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton, M.Q. (1990).**Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods**. (Second edition). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Pepler, D (2006). A developmental perspective on bullying. **Aggressive behaviour,** Vol. 32(4), 376 – 384.

Raby, R. (2005). Polite, Well Dressed and on Time. Secondary School Conduct Codes and the Production of Docile Citizens. **The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology** (Feb).

Rademeyer, J. (2006, July 23). Bullying at schools reaches epidemic proportions. **Sunday times**, p. 5.

Ralston, J. (2005). Bullies and Bullying. **School Library Journal**, Vol. 51 (5), 49-52.

Reddy, T. (2006, May 6). Pupils shot on bus. **Daily News,** p. 1.

Rigby, K. (2005). Why do some children bully at school. **School Psychology International,** Vol. 26 (2), 146-161.

Robinson, M. (1978). **Schools and Social Work**. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Roberts, D.A. (1996). What counts as quality in Qualitative Research. **Science Education,** 80 (3), 243-248.

Rubin, A & Babbie, E. (1993). **Research Methods for Social Work**. California: Brookes/Cole Publishing Company.

Sathiparsad, R. (1997).**The Development and Evaluation of a Conflict Resolution Programme: The School as Context**. Unpublished Masters Dissertation: University of Natal.

Seddon, C. (2001). How to deal with a bullying problem.
http://www.readersdigest.ca/mag/2001/10/bullyingexpert.html. Accessed 5 March 2006.

Setiloane, C. W. M. (1991).A Study of Attitudes Towards and Tolerance of Violence by a Group of School Children. **Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work,**
Vol. 27 (1), 59-66.

Sexton – Radek, K. (2005). **Violence in Schools: Issues, consequences and expressions**. Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Shafii, M & Shafii, S.L. (2001). **School Violence**. Wahington: American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc.

Sharp, S & Smith, P.K. (1994). **Tackling Bullying in Your School**.
London: Routledge.

Sidgwick, A. (1886). **Form Discipline**. London: Cambridge University Press.

Simons- Morton,B.G., Hartos, J.L. & Haynie, D,L. (2004). Prospective Analysis of Peer and Parent Influences on Minor Aggression among Early Adolescents. **Health Education & Behaviour**, 31(1) 23-31.

Singh & Pillay. (2006, September 24). Learning lessons in fearful loathing. **Sunday Tribune**, p. 14.

Slater, A & Muir, D. (1999). **Developmental Psychology**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Smith, P.K & Sharp, S . (1998). **School Bullying**. London: Routledge.

Smith, M.L. and Glass, G.V. (1987). **Research and Evaluation in Education and the Social Sciences**. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

Smith, Sasha. (2006): Producer of '**Blackboards under Siege**.' (SABC 3, Special Assignment)

Sookha, B .(2006, March 14). School gun arrest. **Daily News,** p. 1.

Sullivan, K. (2000).**The Anti-Bullying Handbook**.
New York: Oxford University Press.

Tattum, D. (1993**). Understanding and Managing Bullying**. Oxford:
Heinemann School Management.

Tattum, D. & Herbert, G. (1997) **Bullying, Home, School and Community**.
London: David Fulton Publishers.

Tattum, D.P & Lane, D.A. (1994). **Bullying in Schools**. London: Trentham Books
Limited.

Theunissen, M. (2002). **SA gangs much like their US counterparts**. Cape Town:
The Southern Cross

Turner, Nicole. (2006). **Schools in the Eastern Cape** (M NET, Carte Blance).

UNICEF REPORT. Undated. Convention on the Rights of the Child.
http://www.unicef.org/crc/index.html. Accessed 25 July 2006.

Viljoen, J.L, O'Neill, L.O. & Sidhu .A. (2005). Bullying Behaviours in Female and
Male Adolescent Offenders: Prevalence, Types, and Association with Psychosocial
Adjustments. **Aggressive Behaviour**, Vol. 31, 521-536.

Villani, C. J & Ward, C.C. (2001). **Violence and Non Violence in the Schools**. New
York: The Edwin Mellon Press Ltd.

Weare, K. (2000). **Promoting mental, emotional and social health, a whole school
approach**. London: Routledge.

Whyte, B (2004). Responding to Youth Crime in Scotland. **British Journal of Social
Work**, Vol. 34 (3), 395-403.

Wiesner, M. & Ittel, A. (2002).Relations of Pubertal Timing and Depressive
Symptoms to Substance Abuse. **Journal of Early Adolescence**, Vol 22 (1), 5-23

Woods, B. (2000). **Basics in Psychology (2nd edition)**. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Wright-Gallo, G.L., Higbee, T.S., Reagon, K.A., Davey, B.J. (2006). Classroom-Based Functional Analysis and Intervention for Students with Emotional/Behavioural Disorders. **Education and Treatment of Children**, 29(3) 421-436.

Zulu, X., Savides, M., Hosken, G. & Nthite, T. (2006, May 11). School violence on rise. **The Mercury,** p. 1.
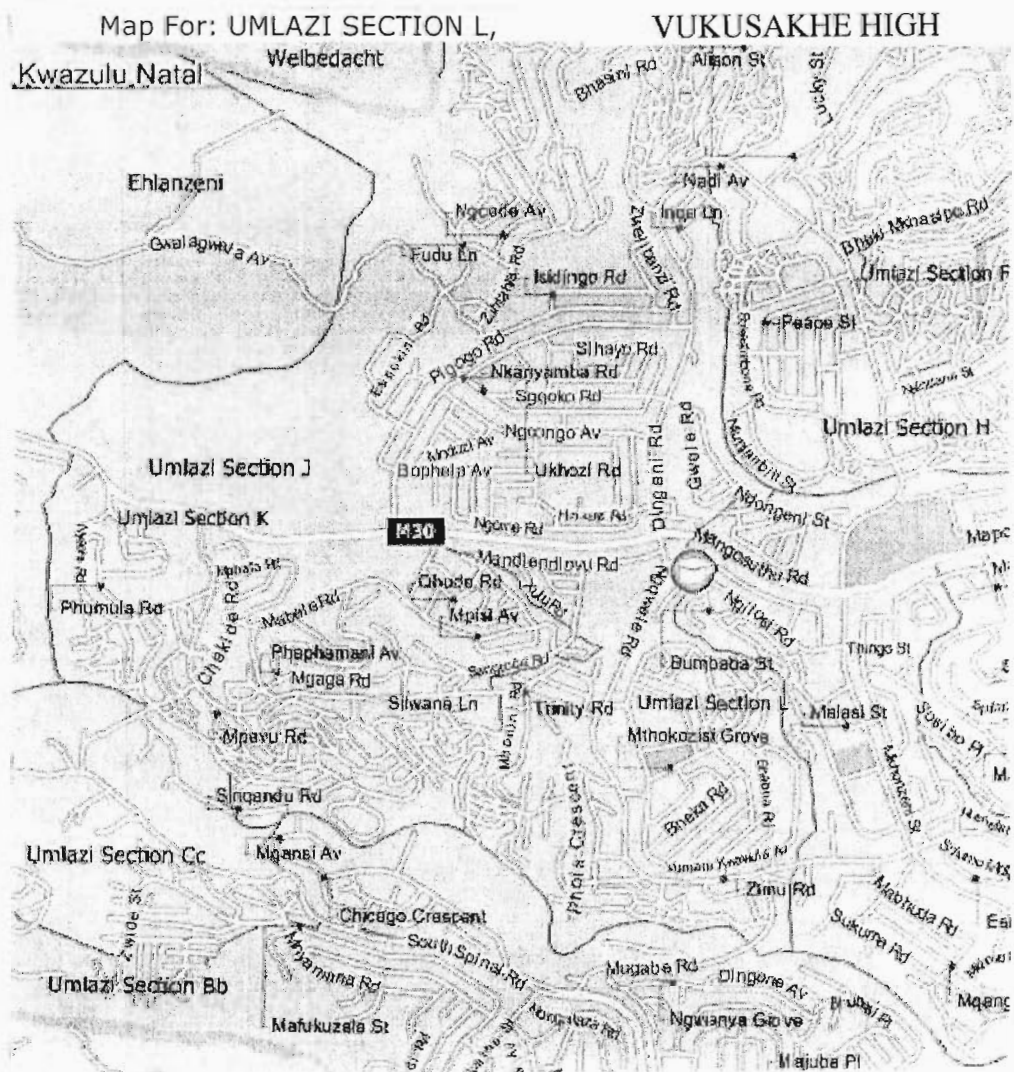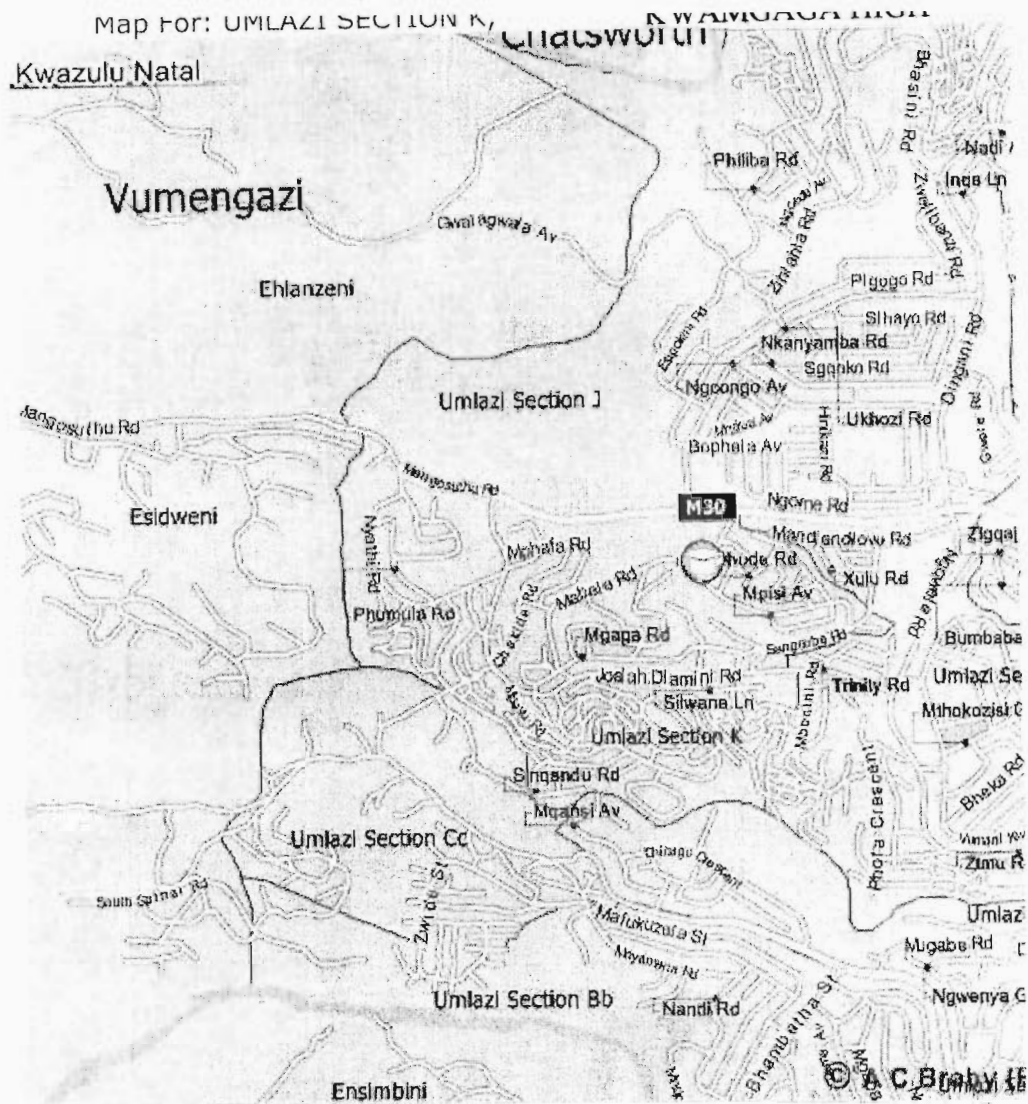
APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MAPS

LOCATING

SCHOOLS

Map For: UMLAZI SECTION K, Chatsworth
Kwazulu Natal

Map For: UMLAZI SECTION L, VUKUSAKHE HIGH
Kwazulu Natal

Map For: MEREWENT,

Map For: LAMONTVILLE, GANGES SECONDARY
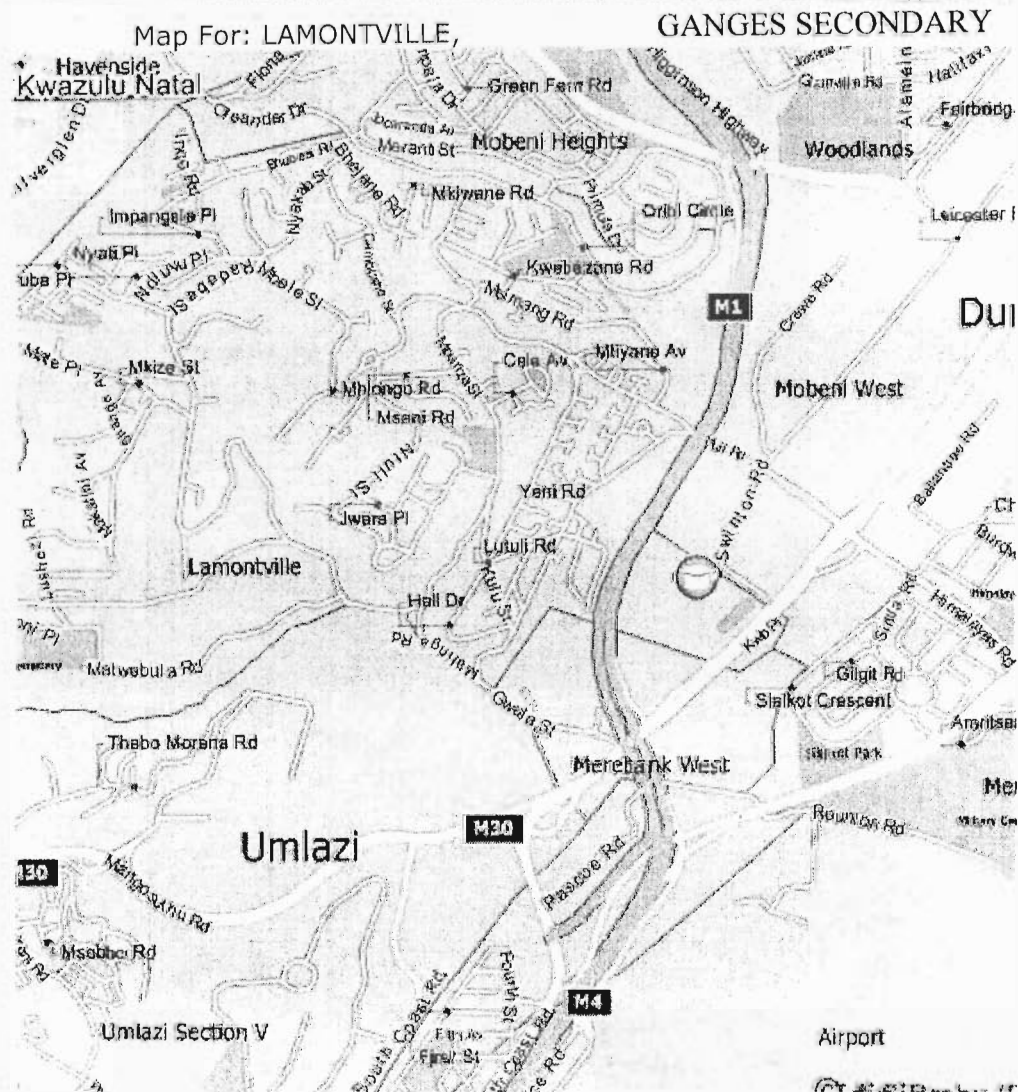
APPENDIX B

ACCESS INTO THE SITES OF RESEARCH

The following letter is an example of the request that was submitted to principals of the four schools involved in this study. Upon formal receipt of their consent, preparations for contact with the participants began.

The Principal
Kwamgaga High School
K 284
Unit K
Umlazi
4031

Sir/Madam

RE: CONSENT TO CONDUCT SURVEY

I am conducting a survey into the phenomena of bullying and violence in secondary schools.

As you are aware, these are relevant, current issues. I am interested in gleaning the perceptions and experiences of bullying and violence from school learners.

I have registered as a Social Work masters student at the University of KZN (student no. 205524419).

I would like to administer a brief questionnaire to one class of grade 8 or 9 learners and to conduct a focus group of approximately 12 children.

Please note that approval for this research has been obtained from the Faculty Research Committee and the University Ethics Committee.

All information related to the school will be treated as anonymous.

Your assistance would be greatly appreciated. Results of the study will be made available to you.

Attached is a consent form.

Yours faithfully

....
M.Govender   Prof V. Sewpaul
                                                    Head of Dept

Tel: 031-4644816   Tel: 031-2601241
Cell: 084 4646898

CONSENT FORM

TOPIC: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PHENOMENA OF BULLYING AND VIOLENCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN DURBAN.

I, …………………………………………………………….., hereby confirm that I have consented to the above study, being undertaken at my school, by M. Govender, student at the University of KZN.(student no: 205524419).

…………………………………………   ……………………

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL   DATE

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF CONSENT FROM PARTICIPANTS

UNDERSTANDING BULLYING AND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

<u>Dear Student</u>

Our life experience makes us aware that violence and bullying occur in many places, with different kinds of people.
In a school, there is opportunity for learners to **insult, threaten or assault** others. We also find media articles on bullying and violence in schools. Such unacceptable behavior may not be noticed or attended to.

This project aims to:

- increase general awareness of the problem,
- review structures and procedures to help learners

I am interested in learning how we could do the above and have registered as a student at the University of KwaZulu Natal, (student no: 205524419).

You are invited to fill in the following questionnaire, which will help me determine what **your needs/opinions or experiences are, on school bullying and violence.** You are required to read the questionnaire presented and tick the answer you feel is most suitable.

Filling in this questionnaire should take about 10 to 15 minutes, with explanations if learners need them.

It is hoped that the results of this study will help educators and parents become aware of the problems learners experience and develop ways of assisting them.
All information relating to this research will be saved on computer and destroyed upon its completion.

 Your identity and the name of the school will be absolutely confidential and will not be released to any person, for any reason.

Your participation is voluntary. This means you may choose not to participate, or withdraw your participation, if you so wish. Although I recommend your participation, you will be at no disadvantage whatsoever, by non involvement.

Thank you for your valuable time and contribution to this work.

Yours faithfully

………………………..

M. Govender
B.A Social Work
084-4646898
031-4644816
Comm. Development

Supervisor
Prof. V Sewpaul
Head of Department
School of Social Work &

031- 2601241

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

<u>TOPIC: An investigation into the phenomena of bullying and violence in secondary schools in Durban.</u>

Student: Mrs. Monica Govender   Supervisor: Prof. V Sewpaul
Degree: Master of Social Science   School of Social Work and
University of KwaZulu-Natal   Comm. Development

INSTRUCTIONS

1. *Please answer as fully and honestly as possible.*
2. *With questions one to ten, tick against the number if you agree with the statement. You could have more than one tick.*
3. *Choose only one response for questions 11 to 22.*
4. *All information will be treated as strictly confidential and all participants will remain anonymous.*

1. Please fill in your:
a) age
b) sex
c) grade

2. I have felt scared when:

a) a person or group threatened to " wait for me" after school,
b) I received a note telling me to do something or to stop something,
c) someone threatened a friend of mine
d) other..

3. People bully because they:

a) seek attention,
b) come from "dangerous" families or areas,
c) perform poorly in school and feel like failures,
d) want to show they are "not to be messed with."
f) other..

4. The places where any intimidation/violence is more likely to occur, is the:

    a) toilet area,
    b) tuck shop area,
    c) playground,
    d) during sport,
    e) when classes are moving during the day,
    f) outside the school ground, in the morning or afternoon
    g) other..

5. I am not directly bullied, but there is pressure to:
    a) smoke
    b) use colored braces or contact lenses
    c) own smart takkies, book covers, satchels,etc
    d) other..

6. I believe I am often insulted in school because:

    a) of my race
    b) I am not as stylish as other children
    c) I often do not have spending money for the tuck shop.
    d) other..

7. Learners pick on my:

    a) religious beliefs
    b) family background
    c) area I live in or car my parents drive.
    d) the way I dress/my appearance
    e) other...

8. Have you been threatened by another learner:

a) verbally – i.e. insulting, swearing or mocking
b) physically – example being pushed, shoved, pinched or beaten up,
c) emotionally – when someone threatens to say things about you or your family that is embarrassing,
d) psychologically – when someone says s/he will "sort you out one day."
e) other..

9.   When I was bullied, I:

a) cried and walked away
b) ignored the incident at that time but felt very upset when I was alone,
c) reported the person to a teacher/parent/older sibling
d) hit back by shoving, kicking etc.
e) other...

10.   The most hurtful kinds of bullying are when:

a) I am embarrassed in front of my friends,
b) people call me by a name I really don't like. It is a teasing name that sticks,
c) someone insults my family member,
d) I am shoved in a line or on the grounds,
e) people think it is fun to throw my school satchel around or damage any of my belongings.

For questions 11 to 22, choose one response only.

11. Bullying occurs mainly when a person is with his buddies or gang.

a) agree
b) unsure
c) disagree

12. I think that teachers:

a) know about the bullying we experience,
b) know only about a few incidents, where there was a complaint or physical assault,
c) do not know about most of the times bullying occurs.

13. I will not tell educators about bullying or violence that I see because they will just ask more questions and increase pressure on me.

A) WILL NOT TELL   B)   WILL TELL

14. Learners are not really afraid of being scolded or punished by educators, therefore they continue to upset or harass other learners.

a)   agree
b)   unsure
c)   disagree

15. In my school, we hear of bullying:

a) almost every day
b) about once a week
c) about once a month
d) very seldom

16. Are there " clicks" or gangs in school, with their own area:

a) on the school premises
    YES   NO

b) outside of school
    YES   NO

17. It is not only a gang /group that bullies people. Everybody does it at some time. Friends sometimes do hurtful things, then pretend it was a joke.

a) yes
b) sometimes
c) no

18. We need harsher forms of punishment for bullies, so they may stop threatening or harming others.

a) strongly agree
b) agree
c) disagree
d) strongly disagree

19. Bullies (e.g. those who have raped or stabbed another), should be expelled.

a)   YES

b)   NO. They should be given some other form of punishment, but allowed to remain in school.

20. I feel a counselor is essential in every high school to provide support/assistance to learners.

a) yes

b) no

21. Dealing with the issues of bullying and violence in our schools should be part of the formal curriculum.

- agree
- unsure
- disagree

APPENDIX E

A SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

The following questions were asked of the educators and guidance counsellor who participated in this study.

1. Approximately what percentage of bullying do you think comes to the attention of educators?

2. What are the possible reasons for learners not reporting bullying?

3. Is there a most vulnerable group in this regard?

4. Do you find that race is a significant risk factor for bullying or harassment?

5. In the past year, what are the salient experiences you have had with regard to violence or weapon carrying at school?

6. Is there any gang or group activity that is problematic?

7. Are the surroundings generally safe and is the school security adequate?

8. Do you need the SAP to come in and assist you? How often do they come? Are they generally available to the school?

9. When problem behaviour manifests, do you have the co-operation of parents?

10. Do you find that bullying occurs mainly in a group context or not?

11. What difficulties do you as educators have in dealing with bullying and violence?

12. When is suspension or expulsion considered a suitable disciplinary measure?

13. Do you feel that the problems of bullying and violence have increased since the banning of corporal punishment or not?

14. Do you have any recommendations on how the school may effectively address this problem?

APPENDIX F

GUIDELINES FOR FOCUS GROUP CONTACTS

1. Why do you think people bully others? Is it because of problems at school or home?

2. Do you think learners bully mainly in a group/gang or not?

3. Have you had any experiences with bullies?

3.1 Can you describe them?

3.2 How did you feel?

3.3 What could you do about it?

4. Is it difficult to report bullying at school? Are you afraid to do so?

5. How do you think learners and/educators can improve the situation?

APPENDIX G

Nicole Turner produced a segment for MNET's 'Carte Blance' on 17 October 2006, that reported on the conditions of some Eastern Cape schools. The following was revealed:

- From the annual budget of R15 000 000, only R2,5 000 000 was spent.
- The Department of Education sometimes provides 30 out of 242 required books. At other times only one is supplied.
- Windows and roofs are irreparably damaged in certain areas, with no toilet facilities being available to learners.
- Copper pipes are stolen from school premises as are other valuable materials.
- According to Lwandile Funda (educator) there is no proper monitoring of the priorities for repairs or additions to buildings.
- Samuel Snyder is quoted as saying that representatives of the Department of Education had promised to come and assess the conditions of learning, 2 years prior to the filming and had since, not visited.
- Molly Blackburn was the only school in Uitenhage that operated as normal. This meant, according to the principal Vuyisile Jonas, that the community shared the responsibility of protecting the school from vandalism and gangsterism. The segment confirms that this is actually a very poor community, half of which constitutes shack dwellings.

The documentary *Blackboards under seige* was written and produced by Sasha Smith for Special Assignment on SABC 3. Some schools from the Western Cape and from Gauteng were featured. These were the highlights:

- Learners are often so afraid to visit the toilets that they remain in class and wet themselves.
- According to the Cape Metro there were 90 school related assaults last year (2005).
- The death of 11 year old Dane Darries of Stephen Road Primary in Lotus River, while brutal and shocking yielded no arrests even a month later. The school fencing was vandalized at the time of his death – he was stabbed 14 times, in a toilet.
- Lee Roy Samuels of Ravensmead was shot on a school stairway while being shown a gun. His principal, Joseph Bouman holds the government responsible for the plight of his learners but states that he feels as if he has failed a child when something like this happens.
- Thembinkosi Majola attends a school in Tembisa (Gauteng). He was stabbed in the back of his neck and is now a paraplegic.
- In Hanover Park, (Cape Town) the poverty, drugs and use of weapons is tearing the fabric of the community.
- The *Americans* is one of the most notorious gangs in the Cape. Apparently, family members who are gangsters, may seek revenge on rival gang members.

Learners therefore carry guns to school to protect themselves, as noted in the Introduction.

- Mariwaan Blankenburg is a 15 year old Athlone pupil who was held down by 3 boys while another 2 stabbed him.
- Nariman Khan (representative of the Safer Schools in Western Cape) says when parents are unable to supervise their children, they fall into dangerous company. She adds that many children are imitating aggressive behaviour.
- Cameron Dugmore is the MEC for the Western Cape and acknowledges the problems there. The Safer Schools Programme operates a call centre that apparently receives complaints daily that relate to bullying and intimidation.

Gerry Flahive produced the documentary 'It's a Girl's World' (National Film Board of Canada). The following is some of the story of Dawn Marie, a 14 year old who hung herself in November 2000.

Her mother, Cindy Wesley informs viewers that Dawn was alternately happy and suddenly sad. Dawn had apparently sworn her friend to secrecy in the belief that it would get worse if anyone knew she had complained. Cindy is quoted as follows:
'My daughter decided to take her own life with her own hands because she knew these girls were going to kill her. She started an organisation, Parents Against Violence Everywhere (PAVE) as she wanted to bring attention to the plight of victims and help Dawn's tormentors whom she apparently did not want to carry guilt for the rest of their lives.

According to the grandmother of the bully, aggression was what she had learnt from family members who 'got into scraps.' The perpetrator says, 'It's not going to go away. I know people talk about me. I want to get out of here and work in New York.

Jill Routhwaite and Barbara Coloroso are featured in the documentary. They maintain that bullies have to be taught, have contempt for others and engage in conscious, hostile activity. The cognition of some aggressors is 'Being a bitch is cool.' They advise that onlookers leave the bully and stay away from peers who play mind games.

APPENDIX H

GUIDELINES FOR PARENTS OF VICTIMIZED CHILDREN
(http://www.bullying.co.uk/parents/parentsl_advice.htm)

REMEMBER:

Do not over-react and become unreasonable/demanding as you may be prohibited from future entry onto the premises.
It is possible that prefects and teachers are quite unaware of the problem, as you might have been.

Where the parent is unsure about the occurrence of bullying s/he may ask;
- 'What did you do at break today?'
- 'Would you like to have a friend over?'
- 'Is there any lesson you do not enjoy?'
- 'Is there somebody at school that you do not like? Why?'
- 'Are you looking forward to school tomorrow?'

APPROACHING THE SCHOOL

1. A parent should ask the teacher to monitor the situation and should engage in discussion on possible solutions.
2. Inform the principal or teacher of specific 'hazardous' areas. Where schools report that they do not have sufficient resources for greater supervision, ask that the bully only be observed.

When bullying persists:

- Keep a diary of incidents revealed by your child.
- Write to the class teacher or principal clarifying your concern. Ask what kind of action the school will take in addressing and monitoring the problem. Also inquire about previous action taken by the school.
- Request that your letter be placed in your child's file as well as a note confirming the measures the school has attempted.
- Suggest that the teacher limit the contact between your child and the bully.

In the case of older students, assault may warrant a caution or prosecution.
A parent should avoid confronting the bully or his/her parents as the situation may well be aggravated.

Where a child is particularly distressed, medical intervention may be necessary as well as a letter from the doctor to the school.

Traumatized learners who stay at home run the risk of having their parents prosecuted for failure to ensure that the child receives education.

When visiting the school to discuss the problem, it is advisable to take someone else with.
Parents should plan and present their grievances in an orderly way, without becoming argumentative. After such contact the parent should again write to the school to ensure plans of action are being carried out.

Should all of these methods fail, the parent may contact the school governing body and inform them of the preceding levels of progress.

It may or may not be necessary to submit a copy of this letter to the local councillor or the Department of Education.

APPENDIX I

PHOTOGRAPHS

FORMS OF VANDALISM

THE GUARDS ON THESE WINDOWS SPEAK TO
VANDALISM AND CRIME IN THE AREA. LEARNERS'
RIGHTS TO A HEALTHY, SAFE ENVIRONMENT COME
INTO QUESTION WHEN THEY NEED SUCH PRISON-
LIKE CONFINEMENT.
 IRONICALLY, THIS SCHOOL IS CONSIDERED
FORTUNATE TO BE ABLE TO AFFORD SUCH
SECURITY.

PART OF AN UMLAZI SCHOOL IS DEPICTED HERE. BEYOND THE CONCRETE FENCE IS A SMALL SQUATTER CAMP.

THE SAPREF OIL REFINERY

THE MONDI PAPER PLANT

BOTH THESE PHOTOGRAPHS SHOW POINTS OF ENTRY
THROUGH WHICH MASSES OF LEARNERS MOVE
DURING THE SCHOOL DAY. THE RESULTING
CONGESTION IS A CATALYST FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF
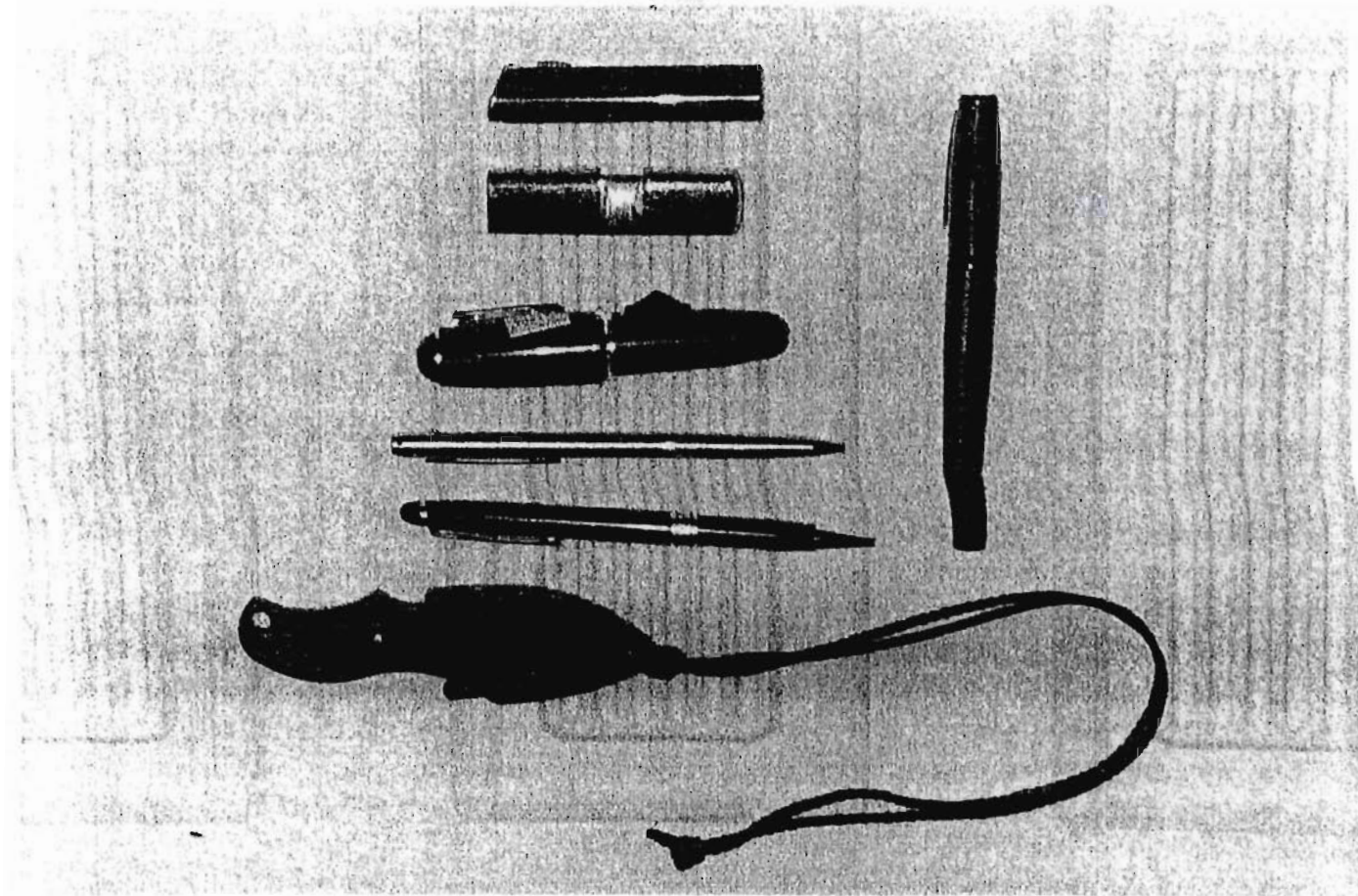ALTERCATIONS.

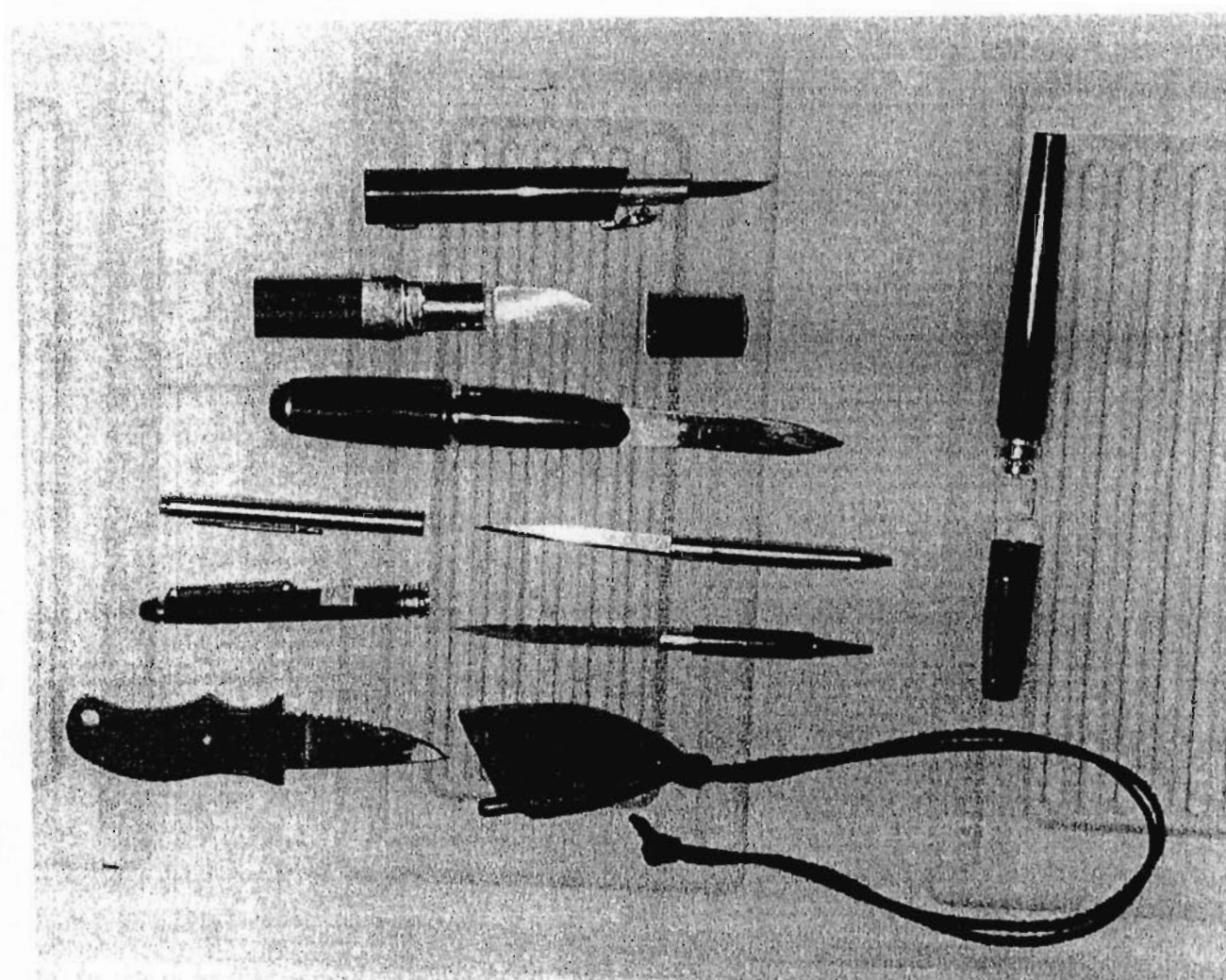# THE FOLLOWING PICTURES SHOW WHERE SOME FLAT DWELLERS OF MEREBANK LIVE

APPENDIX J

CONCEALED

WEAPONS

Concealed weapons–closed.
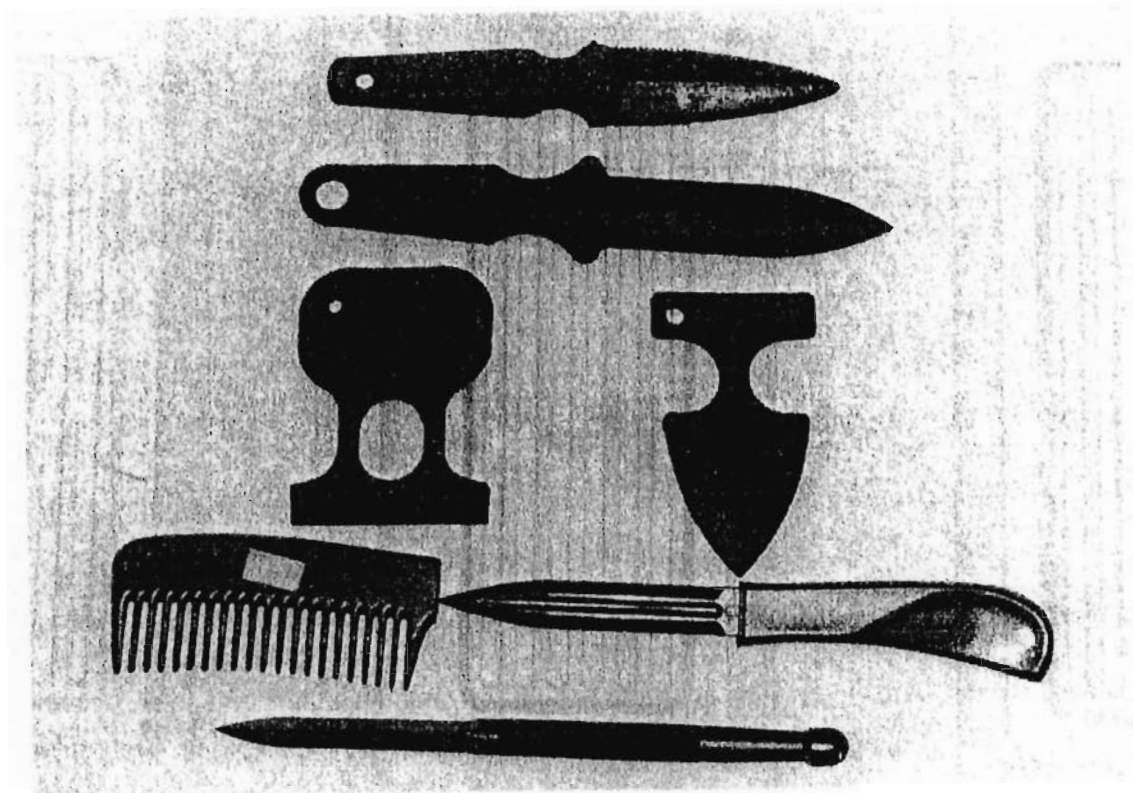

Concealed weapons–open.

Space-age, plastic-edged weapons.

. Concealment containers–closed.

Concealment containers–open.