VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

A recipe for disaster

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D. Ed

2006

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Research report submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Doctorate in Education Degree

University of KwaZulu Natal

Humanities

School of Educational Studies

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2006

ABSTRACT

A plenitude of media and research reports suggest that aggressive behaviour amongst the youth is becoming more confrontational, violent and common place. Factors spawning violence in schools are numerous and complex and include socio-economic and political inequities. This study not only reflects on the nature and scope of violence in schools, but focuses specifically on teachers as victims of violence. A broad based definition of violence has been used to include both insidious and physical forms of violence against teachers.

In the first phase of data collection, the quantitative method was used to gather information via questionnaires. In the second phase, narrative stories were developed from semi-structured interviews using the qualitative methodology. Both these methodologies have been used in a complementary manner to give depth and enhance the meaning of the data.

The analysis indicates that the prominence and pervasiveness of violence against teachers is staggering. The absence of effective structures, mechanisms and policies to stem the tide of violence has further aggravated the problem. The potential for conflict within the school context is underpinned by tension created by transient values. The youth do not have a core set of values that give direction to the decisions that they make. The consequence of this gap is unpacked in the "Core Values-Vacuum (CV^2) Theory" that has been proposed in an attempt to understand violence in schools.

The study concludes with the idea that there is no single factor that can explain violence in schools. However, the major causes and impact of violence identified provides a foundation for the conceptualisation of future safety and security initiatives in schools.

DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this study to

Sri Sathya Sai Baba,

who is the embodiment of

love and peace.

"Education can yield peace and prosperity only when, along with technical skills and

objective information, students are equipped with moral ideals, righteous living and

spiritual insight.

(Baba)

APPRECIATION

DECLARATION

I, Selvia Kista Singh, declare that this dissertation is my own work, and has not been submitted previously for any degree in any university.

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Researcher

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Supervisor

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Preface

Violence surfaces in the form of various guises. The context that generates these forms of violence is wide ranging and complex. The metaphor of food has been used to capture the varied nature of violence and its causes in schools, as food itself has boundless manifestations in terms of its preparation and aromas and tastes that it generates. This metaphor has been used to link headings and sub-headings in unpacking violence in schools. It was not the intention of the researcher to weave this metaphor throughout the text of the study, although it may be alluded to in introductory comments to place the heading in context. The wide diversity associated with the preparation of food together with the emanating aromas and flavours provided a creative framework within which violence in schools could be understood. Just as there is such multifariousness associated with food, this study has highlighted that the same range exists in the nature and causes of violence in schools. Below is a summation of the chapters which highlight the metaphor of food that links the various headings.

CHAPTER ONE

Putting the ingredients together: Context, purpose, rationale

This chapter provides the context to understand violence in schools. A comprehensive account of the need for this study is captured through the researcher's personal experiences, media reports and gaps in the literature. The context, purpose and rationale are seen as the ingredients that are needed to understand the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Flavourants: A basis for understanding the nature of violence in schools

The literature review is presented in chapter two using both local and international sources. The fusion and interrogation of different sources are collectively seen as the flavourants that form the basis for understanding violence in schools. Learners as perpetrators and teachers as victims of violence are documented in a growing body of knowledge. A medley of theoretical perspectives explaining deviant behaviour is used to illuminate the knowledge domain of violence.

CHAPTER THREE

Lifting the lid: Assimilating facts, fiction and feelings

This chapter sustains the metaphor of food by lifting the lid on the methodology used to gather and analyse data. The two broad methodological approaches that were used to probe into the everyday world of the teachers are detailed. Furthermore, the data collection procedures and analysis used to draw insights on the nature and extent of violence against teachers is explained.

CHAPTER FOUR

Escaping odours: A tantalising overview

An overview of teachers as victims of violence is detailed. Escaping odours refer to the nature, causes and impact of violence on teachers that this study reveals. Perceptions of both learners and teachers are included to give a balanced view of the driving forces that impact on violence levels in schools. The analysis that is presented is drawn from the surveys (questionnaires) that were used.

CHAPTER FIVE

Time to taste: The final proof

The narrative stories of three teachers, a Principal and a parent were developed from semi-structured interviews. The heading, "Time to taste", denotes the tangibility and authenticity of the stories presented. These stories are also seen as the final proof as they augment and give deeper meaning to teachers' lived experiences of violence.

CHAPTER SIX

Implications and caveats: An after taste

The implications and caveats of the study are presented as an aftertaste in chapter six. The instability created by changing values is revealed as the lingering aftertaste that subtly permeates the study. The chapter also crystallises the main findings from the analysis of data.

Chapter One

The Beginning

Putting the ingredients together: Context, Purpose, Rationale

Orientation to Chapter One

This chapter provides a framework within which the context, rationale and purpose of the study unfolds. These are seen as core ingredients that are essential to understand the need for this study. Gaps in existing literature, personal experiences and media reports are used to motivate the purpose and rationale for this study. The ingredients for this chapter were carefully selected from unexplored territory to give this study a unique flavour in terms of the knowledge and perspectives that it illuminates.

Below is a mind map that details a breakdown of the chapter.
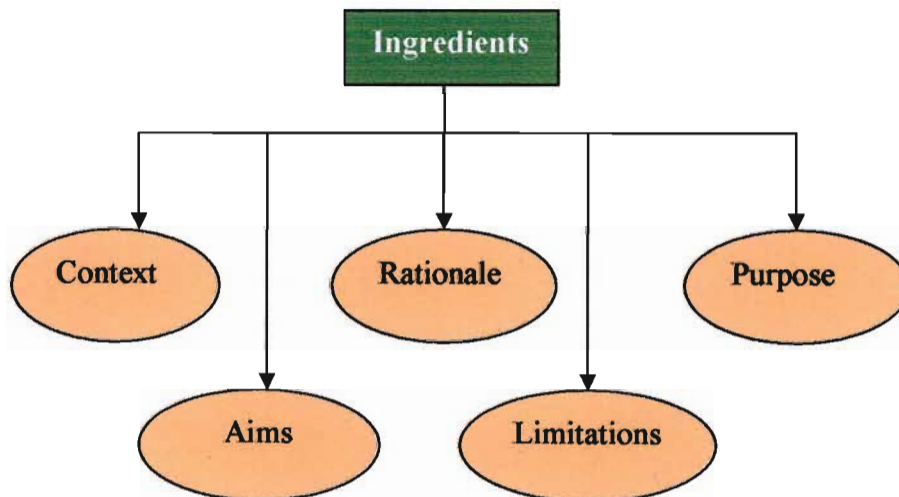
Section One *presents the context of this study by unpacking perceptions of violence in schools. It focuses on three main areas: teaching being a dangerous career, defining violence within the context of this study, and explaining how violence is destabilizing South African schools and creating battlefields.*

Section Two *captures the rationale, aims and significance of this study. It details the need for the study and its value to stakeholders in education.*

SECTION ONE

1.1 Context: "Initiating a concoction"

The purpose of this section is to provide a milieu for the plot that will unfold in this study. For any plot to be sustainable it needs a meticulous concoction or preparation that will unfold in a logical and convincing manner. "Initiating a concoction" provides a context to understand why violence in schools is a justified field of study.

1.1.1   Teaching, a dangerous career...

Recently, there have been a number of highly publicised stories of violence in schools. This fosters the perception that we are sitting on a time bomb. Captions that have riveted the public include: "The killer pupils" (Mhlongo, 2005); "Violent pupils, terrified teachers" (Lombard & Fredericks, 2005), and "Pupil violence worries educationists" (Maharaj, 2003). These stories focus either on pupil abuse or violence against teachers. Owing to the sensational nature of the stories, great public interest has been roused. Questions such as: "what is causing an escalation in violence?", and "how can we create safer learning environments?" are of prime concern.

There seems to be a "cycle of blame" emerging in the classroom. Teachers blame learners for a lack of interest in learning, and learners in turn blame teachers for their violent behaviour, putting it down to poor teaching skills or being too harsh in enforcing discipline. This cycle of blame has manifested itself in the form of "pupil-teacher violence" and poses an earnest challenge to educational authorities. According to Mogano (1993), "school teachers have become the primary targets of violent outbursts from frustrated learners, making teaching the most dangerous vocation in South African townships today". In the light of the precarious depiction of teaching as a career, this study seeks to explore the nature and extent of violence against teachers.

At this stage it is noteworthy to state that these acts of violence are no longer exclusively prevalent in township schools as inferred from Mogano's study. The

frequency and the number of violent incidents have been steadily increasing across many urban and rural schools. In a newspaper article by Maharaj (2003), Dr Cyril Naidoo (Chairman of the Parent Association of KwaZulu Natal) was quoted as being appalled by the recent spate of violence involving learners and teachers. He made reference to the following as being possible causal factors for violence: parents and teachers lack of interest in maintaining discipline, peer pressure, high pupil-teacher ratio, lack of guidance counsellors, no common code of conduct for all schools and no effective expulsion system for deviant learners.

School violence is an immemorial issue, as is evident from the malapropism of media reports that we have been exposed to over the years. It is interesting to note that within these media reports in South African schools the underlying causal factors that seem to perpetuate violence have shifted their focus. This shift reflects a complicated blend of past history and the recent educational transformations. The focus has shifted from violence being linked to political instability to racial rancour, and more recently, to social and economic challenges that are a reflection of the broader South African society.

Although violence in schools has been strongly linked to external factors in many studies (Vally, 1999; Nzimande and Thusi, 1998; Mogano, 1993), the internal organisation of schools to maintain stability is also an important aspect to consider. Internal factors include poor management, overcrowding and a lack of adequate security and disciplinary measures. These internal factors create an atmosphere that could be the impetus for violent behaviour. In a survey conducted in Gauteng schools by the Human Sciences Research Council (2001), it was reported that educators felt that poor management style exacerbated violent behaviour. This report intends bringing together all the piecemeal ideas on the causes of violence referred to in the media and other studies already conducted in this field. This would provide an opportunity to evaluate and interrogate the data in a systematic manner.

Internationally a very grim picture of school violence is painted. Violence takes the form of disobedience, teasing, taunting, obscene gesturing, verbal and physical threats,

bullying, assault, vandalism, extortion and gang related activities. A review of literature in Canada reveals conflicting views on levels of violence in schools. According to MacDougall (1993), in an Environics Poll conducted in April 1993, it was revealed that violence is the top educational concern in Canada, even surpassing academic standards. Surveys of teachers in British Columbia (British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 1994), Manitoba Teachers' Society (1990), Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (1994) and Nova Scotia Teachers' Union (1996) indicate that violence is of increasing concern in Canadian schools. Lyon & Douglas (1999) identifies several themes that emerge from the above studies. Firstly, the level of violence against Canadian teachers appears to be relatively high, reaching levels of 30-40% depending on the definitions used. Secondly, most of the violence experienced tends to be more insidious in nature. Thirdly, the overwhelming level of violence directed at teachers is committed by students.

There are also studies in Canada that downplay the reported level of violence (West, 1993; Rogers, 1993), dismissing trends from other research, due to differences in definitions of violence used and methods of reporting. The conflicting views on levels of violence are also attributed to regional differences in terms of rural and urban areas.

Statistics on the prevalence of school based violence in the United States reveal an escalating problem. Violent assaults in schools are reported to have increased by 14% in the years between 1987 and 1990 (Landen, 1992). An estimated 70 000 serious physical assaults are made on teachers each year (Rich, 1992). More recently, the National Centre for Education Statistics (2000) conducted a survey on crime and safety in public schools and came up with the following results. Principals reported 1 466 000 violent incidents in schools in the year 2000. Violence was linked to school size, academic performance, school location and serious discipline problems. Specifically, research highlighting teachers as victims has been revealed by the Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher (1999) where it was reported that one in six teachers were victims of violence, as compared to one in nine in 1994. This survey showed an

increase in levels of violence against teachers and thus exposes teaching as a dangerous career.

1.1.2 Defining violence

Violence is a term that conjures up images of actions that are physically injurious to others. According to Du Toit (1986) "violence is behaviour that comprises the possibility of hurting or killing other people in an attempt to reach a goal". Within the context of this study however, a more broad based definition of violence is being used. It is defined as "any threatened, attempted or actual harm to a person or persons" (Lyon & Douglas, 1999). This definition captures both the covert insidious forms of aggression as well as the obvious physical forms of violence. The idea of using a broad based definition of violence is to understand the context teachers find themselves in and how this context relates to violence against teachers. This underlies the day to day disciplinary problems that teachers face. Thus, very often, discussions on school violence will be closely tied in with discussions on school discipline, as it encompasses the more insidious forms of violence experienced by educators.

Violence in schools can be seen in the form of wearing many faces. It can range from insidious incidents that include insults, name calling, rude and obscene gestures to directly threatening behaviour and physical violence. The insidious incidents are rarely ever mentioned by the media or education officials. It seems to be an unspoken rule that these incidents are inconsequential or possibly not newsworthy. It forms part of the teacher's isolated domain which involves facing a large group of learners on a daily basis with some of them being bright and eager, while others are disruptive and even hostile.

The consequence of ignoring these insidious incidents opens a can of worms. How do educators cope with hostile incidents in their classrooms? Do educators ignore the problem and earn the reputation of being "weak" and a poor disciplinarian? This may

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very well be viewed in the light of compounding and subtly encouraging poor discipline. On the other hand, do educators impose disciplinary measures, keeping in mind that corporal punishment is illegal in South Africa? What are the options that are available in terms of disciplinary measures that would prevent teachers from being embroiled in a child abuse case? These are crucial issues associated with violence that need to be addressed. Maintaining a violence-free environment forms an integral prerequisite for constructive learning to proceed.

Insidious incidents in class can also be seen as the igniting factor that gives learners the courage to go on to more threatening or physical forms of violence if they are not curtailed at an earlier stage. Thus, by concentrating only on the more physical forms of violence, we could possibly be ignoring one of the root causes of violence by not addressing disciplinary problems in the class first.

The habitual and ongoing nature of violence in South African schools has largely been researched and approached from a learner's perspective (Else, 1999; Griggs, 1997; Reid, Hunter, Clark, & Collett van Rooyen, 1999). The negative impact of violence on teachers in terms of their physical, psychological and financial well being is an area that is in its infancy in terms of research. This study, therefore, intends on providing a comprehensive understanding of teachers' experiences and perceptions on violence in schools and its ramifications. It seeks to analyse some of the internal school dynamics which shape the character and intensity of violence and its impact on teachers. This does not mean that cognisance will not be given to external forces that revolve around economic and social factors within the wider society. Some of the factors that impact on youth violence and that are beyond the parameters of the school include the influence of the community and family. To place this research into context, however, a more streamlined approach will be adopted to enable the researcher to place the spotlight on the teacher. The idea is also to move beyond an explanation which is locked into the rhetoric of the past history of the education system in South Africa.

1.1.3 Schools continue as battlefields

The South African education system has a history of being plagued by sporadic eruptions of violence that show no signs of abating. Many people visualized that the end of "apartheid" meant the beginning of new opportunities, better jobs, housing and education. Poverty and unemployment, however, continue to be rife, and it is within this socio-economic background that most violent behaviour is born and nurtured. This behaviour then spills over into the school, and is further compounded by school rules that learners find restrictive. The "organisation", or "disorganisation" of the school environment (management, policies, counselling) therefore plays an important role in either curbing or promoting violent behaviour.

At this point it is important to note some of the changes that have taken place in education, specifically since 1994, when a new democracy dawned in South Africa. The newly elected government passed substantial legislation aimed at transforming education in South Africa. The White Paper on Education and Training (Department of Education, 1995) highlights the need for education that is of good quality and attempts to refocus the very essence of what schooling should be about. The South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996c was equally important in its aim to reposition schools. The key principles outlined in SASA, are the promotion of community ownership of schools through Governing Bodies, whose powers have been enhanced. In terms of both the National Education Policy Act (RSA, 1996b), and the SASA (RSA, 1996c) corporal punishment has been banned.

Despite these changes to bring about transformation in the education system, there are many problems that remain. Violence in schools is a major problem that destabilizes the learning environment. This was acknowledged by the former Minister of Education way back in 1999, when he declared education to be in a state of emergency on the 27th of July 1999. He outlined a nine point plan to deal with problems in his *Call to Action* (Asmal, 1999). A pivotal idea was to make schools centres of community life to reduce crime and violence.

Closely following the *Call to Action* was the Implementation Plan for 'Trisano' (Department of Education, 2000). School safety has become a priority with emphasis on the following areas for the next five years:

- ✓ Providing physical resources to ensure basic levels of security and safety at schools.
- ✓ Developing a visible partnership between schools and the community.
- ✓ Developing social programmes for children with problems

'Trisano' reinforces the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Services (COLTS), which was a previous campaign launched by the Department of Education in 1997. It also ties in with the "National Crime Prevention Strategy" which was proposed by the Department of Education (Department of Education, 1999). Basically, all these programmes have the following common goals:

- ✓ A safe physical learning environment
- ✓ Public awareness and information
- ✓ Development of school safety policies
- ✓ Victim empowerment

In spite of all these changes, schools continue to serve as battlefields, with educators increasingly becoming the targets of violence. The problem of violence is not restricted to just one province in South Africa. It seems to be a national problem. In a study conducted by Eliasov & Franks (2000) within the Cape Metropole, it was found that crime and violence in schools has reached frightening proportions. Physical violence and vandalism occurred in 95% of the schools that were surveyed. They have attributed this mainly to the manner in which schools are organised which then exacerbates the propensity for instability and internal conflict. The internal organisation of the school, however, cannot be viewed in isolation or be divorced from the impact of transformational education policies or the influences of the wider society in which schools are located. There is a very fine line between the internal and external organisation of schools that cannot be separated.

Almost two thirds of the respondents in a survey conducted in the Port Elizabeth area by Else (1999) acknowledged that their schools were experiencing incidents of physical violence. This research adds to the growing body of information that suggests that violence is not restricted to certain parts of South Africa, but has permeated a wide spectrum of schools. It is an indication that urgent measures need to be taken to stem this flow of violence. The culture of learning is currently at stake, and this has crucial implications for the future of this country.

In research conducted by Matthews, Griggs, & Caine (1999), violence in urban schools was approached from a perspective of it being rooted in the apartheid years. The idea of a "culture of violence" was mooted as a plausible explanation since South Africa had just entered its fifth year of democracy. Now, after the tenth year of democracy, there is no evidence of a respite in the levels of violence in schools. There is obviously a need to rethink and refocus on the methods being used to eradicate school based violence.

SECTION TWO

1.2 Logic: "Defending the concoction"

The idea of exploring the nature and extent of violence against teachers was initiated through a mixture of personal experiences, conflicting messages from the media and scant literature available on violence specifically against teachers. The quest for more tangible and concrete evidence as to how violence is affecting the teaching-learning environment thus shapes the beginning of this study.

By placing the school environment under the spotlight, the researcher through personal experience focuses on transient values. The values of youth are constantly shaped by outside influences which could be in conflict with existing value systems. Core values such as rights, responsibilities and respect (3Rs) become diluted in the identity process. Respecting the rights of others within any environment comes with responsibilities. Internalising the 3Rs would provide a firm basis to give direction to the youths' value system, rather than to constantly redefine themselves according to new norms and values. This fluidity in values is seen as an impetus for deviant behaviour.

1.2.1 Rationale for the study

- Gaps in literature review

An extensive review of the literature, focussing mainly on the post 1994 period, has been conducted. The search included information downloaded from the internet, books and journals from the library, media reports and post graduate theses from universities in South Africa. The review has revealed that while extensive research on violence in schools has been conducted internationally, the same momentum and intensity is lacking in South Africa. A few isolated studies (Else, 1999; Griggs, 1997, Reid et al, 1999) focusing on learners have been conducted using mainly the survey method to gather data. Specific studies linked to violence against teachers are non existent.

Narrative stories detailing in-depth perceptions and experiences of violence that teachers have experienced is an area that is also deficient in South African research. This study hopes to bridge the gaps that exist in research pertaining to violence in schools.

- Personal reflections

Being an educator at a secondary school enables me to reflect on teachers increasingly becoming targets of displaced hostility by learners. There seems to be a change in power relations, brought about by policy changes, which include the emphasis on children's rights and the lack of structures and processes to deal with deviant behaviour. This study hopes to reflect and illuminate the dynamics associated with these policy changes brought about by the transformation taking place in South Africa. The balance of power appears to favour learners who are engaging in a subtle form of intimidation and violence as a way of resisting discipline. Whilst the rights and the safety of the learner are always brought to the forefront, very little emphasis is placed on that of the teacher.

This debate emerged at a workshop that I attended that was conducted by the Department of Education where the focus was on creating a safe learning environment for learners. There was an outcry from the teachers in attendance against the blatant bias of the Department of Education. Many teachers believe that there are no support structures in place to cope with violence perpetuated against them. There are no clearly defined alternate forms of bringing learners back in line to replace corporal punishment. This is clearly portrayed in a study by Gannon (1998) who quotes a teacher as stating "they have taken away corporal punishment and given us nothing in place, our hands are tied". A growing body of research indicates that violence can lead to adverse health effects (Kimering & Calhoun, 1994; Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995; Acierno, Kilpatrick & Resnick (1999). The important deduction here is that the teacher is a crucial part of the schooling system, and the way in which they perceive and experience violence in schools needs to be unveiled. Thus the idea was born to gain a deeper understanding of the context within which teachers work.

In 2003, while being a part-time lecturer at the University of KwaZulu Natal, students enrolled for the NPDE[1] (National Professional Diploma in Education) were given an assignment to outline some of the challenges that they face as teachers. A few students gave accounts of their personal experiences of violence in schools. This unexpected source of data resonated with some of my personal experiences and is thus being used as one of the motivations for this study. Below are two excerpts extracted from the NPDE assignments.

Excerpt One

Our school is situated at the centre of a township where there is a problem of sprawling informal settlements. A large percentage of the people from these settlements are unemployed and this has resulted in crime and violence becoming an every day occurrence. Half of the learners from our school come from communities where drugs, alcohol, abuse and violence are rife. These learners import the behaviour that they are exposed to in the community to school. It is difficult for teachers to instil discipline because these learners are rebellious, rude and unruly and in many cases they are much older than the average age of the class. Many of these learners drop out of school unofficially and then turn up at the end of the year threatening teachers with the aim of getting a report and being promoted to the next grade.

As teachers, it is very difficult for us to deal with these learners as some members of the community have politicised education and claim to know and understand the rights of their children. If the demands of the drop-outs are not acceded to they become violent and cause chaos and disorder, especially when official functions take place. Some of them are arrested by the police and put into jail for two to three days, but when they are released, they get back to their old nonsense. These children have gangsters as their role models, and therefore, drugs and violent acts are acceptable.

Besides being exposed to violence and substance abuse, there are other factors such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, unemployment and broken families that contribute to their violent behaviour. Some children that come from broken families are exposed to physical and sexual abuse from their step-parents. If a mother stays with a new lover and is dependent on him financially, even though the children are abused, the mother turns a blind eye.

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[1] The National Professional Diploma in Education (NPDE) is a diploma that has been introduced in South African universities to allow under qualified teachers to upgrade their qualification.

As teachers, we have noticed that children that live in informal settlements are exposed to a high degree of abuse. In such communities, there are no close family ties because many of the couples cohabit. In many cases children are molested or raped and are threatened to keep quiet. Young girls get involved with older men so that they can provide them with basic necessities as well as get money to pay for their school fees.

Excerpt Two

One of the major causes of violence in schools is the environment in which the school is situated. The school is moulded by the kind of society/community that it is located in. If there is a lot of violence and crime in a community then the school is bound to be affected because there is a direct link between the school and the community within which it is located.

The Department of Education is also accountable for violence in schools because it is negligent when it comes to monitoring schools and ensuring that everything is running smoothly. Officials overlook and even conceal certain incidents for fear of bad publicity.

Teachers and incompetent school management teams also contribute to violence in schools. Some teachers leave learners unattended and this can initiate many problems. Teachers who go on strike or absent themselves from school also create the leeway for idle learners to become violent. It indirectly encourages them to truant school and abscond lessons and this hampers the smooth running of the school. Managers do not have the ability to put effective preventative measures in place.

Many schools are without security guards or boundary walls around the school. Learners are free to carry weapons and drugs into the school premises without being monitored. The safety of both teachers and learners is not guaranteed when this happens.

The above excerpts hint at the nature and causes of violence in schools, and thus provided another compelling reason for me, as a researcher, to explore how teachers experience violence in schools and the impact it has on them. The excerpts make reference to external factors, which are beyond the control of the school, as well as internal factors that create challenges for teachers. An in-depth understanding of these challenges would form the basis for addressing the violence in schools as portrayed by the above excerpts.

Information on violence against teachers would certainly add to the knowledge on the multiple challenges that face teachers. It would thus provide a reference point for developing relevant coping mechanisms for teachers in the classroom. With the prohibition of "corporal punishment" and an emphasis on constitutionally entrenched human rights, teachers need direction in other tangible methods of maintaining discipline rather than being told to "use creative means".

An extensive understanding of teachers' lived experiences of violence would certainly prove valuable for developing sound programmes, thereby giving direction to schools and district policies on discipline, safety and security. It would also inform school governance, unions and management in terms of developing a stable school environment that does not undermine the ability of teachers to perform their functions.

- Media talk…

Media reports from the year 2000 have been perused to get a sense of the nature and levels of violence in schools. Despite the media being fuelled by conflicting messages, it is a very powerful public document that is easily accessible and as such, raises the awareness of a vast majority of people. Media reports also offer an alternate lens to view violence in schools. The focus is not on the factual accuracy of information constructed but rather the message that newspaper articles transmit and the impact it has on public perceptions.

Media reports indicate growing concern over the escalation of violence. Some of the sentiments expressed over the recent years are captured below.

- "The Department has ranked drug and alcohol abuse as two of the main problems prevalent in schools", (Bisetty , 2001)
- "Sex, booze, guns, knives, drugs, theft, porn movies and gambling- they are all part of the unofficial curriculum at Provincial schools and this is stressing

> teachers out…" (Bisetty, 2002)
> - "Free access to firearms, drugs and alcohol are amongst the factors fuelling the wave of lawlessness sweeping through KwaZulu Natal schools" (Madlala, 2003)
> - "Children no longer have respect for teachers or regulations… Some parents couldn't care less and pass the buck onto the school for teachers to handle (Naidoo, 2004)
> - "Pupil discipline has sunken to low levels, with drug trafficking and incidents of serious assault on school premises… (Ramguthee, 2004)
> - "Police in Durban suburban areas are concerned about the increasing number of learners who have been found in the possession of weapons and drugs during school hours. They also suspect that school learners were being used as drug runners in schools" (Mhlongo, 2005)

According to Lombard and Fredericks (2005), a study conducted over the past five years by the University of Johannesburg shows an alarming increase in verbal and physical attacks on teachers by learners. It was also discovered that teachers displayed symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder after long term verbal abuse by learners. The collage that follows captures the titles of a random selection of newspaper articles that paints a picture of the work conditions that teachers are subjected to.

Collage: Victims of school violence			
Violent pupils terrify teachers (Lombard & Fredericks, 2005	**Boys chilling blueprint for teacher's murder (Van Rooyen, 2003)**	**Kids do sex, drugs, porn at school** **(Bisetty, 2002)**	*Pupil violence worries educationists (Maharaj, 2003)*
Unruly pupils drive Principals over the edge. (Smetherham, 2003)	The Killer pupils: shock findings in big survey of Durban schools (Mhlongo, 2005)		**Pupil "hammers" teacher in a fit of rage (Independent On line, 2001)**
Pupils in frenzied attack on Principal *(Naidu, 2004)*	Abusive pupils: Province allocates R2m for counselling traumatised teachers (Kassiem, 2004)		

Another area that is frequently highlighted in the newspapers is that there is no effective option available to discipline learners and this is closely aligned to the strict laws that protect children. Ntabazalila (2001) voiced an important barrier experienced by teachers in the following statement:

'Teachers are attacked by pupils everyday. We have become victims of crime while the law protects the children.'

The priority given to children's rights is an issue that continually emerges as a grey area in learner discipline. School tribunals have been reduced to toothless committees by the Department of Education as recommendations of suspension and expulsion are either reversed or the bureaucratic channels and time delays prevents effective disciplinary actions. Padayachee (2004) details how much easier it is to suspend the head of a school than the learner. A Principal was suspended from school for refusing to follow department orders to reinstate a learner that had been expelled for excessively deviant behaviour. The message being sent out is that learners are above the law and that

there are no consequences for deviant behaviour. Kassiem (2004) captures the fundamental thinking of learners in the statement,

'Learners know that at the most they could face a disciplinary hearing, which is not enough to ensure that discipline is maintained.'

The perception being created is that the Department is afraid to take bold steps in dealing with deviant learners because existing policies have too many loop holes that could land them in a legal tangle. This view has been authenticated in an article by Bolowane (2005) who quotes a Departmental official as stating that existing legislation makes it difficult to expel or suspend a learner. Thus, all existing legislation is being reviewed in relation to school governance to 'fill in the cracks'. This comment is an admission of the ineffectiveness of existing policies to combat violence in schools.

Closely tied in with ineffective disciplinary policies is the abolishment of corporal punishment. In an article by Khan (2000) he quotes a union official as stating:

'The government eroded discipline by declaring that corporal punishment in schools is a criminal offence without coming up with alternatives.'

The message being generated by the media is that not only is violence a major problem in schools, but measures to curb violence are also lacking. This study, in responding to these issues debated in the media, seeks to explore the authenticity of the nature and extent of violence in schools. The perceptions generated by media reports thus formed a significant impetus for this study to take shape.

1.2.2 Aims of the study

Within the framework of the above explanation this study specifically aims to:
- ▲ Explore the nature and extent of violence against teachers in schools.
- ▲ Examine the causal factors of violence against teachers.

▲ Illuminate the role of school management, SGBs and the Department of Education in defining their responsibilities to manage and deal with violence within schools.

▲ Explore the value of policies and approaches that are in place to manage school violence.

▲ Understand the impact of violence on teachers.

1.2.3 Critical questions of the study (purpose)

1. What is the nature and extent of violence against teachers?
2. Why are teachers becoming victims of violence?
3. What role do the school management and the Department of Education play in reducing violence in schools?
4. Are there effective policies and approaches in place to manage school violence?
5. How does violence impact on the emotional and physical well being of teachers?

1.2.4 Limitations

• Methodologically, an opportunistic sampling technique was used to gather data due to easy accessibility. This could possibly influence the generalisation of the results.

• Conceptually, the study does not take on a legal focus even though discipline and human rights falls within a legal framework.

• The contextual limitation could be that violence in schools is a topical issue that is influenced by media hype and sensationalism.

Each of these limitations will be addressed fully in the relevant sections.

1.2.5 Concluding comments

The broad outline provided in this chapter clearly suggests that violence in schools is an issue that is of concern to all stakeholders in education. It is an issue that needs to be examined, understood and ameliorated through sustained efforts.

The next chapter reviews literature on violence in schools. Much of the available literature on violence is based on data from other countries, which does not reflect the social, political, economic and cultural context of South Africa. In South Africa the literature on violence in schools is not as prolific, and as a result, the researcher had to draw on information from the media as well as some small scale research studies.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

Flavourants: a basis for understanding the nature of violence

"The course of civilization is a race between catastrophe and education. In a democracy such as ours we must make sure that education wins the race"

(Futrell and Powell, 1996)

Orientation to Chapter Two

There is always the perception that catastrophes are caused by nuclear warfare or natural disasters such as tsunamis and earthquakes. This perception is driven home by visuals of destruction, loss of life and depths of despair. Destitute families and mangled bodies create a sense of urgency that overshadows other forms of catastrophes such as the deterioration of the natural environment or the destruction of the ozone layer. Catastrophes that are slow brewing and fester with time do not have the same momentum to attract and sustain the attention of the media and are therefore glossed over. This study, however, suggests that in tracing the tedious path of violence in schools as reported in the media, it has stumbled upon a more pervasive catastrophe for society at large. To provide a basis to understand this catastrophe, various flavourants or perspectives are gathered in this chapter. The flavourants have been interrogated in a manner that allows for the release of new insights on the catastrophe that is violence in schools and illuminates existing knowledge on the issues contributing to the level of violence experienced within schools.

The preceding chapter formed an important backdrop for creating an impression of the burgeoning culture of violence in schools and the breach of the fundamental rights of teachers which forms the focus for this study, particularly in the South African context. In this chapter, literature will be reviewed to present a perspective on violence related to school and schooling. The quaint adage that "kids are innocent" has lost its presumption

and is highlighted in the literature in this chapter by the aggressive and anti social behaviour of some of today's youth. The literature review, as well as the data analysis, will present a perspective which can be seen as an important eye opener to the current climate of increasing violence in our schools. The compiling and summarizing of the extant literature in this study is seen as a step towards understanding the scope of the problem.

This chapter will be organised into the following sections:

Context:
Violence in
South African
schools

Causes:
An overview of
violence in schools

Reviewing literature on violence in schools

**Knowledge
domain:**
Theoretical
perspectives

Impact:
Teachers as
victims
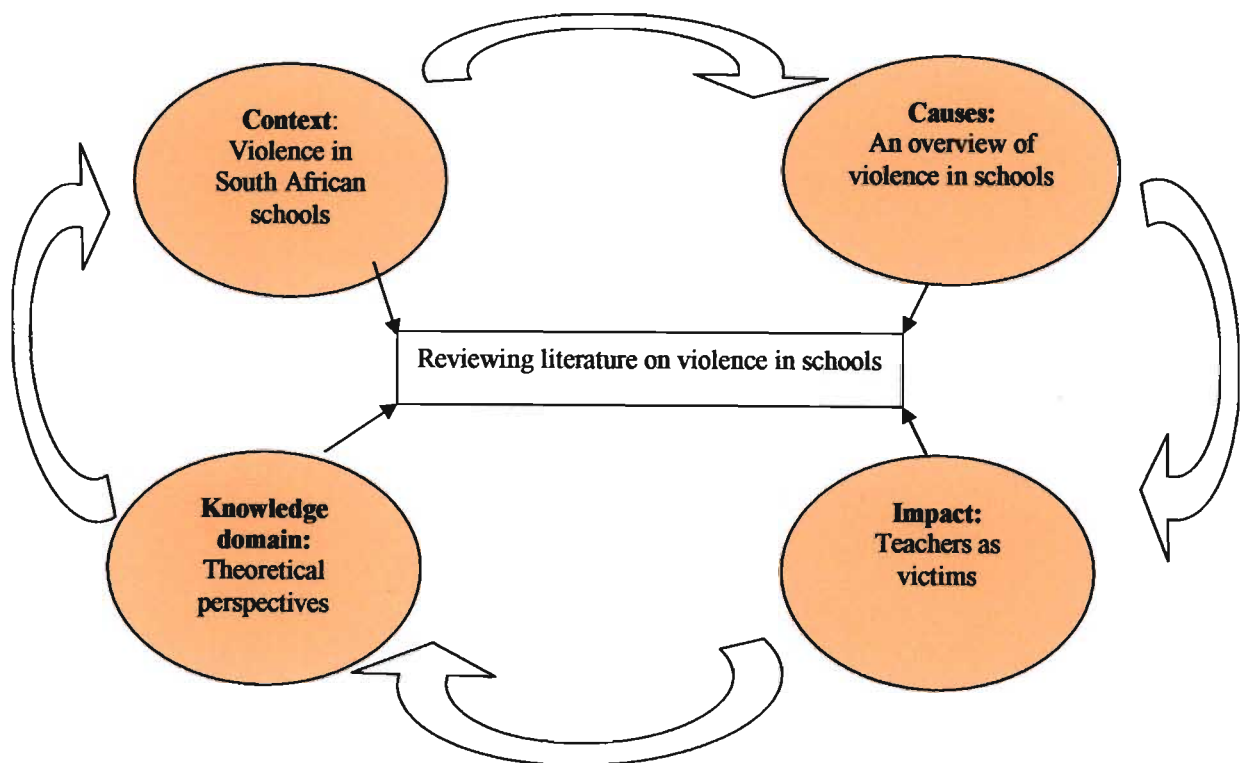
Section One*: Violence in South African schools: An innate discovery*
The high levels of violence in South African schools are put under the spotlight in this section to unpack contextual issues. It reflects on past history as well as on recent studies that highlight the nature and extent of violence in schools.

Section Two: *Causes of violence in schools: An overview*

This section captures the causal issues by referring to a growing body of knowledge that identifies a broad range of issues both locally and internationally that perpetrates violence in schools.

Section Three: *Focus on teachers as victims*

The teacher is placed on centre stage to deconstruct their role as victims in the cycle of violence as well as to explore the support structures that are in place. This section therefore provides an orientating overview of impacting issues in terms of violence against teachers.

Section Four: *Theoretical perspectives of violent behaviour*

A variety of perspectives on violent behaviour are presented to provide a basic understanding of violent behaviour using a theoretical lens. The knowledge domain of violent behaviour is documented.

SECTION ONE

2.1 Violence in South African schools: An innate discovery

The purpose of this sections is to allude to the history of violence in South African schools in the apartheid era to set the stage to discover how past issues have evolved or dissolved into new stresses in a democratically transformed education system. The idea is therefore to refocus on exfoliating the veiled causes of violence from apartheid to a post apartheid South Africa. It is a quest to trail the flavourants that lead to the innate causes of violence and in doing so understand the pressures that come to bear on the youth of today. The conceptual framework below graphically illustrates how the perpetration of violence within the school context has unfolded.
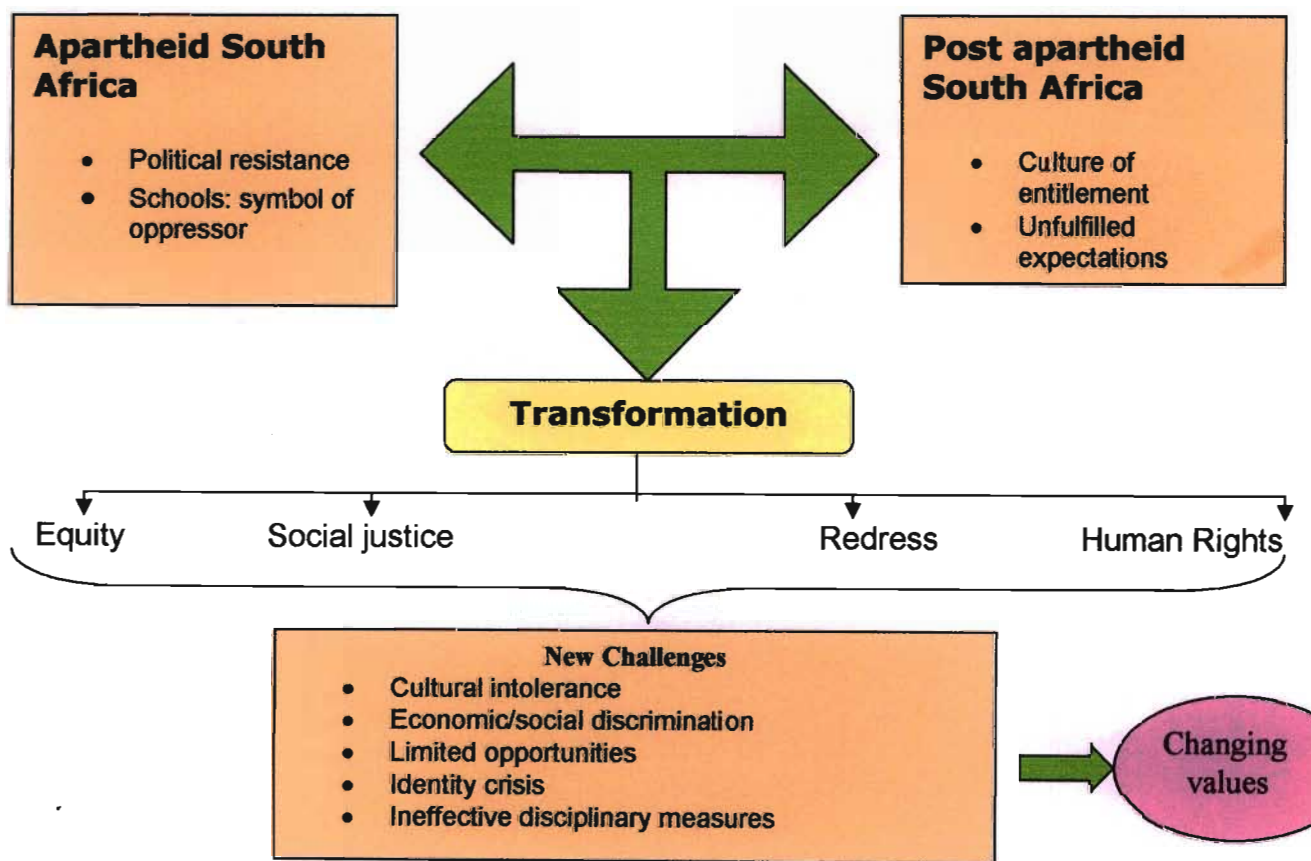
Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework for the perpetration of violence in South African schools.

2.1.1 Political resistance in South African schools

The historical account being presented in this text in no way suggests that Blacks or Black schools are the perpetrators of violence in South African schools. The focus is rather on how violence entered the boundary of schools. Education in South Africa is rooted in both the missionary and colonial systems of education. In the 1950s this was replaced by Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister, who introduced the 'Bantu Education System' for Blacks. During this apartheid period schools were designed to fit Black South Africans into a subordinate, racially structured system that was committed to White supremacy. This is reflected in the great disparity in the per capita education expenditure on Black and White learners. In 1986, the government spent R2 365.00 on a White learner and on a sliding scale Black learners received the least at R572.00 (Chrisholm, Vally and Motala, 1998). According to Vally (1998), apartheid education in Black schools meant minimal resources, inadequately trained and few staff, a shortage of classrooms and the absence of laboratories and libraries. These schools also had to inculcate conformity, rote learning and autocratic teaching. This initiated massive political resistance amongst the Black youth, due to the build up of anger and frustration at being treated as second-class citizens. Violence was used as an outlet to express their bitterness.

The involvement of South African youth in conflict can be traced back to 1976 in the Black Consciousness Movement according to Mogano (1993). The 1976 Soweto uprisings were in response to Afrikaans being introduced as a medium of instruction in schools. Afrikaans was seen to be the language of the oppressor. According to Scholtz (2000), the uprising was also sparked by overcrowding, high drop out rates in schools, racist content of school programmes, poorly maintained facilities and the penetration of the Black Consciousness Movement's ideology into schools. The June 16 protest turned to violence when police started to gun down school children and turned it into a massacre. The repercussion of this uprising was to fuel the anger of Black youth, and thus began a new era. This was the start of politics entering the educational arena and schools becoming sites of resistance. Schools were thus not only seen as places of

learning but places for a militaristic cultural orientation (Zwane, 1997). School children were recruited by resistance movements, bringing in new dimensions to violence in schools. The infiltration of outside agencies into schools signals the pungency of transformation. Some of these agencies that influenced resistance movements in schools include the South African Students Movement (SASM), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS).

In the 1980s, schools were seen as sites for mobilizing communities in protest against the apartheid regime (CSVR, 1994). This then contributed to schools becoming sites for violence forming the base agent which then entrenched the notion that schools were sites for creating change. In the early 1990s school based conflict reflected a shift to a more endemic and indiscriminate political violence. This was reflected in the fact that teachers became targets of frustration[2] because they were seen as instruments of oppression. They were viewed as forcing the education of the oppressors on them.

Expectations were then raised by the unbanning of prominent political organizations and the release of political prisoners with the idea that solutions would be found overnight. This impatience, according to Mogano (1993), has manifested itself in random disruptions (mass action), the collapse of discipline and the erosion of any culture of learning within the school context. Unrequited expectations have generated a culture of entitlement that has emerged in a post apartheid South Africa.

2.1.2 Culture of entitlement discourse

Those youth that actively campaigned for transformation in South Africa made huge sacrifices by putting their lives at stake as well as losing out on a formal education. The end of apartheid heralded the sweet taste of victory. Entitlement therefore became a natural succession to the struggles of the apartheid era. Entitlement denotes anticipation of receiving some from of recognition and inheritance, which became the

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[2] "Black schools: simmering cauldrons of discontent", in Breaktime, HAP:Johannesburg, January 1990.

expectation of the youth in post apartheid South Africa. There was a belief by the youth that they would receive some form of gratification for their contribution to the struggle from the new government. The non-delivery of student expectations manifested itself in schools becoming increasing sites for conflict and violence (Mogano, 1993).

This culture of entitlement that emerged in post apartheid South Africa must be seen within the broader hope of promised political change. The perception was that overnight changes would occur, with doors of opportunity opening. The new government however had inherited huge debt, disparities and inequalities that could not be tackled immediately. The reality today is that many youngsters, who were once the innards of the South African liberation struggle, now lay idle and disaffected and are expected to practice diplomatic patience (Mokwena, 1992). This disempowerment of the youth has created a marginalised sector. It is a sector that was exposed to inferior education and now lacks the skill to secure a place in the job market. The repercussions of failed expectations unfold below.

Zwane (1997) ties in the implications of marginalised youth by arguing that school aged youth who took up violent protest from 1976 are the parents that influence youth today. They were a generation that was raised with the idea that violence does bring about the desired change. Parents generally shape and influence the direction that their children embark on. If the current generation of parents see violence as a means of achieving reward, it has far reaching implications, not only for the current generation of youth but for the future generations as well. According to the Independent Projects Trust (IPT) (1999b) report, this has created a mindset that feeds into the violent cycle and is further aggravated by unemployment, family disruptions and substance abuse. Thus the literature points to an overwhelming level of violence that continues to shape and traumatise the lives of the youth. This is supported by surveys carried out by Dovey (1996) who states that South African children and youth from all walks of life are living in a conflict ridden culture which has created a vacuum in terms of values. Violence is endemic to the extent that it has become an accepted part of student masculinity and

explains the shift of high school students to involvement in crime and violence in the 1990s (Morrel, 1998).

The emerging issues that have been highlighted at this juncture fall into two broad categories:

Apartheid South Africa

- The bitterness associated with resistance movements due to the imposition of inferior education.
- Organised agencies introducing a militant culture into schools thereby stepping up danger levels to a pungent state.
- Schools being used as the base agent to form sites for change.

Post apartheid South Africa

- A culture of entitlement that emerged in anticipation of the sweetness associated with victory.
- Unfulfilled expectations, however, tainted the original euphoria to result in marginalised youth.

2.1.3 Transformation discourse

Transformation from the apartheid education system to a democratic and inclusive one has brought about sweeping changes in response to calls for equity, redress, human rights and social justice. The realisation of these changes has created new challenges for the youth of this country.

Since 1994, the government has engaged in massive reconstruction and development projects with the idea of introducing quality education for all. The realisation of these initiatives even after ten years of democracy still looks bleak. In a report by the Department of Education (2001), it emerged that the physical infrastructure and learning support backlogs are so extensive in public schools that schooling is to a large extent dysfunctional. This has to a large degree contributed to a negative culture of teaching

and learning with a growing percentage of indifferent youth and disempowered teachers. Prinsloo (2003) captures the mood in South African schools, "learners experience frustration, de-motivation and a growing indifference towards successful learning". The potential for conflict is distinctly alluded to by referring to indifferent youth and disempowered leaders. The vulnerable culture that exists in schools reflects a complicated combination of past history, which has been detailed in this section, and recent stresses associated with transformation which follows in the text below.

- **Limited opportunities**

Many of the youth are stressed by the new challenges that they face which includes the harsh reality of limited opportunities and resources. Black youth are forced to redefine themselves according to Western ideological symbols and thus a new struggle has begun – that of identity integration in a new order (Everatt & Sisulu, 1992). This means that Black youth have to define themselves according to norms and values that were rejected during the apartheid years, creating a difficult challenge.

In a survey carried out by Prinsloo (2003) it was summarised that Black youth in low socio-economic groups were experiencing marginalisation to a frightening degree. This was due to an inadequate meeting of basic needs which has deprived them of the opportunity of harmonious socialisation and the realisation of their potential in fulfilling a career. Ntshingila (2005) further confirms this line of thinking by reporting on a University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) research that sees Black youth as having low aspirations and generally feeling left out with few prospects of employment for them. Poverty has been identified as a significant factor that has conditioned Black youth to think within the limitations around them. Aspiring to take on menial jobs such as driving trucks was common place. The reality of the aftermath is in stark contrast to the sweet expectations of a post apartheid victory.

Affirmative action has to a large degree estranged and disempowered the White youth in this country. Prinsloo (2003) paints a picture of White youth in low socio-economic

groups as having a defeatist attitude, as they see themselves as having no opportunity in this country. This has important implications for the learning culture and discipline that it cultivates in schools. Youth who believe that they have no opportunities once they leave school, do not see the need to study and hence are easily distracted into deviant behaviour. The media has also articulated (via letters to the editor) the grievances of Coloured and Asian youth who believe that they were not White enough in the apartheid era and now they are not Black enough to reap the benefits of affirmative action policies. Geldenhuys (2005), reports that these youth rate their future prospects as being a little bit below that of their African counterparts. In believing that they have no future, many of the youth lose interest in academic achievement, thus creating the potential for deviant behaviour in schools.

- **Cultural intolerance**

Some of the social barriers highlighted above point to the youth being disillusioned and alienated. This is further perpetuated by the values, needs and aspirations of learners from diverse cultural groups not being met through the desegregation of schools. Learners from other racial groups are simply expected to assimilate into the existing ethos of schools (Duncan, 1998). The end result has been prejudice and racism which has been widely publicised in the media. Carrim (1998) notes that there is no anti-racist programme or other structured programs for teachers to cope with multi-racial classrooms. Of further concern is the linkage of violence with racism in South Africa as has been highlighted in the media and other studies (Vally, 1999; Zafar, 1998). The new challenges that are emerging include dealing with racism, discrimination on the basis of health, economics and social ills (crime and substance abuse).

- **Ineffective disciplinary measures**

One of the features of educational reform in South Africa has been the banning of corporal punishment according to the South African School's Act No. 84 since 1996 in all South African schools. Oosthuizen (2002) has found that the abolition of corporal punishment in schools has left a gap which has not been filled and this has led to an array of disciplinary problems. In an outcry from concerned stakeholders, the

Department of Education released a booklet in 2001 to all schools giving guidelines for dealing with alternatives to corporal punishment. These were slammed, however, in the media for being ineffective and impractical (Rademeyer, 2001). The debate concerning the banning of corporal punishment, in the meantime, continues to resurface and remains a sore point to a significant number of educators as the data in this study reveals.

- **Economic and social discrimination**

According to Prinsloo (2003), social structures have undergone a radical change in South Africa due to unplanned urbanisation, breakdown of family life, the AIDS pandemic and an outburst of crime, violence and corruption. This has made it increasingly difficult to provide for the needs of the people in terms of employment, health care, housing and education. This has negative implications for the youth who have to face the harsh reality of limited opportunities and resources (Veeran, 1996). Prinsloo (2003) links this dysfunctional background to a breakdown in discipline and authority, where the youth adopt an identity that alienates them from figures of authority in schools and in the community.

Adverse social and economic conditions have resulted in antisocial behaviour, where young people are trapped in a cycle of marginal adaptation and delinquency (South Africa Survey, 2000/2001). What seem to be coming to the fore are the marginalising effects of social and economic inequity and its link to a loss of moral values. Youth have to constantly acclimatise themselves to different contexts such as the home, community, school and peer groups. The confusion created by the changing identities demanded by different contexts creates a state of viscosity in terms of core values.

2.1.4 Concluding comments on the changing school context that influences violence within its boundaries

With South Africa being more than ten years into democracy, a distinct trail of flavours have emanated from the aftermath of transformation. These are factors that have

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promoted the escalation of violence in schools and include: indifferent youth, disempowered teachers, marginalisation, affirmative action, vulnerable culture, inequity, lack of redress and social justice.

This section has served the purpose of giving a broad overview of the socio-historical factors that need to be considered in understanding the context of violence in schools. It also reveals that whereas violence was initially politically directed, it has changed its path. It suggests a changing value system from violence related to political resistance to, violence related to the entitlement discourse, to violence related to the transformation discourse. It raises the question of education taking place in an environment of changing values.

The next section probes into causes of violence from a global perspective which reinforces the notion that understanding violence is a complicated nexus of context, personal and transformational agendas.

SECTION TWO

2.2 Causes of violence: An overview

From rekindling the ashes of the past in the previous section, to unveiling the innate causes of violence in this section, it is apparent that the past is irrevocably linked to the present. It has mutated new flavours that are firmly embedded in the socio-economic and political inequities espoused by apartheid. These problems include: unemployment, dysfunctional families, moral degradation, crime, the AIDS pandemic, delinquency, substance abuse, gangsterism and negative schooling experiences.

These problems will be categorised and explored further in this section from both a national and international perspective. A review of literature from journals, research studies and the internet reveals that whilst extensive research has been conducted in developed countries on violence in schools, there is very limited writing on this topic in South Africa, and particularly in respect to the impact of violence on teachers. This section therefore seeks to unfold some of the dynamics that shape the intensity of violent behaviour so that it can be placed in perspective in respect of violence against teachers. This exposé takes place against the backdrop of a dramatic escalation of crime and violence in South African schools (Joubert and Prinsloo, 1999; Stevens, 2000; Bisetty, 2003; Mkhize, 2003; Naidoo, 2004).

The literature reveals that there is no single or dominant factor that causes violence. Violence is seen as a multifaceted phenomenon with many factors contributing to its perpetration. Several themes dominate the literature on factors contributing to violent behaviour in schools. In this study the causes of violence will be categorised and discussed under the following broad themes that emanated from the literature review and the data collection process:

- Family influence
- Community
- School

- Peer pressure
- Media

2.2.1 Family influence

*"Families constitute the training ground for aggression. It is within the
family that aggressive behaviours are first learned; to the extent that
families fail to instill non-violent values in their children. These
children will be more likely to develop a repertoire of violent behaviours
as they negotiate life in society at large".*

(Australian Institute of Criminology, 1990)

The latest research reveals that parental involvement is one of the most essential measures of discipline both within and out of the school. It has been discovered that parental involvement and support is associated with more positive experiences in children in the school environment with improved discipline (Mayer, 2002; Pienaar, 2003). The South African Department of Education (2000) supported this sentiment and stated that parents should take responsibility for the discipline of their children at home. In a media report in the Star (2002) in Jordan, it was stated that an unstable environment at home makes students look for alternate ways to release their anger and hatred, and most times, their revenge would be against the school.

The influence of the family plays an important role in a child's interaction with others. Negative experiences can have a devastating effect in that it can encourage rebellion and aggression. According to Else (1999), abused children find it difficult to adjust to a social system where one uses reasoning to deal with problems. Violence is used as a means of dealing with those with whom they disagree. Thus, in school, the teacher is likely to become a target of this violence should any disagreements ensue.

Children that receive mixed messages from parents are confused about what is right and wrong. The use of material goods to persuade children to behave in one way or another is an example of sending a mixed message (Franks, 1993; Futrell and Powell,

1996). The message that is being transmitted by this type of upbringing has strong implications for the values and responsibilities that are being taught. Children that do not know where to draw the line import this behaviour into schools and become potential instigators of violence.

Due to financial constraints, a large number of families have both parents working. Herein is a major problem, where children are unsupervised and parents find it difficult to report to school on a regular basis to monitor their children. Some parents that have minimal parenting skills indulge their children's disruptive/violent behaviour as a form of 'bribery' to gain their child's affection (Futrell and Powell, 1996). Due to the researcher's personal experience as a teacher, it has also been noted that there are parents that blame the school for their child's misdemeanours and will not accept responsibility. Furthermore, there is a category of parents who cannot control their children and will not respond to calls from the school to intervene. They abdicate their responsibility as parents and pass the problems onto the school.

Weak parenting that indulges, abuses and neglects children is often seen as a springboard that leads to the spread of violence. Youth perpetrators often have family backgrounds in which they are abused, emotionally and physically neglected or even abandoned to become street children (Independent Projects Trust, 1999a). According to Schënteich (1999) and Guest (2001), growing up without parents and being supervised by relatives and welfare organisations creates a pool of orphans that are at greater than average risk of engaging in criminal activity.

An increasing link is being made between the growing number of orphans and crime. Schneider & Moodie (2002) argue that in a growing number of nations, rootless young people threaten to form a lost generation of potential recruits for crime. The common argument being put forth is that the death of parents leaves children scarred and marginalised in ways that predispose them to delinquency and criminal behaviour. It places children at high risk of developing antisocial tendencies. Pharoah & Weiss (2005), however, point out that there is very little empirical data that tests the link

specifically between the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the crime and instability of youth. They acknowledge, however, that HIV/AIDS undermines already fragile families and communities. The effects that it has, however, have yet to be accurately measured.

In concluding the influence of parents on children, the literature clearly reveals that parents have a crucial role to play in disciplining their children. What has been alluded to is that children transport behaviour learnt at home into the school. Below is a summary of possible instigators within a family that contribute to attitudes of violence in children:

- Parents sending mixed messages to children on what is right or wrong.
- Children being left unsupervised.
- Weak parenting skills that indulges and neglects children.
- Abusive and aggressive parents.
- Children with single or no parents.
- Indifferent and hostile attitudes of parents.

2.2.2 Community

Schools are seen as extensions of the community within which they are located. Many youth come from communities where they have to fight simply to survive (Futrell & Powell, 1996). These are youth that are filled with rage and a sense of rejection which they transfer into schools. Guterman & Cameron (1997) are also of the opinion that school violence stems from larger societal conditions. Social conditions that depress and oppress youth lead to feelings of isolation and powerlessness. This manifests itself in the form of violent behaviour that spills over into schools.

The violent atmosphere in South African schools is a reflection of the broader society (Vally, 1999). The origins of this violence had been alluded to in Section One of this chapter. Many youth come from communities where they are exposed to activities that are hostile. According to the Independent Projects Trust (1999b), people tend to emulate the violence they have witnessed in their environment. Since schools are an

extension of the communities within which they exist, there is a spill of violence into the school environment. In a study conducted by Else (1999) in the Port Elizabeth area, the idea of violence overflowing into schools from the community was established through a survey.

Many researchers agree that a significant number of communities in South Africa are in a cycle of poverty, and this is reflected in the multiple deprivations that children experience through physical, educational and health needs (Boyden and Holden, 1991; Veeran, 1996). There are masses of economically inactive individuals that have been inherited from the previous apartheid regime. They still face the realities of limited opportunities and resources which cannot be changed in a short space of time. The number of individuals and families who live below and on the bread line is so overwhelming that the presumption exists that the South African government and community structures will never be able to integrate the poor into a western, technological economic environment (South Africa Survey, 2000/2001). According to Mkhize (2004), the major challenges that the youth face are linked to the socio-economic situations in which they live. Social strain and instability in a transforming South Africa have created a steep challenge. An increasing number of young people are involved in criminal activities, violence, drug abuse and are affected by HIV/AIDS.

Research conducted by the Central Statistical Services et al (1999) shows that the highest levels of crime in South Africa are located in areas with the highest unemployment and poverty. Thus, the location of schools to a large degree determines the level of violence that is experienced on its site. In areas where there is a lack of employment opportunities, it creates an alternate market for illegal activities to flourish and this feeds into the cycle of violence that affects these communities. The absence of legitimate employment in impoverished townships provides a market for stolen goods, guns and drugs (Motsei, 1998). The link to schools has been highlighted in a Durban based study (Griggs, 1997) that showed that schools in disadvantaged communities have drugs, thugs and weapons move as freely through the gates as learners do. What emerges from the literature is that youth violence is a complex, socially interactive

process that has become an endemic and an acceptable way of life (IPT, 1999a; Morrell, 1998). Any attempts at reform have to take into account the underlying values and norms of poverty and abuse in a community. This is supported by Anyon's (1995) study that suggests that in order to reform schools the community's expectations and values would have to be reformed.

What has been highlighted thus far in terms of the community's role in perpetuating violence in schools is that:

- Children are exposed to hostile criminal activities such as vigilante groups, gangsterism, crime, drugs, mob violence and political strife.
- Unemployment and an impoverished environment create a market for illegal activities.
- Social strain and instability exist due to transformation.
- Limited opportunities exist due to a lack of skill and knowledge creating idle individuals.

2.2.3 School

There are a number of factors that shape the culture of the school and these include the learners, the community and the teachers. It is constantly being constructed and shaped through interaction with others and through reflections on life and the world in general (Finnan, 2000). Thus, violence is not the result of static factors but must be explored within a dynamic and systemic cycle that involves all stakeholders in education.

To examine the complexity of the problem Verlinden, Hersen and Thomas (2000) studied some highly publicised school shootings. A detailed analysis revealed that most of the offending youth had a history of emotional disturbance and aggression. These were brought on by a lack of parental supervision, social isolation and rejection, easy access to dangerous weapons, deep interest in violent media graphics and video games. These findings illustrate that school violence encompasses psychological, environmental and family factors and that simple causal explanations are not possible.

Violence is not imported into schools; it is also hatched there (Morrel, 1998). Within the school itself, a number of elements can be considered instigators of violent behaviour: school governance and organisation, authoritarian teachers, multicultural classrooms and the influence of peers. A significant amount of literature is already available which suggests that these factors have been thoroughly explored (Griggs, 1997; Stevens, 2000; Else, 1999; Vally, 1999; IPT, 1999; Hemson, Moletsane, & Muthikrishna, (2001). According to Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Hybl (1993), classroom organisation and management practices influence the behaviour of students. Disorderly behaviour occurs more frequently in the absence of clearly defined classroom activities that constrain and structure student behaviour (Doyle, 1986). Closely tied in with classroom management is the organisation and governance of the school as a whole. A school that fosters order and high expectations for student behaviour sets the foundation for a safe school (Prothrow-Stith, 1995).

2.2.4 Peer pressure

The influence of peer pressure has been highlighted in a number of studies as perhaps the fastest growing and most disturbing cause of acts of violence amongst youth (The American Teacher, 1993; Toby, 1994). Peer pressure becomes a significant factor for youth as the search for an identity and the need to fit in becomes important. According to Santrock (1981), true beliefs about the self become prominent during adolescence. Firstly, they believe that everyone is looking at them, and become pre-occupied with an 'imaginary audience'. This leads to attention-seeking behaviour and a desire to be visible and on 'stage'. Secondly, they believe that they are virtually impervious to harm, and that no one can understand how they really feel, known as the 'personal fable'. This leads them to engage in risk-taking behaviour such as experimentation with alcohol, drugs and petty crime.

According to Hoberg (2003), drug abuse and drug merchandising in schools has recently increased and become a problem for school principals and educators. It is interesting to note that random drug testing in schools is viewed as abusing the rights,

privacy and dignity of learners according to the South African Constitution. According to Meyer, Balowyi, Bisetty, & Singh (2003), the then CEO of Education (Charles Dlamini) in KZN categorically stated that the Bill of Rights did not allow for blanket searches as it guarantees the right to privacy. This kind of thinking prevails in spite of a number of studies that point to drug related problems in schools. Flisher and Reddy (1995) reports that substance abuse removes inhibitions and this results in unsafe behaviour. This is further supported by Schurink (1996), who found that male youth who indulge in alcohol and drugs are frequent perpetrators of crime.

According to Wenar (1990), 'peer pressure plays an important role in both juvenile delinquency and drug abuse'. Hoberg (2001) believes that adolescent drug abusers are almost always influenced by their peers. It is a way of seeking reassurance and acceptance by peers. This view is shared by Morrell (1998) and Segal (1999) who argue that violence has become an accepted part of male masculinity and it is a way for boys to get esteem and power amongst peers and also a sense of acceptance.

The literature generally points to peer pressure having a negative influence on the youth in their search for identification and the need to fit in. Antisocial and aggressive behaviour, together with experimentation with drugs and alcohol filters into the school.

2.2.5 Media and video games

A rancorous debate has surrounded the question of televisions impact on aggression for a number of years. While promoters of television emphatically deny that it teaches children to behave violently, scores of psychologists have conducted research which shows a causal relationship between violent behaviour and television. A constant diet of violent behaviour on television encourages violent forms of behaviour and fosters moral and social values of violence in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilised society (Hammonds, 1984). According to the American Psychological Association (1993), the message being learnt from television is *"Good guys use violence as a first resort. Any amount of killing is all right, as long as one's cause is just. Violence is a hero's way to*

solve problems". The dangerous lesson being learnt from television could be the incendiary cap that ignites confrontation. According to Prothrow-Stith (1991), for most children, television in its several guises is as much an influence as school or church.

The problem of television is further compounded by the popularity of video games that enables children to participate in violent activities. The means to succeed in these games generally involves highly violent acts, death and destruction (Provenzo, 1992). According to Campbell (1993), these images have great power to evoke feelings, shape beliefs and inform behaviour. These studies are significant in that they provide insight into other influences impacting on behaviour and a new value system that impact on the identity of children. Exposure to negative imagery, according to Beachum and McCray (2004) could possibly encourage a warped identity.

The You magazine (2005) revealed that British researchers have recently found a link between violent films, TV shows and video games and kids that are bullies, violent and possibly killers. The case of a 14 year old, Michael Carneal, from Kentucky is quoted as a case in point. He had never handled a gun before but fired eight shots and each one hit its mark. He had mastered his target practice through TV and video games. This article also makes reference to categories of children that are most vulnerable to media violence:

- Children from broken homes where the parents are divorced or there is tension.
- Lack of affection.
- Discipline that humiliates thus allowing screen violence to become an escape route.
- A home where a parent is maladjusted due to alcoholism, emotional problems or sexual promiscuity.
- Economic deprivation that leads them to escape from reality.

2.2.6 Concluding comments on the causes of violence in schools

The literature in this section relates to general, everyday issues that are seen as causes of youth violence in schools. The emergence of new challenges that perpetuate existing causes of violence has been alluded to in this chapter. This resonates with the ways in which the causes of violence have been redefined in the first section of this chapter through devices such as political transformation, human rights, social transformation and other transformational agenda.

This section, in focusing on the causes of violence, suggests that violent attitudes are realised in various settings. Parenting skills, community values, peer influence, media exposure and social ills shape the values assumed by the youth. Dysfunctional backgrounds together with moral degradation have eroded into the value system of the youth which, in many cases, does not gel with the values that the school is trying to uphold. The school then becomes one of the sites where the various forms of violence manifest itself. Teachers, as well as learners themselves, become targets of this violence. The next section focuses on teachers as victims of violence.

SECTION THREE

2.3 Focus on teachers as victims

"How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child"

(King Lear)

Learners are not the only victims of violence in schools. In spite of a burgeoning amount of research on violence in schools being focussed on learners, a significant number of studies in other countries are pointing to teachers taking the brunt of violent acts (Lyon and Douglas, 1999; Saskatchewan Teacher's Federation, 1994; Manitoba Teacher's Society, 1990; British Columbia Teacher's Federation, 1994). In the survey conducted by Lyon and Douglas (1999) with British Columbia teachers it was stated that violence had a variety of negative repercussions which included: fear, decreased morale, career impact symptoms, physical symptoms and emotional symptoms. In South Africa, teacher victimisation is an area that has only been alluded to in certain studies. It is an area that has been neglected, making it difficult to assess the depth of the problem. The media, however, has recently been giving fair coverage to the uprising violence in schools and its impact on teachers.

This section will thus examine any available literature on teacher directed violence, as well as the support structures in terms of legislation and policies.

2.3.1 Teacher victimisation

A survey of British Columbia teachers (Lyon and Douglas, 1999) reveal that 81,3% of teachers experienced violence at some point in their careers. Furthermore, 56,3% of this violence occurred in the classroom. Teachers who are considered to be strict and are disciplinarians face a higher risk of being victimised. According to The American Teacher (1993), strict teachers are more at risk of victimisation than any other staff

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members. In trying to maintain discipline teachers have to be weary of being targets of learner abuse as well as of being accused of child abuse.

Teaching has been described as one of the most perilous vocations in South Africa today (Maharaj, 2003). Teachers seem to have become the primary target of frustrated learners. There has been a surge in pupil power in schools, which has been fostered by the recent emphasis and publicity on pupil rights and empowerment through student representative councils. The idea of learners being given power without being taught responsibility has been strongly gaining momentum. In a recent media report, Naidoo (2004) quoted a principal as saying "The kids have changed. They are more aware of their rights and less aware of their responsibilities. In the broader scheme of things they are placing more emphasis on rights than on basic values". What is being highlighted is that schools seem to be caught in a web of regulations that strongly favour the learner. The scenario being painted by the media, in the meantime, is the large scale collapse of discipline in many schools which has eroded into the culture of learning.

The survey of British Columbia teachers by Lyon and Douglas (1999) examined the effects of violence on teaching as a career, as well as emotional and physical effects. Between and 60,9% and 84% reported that some sort of career, physical and emotional symptoms occurred . Over half of the participants reported decreased job satisfaction and also acknowledged that violence led to poorer job performance and absence from work. Over 60% of the sample made reference to physical symptoms such as sleep disturbances, fatigue and head aches. The emotional impact (84%) included frustration, stress and anger.

In Sutton, a report by Jackson (2001) revealed that more teachers are becoming victims of violence in its various forms. This claim was explained by the Sutton union officials as being due to an increasingly litigious society in which parents and children are more conscious of their rights thereby creating a climate for public service workers to face the wrath of a growing minority. More recently, Monteith (2003) released figures from a Scottish school showing that a teacher is attacked every 15 minutes and that the level

of violence against teachers has increased by 700% since 1997. These reports, both locally and internationally, raise serious concerns about the protection of teachers. The need to probe and question manifestations of violence in its various forms against teachers cannot be ignored any longer.

In a number of countries, with strong pressure from teacher unions, measures are being put in place to safeguard teachers. Some measures being debated and proposed include: laws imposing civil or criminal liability on parents for their children's violent behaviour, stricter enforcement of school disciplinary codes, alternate educational settings for disruptive youths, psycho-educational interventions and specialised courts for handling juveniles (Redding and Shalf, 2001; Jackson, 2001). In South Africa, learner on teacher violence is still a grey area. Below is an exploration of the support structures that exists for South African teachers.

2.3.2 Teacher support: Legislation and Policies

In 1999, the Secretariat for Safety and Security, the Department of Education and the National Youth Commission developed a joint framework document called "Tirisano-Towards an Intervention Strategy to Address Youth Violence in schools". In this document, school safety is highlighted as a critical obstacle in learning. Reference is made to teachers inflicting violence on learners through corporal punishment, learner on learner violence, male on female violence as well as violence from youth outside the school. In terms of the South African common law, the teachers' duty of care is vested in his or her role of in loco parent (Oosthuizen, 1999).

No reference is made to learner on teacher violence. The entire "safe schools" initiative is driven by giving support and guidance to the youth. In providing a safety net for the youth, the safety and dignity of teachers has been sidelined. While teachers are being made accountable for dealing with violence in schools through broad guidelines given by the Department of Education, no categorical commitment is made to safeguard the teacher. The aggressive and violent backlash of the youth that has been highlighted in

the media recently (Bisetty, 2003; Maharaj, 2003; Naidoo, 2004) due to increased learner rights being implemented is an area in which the DoE is silent.

A further exploration within the education framework to uncover support structures for teachers, pointed to the role of the School Governing Body. Section 8 of the South African School's Act provides that the governing body of a public school must adopt a code of conduct. In this code, violations against teachers can be addressed through sanctions being imposed. Should any learner be found guilty of contravening the code of conduct, they can be subjected to one of the following punitive measures:

- Be suspended from school for a period of not more than one week from school.
- A recommendation for expulsion, which can only be granted by the Head of Department of the Department of Education.

According to Beckmann, Foster & Smith (1997), the South African School's Act does not specify:

- A definition of serious misconduct to justify expulsion.
- The specific disciplinary procedures to be followed.
- Provisions of due process to ensure the rights of all parties concerned.

What seems to be evident is that violence against teachers is an offence that can only be addressed within the ambits of a school's code of conduct, which is based on shaky grounds. There are no clear directives as to whether violations against teachers are categorised as serious misconduct. A further problem is that decisions made by School Governing Bodies to expel learners are more often overturned by the Head of Department and does not get the attention it deserves as reported by Baloyi (2004) in the Independent on Saturday. Since evidence points to the fact that nothing much can be done to stop learners except the use of detention and a few days suspension which is largely ineffective, a very strong message is being sent out. Learners are being exposed to ineffectual and inept authority that reinforces that 'actions' have no consequences. The implications, not only for promoting teacher safety, but also for values, morals and learning are mind boggling.

The launch of the KwaZulu Natal education department's Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) is a policy that serves the purpose of providing assistance to every employee who experiences personal as well as work related problems. Although reference is made to workplace violence and trauma counselling, it is not clear whether learner on teacher violence is included. This policy is underpinned by job performance. The usefulness of the programme is thus debatable as it is vague in the range of support that it provides and it does not include preventative measures as part of its support programme. Should control measures be put in place to reduce problems that teacher's experience, less time would be spent on damage control.

A review of all legislation and policies that govern teachers basically indicates that there are no support structures for the protection of teachers against learner abuse. While reference is made to the safety and security of learners and teachers, generally, there are no specific deterrents to protect the dignity and safety of teachers against learners. Much of the legislation on safety and security in schools is based on the premise that teachers are adults and can take care of themselves while learners are vulnerable. Thus, the emphasis is on the protection and rights of learners. This has been further entrenched through the formation of Representative Council of Learners (RCL) providing a power base for teenagers where they are given opportunities to make choices and decisions in school governance.

While on the one hand, learners are seen as being vulnerable and needing protection against abuse from teachers, at the same time by giving them the power to make decisions it has assumed that they are not so impotent. The Jakata Post (2000) aptly points out that we should not be deluded by believing that teenagers are helpless, because in reality, many are street wise, idealistic and aware. Policies in schools are lacking in that they do not make learners accountable for their actions. As a result, the social order in schools has been discarded and respect for authority has been discredited. Violence is a by product of this decaying process in schools.

An important lesson can be learnt from Britain's education system. According to a report by Phillips (2005), Britain's young have been taught that authority is bunk and that the most important consideration is that no one's feelings, including their own, should be hurt. This kind of philosophy has resulted in a horrifying litany of social, moral and intellectual disintegration. A study of European teenagers as reported by Phillips (2005) has found that Britain has produced a lost generation who have become anti-social champions of the world. Thus, in promoting a society with rights and entitlements, it has eroded duty and responsibility which in essence provides a values base.

In focusing on teachers as victims, the literature reveals that teachers are subjected to various forms of abuse which manifests itself in negative repercussions. In South Africa specifically, there are no effective support structures in place to cushion and protect teachers from being victims of violence in schools. The following summarises some of the shortcomings:

- A safe school's policy that does not include learner-on-teacher violence
- The South African School's Act does not make provision to ensure that the rights of all parties at school tribunals
- The South African School's Act does not specify what serious misconduct is and thus there are no clear guidelines as to which category violence against teachers fall into.
- It is practically impossible with the existing policies to expel learners regardless of how serious the transgression is.
- The EAP programme does not include preventative measures to violence
- None of the existing legislation and policies in education make provision for the safety of the teacher.

SECTION FOUR

2.4 Theoretical perspectives of violent behaviour

Providing a satisfactory explanation as to where and how violent behaviour originates is a complex task. A range of vastly different theories, models and philosophical beliefs exist. Mackintosh (1990) in his exploration of the problem stated that attempts at describing aggression are often influenced by the professional discipline of the protagonist offering the explanation. For example, psychologists tend to explain violent behaviour within a scheme of psychological causes, and ethologists will advocate a more biological foundation. This results in discussions being hindered by semantic difficulties.

Since this study has the school as its setting, and teaching and learning constitutes a social process (Ponti and Ryburg, 2004), it seemed appropriate to use social theories to explain violence in schools. Furthermore, schools do not exist in isolation, and social theories help clarify norms and values as well as political and economic links. According to Preston (2000), social theory is important because it attempts to address the human condition in change. This idea is also supported by Beilharz (1992), who states that social theories rely on perspectives, they are open ended and are metaphors for society. In being flexible, social theories present a more realistic and holistic picture of the problem of violence.

The social theory framework being used allowed the researcher to unpack and give direction to the a priori categories that were selected for analysing the data. Insights and themes identified from the social theories guided the broad categories of analysis through the analytical framework to understand violence in schools. The objective was to get an integrated flow and transform the data into meaningful information.

This section will serve the purpose of presenting a variety of sociological perspectives that would give a basic understanding of conditions that stimulate violent behaviour. There is no single social theory that explains violent behaviour comprehensively. It is fragmented, acknowledging that change occurs in different ways and at different rates. Keeping this in mind a cross section of social theories has been presented to unpack different approaches to understanding violent behaviour.

2.4.1 Control theory

The theorist most closely identified with the control theory is Hirschi (1969). His book, 'Causes of Delinquency', launched a research revolution that dominated social control for many years. Control theories as a starting point ask: "Why do most people not commit crime?" rather than "What drives them to commit crime?" The focus is on restraining or 'controlling' factors.

The following table summarises the components of what Hirschi calls the 'social bond', that explains what prevents people from committing criminal acts.

Attachment	Affection and sensitivity to others
Commitment	Investment in conventional society or stake in conformity
Involvement	Being busy, restricted opportunity for delinquency
Belief	Degree to which a person thinks they should obey the law.

According to Hirschi, criminal activity occurs as a result of a lack of personal self control. The cause of this lack of self control can be traced back to the functioning of the family. Families are seen as the primary agents of socialisation and as such are direct causal agents of crime. There is ample empirical evidence to support this causal relationship. Studies by both West and Farrington (1973) and Wadsworth (1979) indicate that broken homes are more likely to produce serious delinquency than homes broken by death. Wells and Rankin (1986) reveal a consistent statistical relationship between parental

absence and delinquency. This is closely linked to a lack of supervision and its negative effects.

The influence of step families has also been shown to increase delinquency. Both Rankin (1983) and Steinberg (1987) have linked the influence of step families to runaway behaviour and antisocial personality disorder. Punitive parenting has also been strongly related to violent behaviour. Comprehensive reviews of the literature indicate that violence breeds violence (Widom, 1989). In families where the home is dysfunctional, it has been found that incompetent, ineffective and erratic discipline is directly related to delinquency. It gives rise to a sociopathic personality disorder (Patterson, 1982; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). Studies on single parenting show a greater involvement on status offences such as smoking, truancy and runaway behaviour (Rankin, 1983; Flewelling and Bauman, 1990).

The literature strongly upholds that a lack of effective parenting is a direct cause of violent behaviour. Children that come from dysfunctional families do not conform to socially accepted norms. This type of behaviour spills over into the schools and serves as an instigator of violence.

2.4.2 Social Strain Theory

Merton (1957), an American sociologist borrowed the notion of anomie from Durkheim to form his own theory called the Strain Theory. Merton differs from Durkheim in that he does not see problems as being created by a sudden social change, but rather being created by a social structure that holds out the same goals to all its members, without giving equal means to achieve them. This lack of integration then causes deviant behaviour.

Merton's theory does not focus upon crime per se, but rather on various acts of deviance which could lead to criminal behaviour. He notes that certain goals are

strongly influenced by society such as education, hard work, etc. Since not everyone has equal access to achieve these goals it sets the stage for anomie.

Merton's five modes of adapting to strain caused by restricted access to socially approved goals are as follows:

1. Conformity	It is the most common mode of adaptation. It involves accepting the goals as well as the prescribed means of achieving them. Conformists accept but do not always achieve the goals of society.
2. Innovation	Refers to individuals that accept societal goals but have few legitimate means of achieving them. They could achieve through criminal acts.
3. Ritualism	Individuals abandon the goals they once believed in and stick to a daily safe routine.
4. Retreatism	Individuals that give up goals and the means of achieving them. They retreat in a world of alcoholism and drug addiction.
5. Rebellion	When rejected individuals create their own goals through protest and revolutionary activities.

According to Agnew (1992), strain theory states that defective family structures, adverse family processes or a disharmonious child-parent relationship exerts some kind of strain on the child who via coping processes may develop delinquent forms of behaviour. Merton's anomie, or 'normlessness' results when a disjunction exists between social goals and the capacity of an individual to attain these goals. There would be an inevitable 'strain towards anomie', especially amongst the disadvantaged. Acceptable norms are then replaced by deviant norms. Youth become delinquent when they are unable to achieve economic and educational success as a result of poverty and seek alternate means of achieving success (Clinard and Meier, 1995). Since a school is driven by its own norms and values, youth that do not conform and integrate develop delinquent forms of behaviour which is the impetus for violence.

2.4.3 Subculture Theory

A subculture is a culture within a culture that is a collection of norms, values and beliefs that are different to the accepted culture in a particular society. A number of leading sociologists are associated with the subculture theory. Cohen (1955) stated that delinquent subcultures arise as a response to status denial. By experiencing feelings of rejection, boys according to Cohen, develop a deviant subculture that revolves around an explicit rejection of everything seen as 'normal, decent and good'.

- Rudeness to those in authority
- Lack of punctuality and adherence to school norms
- Petty crime and vandalism
- Violence

For Cohen those most likely to be involved in a delinquent subculture were:

- Lower class in social origin
- Educational 'failures'
- Socially disadvantaged
- Unlikely to succeed in the adult job market.

Although Cohen's work was carried out in the 1950s, more recent studies demonstrate the same trends in sub-cultural forms. Hargreaves (1967) argued that the failure of the education system to provide integrating mechanisms for working class children resulted in deviant sub-cultural responses. This was later supported by Willis (1977) who stated that subcultures represented an organised, realistic attempt to come to terms with a wider cultural world.

Basically sub-cultural theories stress the learning of norms and values as a crucial variable in relation to crime. Delinquency is seen as a strong social reaction to such things as the denial of social status and legitimate career opportunities. Non-conformity within the school generally represents a calculated response to the behaviour of those

in authority. Thus the delinquent child trades off the disapproval of teachers for the approval of peers.

2.4.4 Social Disorganisation Theory

Social disorganisation is largely associated with the 'Chicago School' of sociology and was based on the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) and Shaw and McKay (1942).

Assumptions of the Chicago School
- Crime and delinquency are primarily caused by social factors.
- Instabilities and their effects are worse for the lower classes.
- Human nature is basically good, but subject to vulnerability and inability to resist temptations.
- Components of social structure are unstable (political, economy, society)

The term 'social disorganisation' refers to both an explanation of deviance and a state of society that produces it. An explanation of deviance is rooted in social norms and community activities. Thomas & Znaniecki (1920) defines social disorganisation as 'the inability of a neighbourhood to solve its problems together'.

According to Shaw and McKay (1942), 'poverty areas' have high rates of residential mobility and racial heterogeneity that makes it difficult for communities to avoid becoming disorganised. Mobility and heterogeneity obstructs the quest to work together on common problems. Crime and violence is seen as a product of uneven development in society due to change. This change could be technological, demographic or cultural.

Since attaining democracy in 1994, South Africa has undergone massive social, political and economic changes. Previous, socially accepted norms have collapsed with a 'new order'. With a lack of clearly defined norms, the youth are floundering in a transforming education system. Behaviour that was accepted in the past, such as student mass action and using schools as sites for violence, is no longer acceptable. Traditions of

delinquency however are transmitted through successive generations (Shaw and McKay, 1942).

2.4.5 Concluding comments on theoretical perspectives

This chapter has detailed how violence in schools has shifted from being politically motivated to a range of other pressures being experienced by the youth of our country. The use of several social theories captures the mood and complexity of what triggers violence in schools. Within schools, the interaction between learners and teachers is seen as a social process that has to be understood within a social context. Since the focus of this study is on violence against teachers, the intention is used highlight what is causing a breakdown in teacher-learner interactions within the school environment.

With the passage of time, very little seems to have changed as far as violence as an issue is concerned. In spite of knowledge levels of society increasing due to research, education and personal experiences, the same issues prevail regarding antisocial behaviour. Is this an innate feature of society? This study highlights that although the issue of violence has not changed, the focus of manifestation has evolved.

The literature review has traced the flow of violence as having more than one source. Violence is a complex phenomenon in South Africa that cannot be dismissed through simplistic explanations. It has to be seen within and beyond the context of the transformations that have been taking place in a post apartheid South Africa. To present a comprehensive coverage of violence against teachers, the following has been discussed in this chapter:

- o The history of violence in South African schools provided a context to understand how past causes of violence have evolved into new stresses that further perpetuate violence.
- o Transformations in post apartheid South Africa is linked to unfulfilled expectations that influence violence levels through changing value systems.

- A global perspective of the causes of violence in schools forms the basis for the categories of analysis used in chapter four.
- Review of reports/studies of violence against teachers provided a basis to analyse the impact of violence on teachers in the narrative stories located in chapter six.
- Legislation and policies that prevent and support teachers against violence in schools.
- Theories that attempt to explain violent behaviour.

It was interesting to note that internationally, research on violence in schools by far supercedes that which had been conducted in South Africa, in spite of violence being continually highlighted as a major problem that is hindering teaching and learning. There is also an imbalance in the type of research that has been conducted on violence in South African schools. The focus has only been on learners and the causes of violence. There is barely a trickle of information on violence against teachers, with a few studies addressing it as a side issue and dismissing it superficially in a short paragraph.

This study hopes to fill this gap by exploring in detail the causes and impact of violence against teachers. The methodology chapter that follows unfolds the tools and procedures used to gather data in this regard.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

Lifting the lid:
Assimilating facts, fiction and feelings

**"Through an inquirer's observation of
nature, 'independent of mind',
can truths be ascertained"**

(Guba, 1990)

Orientation to Chapter Three

This chapter focuses on the methodology used to assimilate facts, fiction and feelings in this research study. The emphasis is on embracing multiple ways of seeing the world, so that authenticity can be obtained. The combined use of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies provide the researcher with an opportunity to understand the numerical data, and helps to situate it within a wider social, political and cultural context through experiences and perceptions of the teacher's world.

'Facts' refers mainly to information gathered from empirical data, but does not exclude unbiased and irrefutable data gathered from other sources. The word 'fiction' is not used in the context of revealing untruths but rather to acknowledge that the telling of stories may lend itself to exaggeration and be coloured by emotion (feelings). But, in spite of this, it still reveals the truth. It is a truth that we have to understand through interpretation contexts that shape their creation and the world views that inform them. This understanding is placed into context by Riessman (1993), citing the Personal Narratives Group when he states that the truths we see in Personal Narratives jar us from our complacent security as interpreters 'outside' the story and makes us aware that our own place in the world plays a part in our interpretation and shapes the meaning we derive from them. This line of thinking is further supported by Derrida

(1976) who stated that there can never be a clear, unambiguous statement of anything including an intention or a meaning.

Clarifying the researcher's understanding of 'truth' at the onset, signals a critical eye being turned to one's own prejudices and distortions. Having highlighted the above this chapter unfolds the research methodology used to answer the critical question of this study, which is:

"What is the nature and extent of violence against teachers?"

This process involved probing into the everyday world of teachers. The information generated from the data collection process was used to draw insights on the nature and extent of violence against teachers. The processes involved in the research methodology are revealed in the following sections.
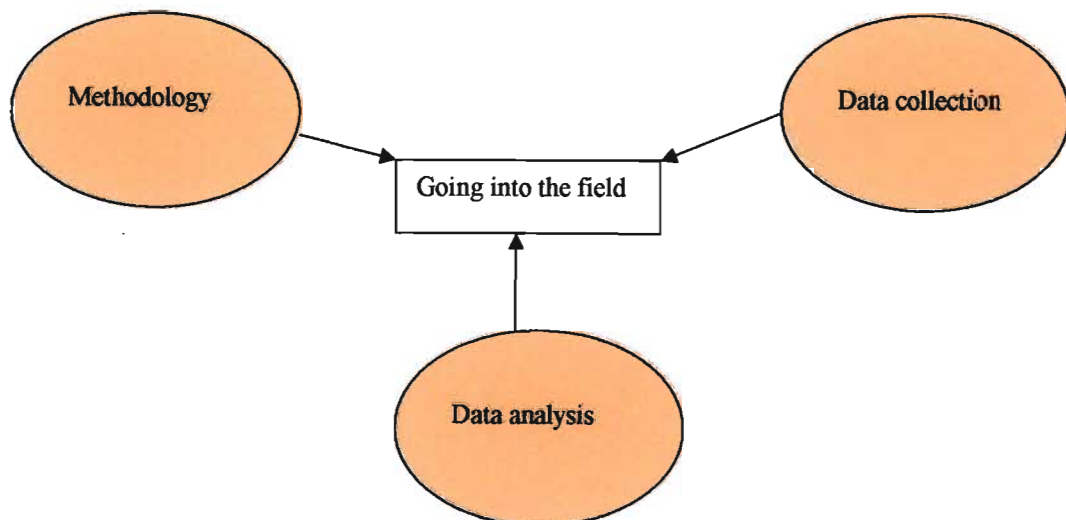
Section One *outlines the two broad methodological approaches that were used in a complementary manner.*

Section Two *details the participants and procedures that were used to gather data.*

Section Three *provides a window into how the data was unravelled to make meaning and identify trends and themes.*

SECTION ONE

3.1 Methodology: A combined approach

'In art and literature, the stylistic conventions of one generation are often made to be broken by the next. It seems likely that as we become more self conscious about the rhetorical techniques used in research, some individuals will begin to test them and look for new ways to break the mould.'

(Firestone, 1987)

Roberts (2002), responds to the above quotation by stating that one needs to protect against common scepticism, and that the possibility and the actuality of knowledge needs to be demonstrated by identifying sound methods of acquiring that knowledge. In keeping with this sentiment, two broad methodological approaches dominate this study, i.e. the quantitative paradigm and the qualitative paradigm. The quantitative paradigm will, in this study, focus on variable analysis as a means of describing and analysing the experiences of teachers. The role of the researcher in this paradigm is seen largely as an outsider to the process. The quantitative analysis will serve the purpose of giving broad overview of the nature, causes and impact of violence. The qualitative research paradigm used in this study is linked to interpretivism and takes its departure point as an insider perspective on social research. It provides a framework for examining the ways in which identity, power and discourse articulate. The insider perspective provides a tool to examine how relations of power shape teachers' understanding and interpretation of their experiences. The qualitative analysis will illuminate and give depth to the issues raised in the quantitative analysis.

In entering this research study, the researcher maintains a delicate balance between an insider/outsider role. I claim an insider role by being an educator in a secondary school. In this insider role, I not only have my own experiences of being exposed to violence, but I am also privy to the experiences of other teachers at my school. On the other hand, I also position myself as an outsider to view my field work in a more detached

manner. The assumption of this dual role makes me aware that I will also be exploring and interrogating some of my own thoughts and experiences on violence in schools.

The choice of employment of a combination of two research approaches was very much dependent on my thoughts, which unfold in Huysamen's (1997) comment that: "Qualitative research without the benefit of quantitative rigour may be impotent", and that "Quantitative research devoid of any qualitative creativity may be sterile". This combination allows for the strengths and weaknesses of two different methods to be complemented to reveal more in-depth and insightful evidence. The two methodological approaches will be used in a complementary and cooperative manner rather than in competition (Oberle, 1991; Jacknicke & Rowell, 1987). It also signals the needs of this study in that the combination of numerical and narrative data will lend itself to greater understanding and authenticity.

Parlette & Hamilton (1972) effectively sum this when they say that qualitative findings illuminate the quantitative results, thereby decreasing the need for researchers to offer "shot-in-the-dark" interpretations about what occurred. In the light of the above statements, this study therefore supports the use of qualitative and quantitative data in a complementary manner. The rationale for the use of each research method in a complementary manner is detailed in the sub-sections that follow.

3.1.1 Quantitative research

Quantitative data was gathered to provide the study with baseline information to uncover general trends on violence against teachers. This was made possible through the use of the questionnaire. The use of this method was a means of making tentative inroads into teacher thinking to pave the way for more in-depth qualitative data gathering. It helped to establish connections with the collection of open-ended information. It also assisted in directing the questions for the interviews that were used to develop narrative stories.

The numerical data generated provided evidence of the collective thinking of teachers. As such, combined with qualitative data the numerical data has produced results that

attempt to present a holistic understanding of the issues surrounding violence against teachers.

3.1.2 Qualitative research

The narrative approach used in this study aims to understand teacher thinking and experiences within the school context. In this methodology, the teacher's life is viewed as a story. This study, therefore, presents teacher's day-to-day experiences in story form, built through semi-structured interviews. The idea was to explore the powerful impact that violence has on the learning environment and its influence on a teachers practice. According to Dhunpath (1998) biography presents rich opportunities for individuals to re-examine and reconstruct their own perceptions of personal experience.

The qualitative research method formed an important foundation to arrive at the overall picture that emerges in this study as it unpacked the lived experiences of teachers that were affected by violence. It has provided a deeper understanding of the effects of violence on teachers.

Narrative stories provide a window into the practical realities of a teacher's world. Descriptions play an important role in suggesting causes, effects and dynamic processes. It also allows for the subtleties and complexities of a situation to be highlighted. The narrative approach thus provided this study with an in-depth understanding of teacher perceptions and experiences of violence in schools and its ramifications of the teaching-learning environment.

3.1.3 Complementarity

The quantitative and qualitative methods are used in conjunction to provide complementary data that would give a more complete picture of the complex issues involved in violence in schools. Along these lines, Sells, Smith & Sprenkle (1995), talks about qualitative and quantitative methods 'building upon each other'. In order to add

depth and breadth to this study, it was found that certain questions were best suited to one or the other of the quantitative or qualitative method.

The use of two methodologies sometimes raises epistemological questions by critics about the fluctuation between interpretivist and positivist paradigms. According to Roberts (2002) method is not necessarily informed by an epistemological stance, thus the quantitative method of data collection and analysis may be employed within an interpretivist paradigm. This study supports the assertion that the use of a range of methodologies cannot be reduced to simple dichotomies. The use of two methodologies was based on the purpose of the study rather than competing views.

The reasons that underpin the use of combined methods in a complementary manner are as follows:

- Triangulation of data
- The provision of background information on contexts and subjects from qualitative research was used to facilitate quantitative research.
- Quantitative evidence allowed the researcher to make certain generalisations.
- Quantitative data enabled the researcher to establish relationships between variables, and the reason for the relationships were made clear from the qualitative data.

SECTION TWO

3.2 Data Collection: An eye opener

Data collection was divided into two phases. Phase one involved the administration of questionnaires to both teachers and learners. Phase two focussed on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with selected teachers and education stakeholders to obtain information on violence in schools.

3.2.1 Participants and procedure

The Ethekwini region in KwaZulu Natal was chosen for use in the study due to its convenience as it is the site of residence of the researcher. This region is generally classified as an urban area, but includes schools from rural areas. Data was only collected from a sample of secondary schools within this region. The exclusion of primary schools in the study is related to (i) working with a manageable and homogeneous sample size and (ii) my perception that violence is a problem that is more prevalent in secondary schools. This perception arises from interactions with educators from primary schools at "Discipline, Safety and Security" meetings convened by the Department of Education.

Of the 465 secondary schools in the Ethekwini region, data was collected from 150 schools. The sample of participants was selected as follows:

- **Teachers:** An opportunistic sampling process was used to collect data from teachers when the Department of Education organised professional development workshops at various circuits within the Ethekwini Region. Educators attending this workshop were targeted, which numbered 161 teachers from 150 schools. Usually, one educator from each school attends the workshop, although sometimes more than one attends.

This method of sampling was used to gain access to a wider spectrum of teachers from different schools. This decision was made after piloting the questionnaire with the staff of a particular school. The researcher noticed that there was similarity in the responses of the entire staff. To increase the generalisability of the results one or two teachers were targeted from a larger number of schools as opposed to many teachers from fewer schools. The workshops organised by the Department of Education provided the ideal forum to access teachers from a wide range of schools. This included rural schools, urban schools, advantaged and disadvantaged schools, and schools from high and low violence areas. Under normal circumstances the researcher would not have been able to reach the wide sample of teachers due to safety factors, distance, time and financial constraints.

- **Learners:** A total of 184 learners from nine secondary schools responded to the questionnaire based on a purposive sampling that was undertaken. The selection of the learners at each school was left to individual educators that were administering the questionnaire to allow for flexibility and avoid disruption of the school programme. Seven of the nine schools were selected on the basis of them being highlighted in the media for incidents of violence, while the other two were selected on the basis of availability. The original number of schools that were selected was ten, but permission to administer the questionnaire was refused by one school in the fear that it might incite the learners to violence.

The main reason for targeting learners was to create a balance in the data presented. Including the teacher's voice only would have meant presenting a one sided version of violence against teachers. The learner's voice adds authenticity to the results. It is also a means of giving learners a platform to agree or disagree with the perception that they are perpetrators of violence against teachers.

A profile of the teachers and learners that responded to the questionnaire is presented in Table 1 and Table 2 below.

Table 3.1: Profile of Teachers

Educators	N	%
Gender		
Male	84	52
Female	77	48
Race		
African	81	50
White	10	6
Indian	67	42
Coloured	3	2
Years of teaching		
<5	25	16
5-10	39	26
11-20	61	40
>20	27	18
Employment status		
Permanent	131	81
Temporary	21	13
School Governing Body (SGB) Appointees	9	6

Table 3.2: Profile of learners

Learners	N	%
Gender		
Male	65	35
Female	119	65
Race		
African	98	54
White	9	5
Indian	72	39
Coloured	4	2
Age of learners		
<13	1	0.5
13-15	15	8
16-18	156	85
19-21	10	6
>21	2	1

Permission to conduct research had to be negotiated with various stakeholders. First and foremost, written permission had to be obtained from the KwaZulu Natal (KZN) Department of Education and Culture. To gain access to the learners, permission had to

be negotiated with the relevant Principals as well as parents of the learners who participated in responding to the questionnaire.

3.2.2 Instrumentation

Numerous instruments were used in this study to capture data. This allowed for triangulation, greater understanding and more in-depth analysis and interpretation. The following instruments were used:

a. Questionnaire
b. Semi-structured interviews
c. Review of assignments
d. Content analysis: media reports

The use of different data collection techniques has yielded inter-related sets of data that have served to increase the study's authenticity. It has also added depth to the investigation of exploring violence in schools. This kind of data triangulation, according to Patton (1990), is also a means by which the weakness of one data collection technique could be compensated for by the strengths of another technique.

In this study, the questionnaire was used as a baseline to draw a profile of the nature, causes, impact and perceptions of violence in schools. This information was further categorised to draw conclusions based on gender, age and years of teaching. The data from the interviews were used to gain deep insight on how violence has impacted on teachers' lives. The questionnaire yielded mainly statistical data, which was given meaning and depth through the stories obtained from the interviews and open-ended questions.

a. Questionnaire
The questionnaire that was administered generally formed the quantitative aspect of the study and was divided into six sections for the teachers and four sections for the learners. (Refer to Appendix C and D). A three point Likert Scale was used in three

sections of the questionnaires. The scale was labelled 'not at all, to a small extent and to a large extent'. The Likert scale was used to assess the attitudes of teachers and learners with respect to violence in schools.

Below is a breakdown detailing the sections of the questionnaire:

- Section A was entitled 'Demographics' and requested information on gender, age, years of service, race, nature of employment, locality of school and financial composition.
- Section B was entitled 'Nature and type of violence' and participants were given a list of 14 types of violence and were asked to rate the frequency on a three point scale. The idea was to highlight the main types of violence and categorise it as either insidious or physical violence.
- Section C dealt with 'Causes of violence'. Twenty two possible causes were listed with the purpose of determining the context of violence and to evaluate the congruency of teachers and learners in terms of their perceptions of the main causes of violence.
- Section D addresses the 'Impact of violence' on teachers. Participants had to rate specific symptoms on a three point scale relating to job satisfaction, physical well being, emotional well being and the learning environment.
- Section E on 'School policy/Preventative measure' asked participants whether their school had violence related policies and whether certain appropriate steps were in place to prevent violence. Participants also had to indicate whether they had personally experienced or witnessed any form of violence and their perceptions of how violence is handled by the various stakeholders.
- Section F called 'Perceptions/personal evaluations' required participants to comment on whether violence was increasing or decreasing, the role of the Department of Education, the manner in which violent incidents are handled and possible solutions.

The learner questionnaire had only four sub-sections. Sections D and E from the educator questionnaire were excluded because these sections largely focussed on the teachers' knowledge and perceptions of policies, preventative measures and impact of violence on them. Participants were not required to identify themselves by name on the questionnaire. This anonymity was deliberately used to give respondents the freedom to express themselves without fear of reprisals.

b. Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews were used as a means of generating qualitative data. It was the view of the researcher that if the findings of this study were to be useful at all, it had to communicate the voices of teachers through narrative stories. Five respondents were selected for the interview process using the purposive sampling technique. The idea was to select 'information rich cases' to illuminate the question under study (Patton, 1990). They were thus selected on the basis of (i) being accessible and (ii) education stakeholders that were affected by violence either personally or by association with other colleagues. Concurrently, the following factors were considered in the selection of the participants for the interviews:

Teachers

- Race
- Gender
- Years of teaching

Other stakeholders

- A Principal that attempted to expel a learner for violent behaviour
- A parent that is the Chairperson of a Disciplinary Tribunal.

The above categories were used to gain information from a cross section of teachers as well as diverse views from other stakeholders. The participants were interviewed at locations that were suitable to them ranging from their place of work to their homes. The first interview was between 1,5 and 2 hours in duration. An average of two interviews was held with each respondent. The second interview was used mainly to clarify

information gleaned from the first interview as well as to raise additional questions. Interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed. Three out of the five participants requested anonymity and thus pseudonyms were given.

The narratives were written using a mixture of first and third person's voice. This allowed the researcher to rearrange the line of thought of the respondents in chronological sequence. The respondents were given the freedom and latitude to express their perceptions of violence in schools, to compare levels of violence over the years as well as make specific reference to incidents of violence experienced by them and their colleagues. Due to the open-ended nature of the questions and the emotional impact it had on the respondents, it was necessary for the researcher to rearrange thoughts to allow for a smooth flow in the reading of the narratives.

3.2.3 Piloting the questionnaire: 'A starting point'

A pilot study was conducted as a starting point to the data collection process. Twenty teachers (twelve females and eight males) completed the questionnaire in the Phoenix district (Earlington Secondary) as well as thirty Grade 12 learners. The intention of this pilot was to evaluate whether:

- Any question was ambiguous or confusing.
- The data being generated was useful and relevant to the study.
- The respondents considered the questionnaire to be lengthy and time consuming.
- The respondents considered the questionnaire to be valid and appropriate.

Besides the above areas of concern the researcher also wanted to get the overall perceptions of respondents towards the value and appropriateness of such research. Below are listed some of the responses from participants as well as changes that were made.

- The researcher received an overwhelmingly warm and receptive response to the questionnaire, with teachers believing that it was about time that the issue of violence against teachers is tackled.

- The list, on the type, causes and impact of violence, was extended based on inclusions from participants.

- Many of the learners were offended by the use of the word 'Black' under the category race and preferred the classification 'African'. An adjustment was made where both words were included.

- The researcher noticed, from the responses received from teachers, that there was similarity and congruency in the thinking of a particular staff. The original sample for this study was therefore changed from selecting the entire staff of ten different schools. It was realised that it would restrict the generalisability and scope of the study. The decision was then made to involve one educator per school and to reach as many schools as possible.

The pilot study was useful in that it pointed to certain minor adjustments that had to be made. It also sharpened the focus of the sampling technique to be used and paved the way for the start of the research.

SECTION THREE

3.3 Data analysis: Plotting the path

According to Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner & Steinmetz (1991) there are many approaches to the analysis of data, and ways in which findings can be presented. In keeping with the above statement, this research sought to re-organise the raw data to be presented in an integrated flow. The first step was therefore to re-focus and tease out emergent trends, insights, themes and ideas. The task at hand was to make meaning of the data.

The following broad framework emerged to shape the data analysis process (adapted from Freeman: 1996).
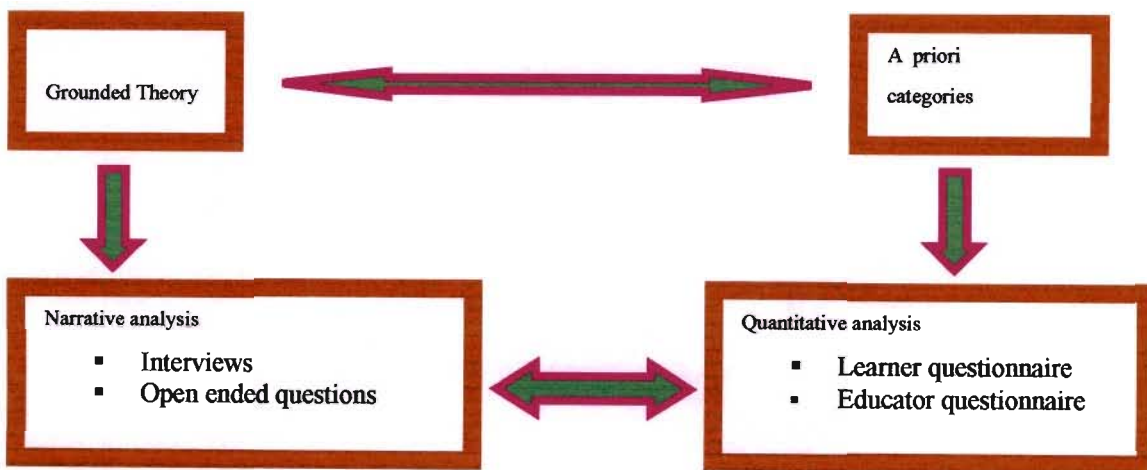
Figure 3.1 Analytical Framework

3.3.1 A priori categories

Five broad organisational categories influenced the manner in which the questionnaire was sub divided. Latent categories were also created for each sub section but these were not reflected in the questionnaire, e.g. the category "Nature of violence" has two latent categories, viz. insidious violence and physical violence.

These broad and latent categories were established before data collection to give guided meaning to the data. The categories emerged out of media reports, literature review, social theories and anecdotal evidence as well as from the researcher's personal experiences. The literature review, as Weber (1990) puts it, was used to tighten up the categories to the point that maximised mutual exclusivity and exhaustiveness.

Responses from the Likert scale were captured on computer using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Cross tabs were generated and the categories were used to transform the data into meaningful information.

3.3.2 Grounded Theory

Narrative analysis

Narrative stories were established from semi-structured interviews (detailed earlier in this chapter) to serve the purpose of unfolding the raw data. A narrative analysis assumes that people think in narratives to make sense of their own experiences (Bruner, 1986). Basically, people analyse their experiences through the telling of stories reconstructed from memory. There is a main theme that drives the story, which in this study, is their personal experience of violence in schools.

The approach used in this study to locate conceptual manifestations or common themes was inductive in nature. There were no pre-determined variables, but only emerging insights. The boundaries of the analysis were solely determined by the accounts of the participants and the interpretation of the researcher. The interviews for all five respondents were first transcribed before arranging them in a chronological trajectory of events according to the main themes that emerged from the data. The idea was to provide a dynamic framework so that potentially disconnected events become coherent to form a flow in the stories. The experiences of the participants did not necessarily follow a linear path, as they often brought in other people into their stories to validate

their experiences. The excerpts from the assignments would be merged to complement the experiences being highlighted and serve the purpose of further validation.

The last phase in the narrative analysis was to plot the emerging insights. This was completed in a comparative frame where the emerging issues were plotted side by side with the supporting evidence from the raw data. Thus the grounded theory approach was used because the researcher allowed the trends and ideas to be generated from the data.

3.3.3 Concluding comments on research methodology

A multi-model approach to data collection was informed by the purpose of this study. The multi-model approach included a survey designed using questionnaires to get a sense of the nature and extent of violence against teachers. A narrative design comprising of semi-structured interviews to capture the lived experiences of various players in education affected by violence against teachers was used.

The analytical framework that informed the data analysis included an a priori and grounded approach to understanding the nature, extent and implications of violence against teachers.

The next two chapters will detail the analysis of the data produced through the processes outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Four

Analysis: Quantitative

Escaping odours:
A tantalising overview

"There is no clear window into the inner life
of a person, for any window is always
filtered through the glaze of language,
signs and the process of signification."

(Derrida ,1976)

Orientation to Chapter Four

This chapter seeks to analyse some of the dynamics which shape the nature and extent of violence in schools, particularly against teachers. It presents a reflection of the views of both teachers and learners to a certain degree. The learner statistics are generally presented at the beginning of each section as an overview to determine similarities and contrasts in the perceptions of teachers and learners. At the same time, it also is used as affirmation of teacher thinking. A detailed biographical breakdown of learner data is not included in this study as it is believed that it would not enhance or contribute in any significant way to our understanding of violence against teachers. Since the focus of this study is on violence against teachers, a more detailed unpacking of teachers' perceptions has been embarked upon. Learner views were brought in and interjected mainly as supporting evidence in the analysis of teacher data.

This chapter is divided into five sections which are captured in the mind map below.
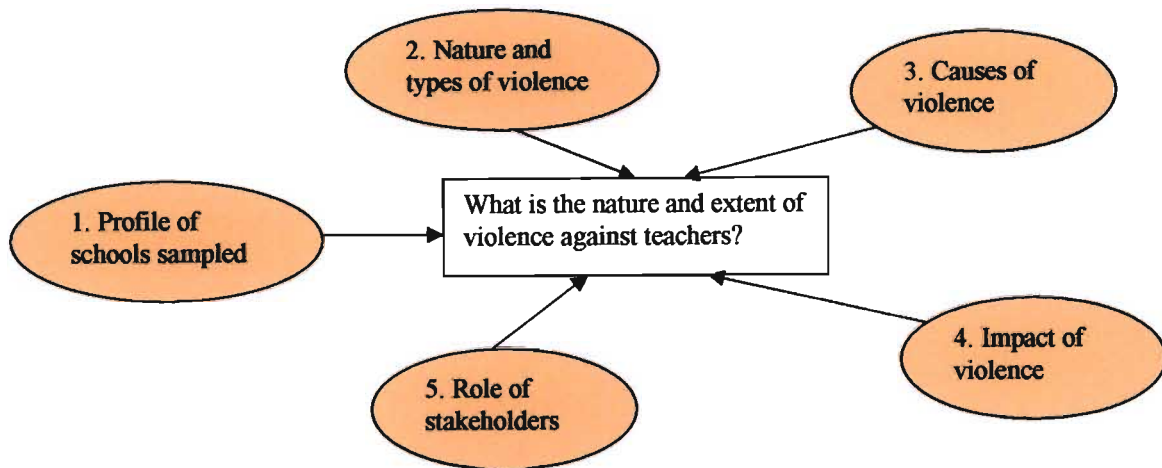
Section One presents the profiles of schools that form a backdrop which lends clarity to the analysis of the data.

Section Two details the nature and type of violence experienced by teachers. It also highlights the similarities and differences in the perception of learners and teachers, thus presenting the collective voice of both parties. In addition, this section sifts through patterns that filter out of a demographic breakdown.

Section Three deals with the main factors that initiate and contribute to violence in schools. It serves as a starting point to reveal what lies at the core of violence in schools.

Section Four presents the aftermath of violence on teacher-thinking and well-being. Essential meaning will be given to the data to explore its impact on the teaching and learning environment.

Section Five will bring together the role of the various stakeholders in preventing violence in schools. This includes the role of management in using effective policies and strategies, as well as the role of the School Governing Body (SGB) and the Department of Education.

This Chapter intends to:

- *present the findings of the views of both learners and teachers,*
- *analyse the data and*
- *engage in a discussion that draws on the personal experiences of the researcher, the literature and the data at hand.*

SECTION ONE

4.1 Profile of schools

This section gives background information on the schools that were used as sites for data collection. This background information forms the backbone of understanding the context of violence within particular communities and in society in general. In developing the profile of schools, the following aspects were considered: level of violence in the community within which schools are located, status of the school in terms of being classified as advantaged or disadvantaged, the average income per month of learners' families and the learner enrolment of the schools sampled. Schools were profiled to get a sense of the context which contributes to violence in schools.

Table 4.1: Classification of schools according to levels of violence in the community as perceived by learners and teachers

	Teacher	Learner
Low violence area	37%	33%
Average violence area	43%	55%
High violence area	21%	12%

Table 4.1 reflects the perceptions of learners and teachers in terms of classifying the area within which their schools are located as being low, average or high violence areas. The majority of schools fell into the category of average violence according to the perceptions of both teachers and learners.

Figure 4.1: Classification of schools according to status
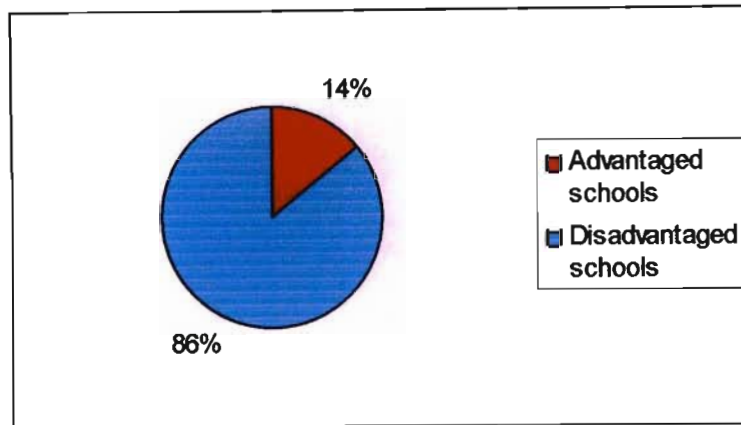
Eighty six percent of the schools that were surveyed fell in the historically disadvantaged category. These are the schools that were classified as "Black", "Indian" and "Coloured" in the apartheid era. Advantaged schools include private schools and the "White" schools of the pre 1994 period. Most of these "White" schools were classified as Model C Schools. In post apartheid South Africa, schools are classified as advantaged/disadvantaged according to a set of norms and standards (KwaZulu Natal Department of Education Circular No. 91, 1999) that differ from the previous classification which was based on race. Schools are classified into deciles (groupings into 10%) in descending order of need and these schools are given state funding proportionate to their needs classification. Some of the factors that are taken into account for a school to be classified as advantaged include electricity, water, telephone, sanitation and buildings in a good condition. All the schools surveyed in this study would then be classified as advantaged. The researcher chose to use the old classification as the social context within which schools are located has not changed significantly. The economic, social and cultural background of schools has not evolved in any way with the new classification except to shift the responsibility away from the Department of Education (Vally, 1998). According to Hoadley (1998), schooling in South Africa is largely delineated in terms of class. Upper and middle class Blacks, Coloureds and Indians have moved to independent and former Model C schools due to affordability. Thus, in reality, schools have retained their previous status.

Table 4.2 Teachers' perceptions of the average household monthly income of communities within which they teach.

Average household income per month	% of learners
+R10 000	3
R7 000 to R10 000	2
R4 000 to R7 000	13
R1 000 to R4 000	42
Less than R1 000	41

Table 4.2 serves the purpose of highlighting the economic background of communities within which schools are located. The perception of the teachers surveyed indicates that 83% (42%+41%) of the learners emanate from families where the total monthly income is below R4000.00. With the average income being low, the expectations of community involvement in uplifting the school could be considered as low.

Table 4.3 Classification of schools according to learner enrolment

Learner enrolment	Percentage
<500	20
501-799	28
+800	52

The majority of the schools (52%) that were sampled fell into the category of having more than 800 learners. The data reveals that schools with an enrolment of less than 500 are either private schools or fall into the category of previously advantaged (ex-Model C) schools. Table 4.3 enables the researcher to make assumptions about whether the size of schools does in any way influence the level of violence experienced. It also opens doors to exploring the issue of the number of learners per classroom which is closely linked to issues surrounding disadvantaged schools, including financial constraints. The idea of previously disadvantaged schools being caught up in a negative

cycle pans out very clearly in that they have higher enrolments which results in higher learner-teacher ratios which cannot be reduced due to a lack of funding.

The profile of the schools surveyed above, as well as the demographics of learners and teachers as detailed in the methodology chapter, forms an important thread that will pervade and clarify assumptions made in the forthcoming sections. Section Two uncovers the types of violence that are experienced by teachers.

SECTION TWO

4.2 Prevalence of violence

Understanding the pervasive element of school culture in terms of violence is very much an elusive and difficult domain. This section attempts to make a breakthrough by tapping into the perceptions of both learners and teachers to gain an understanding of what shapes their perspectives on the nature and type of violence against teachers. Since this study uses a broad based definition for violence, which includes both insidious and physical violence, it lends itself to examining a number of underlying assumptions held by both teachers and learners.

According to Hollins (1996), 'schools are shaped by cultural practices and values that reflect the norms of the society for which they have been developed'. This can be understood to be a set of tacit expectations that influence the way in which teachers and learners interact with each other. These norms, values and even rituals that have been built up over time, will be put under the microscope to unravel the subtle and not so subtle culture of violence in schools.

4.2.1 What is the nature and type of violence that teachers are exposed to?

Table 4.4 below reflects a summary of both teachers and learners articulating their actual experiences, witnessed experiences as well as hearsay[3] incidents of violence against teachers. The first two columns present the findings of learners and teachers represented as percentages. The third and fourth columns represents a further breakdown of the 'All Teacher' column to allow a comparison of permanent and temporary/School Governing Body teachers. In response to the question 'What is the extent of violence against teachers', respondents were provided with three options, viz.

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[3] Hearsay evidence of violence against teachers is important because this information does not become public knowledge due to a lack of structure and also to protect the image of the school. Violent behaviour and attitudes could also be fuelled by hearsay information.

not at all, sometimes and often. The percentages below are the sum of the responses to 'sometimes; and 'often'. These two options were combined as they both indicate some level of violence. The fourteen categories of violence were developed from the literature review as well as from my personal experiences as a teacher.

Table 4.4 Summary of nature of violence against teachers

	Categories of violence	Learner	All teachers	Permanent Teachers	Temporary/ SGB Teachers
Insidious Violence	Undermining of authority	59%	84%	87%	67%
	Arguing and back chatting	80%	94%	95%	89%
	Arrogant refusal to follow instructions	76%	86%	87%	84%
	Chronic activities tolerable on their own but in total intended to intimidate	55%	67%	68%	59%
	Intimidation of sexual orientation	22%	41%	42%	30%
	Obscene language	71%	73%	76%	60%
	Personal insults or name calling	78%	65%	71%	43%
	Racists remarks	48%	41%	43%	39%
	Rude or obscene gestures	71%	75%	78%	62%
Physical Violence	Threatened physical violence	44%	54%	57%	30%
	Actual physical violence	46%	41%	41%	33%
	Attempted physical violence	40%	53%	58%	42%
	Verbal threats	46%	67%	71%	38%
	Written threats	28%	35%	35%	28%

In comparing the responses of both teachers and learners it is evident that there is general congruency in thinking. A startling observation is that up to 95% of teachers experienced some sort of violence against them supported by a high percentage of learners who acknowledge that teachers are exposed to some form of violence. Arguing and back chatting was ranked the highest by both learners (80%) and teachers (94%) to denote it as the most common form of violence that teachers are exposed to. This is closely followed by the arrogant refusal to follow instructions.

The summary also highlights a clear distinction between the thinking of permanent educators and those categorised as temporary/School Governing Body (SGB) appointments. On all fourteen types of violence that were listed, a higher percentage of permanent educators perceived them to be a problem as compared to the temporary/SGB teachers. This could possibly be attributed to the fact that generally the temporary/SGB teachers are employed for a limited period and move from school to school. They are not exposed to the same learners for lengthy periods of time and further do not have the same degree of accountability as expected from permanent educators.

The largest discrepancy between teacher/learner thinking is evident in the factor "Undermining of authority". It is noted that the gap is greater between permanent teachers (87%) and learners (59%) as compared to temporary/SGB teachers (67%) and learners. This gap could be clarified by making reference to the fact that generally the permanent teachers were trained in an education system that promoted the teacher as the ultimate authority in class with the emphasis on teacher centred lessons. Samuel (1998) referred to these teachers as being framed within a 'victims ideology' where they had to conceptualise their roles as implementers of already constructed syllabi. With the introduction of learner centred lessons and the widespread publicity and promotion of "learner's rights", learners are possibly not even aware that they are violating their teachers as they perceive it to be normal to behave in a particular manner. This has been detailed in the literature review in a media report by Naidoo (2004), quoting a Principal's concern about learners' rights and responsibilities. This was further supported by Jackson (2001) who focussed on children and parents being conscious of their rights and creating an increasingly litigious society. This then raises the question as to whether there are mechanisms in place to help teachers deal with a transforming role function and for learners to understand that there is a fine line between healthy debate and argument which transgresses into disrespect.

4.2.2 Teachers are exposed to higher levels of insidious violence as compared to physical violence

From the summary of the nature of violence (Table 4.4) against teachers, the fourteen categories were collapsed into two main groupings, i.e. insidious violence and physical violence. Insidious violence denotes non physical behaviour intended to harm, while physical violence includes attempted, threatened and actual violence.

Figure 4.2 Comparison between levels of insidious and physical violence
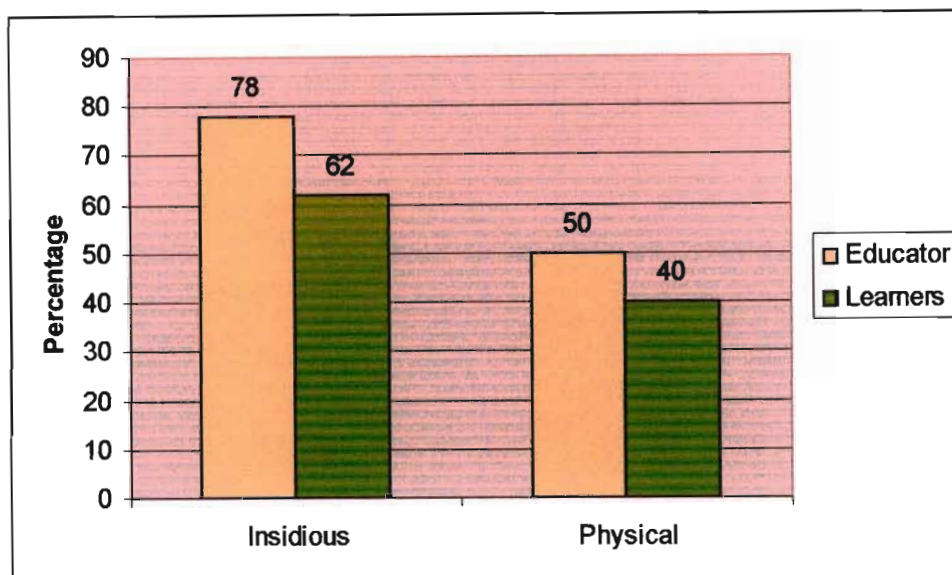
Figure 4.2 clearly suggests that teachers are exposed to a higher percentage of insidious violence as compared to physical violence as perceived by both teachers (78%) and learners (62%). The higher levels of insidious violence could be attributed to greater awareness of learners' rights, media reports, higher learner-teacher ratios, cultural intolerance, etc. It is important to note that whilst the more serious form of physical violence occurred less frequently, it is still an area for concern. A comparison of the statistics from this study with that on a report on violence against British Columbia teachers by Lyon and Douglas (1999) reveals startling information. A strong inverse relationship was found between the seriousness of violence and the prevalence of

violence, where teachers that experienced actual physical violence ranged from 5% to 12,4%. In this study, teachers pegged physical violence at approximately 50% (based on actual witnessed experiences as well as hearsay from colleagues), while learners admitted to physically violating or witnessing violence against teachers at a frightening 40%. This level of violence, as indicated by both learners and teachers, has been supported by a number of media reports (Maharaj, 2003; Naidoo, 2004; Lombard and Fredericks, 2005) where high school learners are painted as becoming increasingly violent.

4.2.3 African teachers are generally exposed to higher levels of violence as compared to teachers from other race groups

Table 4.5 details the frequency of violence as experienced by teachers from the different race groups. It must be noted that since very few Coloured teachers participated in this survey, the percentages reflected in this category could give a distorted picture of the prevalence of violence generally experienced by Coloured teachers.

Table 4.5 Prevalence of violence experienced by teachers in terms of race

	% African	%White	%Indian	%Coloured
Rude or obscene gestures	81	60	70	33
Personal insults or name calling	63	50	71	33
Obscene language	74	60	73	67
Arguing and back chatting	91	100	96	100
Undermining of authority	85	100	81	67
Chronic activities tolerable on their own but in total intended to intimidate	64	63	71	67
Arrogant refusal to follow instructions	87	70	88	67
Racists remarks	14	40	74	33
Verbal threats	76	40	61	33
Written threats	46	20	26	0
Intimidation of sexual orientation	50	20	36	0
Threatened physical violence	65	30	46	0
Attempted physical violence	62	30	49	0
Actual physical violence	43	40	40	0

Table 4.5 generally paints a picture of African teachers being exposed to higher levels of violence. A deeper evaluation reveals that in terms of insidious violence, there is a negligible difference between the various groups. A significant wedge however can be clearly seen in terms of physical violence. The prevalence of physical violence against African teachers is much more pronounced than against other race groups. These trends have to be looked at through the historical context of apartheid education in South Africa and the resultant challenges. During the 1970s and 1980s, there was massive political resistance amongst African youth who opposed state prescribed educational goals and regulations. This is clearly detailed in the literature review by Mogano (1993) and Zwane (1997). Although South Africa is more than ten years into democracy, the culture that the apartheid education created cannot be eradicated overnight. According to Vally (1999) violence in schools reflects a complicated combination of past history and recent stresses in a society marred by deep inequities and massive uncertainty. Therefore, although we have undergone drastic political transformation, there still remain social and economic challenges that perpetuate violence in schools.

4.2.4 The passing of 'racist remarks' is not an issue for African teachers.

The distinct differentiation experienced by teachers in the different race groups in terms of the factor "Racist remarks" tells its own story. It must be noted that although there has been a massive movement of learners between schools, the movement of teachers has by and large been insignificant. In an HSRC report edited by Nkomo, McKinney & Chisholm (2004) it was noted that teachers mostly represent the former racial composition of schools with little movement recorded over the past decade. Figure 4.3 (extracted from Table 4.5) creates a window through which one can understand the impact of the dynamics of teacher integration or lack of it on racial tension experienced in schools.

Figure 4.3 Level of racist remarks experienced by teachers
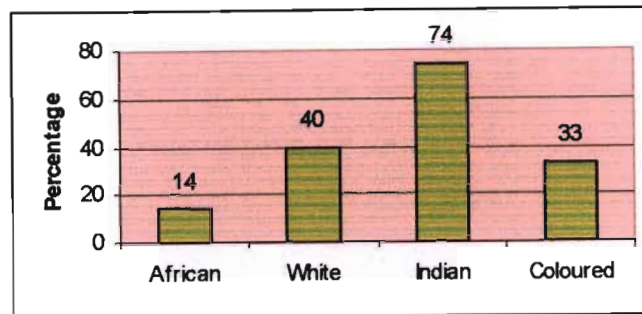
For African teachers, being exposed to racist remarks as a form of insidious violence is of least concern (14%) as other forms of violence dominate. This can be explained by the fact that African teachers generally teach at schools were there has been limited integration of learners from the different race groups. This is supported by Nkomo et al (2004) who stated that most township and rural schools remain mono-racial. EMIS (Education Management Information System) data from the Department of education (Balkaran, 2004) showing the racial profile of teachers reveals that 95,06% of African teachers are still teaching in ex-African schools. This means that only 4,94% of African teachers have moved to schools dominated by other race groups. Racists remarks are therefore of no particular concern. Indian teachers on the other hand experience racist remarks as a very significant problem (74%). This could be due to the high influx of learners from other race groups into the previously dominant Indian schools. This has created a high degree of integration, which has resulted in multicultural classrooms. According to Hofmeyer (2000) many originally Indian schools now have predominantly African enrolments and thus the label "Indian" schools are becoming less meaningful. The high degree of racial integration in the previously Indian only schools can be explained by the close proximity of Black residential areas which increases accessibility. A further factor would be affordability, where the school fees are generally low in comparison to the previously White only schools. Economic and demographic barriers limit the possibilities for full integration of public schools according to Vally (1999).

The percentage of White (40%) and Coloured (33%) educators that perceive racist remarks as a problem is also worth noting as it reflects the shift of learners from other race groups into these schools. A very peculiar situation is reflected by the data as far as racist remarks are concerned. It certainly brings to the fore simmering ethnic and racial tension that exists in schools and a hint at reverse racism.

4.2.5 Schools with high learner enrolments tend to reflect higher levels of violence

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Table 4.6 shows a relationship between learner enrolment and levels of violence experienced by teachers in schools.

Table 4.6 Impact of enrolment on violence in schools

Types of violence	Learner enrolment		
	<500	501-799	+800
Rude or obscene gestures	61%	81%	77%
Personal insults or name calling	52%	65%	71%
Obscene language	59%	74%	78%
Arguing and back chatting	84%	95%	96%
Undermining of authority	77%	88%	84%
Chronic activities tolerable on their own but in total intended to intimidate	41%	74%	73%
Arrogant refusal to follow instructions	84%	88%	85%
Racists remarks	22%	45%	48%
Verbal threats	61%	66%	70%
Written threats	28%	37%	37%
Intimidation of sexual orientation	42%	42%	42%
Threatened physical violence	50%	63%	52%
Attempted physical violence	42%	65%	51%
Actual physical violence	31%	48%	40%
Average	52%	66%	64%

Schools with an enrolment of 500 and below generally display a lower percentage (52%) with regards to types of violence against teachers as compared to schools with a higher enrolment. However, with respect to arguing and back chatting, undermining of authority and arrogant refusal to follow instructions this relationship does not exist. These are chronic insidious forms of violence in all schools irrespective of size. In a study of European teenagers as reported by Philips (2005), it has been found that children expect only minimal consequences for anti-social behaviour, which has basically taught them that authority is 'bunk' and has encouraged self destructive behaviour. The statistics suggest very strongly that teenagers in South Africa are following very closely in the footsteps of British teenagers (Philips, 2005), where authority in the classroom is being ignored. Maharaj (2003) quoted a Principal of a local school as saying 'learners no longer fear the authority that teachers uphold'. The lack of respect for teachers suggests the level of rot that has invaded our classrooms. It points to a bleak future in terms of effective learning and teaching.

4.2.6 Teachers in advantaged schools experience lower levels of violence as compared to disadvantaged schools.

Table 4.7 compares the level of violence experienced by teachers in both advantaged and disadvantaged schools. The purpose is to determine whether the economic background of learners correlates with the level of violence experienced by teachers.

Table 4.7 Teachers' perceptions of violence in advantaged and disadvantaged schools

	Advantaged schools	Disadvantaged schools
Rude or obscene gestures	55%	78%
Personal insults or name calling	50%	67%
Obscene language	57%	75%
Arguing and back chatting	86%	95%
Undermining of authority	82%	84%
Chronic activities tolerable on their own but in total intended to intimidate	53%	69%
arrogant refusal to follow instructions	68%	89%
Racists remarks	36%	42%
Verbal threats	32%	73%
Written threats	18%	38%
Intimidation of sexual orientation	24%	44%
Threatened physical violence	32%	57%
Attempted physical violence	32%	57%
Actual physical violence	32%	42%

A clear distinction can be made between the levels of violence in advantaged and disadvantaged schools. On all fourteen factors, teachers perceived the levels of violence to be higher in disadvantaged schools. The commonality between both categories of schools was "arguing and back-chatting" which was identified as the most chronic problem. The biggest difference was in terms of "verbal threats", where only 32% of the teachers perceived it to be a problem in advantaged schools, but it was a steep 73% in disadvantaged schools.

The trend that emerged between the two categories of schools could be attributed to a number of factors. Advantaged schools generally draw learners from above average income families and are therefore financially secure and this enables them to employ more educators to reduce the number of learners per class. These schools also have the financial muscle to enforce their disciplinary code of conduct in a court of law.

Maritzburg College is an example of such a school that challenged the Department of Education in court after a refusal to suspend and expel two boys for deviant behaviour (Bolowane, 2004). The pressures that learners are subjected to from the communities within which they are located are well documented by Mingo (2000) and Wyngaarde, Van Niekerk, Bulbulia, Van der Walt, Masuku, Stevens & Seedat, (2000).

4.2.7 Years of service does not influence the nature of violence that teachers are exposed to.

Table 4.8 represents teachers in four different categories according to years of service. The idea is to determine whether teachers with different years of service experience levels of violence differently.

Table 4.8 Teacher's perceptions of levels of violence according to years of service

	<5 years	5 to 10 years	11 to 20 years	>20 years
Rude or obscene gestures	83%	70%	76%	70%
Personal insults or name calling	57%	55%	70%	74%
Obscene language	68%	72%	74%	78%
Arguing and back chatting	87%	95%	95%	96%
Undermining of authority	91%	78%	88%	85%
Chronic activities tolerable on their own but in total intended to intimidate	61%	59%	71%	67%
Arrogant refusal to follow instructions	92%	85%	86%	78%
Racists remarks	26%	26%	54%	48%
Verbal threats	74%	59%	68%	69%
Written threats	39%	32%	30%	41%
Intimidation of sexual orientation	48%	38%	39%	46%
Threatened physical violence	57%	53%	52%	58%
Attempted physical violence	61%	45%	52%	63%
Actual physical violence	39%	32%	41%	50%

Table 4.8 does not reveal any distinct relationship between years of service and levels of violence experienced. The results of this study differs from that of Lyon and Douglas (1999) where it was revealed that teachers with fewer years of teaching experience are subjected to elevated levels of violence. An evaluation of the data in Table 4.8 implies that even seasoned teachers have lost control of their classrooms. This deterioration does not only have implications for the future of schooling in this country but also the nation as a whole.

SECTION THREE

4.3 Causes of violence

This section serves as an entry point into the understanding of factors that contribute to learner aggression. Understanding the causes of violence is crucial to developing appropriate solutions and strategies. The data through repetition, which emerges from the breakdown in this section, is significant.

The quantitative data gathered from the use of questionnaires foregrounds the voices of both teachers and learners in an exploratory manner. The data that is presented draws on the respective experiences and observations of teachers and learners to create a more balanced framework of converging trends and emergent themes.

The responses of respondents were grouped into categories to make the analysis of data more coherent and meaningful. The causes of violence are discussed under four categories that were generated through the literature review and by linking the causes to identified stakeholders in education.

- Department of Education (DoE)
  The factors captured in this category are linked to the implementation of policy or legislation that schools are obliged to implement as enforced by the DoE.
- Community
  This category includes the role of parents, the home environment as well as the community within which learners live. These are factors that shape the thinking and actions of learners outside the school.
- School
  The focus is on the management of schools and the role that the school environment plays in breeding violence.

- Other

This category was created to cater for factors that do not fit into the other categories but have an important bearing on violence.

4.3.1 What are the causes that breed violence in schools?

Table 4.9 gives an overview of the causes of violence as perceived by both teachers and learners. The percentages reflected are in response to the question: **"To what extent do the following factors contribute to violence against teachers in your school?"** The table plots the extreme case scenario since the percentages displayed reflect the upper range, where the respondents rated factors which they believed influenced violence to a large extent. The idea is to present a more realistic understanding of what causes violence in schools. The causes of violence have been grouped into four broad categories with an average percentage calculated for each category to allow for comparison.

The data reflects great disparities both in the percentages and ranking of the causes of violence between teachers and learners. While teachers identify 'lack of discipline at home' as the main cause of violence (64%), learners listed knowledge of 'pupils' rights' (41%) as the main cause. The fact that learners identified their 'rights', as being the main instigator of violence, opens up an interesting discussion point. Are learners acknowledging that the power that is inevitably inherent in having rights is having a negative impact? This has important implications for the Department of Education in terms of how they mete out power to learners and the inclusion of capacity building and responsibility.

Table 4.9 Causes of violence as perceived by teachers and learners

Categories	Causes of violence	Educators	Learners
DoE	Banning of corporal punishment	55	25
	Over age learners	32	34
	Overcrowded classrooms	55	n/a
	Pupil rights	39	41
	Average	**45**	**33**
Community	Both parents working	38	19
	Influence of TV and movies	33	25
	Influence of gangs	39	30
	Lack of discipline at home	64	35
	Lack of recreational activities in community	45	26
	Socio-economic background	57	15
	Unstable family background	56	20
	Use of alcohol	32	17
	Use of drugs	41	21
	Average	**45**	**23**
School	Inadequate security at school	40	34
	Lack of effective discipline at school	27	35
	Lack of effective policies	24	21
	Poor school management	14	25
	Teacher aggression/provocation	6	20
	Unchallenging lessons	5	17
	Average	**19**	**25**
Other	Peer pressure	55	34
	Political Intolerance	7	10
	Racial intolerance	6	20
	Average	**23**	**21**

Learners are being fed a constant diet through the media, Representative Council of Learners (RCL) workshops and information pamphlets on their rights and elevated status in a democratic South Africa. What seems to be deficient is a values based approach, respecting the rights of all individuals. In a report by Ndela (2004), it was stated that many citizens share reservations about the rights that are accorded to youth today as it has exposed them to lax behaviour and a licentious lifestyle. This, in essence, means that the absence of restrictive and corrective measures that comes with authority has distracted youth from dedicating their lives to more meaningful agendas.

In ranking 'lack of discipline at home' as a significant cause of violence in schools, teachers are implying there is a spill over of behaviour patterns from home into the school. The role of parents in developing and monitoring the morals, values and ethics of their children then comes into play. A vast amount of research points in the direction of parents and their role in disciplining children. Mayer (2002) found that parental involvement and support helped in the effective implementation of classroom rules. Other studies that link disruptive behaviour at home with learning in the classroom include Ngcobo (1998), Schulze & Dzivhani (2002) and Loeber & Farington (1998).

There are significant differences between the thinking of teachers and learners on a number of issues. While 55% of teachers attribute violence to the banning of corporal punishment, only 25% of learners see it as a contributory factor. This view of teachers is supported in an article published by Khan (2000), where Mike Tlhapane from the National Union of public service and Allied Workers' stated that the banning of corporal punishment has not only resulted in the disempowerment of teachers, but it has also inculcated a spirit of disrespect for teachers by learners.

It is interesting to note that a significant number of teachers pin pointed 'socio-economic background' and 'unstable family background' as causes of violence, whilst these were issues that were not important to learners. These learners have been raised largely in deprived backgrounds (83% in Table 4.2) and are invariably exposed to social ills. The fact that they cannot make the connection that it impacts on their behaviour, points to them having learnt certain norms and values that they view as socially acceptable. This is a fear that has been expressed by a Principal, Jimmy Kruger in the Cape Argus (2000) who stated that students accept violence as normal, and how do we teach them that it is abnormal.

Figure 4.4 gives a graphical view of the categories of violence as identified in Table 4.9.

Figure 4.4 Categories of causes of violence
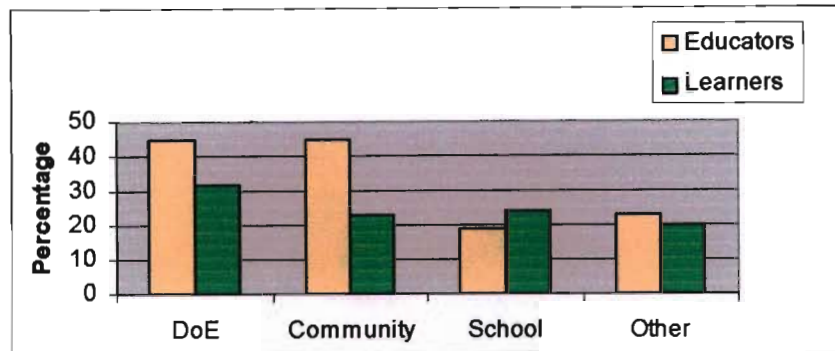
The causes of violence were classified into four categories that were generated from the data at hand as well as from the review of the literature. Both teachers (45%) and learners (33%) ranked the Department of Education (DoE) as being the major contributor to violence through the types of policies it implements. Smetherham (2003) quoted an education MEC, Andre Gavan, as saying that the plethora of changes by the Department of Education further complicates the demands placed on teachers.

Teachers also identified the category 'community' as being an equally influential contributor in promoting violence in schools. Learners ranked internal factors (25%) within the 'school' as being the second most important contributing factor to violence. The graph also hints at a pattern of external blame, which is predictable to a certain degree in human behaviour. Teachers ranked factors within the school the lowest (19%) as compared to other external factors. Learners, on the other hand, highlighted the Department of Education and school as being responsible for their violence rather than their community.

4.3.2 Do male and female teachers differ in their thinking on the causes of violence?

More than 50% of the male and female sample isolated the factors as captured in Figure 4.5 as being the main causes of violence. Both males (59%) and females

(70%) identified 'lack of discipline at home' as being the main cause of violence. The role of the parent in developing a foundation for violence is being highlighted. This, at the same time, must be understood within the broader context of the socio-economic background that learners are nurtured within. The data itself brings out this link by the fact that both males (53%) and females (62%) identify 'socio-economic background' as the second main contributor to violence, and this is closely followed with 'unstable family background'.

Figure 4.5 Gender vs. Causes of violence: Educator Perspective
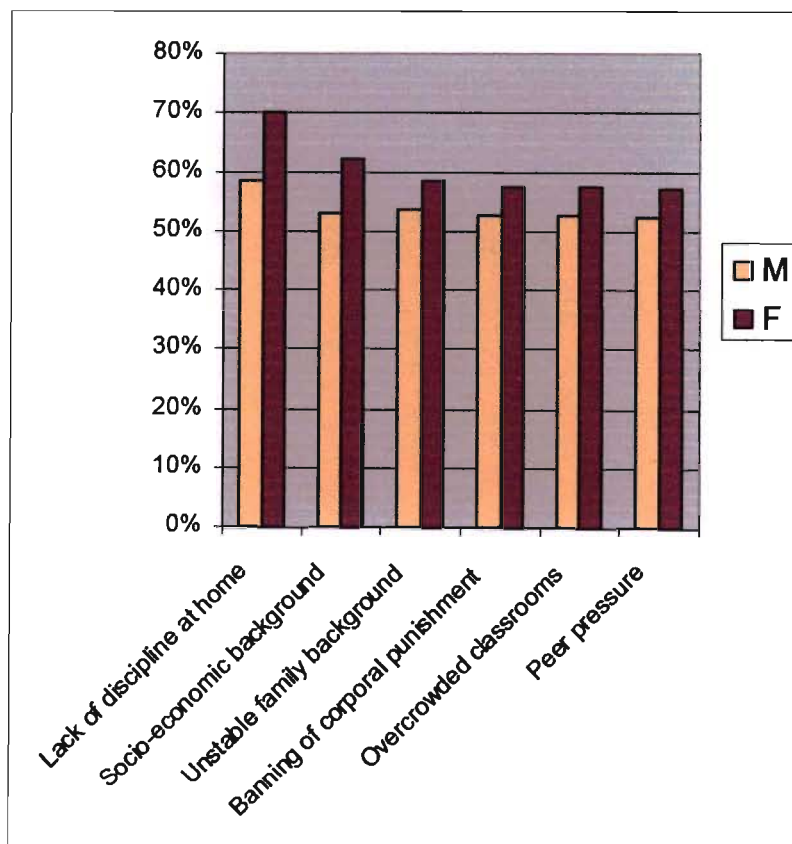
The other three factors that are pin pointed by both males and females as being important contributors to violence include: banning of corporal punishment, overcrowded classrooms and peer pressure. Generally, the data shows similar

perspectives between males and females in terms of their thinking of factors that incite the most violence in schools.

4.3.3 What are the perceptions of the causes of violence by race?

Table 4.10 gives the breakdown of the causes of violence from the Likert scale as perceived by the different race groups, excluding the Coloureds. The Coloureds have been deliberately excluded because the small sample (2%) was giving a distorted picture of their perceptions. The table represents the percentages from the column 'To a large extent only', to allow for a more realistic understanding of the causes of violence as experienced by the different race groups.

Table 4.10 Race vs. Causes of Violence: Educator Perspective

Causes of Violence	African	White	Indian
Use of drugs	58%	0%	26%
Use of alcohol	47%	0%	20%
Influence of TV and movies	32%	11%	38%
Peer pressure	63%	22%	51%
Influence of gangs	44%	11%	35%
Unstable family background	60%	22%	56%
Lack of discipline at home	68%	56%	63%
Both parents working	22%	44%	58%
Lack of recreational activities in community	54%	22%	39%
Socio-economic background	67%	11%	54%
Inadequate security at school	54%	0%	29%
Lack of effective discipline at school	33%	11%	23%
Unchallenging lessons	8%	0%	3%
Poor school management	17%	0%	12%
Lack of effective policies	25%	11%	23%
Teacher aggression/provocation	9%	0%	3%
Over age learners	43%	0%	24%
Political Intolerance	10%	0%	5%
Racial intolerance	5%	0%	8%
Banning of corporal punishment	62%	22%	51%
Pupil rights	53%	11%	25%
Overcrowded classrooms	58%	22%	56%

All three race groups viewed 'lack of discipline at home' as being the main cause of violence in schools. This was then followed by 'Both parents working' for the race groups Whites and Indians. A number of studies as referenced in 4.3.1 indicate that those parents who work and who do not supervise their children contribute to behavioural problems. For African parents, however, 'Both parents working' was not a problem (22%), but rather the 'socio-economic background' (67%) of learners was brought into prominence. The idea of negative social pressures and disadvantaged backgrounds is being intertwined with behaviours that learners display at school. While the use of drugs (58%) and alcohol (47%) is an important cause of violence according to African teachers, it seems to be negligible according to White and Indian teachers. A link can be seen with inadequate security as perceived by African teachers.

The banning of corporal punishment and overcrowded classrooms are problems experienced by African (62%) and Indian (51%) teachers. The impact of these factors on violence, according to White teachers is not significant. This can be explained by the fact that White teachers are generally employed at so called 'advantaged' schools where financial security has alleviated many problems. These schools have the means to employ extra teachers and reduce the number of learners per class. Smaller numbers are manageable and it has a direct bearing on levels of violence.

Another area of concern for African teachers was 'pupil's rights' (53%), which they see as a cause of violence. The emphasis on pupil's rights must be seen within South Africa's transformation agenda which highlights children's rights, formal structures within the school (Representative Council of Learners), as well as media sensationalism.

4.3.4 Do the causes of violence in advantaged and disadvantaged schools differ?

Table 4.11 summarises the responses of teachers from advantaged and disadvantaged schools to the question 'What causes violence?' in the column 'To a large extent only in the Likert scale. A very distinct pattern of teachers in disadvantaged schools being more vulnerable to violence emerges. These teachers are exposed to conditions that perpetuate violence to a higher degree as compared to teachers from advantaged schools. Else (1999) attribute this to a lack of discipline in the home environment. Working class parents that do not pay attention to their children's discipline and upbringing, encourage children to take on the values of peers and gangs which could be unacceptable behaviour. When these behaviours spill over into the school, the teacher becomes the target as they are seen as the embodiment of values that are alien. This idea is also supported by Dupper & Poertner (1997) who found that disadvantaged communities had high unemployment levels with alcohol and physical abuse which promoted social disintegration. In a Durban-based study by Griggs (1997), it was found that the location of schools in disadvantaged areas often leads to the presence of gangs, which results in assaults, rapes and even murder.

It is interesting to note that although teachers from advantaged schools are generally less likely to be violated, there is congruency in thinking in that both categories of schools ranked 'lack of discipline at home' as the main cause of violence. While this study ties in lack of discipline at home with both parents working from the data presented, it is an area that needs further investigation as it is beyond the scope of this study.

Table 4.11 Causes of violence vs. Advantaged and Disadvantaged schools

Causes of violence	Advantaged school	Disadvantaged school
Use of drugs	19%	44%
Use of alcohol	18%	34%
Influence of TV and movies	27%	34%
Peer pressure	32%	58%
Influence of gangs	27%	40%
Unstable family background	36%	59%
Lack of discipline at home	41%	68%
Both parents working	32%	39%
Lack of recreational activities in community	19%	49%
Socio-economic background	29%	62%
Inadequate security at school	5%	46%
Lack of effective discipline at school	18%	29%
Unchallenging lessons	0%	6%
Poor school management	5%	15%
Lack of effective policies	10%	26%
Teacher aggression/provocation	5%	6%
Over age learners	10%	36%
Political Intolerance	10%	7%
Racial intolerance	10%	5%
Banning of corporal punishment	33%	58%
Pupil riots	33%	40%
Overcrowded classrooms	33%	58%

The greatest difference between the perception of teachers from advantaged and disadvantaged schools in terms of causes of violence, was in the category 'inadequate security in schools'. While this category is insignificant in advantaged schools (5%), it is a problem in disadvantaged schools (46%). From the data, this closely ties in with socio-economic background (62%) and the financial constraints that disadvantaged schools experience.

SECTION FOUR

4.4 Effects of violence

This section reviews the effects of violence in schools on teachers. There is no learner viewpoint in this section as it was excluded from the questionnaire. Based on personal experience the researcher realised that teachers would articulate a more accurate description of how violence impacts on them, rather than learners second guessing them. Learners are not privy to reasons as to why teachers get absent to gauge fairly accurately how violence impacts on them.

4.4.1 What effect does violence have on teachers?

Table 4.12 presents a summary of the impact of violence on teachers, which is aggregated into four categories: academic, discipline, emotional and career. These categories have been created to give guided meaning to the data. The categories emerged out of the theoretical framework as well as from the personal experiences of the researcher. Although the table has been condensed into categories (academic, discipline, emotional, career) it must be noted that each category is inextricably intertwined with the other and cannot be seen in isolation. The percentages reflected are from the column 'To a large extent', to highlight the extreme case scenario of the effects of violence. These percentages present a more accurate picture of the impact of violence on teachers.

One of the key functions of teachers is to ensure that learning takes place, which basically encompasses the academic environment. The category 'academic' in Table 4.12 details the demise of the academic environment due to teacher absenteeism (33%), poor health (24%) and reduced productivity (47%). These statistics intimate on the one level that the quality of teaching is dropping due to reduced productivity and the poor health of teachers. On the other hand, it also suggests that learners are being left

idle more frequently due to teacher absenteeism and this in itself could be seen as creating opportunities to instigate violent behaviour.

Table 4.12 Categorised effects of violence

Academic	Decreases productivity	47%
	Increased absenteeism	33%
	Deterioration of physical health	24%
	Average	**34%**
Discipline	Poor classroom management	32%
	Loss of authority	28%
	Average	**30%**
Emotional	Increases stress	49%
	Frustration	43%
	Anger	37%
	Low self esteem	33%
	Depression	32%
	Helplessness	31%
	Humiliation	27%
	Average	**36%**
Career	Decreases job satisfaction	47%
	Low morale	36%
	Fear of victimisation	32%
	Average	**38%**

Troman (2000) identified poor discipline as a major source of stress for teachers. Poor discipline has resulted in a significant number of teachers losing control of their classrooms (32%), and also the disempowerment or loss of authority (28%) of the teachers. According to Else (1999), there is a tendency to believe that the Bill on Children's Rights has given more power to the learners and has thus disillusioned teachers.

The category 'emotional' gives an overview of all the feelings that teachers experience due to being exposed to violence. Increased stress was ranked the highest at 49%. The emotional impact of violence as detailed in this study concurs with international literature as indicated by Antoniou, Polychroni & Wallen (2000), Chapliain (1995) and

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Pithers & Soden (1999). According to Nias (1996), teachers that are obstructed from achieving their goals experience anxiety, frustration, anger and other negative emotions which then make them lose their sense of purpose and they become demoralised. These emotions have been strongly linked to career changes as indicated in the next paragraph.

According to Wisniewski and Gargiulo (1997), intense periods of stress over a period of time will influence a teacher's commitment to remain in the teaching profession. The above table emphasises the category 'career' as having the greatest impact (38%) on teachers, where decreasing job satisfaction (47%) dominates. According to Singh (2001) the implication of a dissatisfied teaching force has far reaching consequences for the delivery of quality education.

Table 4.12 in summarising the impact of violence on teachers, paints a very stark picture of a downward spiral in the education system. Teachers are a crucial component in the larger scheme of delivering quality education in this country. The baggage that teachers carry has to be addressed within the context of the violence that they are exposed to. Teachers perceive that violence in schools increases their stress levels (49%), and this can be linked to decreasing job satisfaction (47%) which in turn gives rise to decreased productivity (47%).

4.4.2 Do male and female teachers experience the effects of violence differently?

Figure 4.6 portrays the percentages of the top three factors that affect each of the male and female categories. For males, the main impact that violence has on them is decreased productivity (49%), while for females it results in increased stress levels (50%). Males rank increased stress (48%) as the second highest effect, as compared to females who rank frustration (48%) second. Both agree that the third greatest effect is decreased job satisfaction (47%).

Figure 4.6 Gender vs. Effects of Violence
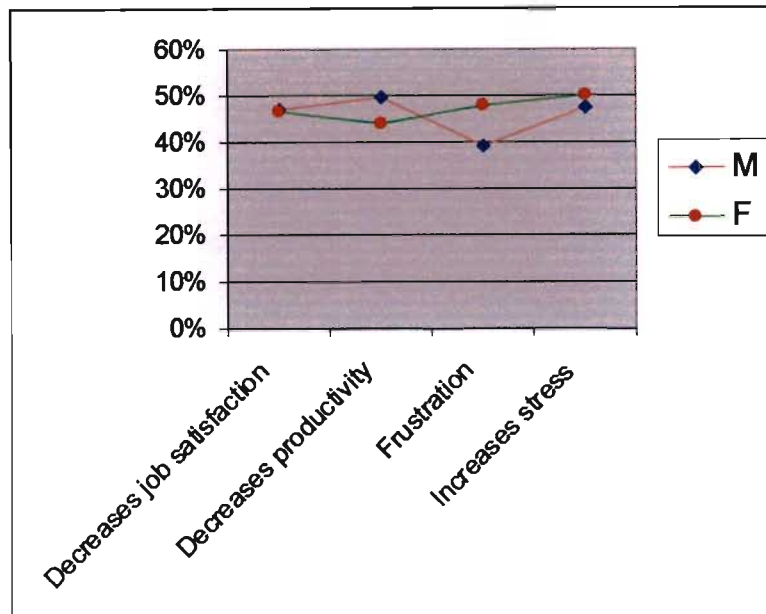
The overall image that emerges is that there is not much differentiation between males and females in terms of the effects of violence on them. The area of concern is that the data is painting a scenario that teachers are negatively affected by violence and that this is impacting on the teaching and learning environment.

4.4.3 What are the effects of violence as perceived by the different race groups?

An interesting array of patterns emerged when the data was subjected to a breakdown according to race. Once again, the data from Coloured teachers was excluded due to the small number of respondents. Table 4.13 was again collated from responses to the column 'To a large extent' only, to give a more accurate account of the impact of violence.

Table 4.13 Race vs. Effects of violence

	African	White	Indian
Decreases job satisfaction	51%	20%	44%
Poor classroom management	43%	10%	22%
Decreases productivity	57%	20%	36%
Increased absenteeism	46%	0%	22%
Loss of authority	29%	20%	27%
Low morale	36%	20%	35%
Frustration	50%	10%	38%
Increases stress	53%	10%	47%
Low self esteem	38%	0%	32%
Anger	41%	10%	36%
Depression	37%	0%	30%
Helplessness	31%	10%	32%
Humiliation	32%	0%	24%
Fear of victimisation	42%	0%	23%
Deterioration of physical health	24%	0%	23%

The overall pattern that emerges is that African teachers experience the effects of violence in schools to a much higher degree than Whites. There is a closer match between African and Indian teachers in their perceptions of the impact of violence. African teachers rank 'Decreased productivity' (57%) as the main impact of violence on them. This is closely followed by 'Increased stress' (53%) and 'decreasing job satisfaction (51%). The more pronounced effects of violence on both African and Indian teachers must be seen within the context of the higher levels of violence that they are exposed to due to these schools being historically used as sites for violence, and the primarily disadvantaged communities that they serve (refer to profile of schools). The causes of violence point to a vicious cycle of poverty, inequality and social ills that rears its head in different forms as the process of transformation unfolds in South Africa.

A review of the perception of White teachers is in stark contrast to the African and Indian teachers. There is no single factor that impacts on White teachers in any outstanding way. White teachers perceive the effects of violence on them on a scale ranging from 0 to 20%, as compared to African teachers that ranges from 24 to 57%.

The low effect of violence that White teachers experience is in keeping with the low levels of violence that they are exposed to in generally advantaged schools.

- While this section serves the purpose of elucidating the potentially serious impact of violence on teachers, the next section dissects the role of stakeholders in addressing the issue of violence in schools.

SECTION FIVE

4.5 Preventative measures and the role of stakeholders

This section ties loose threads by dissecting preventative measures and the role of relevant stakeholders in reducing violence in schools. A more crystallised version of how violence against teachers is handled comes to the fore. In a survey by Eliasov & Frank (2000) within the Cape metropole, it was found that the way in which schools organised themselves exacerbated the propensity for instability and internal conflict.

The transformation of education in South Africa has created huge challenges for schools in terms of how they are governed due to the availability of resources, racial integration, large numbers in classes, banning of corporal punishment and the outcomes based curriculum. It is within this particular context that we seek to understand the perceptions of the respondents, regarding whether or not effective measures are in place to address issues of violence.

4.5.1 To what degree are preventative measures being implemented in schools?

Table 4.14 presents a summary of the degree to which teachers believe preventative measures are being implemented in schools. This breakdown identifies the strengths and weaknesses of schools in terms of preventing violence. This information would serve as a reference point to develop measures that are in keeping with the gaps that are identified.

Table 4.14 Summary of preventative measures

Preventative Measures	Yes	NO
Policy	59%	41%
Effective sanctions	43%	57%
Stakeholders familiarised with policy	50%	50%
Training to deal with acts of violence	21%	79%
Regular patrols	28%	72%
Availability of trained counsellor	23%	77%
Alternate measures to corporal punishment	57%	43%
Recording of violent incidents	71%	29%
Spot checks for dangerous weapons/drugs	46%	54%
Gates locked/access control	78%	22%
Wall/fence around school	78%	22%
Security guards	63%	37%
Identification cards for learners, visitors, staff	22%	78%
Community involvement	33%	67%

The above table shows that significant strides have been made in securing the boundary as well as the entrance into most schools. This indicates that security of external elements is being monitored and prioritised. In terms of the analysis of the data the problem is embedded in learner on teacher violence. Measures that would assist teachers to deal with violence in the classroom have not been given prominence. The factor that stands out starkly is 'training to deal with acts of violence' (21%) which is the lowest. In a media report, Pillay (2000) quotes a teacher expressing a similar concern where teachers have their 'backs against the wall, not knowing how to employ procedure in dealing with children'.

Another factor which the table highlights, that is in keeping with concerns expressed in the data analysis, is community involvement. The role of the community in both the literature review as well as the data has been targeted as an important contributor to the type of violence that learners import into schools. Community members need to be brought on board according to Kohl, Lengua and McMahon (2000), who indicate that parental involvement is closely associated with more positive experiences in the school environment. The idea that involvement with children at home and at school is a vital link in the chain of curbing violence is being reinforced.

The availability of a 'trained counsellor' in schools was ranked a low 23%. Learners come with a number of issues to school, linked to their socio-economic background. Teachers, generally, do not have the capacity or time to deal with these issues. With a large percentage of schools being cash-strapped, the employment of a counsellor becomes a luxury. The DoE has abdicated its responsibility in this regard, where they were recently quoted in the Sunday Argus (2004), as stating that schools, parents and communities must take ownership and sort something out themselves to ensure that schools are safe.

The need for violence prevention efforts to be more focussed and prioritised is being argued. The data clearly reveals that insidious forms of violence overshadow the more physical forms of violence, yet efforts to control such forms of violence are paltry. The researcher is in no way suggesting that efforts to curb physical violence should be lax, but rather that efforts to control insidious forms of violence should be taken more seriously, as this type of behaviour is the springboard that underlies more violent forms of behaviour.

Table 4.15 Preventative measures in advantaged and disadvantaged schools

Preventative Measures	Advantaged school	Disadvantaged school
Policy	58%	59%
Effective sanctions	75%	37%
Stakeholders familiarised with policy	68%	47%
Training to deal with acts of violence	33%	19%
Regular patrols	35%	27%
Availability of trained counsellor	62%	16%
Alternate measures to corporal punishment	76%	53%
Recording of violent incidents	76%	69%
Spot checks for dangerous weapons/drugs	50%	45%
Gates locked/access control	81%	77%
Wall/fence around school	81%	78%
Security guards	65%	63%
Identification cards for learners, visitors, staff	30%	21%
Community involvement	39%	32%

Table 4.15 represents the percentage of schools that have preventative measures in place as indicated by teachers. The advantaged schools generally display a greater propensity to have preventative measures in place as compared to disadvantaged schools. The largest gap between both categories of schools is in terms of the availability of a trained counsellor. In disadvantaged schools, only 16% of teachers indicated that they had access to a school counsellor, while it is 62% in advantaged schools. The type of preventative measures that are put in place by schools is dependent on the availability of funds. Teachers that are in disadvantaged schools are therefore exposed to higher levels of violence, simply because the school does not have the financial muscle to put effective preventative measures in place.

4.5.2 Have levels of violence in a post democratic South Africa increased or decreased?

The figures below give a preview of the perceptions of both teachers and learners and their understanding of levels of violence. The idea is to evaluate whether violence is on an upward or a downward spiral. Is the culture of violence that was experienced in pre-apartheid South Africa still having a grip on schools? How are the new pressures/tensions that have been born out of a transformed education system impacting on levels of violence? The graphs below hint at these issues, and together with the literature review lend greater clarity to the level of violence being experienced in schools.

Fig. 4.7 Teacher perceptions of violence levels
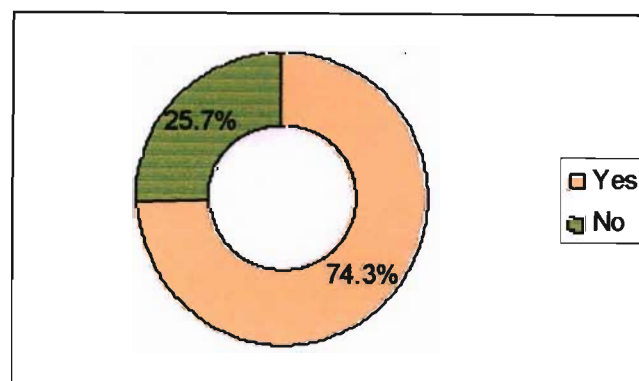
In response to the question "Do you think that levels of violence have increased or decreased over the past ten years?" the majority of the teachers (74,3%) responded in the affirmative. These statistics are certainly a cause for concern as it points to instability in schools and has important implications for the future of teaching and learning.

Fig. 4.8 Teacher perceptions of levels of violence according to race
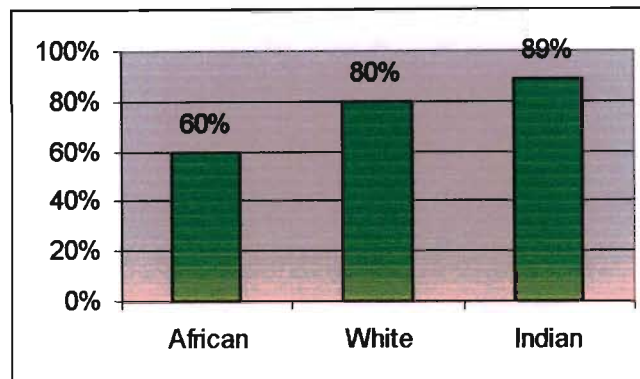
The overall perception of teachers in all race groups is that the level of violence in schools is increasing as shown in figure 4.8. A higher percentage of White and Indian teachers, however, perceive the levels of violence to have increased. The explanation for this has been detailed in Section Two of this chapter, where evidence points to a greater inter-mixing of learners from different race groups in formally White and Indian only schools. This is further supported in the data collection process where it was noted that from previously White and Indian schools, there was a mixture of learners from different race groups that responded, while in the previously African only schools, only African learners responded. The racial composition of formerly African schools has barely changed. This statement is supported by research conducted by Mda (2000). He believes that former DET (Department of Education and Training) schools experience no integration because of their geographic location... and their perceived inferior educational standard. The implication is that although African educators experience higher levels of violence as compared to other race groups (Table 4.5), they do not perceive any great change in the levels of violence over the years because this has been the norm that they have been subjected to due to historical and political reasons.

Fig. 4.9 Learner's perceptions of
the frequency of violence against teachers
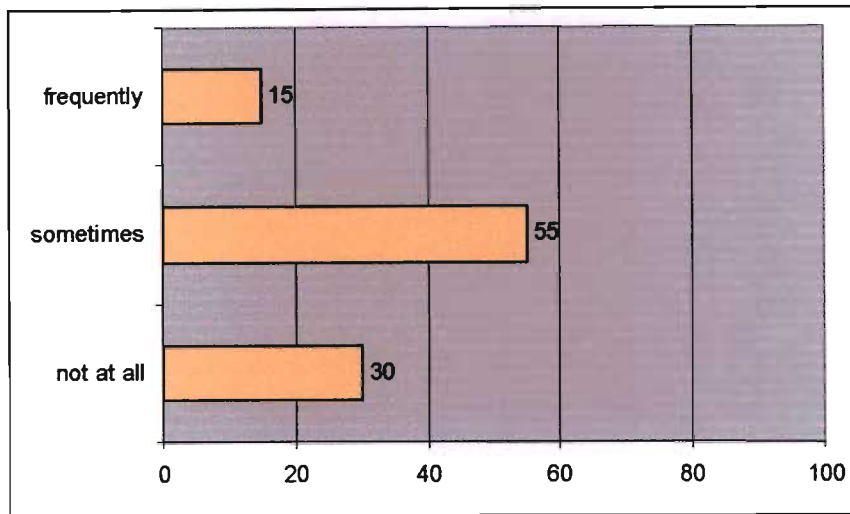
Of the learners surveyed, 30% indicated that they had never witnessed their peers being abusive to teachers as shown in figure 4.9. Seventy percent have witnessed some degree of abuse ranging from sometimes to frequently. These statistics are in keeping with the high perception of teachers (74%), as indicated in figure 4.7, that believe that they are being subject to increasing levels of violence. These statistics on learner perceptions authenticate the teachers' perceptions and put to rest any doubt of exaggeration.

4.5.3 Do stakeholders in education play a meaningful role in reducing violence?

The purpose of this section is to analyse the role that different stakeholders in education play in reducing violence in schools.

Table 4.16 gives a breakdown of the role of the school governing body in terms of 'race', 'all teachers' as well as 'advantaged and disadvantaged schools'.

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Table 4.16 Role of the SGB in curbing violence

	African	White	Indian	All Teachers	Advantaged Schools	Disadvantaged schools
Passive role	27%	10%	40%	32%	9%	36%
Limited role	42%	40%	35%	39%	48%	37%
Active role	31%	50%	25%	29%	43%	27%

Teachers are generally of the opinion that the SGB (School Governing Body) plays a passive (32%) to limited (39%) role in controlling violence in schools. Indian teachers (75%) in particular perceive SGBs to be the least effective in curbing violence in schools, and this is closely followed by African teachers (68%). Advantaged schools tend to enjoy greater support from the SGB as compared to disadvantaged schools. The lack of support in disadvantaged schools must be seen in the context of a lack of capacity and financial muscle experienced within these communities. Poor communities do not have the means to pull schools out of the difficulties that trouble them.

Fig. 4.10 Role of Department of Education
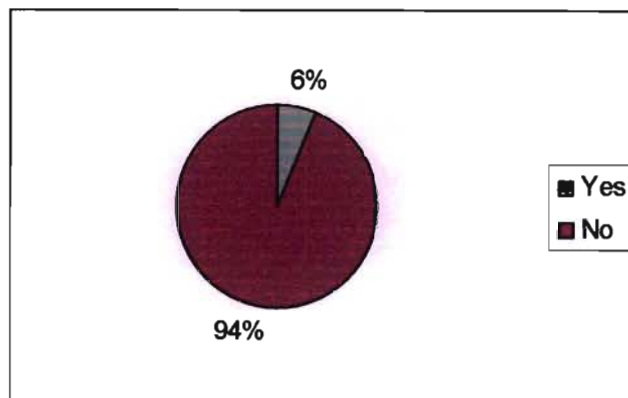
An overwhelmingly high percentage (94%) of teachers blames the Department of Education for being inactive in curbing violence in schools. A Principal, Mr Vishnu Naidoo, questioned the role of the Department as quoted by Pillay (2000) in a newspaper article. He queried the role that the Department plays in protecting its employees in incidence of violence against them. The response of the Department was to side step the issue but indicated instead that measures were being put in place to

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attend to the psychological needs of violent children. By implication this means that they are aware of teachers being violated but are not prepared to create a safety net. The support of learners in overcoming their problems as opposed to teachers is being highlighted. The teacher as the victim has no support and this comes out loud and clearly when teachers accuse the Department of Education of not doing much to stop violence against them. Their priority seems to be with learners and not with teachers. Assisting teachers is secondary.

4.5.4 How do schools handle violence against teachers?

Table 4.17 summarises the perceptions of teachers of how violence is handled against them. To facilitate the understanding of the data the table has been divided into two broad categories, viz. ineffective and effective in regard to the handling of violence. Teachers had to choose one of four options describing how violence against them is handled. The first three options were totalled to reflect the percentage for ineffective handling of violence and the fourth option reflects effective action against violent behaviour. A breakdown of data is given for effective and ineffective actions for all teachers. This is further presented in terms of males and females as well as advantaged and disadvantaged schools.

Table 4.17 Perceptions of effective and ineffective actions

	Options	All teachers	Male	Female	Advantaged schools	Disadvantaged schools
Ineffective	Informal resolutions	22%	25%	18%	17%	22%
	No satisfactory action	20%	21%	20%	11%	21%
	Inconsistent disciplinary action	16%	19%	13%	11%	17%
	Total of ineffective actions	58%	65%	51%	39%	60%
Effective	Effective disciplinary action	43%	36%	49%	61%	40%

The overall view of the majority of teachers (58%) is that violence against them is handled in an ineffective manner. This in turn implies that the perpetrators are not being effectively reprimanded. The consequences of ineffective measures can be seen in the spiralling levels of violence in schools. The high degree of ineffective actions that are taken against offenders of violence reinforces the violent behaviour.

There is also a clear distinction between advantaged and disadvantaged schools in the manner in which violence against teachers is handled. Sixty percent of teachers from disadvantaged schools are of the opinion that violence against teachers is handled ineffectively while the figure is 39% in advantaged schools. The data has already revealed that levels of violence are higher in disadvantaged schools and this is exacerbated by the explicit message being transmitted to learners via the ineffective handling of violence against teachers.

4.5.5 Concluding comments on the nature, causes and impact of violence

This chapter was successful not only in identifying a number of driving forces that impact on violence levels in schools but also on teachers specifically. What is evident is that there are a multitude of reasons to explain the escalation of violence in schools. There is a general perception that stakeholders are not being proactive in containing and addressing the problem. Influencing circumstances such as advantaged and disadvantaged schools as well as location and learner background also plays a role. The impact on teachers can be seen in terms of their commitment levels as well as emotional and physical symptoms. To comprehensively analyse these perceptions the qualitative data presented in Chapter Five has been used to interpret the complexities and subtleties of thinking related to violence in schools.

Chapter Five

Analysis: Qualitative

Time to taste:

The final proof

"Our stories are the masks through which we can be seen, and with every telling we stop the flood and swirl of thought so that someone can get a glimpse of us, and maybe catch us if they can."

(Grumet , 1987)

Orientation to Chapter Five

This Chapter seeks to unpack narrative stories of violence against teachers to unmask insights and new understandings. In the previous chapter, a variety of aromas were tantalisingly revealed to give an overview of the nature, causes and impact of violence which will culminate in an affirmation through stories told by teachers and relevant stakeholders in this chapter. Central themes and trends will be pulled together to give identity, meaning and purpose to stories of violence against teachers. The idea is to get a clearer perspective of the personal experiences and feelings of teachers and to gain a deeper understanding of the problem of violence in schools. There should be no doubt about the taste (truth) that emanates from violence against teachers. The stories give us the opportunity to get closer to the truth and catch the emotion and feelings that underlie the words.

Stories have been used to explain how teachers understand, interpret and define their relationship with deviant learners. According to Bertaux (1981), stories provide researchers with information about a social reality that exists out of the story. The idea is to transcend fairy tales and bring forth a taste of the truth. In stirring up the struggles

and conflicts that afflict teachers through their personal world view, the resolve is that
ultimate concerns (tastes) are voiced.

5.1 Narrative analysis: 'Pungent tales'

Pungent tales alerts us to the tone of this section, which is piquant in that it is disturbing to the mind. The mind boggling deterioration in the teaching-learning environment is brought to life in a tangible manner. A narrative analysis of condensed accounts of five biographies is presented in an attempt to understand the spiralling culture and context of violence in schools. The narrative stories focus on personal experiences and knowledge of violence in schools. These accounts of violence unfold under five main themes that emerged due to the grounded theory approach:

- Perceptions of levels of violence in schools
- Instigators and perpetrators of violence
- Ascendancy of pupil power
- Tied hands: Who is to blame?
- Emotional impact of violence

The analysis of the narrative data will be presented in the form of a table, with the first column depicting the emerging issues and the adjacent column the substantiating data.

5.1.1 Profile of respondents: narrative stories

Pseudo names	Gender	Years of teaching	Designation
Casie	F	2	SGB
Lungelo	M	11	Permanent teacher
Nivi	F	24	Permanent teacher
Mr X	M	20	Principal
Mr Naik	M	-	Chairperson of School Disciplinary Tribunal

5.1.2 Narrative stories focusing on violence in schools

Casie

Casie is a young female teacher employed at a secondary school in the Ethekwini Region. She has no formal teaching qualification, but has a few credits towards a B. Com Degree which she intends using on completion as a stepping stone to compete for a job in industry. Thus, teaching is a temporary career for her, a career she was forced into due to financial constraints and limited opportunities for jobs. Casie not only matriculated at the school that she is now employed at, but also lives a short distance away and therefore forms part of the intimate school community. She is currently teaching for a total of one and a half years, and is employed by the school governing body.

The past one and a half years in teaching have already taken their toll on Casie. She sees herself as having transformed from a carefree person to someone who is more serious and highly stressed. Although she views teaching as an interesting career, the biggest obstacle is the discipline of learners, which "dampens her spirits". She says that "pupils hold the trump card when it comes to knowing their rights". There is always an outcry from them about "child abuse" when one attempts to discipline them. Casie recalls that when she was in school, they respected and listened to their teachers. In a reversal of roles, now as a teacher, she has to "be cautious and fear the aggressive behaviour of a significant number of learners".

There is constant pressure on the teacher to cultivate a classroom atmosphere that is conducive to teaching and learning, and to complete learning outcomes and assessments within certain time frames. Teachers are also accountable for the progress/ lack of progress of learners. Arising from these demands on her as an educator, she generally feels pressurised to reprimand learners as they generally present a front of disinterest, laziness and lack of self motivation. Should they be left to their own devices in terms of work ethic, then Casie would be declared an inefficient educator because the class would deteriorate into a state of chaos. On the other hand, in trying to maintain a semblance of order in class, it elicits a negative reaction from learners who feel that educators are infringing on their right to behave and complete activities according to their individual whims and fancies.

Casie describes the majority of learners in her class as being "uncontrollable". She says that "pupils have a "don't care attitude, report to class with no books, back-chat in a disrespectful manner and use vulgar language which is totally humiliating to me, as I am made to feel totally powerless standing in front of a mocking class".

She attributes the aggressive behaviour of learners to various factors. Financial constraints and coming from abusive backgrounds are possible factors. She is, however, sceptical of how authentic an excuse these factors can be for aggressive behaviour since she herself comes from such a background and it had no negative impact on her behaviour. She firmly believes that "learners have been ingrained with certain perceptions from the media and other sources which is the root cause of the breakdown in the relationship between learners and educators". Firstly, learners believe that their rights reign supreme and that nothing can be done to them. They have a very narrow view of "learners' rights" and apply it in a very selective manner. Secondly, with the introduction of outcomes based education (OBE), learners are very blunt about the fact that they know that no one can fail. They back this up by making reference to learners that did not hand in the majority of their assessments the previous year or were absent for more than half the year and have progressed to the next grade. Why should they work hard and what motivation is there since you still get promoted even if you indulge in the most unacceptable behaviour? Casie makes reference to a particular learner from her previous year's form class. This learner had only come to school at the beginning of the year for the first term (two and a half months). At the end of the year she was instructed by the Principal to promote the learner in spite of the learner not being there for three quarters of the year. The other learners in her class reacted with outrage because they had witnessed the learner being employed at a nearby shopping complex during the time when he was not at school. They now blatantly use this as an excuse not to do their work and Casie has no way of countering this reaction or the impact it has on their work ethic.

Casie therefore believes that the options available to her to deal effectively with deviant learners are almost non-existent. She follows the school rules, which require an educator to fill a defaulter's book, and forwards this to management. This is highly ineffective as the learner is verbally reprimanded and sent back to class where they continue with their deviant behaviour. They are aware that nothing more can be done and openly mock the system to retain their image of control with the class. She feels that as an educator, she has no support and is left on her own. She notes that as an educator you are only told what you can't do in terms of disciplining learners but not what you can do, and she describes this as "highly frustrating and stressful". She goes on further to say that "I go home everyday with a headache and a sore throat from shouting and trying to maintain control".

Casie has been at the brunt of many aggressive and violent acts by learners. She recalls one incident where she attempted to separate two learners that were fighting for a desk, but when she went in between she was pushed onto the floor and ended up with her pants laddered and was left bleeding from being scraped. The learners were sent to the office where they were only reprimanded, and although they were asked to bring in their parents, they never did and there was no follow up.

The second major violent incident that she was exposed to was during a final examination session towards the end of the year when she was invigilating. Seated for the examination was a combination of Grade 10 and 11 learners for a two hour session. She commenced the examination session by reading out the misconduct clause and standard examination regulations. The first hour passed without incident, but then they started to get restless as some of them terminated the paper early. One learner in particular began passing comments about the white car that Casie came to school in and imitated the sounds that it made in a mocking manner. In spite of reprimanding the learner he continued with the disruptive behaviour and this served as an impetus for a number of other learners to follow suit. Finding it difficult to control the learners as they were using this as a foil to copy, she asked the learner for his script which is in keeping with the misconduct clause. He refused to obey the instruction and taunted her. Casie then attempted to pull the script from him. But this resulted in him catching hold of her arm forcefully and scratching her. He refused to let go of her hand in an attempt to prevent her from writing on his script that he was disruptive. She was then forced to use her other hand to wrench her arm from his grip by giving him a slight push. This was later reported as the teacher being violent towards him. This learner called her a 'bitch' as he got up from his seat. With the entire class giggling, he then grabbed the chalkboard duster and flung it forcefully at her back. Casie reflects back on this as being the most embarrassing and humiliating experience of her life.

After the learner stormed out of the class, she could not control her emotions and burst into tears. Another teacher that was passing by had to assist with the retrieval of the examination scripts as most of the learners just threw it on their desks and on the floor before fleeing. She sent a learner twice to the office when the disruption had initially started, but there was no one available to assist. Casie believes that although she had reached out for assistance, none was forthcoming.

In her distraught state Casie then went to the office to report the incident. The Principal basically told her that there was nothing much that he could do except to advise her to go to the police station and lay a charge as it was a criminal matter. Left in the lurch by the school principal, Casie was forced to go to the police station on her own to report the incident so as to salvage her dignity as an educator. The learner did not present himself to write the remainder of his examination papers. Thereafter, the Principal tried to pacify Casie by promising that the learner would not be admitted in the new year. He also intimated to Casie that he did not report the incident to the Department of Education as it would jeopardise her position as a governing body appointee. It could lead to questions being raised about her ability as an educator. Fearing for the security of her job, Casie did not pursue the matter.

At the beginning of the new year she received a telephone call from the police advising her to drop the case. They indicated to her that she would be ruining the learner's life with a criminal record as he was still young, and furthermore, she was told in no uncertain terms that the "law favoured the learner". Being made to feel guilty, and in the same breath being told that her rights were not important, forced Casie to drop the case. She was knocked a further blow when in a nonchalant manner the Principal reported to the staff during a briefing meeting early in the new year that the learner had been re-admitted because the office had been threatened with the matter being taken up with the Department of Education. Casie had received no prior warning or explanation from the Principal before he dropped what was to her a bombshell. She felt "violated as a teacher, and had been humiliated in the worst possible manner while the learner had escaped without reprimand". She questioned the message that was being sent out to other learners.

Incidents of this nature have eroded into her confidence as a teacher and have left her battered and vulnerable. She questions what rights she has as a teacher. What measures do school management and the Department of Education have in place to initiate and support a young teacher such as herself?

Lungelo

Lungelo is in his eleventh year of teaching in a secondary school within the Ethekwini region. He entered the teaching profession at a time when South Africa was undergoing political transformation. He has thus far taught in three different secondary schools, with all the learners in these schools being classified as African. Although the high level of violence in school is nothing new to him, he describes the level of violence against teachers as disturbing and having steadily increased in the classroom over the years.

The nature and the type of violence that teachers are exposed to, however, has not evolved over the years that he has been teaching. Carrying of knives, guns and other dangerous weapons has been a common practice from the time he has entered the teaching profession. According to him "learners turn a deaf ear to any school regulations concerning the carrying of dangerous weapons". Both management members and teachers are afraid to challenge and enforce safety precautions because a culture of non-compliance has set in and the threat of physical harm is

Students openly threaten teachers in the classroom so that rules are bent in their favour. Teachers are threatened with damage to property, which is in many cases the car that the teacher drives, and also with the fact that once teachers leave the school gate they do not have the safety net of the school environment. Students allude to gangs that they are affiliated to outside the school. Since numerous teachers have been victims of violence these threats are not taken lightly. It has made teachers afraid. Particularly vulnerable are female teachers and young and newly qualified teachers who are seen as "soft targets".

As a young educator, Lungelo has been a target of threatened as well as physical violence on numerous occasions. In the first school that he was appointed at, he was alerted to the fact that there was a particular student that created his own rules and regulations. He walked in and out of school according to his "own whims and fancies". There was no one, not even the Principal that had any authority over the student. Lungelo's first contact with the student was during an examination session. After Lungelo passed out the examination papers he was horrified to see this student take out a gun and place it on his work desk.

The learner did not communicate a word to Lungelo verbally. The presence of the gun was "a frightening reminder of what could happen if he did not toe the line". The student then casually proceeded to refer to whatever material he could lay his hands on in order to answer the examination paper. He even took the scripts of fellow students and copied. He made a mockery of the entire purpose of having an examination. In spite of Lungelo reporting the incident to the Principal, no action was taken. The entire school was being held to ransom and there was nothing that could be done. Each and every teacher, including the Principal, was afraid to make a move against the student, fearing for their lives. The school could not afford to employ security to protect the teachers and students. Furthermore, there was too much red tape in trying to get the Department of Education to address such a threat and the time delay would put the teacher's lives at stake.

Another incident that stands out in Lungelo's mind is a kind of territorial fight that he was pushed into, against his better judgement. As a new teacher in school, certain students suss you out. These are the students that have risen within the ranks of the school community through brutal force. They have a modus operandi in class where they taunt and torment the teacher to make teaching impossible. The constant "demeaning and humiliation is carefully orchestrated to bring the teacher to breaking point so that they are forced to take on the challenge being thrown at them". There can only be one leader in a class. A fist fight settles the matter between the teacher and the reigning class leader.

It was an impossible position to be in, but Lungelo had to accept the challenge or continue being treated as a wimp. More importantly, he was not being allowed to teach. His consultation with other male colleagues revealed that it was an initiation that they all had to experience. If he had to fulfil the job he was being paid for at this particular school then he had to toe the line. Fortunately for him he emerged unscathed from the fight. He had proven his dominance through this fight and peace reigned once more.

Lungelo attributes the deteriorating and violent behaviour of students to a combination of factors. The type of community that students are reared in plays a crucial role. He firmly believes that "the behaviour of students is a reflection of the moral degeneration of communities". Respect and values are not inculcated and reinforced any longer. Children have no firm foundation that will dictate to their conscience and enable them to differentiate between right and wrong. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the school curriculum is not geared towards adding issues related to morals and values. The absence of a guidance counsellor is a grave injustice as it has a crucial role to play in curtailing and prohibiting violence in schools.

The wide publicity given to the rights of students is also an issue that has a negative impact on teachers. The words 'I know my rights' has become a mantra among students as a response to deviant behaviour. Basically learners believe that they can do anything and get away with it because they have rights. Lungelo equates the status of the teacher as being "lower than a sweeper on the street". He qualifies this statement by saying that the few rights that teachers have are so entwined in red tape, that it is completely overshadowed by students' rights and is therefore worthless.

Lungelo also believes that the ease with which drugs move through the school gates is frightening. The use of drugs has enabled students to move onto a different plane in terms of violent behaviour. There are no checks in place to bring this problem under control. There are certain rules regarding the searching of students that makes it possible for them to get rid of incriminating evidence. In this regard he had an incident where he caught a student with drugs in his possession. While being taken to the office the student grabbed the dagga from his hand and ran away. The police were called in, but they indicated that unfortunately they could do nothing because there was no evidence. The word of the teacher was not good enough. The message that infiltrates to other students is that without evidence there is no punishment. Being resilient and empowered on their rights, students brazenly use the system to their advantage.

According to Lungelo, the Representative Council of Learners (RCL) are workshopped on an on going basis every year within the Ethekwini Region. He recalls a major problem that erupted after the last workshop (2004) that these students attended. These students were told to take the initiative and solve problems that affect the smooth running of the school. Being immature they took this literally and without consultation with other stakeholders decided to solve the late coming problem at school. They manned the school gates and refused to allow any students that arrived after 8H00 to enter the school premises. It so happened that half the school arrived after 8H00 and it left the teachers wondering why there was such a high absenteeism rate for a few days. At this stage a riot was being created at the school gates with the RCL refusing to back down.

It was this very RCL, after returning from a previous meeting, that informed students about religious tolerance and the fact that they were not compelled to attend assembly as the school day commenced with a prayer. Given this option, the majority of the students decided not to attend assembly and as a result were late for school. These issues raised questions about the capacity of students to manage the responsibility and power they have been given.

The attitude and behaviour of students within the school environment is "demoralising teachers" according to Lungelo. Teacher absenteeism is on the increase, with many of them suffering from stress, depression and feeling asunder. Lungelo quite bluntly attests that "teaching is no longer a noble calling, it has lost its joy". The stark reality is that teachers have no support and this is taking its toll on them.

Nivi

Nivi is currently in her 24th year of teaching at a secondary school in the eThekwini Region. Being in the teaching profession for many years leads her to comment on how the behaviour of learners has evolved so drastically over the years. She sees a marked deterioration in the behaviour of learners, where they have lost the respect for teachers, they have "a flippant and don't care attitude, and are not afraid to challenge the teacher in an arrogant and aggressive manner". The classroom is no longer a safe haven for a teacher; it has shifted from a place of teaching and learning to a mini battle ground. There is the constant battle of attempting to get learners to learn, as this seems to be of least consequence to the majority of the students. In attempting to force a culture of learning, it triggers a negative reaction that makes the teacher vulnerable in the classroom. Nivi also finds that as a female teacher she is further disadvantaged. When she compares the behaviour of certain learners with her male colleagues

at school she finds that they are not as aggressive with the male teachers. She believes that as a female, she is being taken advantage of because she lacks the physical built and strength of certain male educators.

She attributes the aggressive behaviour of learners to drug abuse, poverty and lack of parental control. She has had occasions to interact and call parents to school to discuss their children's behaviour. In the majority of cases, it seems that learners are transferring how they behave at home to school. The parents have lost control of their children and respect is non-existent in many households. This burden has now been transferred onto the teacher.

The publicity and emphasis on the rights of learners is also an issue that needs to be scrutinised in terms of its impact on learners. The biggest mistake that has been made is "to give learners so much of power in terms of their rights". They are immature in terms of their values, morals and ethics and have not been empowered to handle this freedom that they are being given. They apply it in its narrowest form, that is, "to wield power over the educator" and have the final say. Nivi feels that as an educator she is not given the chance to mould these learners into responsible adults and to differentiate between right and wrong.

The school curriculum also does not cater for developing the moral and ethical values of learners. Guidance counsellors have been done away with in schools. Only those schools that are financially stable are able to employ counsellors privately. The Representative Council for Learners (RCL) is strongly used as a vehicle to convey to students their rights. The frightening aspect is that students have left out responsibility and accountability and focus on 'rights' only. Thus the catch words "I know my rights" is used loosely, and in many cases, to intimidate and provoke teachers.

Nivi firmly believes that the head of an institution plays a pivotal role in maintaining discipline at a school. It is important for the principal to be visible, to make their presence felt, rather than being a shadowy figure behind closed doors. Nivi is very hard hitting in her comments against the principal at the school in which she is located. She sees him as a manager that does not lead from the front. In fact, she wonders whether the school children know who the principal is, as he so rarely emerges from his office to participate in the day to day running of the school.

Nivi is also disturbed by the fact that learners at her school are entertained by the principal on matters that could be described as 'tale carrying' and gossiping. Since learners know that they have the ear of the principal they are eager to take on the teachers. Sending students to the office in many cases is therefore fruitless, as the educators may find that they are on the

receiving end of the stick. Nivi is of the view that students need to respect the office of the principal as the tone and discipline of the school starts here. It is therefore incumbent on the principal to ensure that the correct tone is cultivated.

Nivi relies strongly on her own self control to maintain her sanity in the classroom in recent years. This is a defence mechanism that she had to develop due to a lack of support from the office. It also prevents her from being pushed to the edge which she recalls has happened to her on many occasions where the "feeling is one of experiencing a heart attack". This has prompted her to go for MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) scans, homeopaths and other specialist treatments. The end result was that she was diagnosed as being stressed. She has a sound and happy family life, and has realised that the stress generated at school was absolutely damaging to her health and in effect was slowly killing her.

She is now at a point in her life when she realises that she is just an individual and is fighting a losing battle by trying to make changes in an education system that does not support her. She has now resorted to "going with the flow", even though it makes her feel guilty. By going with the flow she means ignoring the deviant behaviour of students to a large extent. Although she is ashamed to admit it, she has been reduced to pretending not to hear and see disruptive behaviour during class times.

Although Nivi is against the kind of brutal corporal punishment that is highlighted in the media, she states that there is need for a more tempered form of punishment. Corporal punishment in all forms, whether it is verbal or physical has been abolished by the Department of Education. The best that they offer in terms of handling deviant learners is to use creative methods. At this point in time teachers are even "afraid to raise their voices as this is seen as verbal abuse". She recalls one incident where an educator touched a student with one finger on the head in a threatening manner, and this was reported at the police station and put under investigation as child abuse. The question that concerns her then is, how do you gain control of learners and where do teachers draw the line?

She also finds the Department of Education's suggestion to use creative means of handling deviant students totally unrealistic. From her personal experience, sending students out of class to sit at the office or a written punishment is ineffective because students welcome the break and never catch up with incomplete work. Students are disruptive in the first place because they are not interested in their school work. The Department of Education has therefore passed the buck onto teachers. Teachers are already buckling under a heavy teaching load, with students practically sitting on top of each other in crowded classrooms. This crowding further aggravates the problem as learners are no longer easily accessible to the teacher. Nivi states that it is a

"mission to weave through a class packed like sardines" to maintain the tone and discipline. The aisles in the classroom have disappeared. Nivi feels "deranged and frustrated at the end of the school day".

Nivi recalls one method that she used to engage very effectively to maintain and promote a culture of learning in the classroom. It was a method that did not use physical or verbal abuse, but could be described as a so called creative method that she had devised. Students that did not adhere to the classroom rules were asked to crouch in front of the class, facing the board so that they could not instigate further problems. This method had to be abandoned since it landed her in serious trouble.

A routine check to see whether students had completed their homework landed Nivi in trouble. She recalls that a student had pointed to a few scribbled lines at the back of her book and insisted that it was her homework. She raised her voice at Nivi in an aggressive manner, "clicked her tongue continuously and rudely mumbled under her breath". As a last resort Nivi directed the student to go and crouch in the front of the class. The next student that Nivi approach took a queue from the previous student and also went on the defensive. Frustrated at this point Nivi decided to abandon the futile check and continue with the lesson. She was only three to four minutes into teaching time when the crouched student facing the board indicated that her stomach was paining. Before permitting her to return to her place Nivi commented that her mouth as a teacher also aches from shouting the entire day, but no one feels sorry for her.

The student then walked to her work desk where she flung her books onto the desk, and it ended up scattered on the floor. She then "flounced out of the classroom without permission", and re-entered after 15 minutes. At the end of the lesson Nivi called the student and pointed out to her that her behaviour was unacceptable and a repetition would warrant her parents being called in.

The very next day Nivi was surprised to see the Principal at her door. He informed her that a very officious sounding parent had called and was not happy about the way that Nivi had disciplined her child. The Principal however reported that he had asked the parent to call at school personally to discuss the issue. The next day the parent arrived while Nivi was in the middle of teaching an important section which she had scheduled for a test. She therefore sent a message to the office that she would arrive shortly as she was free in the next period and could not leave her current class.

This became an issue later when the Principal indicated that it was the biggest mistake she had made by not jumping to the whims of the parent, as it had aggravated the situation. The

importance of an entire class missing out on a lesson was seen as insignificant as compared to pacifying one parent. The meeting with the parent, who was a teacher as well, turned out to be tense because the parent had an inflexible mindset of what had happened and intended to humiliate Nivi. Even though Nivi explained to the parent that the student back chats and is arrogant frequently this was cast aside with the parent accusing Nivi of victimising her daughter. Nivi refuted this by providing solid evidence to the contrary, showing that she is a caring and concerned teacher. She also assured the parent that she would not let her child crouch in future.

At this point the Principal interjected and questioned the parent on how she thought her child could be disciplined. He suggested putting her at the back of the class and forgetting about her. On reflection Nivi also believes that the Principal aggravated the parent by other comments that he had made. She finds this in contrast to what he preaches at staff meetings. He always emphasizes that parents must be pacified even if teachers have to apologise and humble themselves. Nivi questions the motive behind him not doing so in this case. Shortly after this, the parent left after getting certain assurances from Nivi.

Subsequently, however, it seemed that the student refused to accept that the matter was resolved. She wanted more mileage out of the incident. The school was contacted by the media to confirm that such an incident had taken place and they were told categorically that the issue was resolved. Nivi was then called to the office where she was brought up to speed with the latest developments. At the same time she was told not to concern herself as it was something minor and it would not be printed in the newspaper.

Nivi received the shock of her life when she unfolded the Sunday Times newspaper and there on the front page the incident was reported under the main headline "Abused children". The story was distorted and represented in a sensational manner that portrayed the teacher as being inhuman. The newspaper falsely reported that the student was menstruating when she was asked to crouch in front facing the class. As the result of this her underwear was exposed and there was blood on the floor. It painted a horrific picture of an uncaring and insensitive teacher.

Nivi vividly recalls how helpless she felt after reading the article. She herself has two young daughters around the same age and could never deliberately humiliate a child. The next few days were the most "harrowing" that she had experienced in her entire teaching career. It was a nightmare that seemed to be building in momentum. She was being "battered from all sides". The Principal categorically accused her of bringing the school into disrepute at a staff meeting.

There were certain staff members that fuelled the story by making incorrect assumptions, and at the same time, the story had snowballed into other local newspapers. Her family peace was torn to shreds, as they had to live the nightmare with her. It was a period of sleepless nights and agonising over the cruelty of one's fate.

The Principal, in the mean time, made Nivi feel like an outcast. He bemoaned the fact that "the school was tarnished and disgraced by the incident". She was also called to the office and given "a tongue lashing and threatened with a final written warning". At this point the Principal instructed the Deputy Principal to investigate the incident. Nivi was therefore deemed guilty and reprimanded before an investigation was even carried out by the school. Due to a number of threatening calls, from the parent including being incarcerated in the media and pressure from the students relatives that were employed as departmental officials, Nivi was forced to admit liability and beg forgiveness from the parent and student.

Nivi sees this incident as being a turning point in her career. She has changed as a teacher and it is a change that saddens her. She has no choice but to turn a blind eye to deviant students. She believes that there is no support for teachers and their rights. Teachers are tried and tested, not only in the media, but also within the school system because proper structures and guidelines are not in place to protect the teacher.

Principal: Mr X

Mr X has currently completed twenty years in the teaching profession, and is in his 5th year of occupying the position of Principal. Reflecting on the level of violence in schools from his initial years of teaching, Mr X sees a distinct increase in the occurrence of violent incidents in schools. Closely linked with this is a "shift in the nature and type of violence that is experienced". In the past, the use of a dangerous weapons during a spat between students was unheard of, only fists were used. It is now common to find knives, knuckle busters, chains, etc. in the possession of students.

Mr X believes that violence against teachers by students cannot be explained by a single root cause or be dismissed by simplistic explanations. He relates physical violence to a deep seated resentment that has possibly brewed over a period of time. The more insidious type of violence

that confronts teachers on a daily basis in class is attributed to a lack of preparation, being too lenient where students take advantage, or being too strict, which leads to students rebelling and also not keeping students gainfully occupied.

He does not see the abolishment of corporal punishment as having impacted on the levels of violence, but rather the lack of adequate, alternate means of handling deviant students. The lack of suitable and clear guidelines hampers the process of maintaining discipline. Although certain suggestions have been made by the Department of Education, they are largely "unrealistic and cannot be implemented practically and immediately". Many schools have comprehensive codes of conduct, but it is lacking in that it does not provide for fair and effective justice to be meted out quickly. These codes of conduct are based on documents such as the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and regulations from the Department of Education. These sources are seen as inadequate as they are time consuming and not practical for a school to set up. There is too much of "red tape and time delays that frustrate any attempt at putting effective measures in place for deviant behaviour".

Multiracial classrooms and their impact on the relationship between teachers and learners is an area that has been largely neglected. Teachers have been thrown into the deep end without being skilled in coping with multiracial classrooms which could lead to certain tensions arising based on misconceptions. The introduction of multiracial classrooms came simultaneously with a second major problem, which is overcrowded classrooms that teachers generally do not know how to manage. Understanding and being able to speak Isizulu is also an important challenge that needs to be overcome. Many of the parents of African students do not have a good command of the English language and this hampers the communication between parents and teachers to help solve the problem of deviant behaviour.

Mr X revealed that he has approximately 52 students in each of his grade 8 and 9 classes. He was forced to follow this route, not so much to save teachers from being redeployed but to offer a wider curriculum at his school. It is "a catch 22 situation, where many students are taken in, but at the expense of delivering a top quality education". It is a difficult choice to make, but unfortunately the system forces many schools to follow this path.

As a manager, Mr X has introduced certain measures to support teachers at his school. One such measure is the introduction of the period control register. The second is block control. These measures have helped reduce deviant behaviour to a large extent. Changes have also been made to the structure of the school buildings. Three double rooms have been created by removing interlinking walls. A pavilion has also been created on an embankment area. The idea is to contain students when a large number of teachers are away due to workshops, extra curricular meetings, moderations, etc.

Mr X has to deal with many deviant students on a daily basis, but one case in particular stands out in his mind. It concerned a student who lived with his grandfather as his parents were separated. This student had "a history of aggravating teachers and throwing the book at them because he knew his rights". Eventually the grandfather was called in as the guardian to inform as well get his assistance, in disciplining the student. On this occasion the student was given a verbal caution and sent back to class.

Two days later he was involved in another act of aggression with a teacher. A few days after this, he was caught for substance abuse. The grandfather was fed up with being called regularly to the school and indicated to the Principal, "kill him, keep the skin and send me the bones". This clearly indicated to the Principal the level of aggression experienced in the home environment. The warnings and communication with the guardian did not serve as a deterrent to the deteriorating behaviour of the student. He was getting more "blatant and frequent in his misdemeanour with a don't care attitude". He also encouraged and incited other students to join him thus building a support base.

He was eventually caught with a knife and smoking dagga and physically abusing a teacher. A school tribunal was set up to handle the matter. It was set up according to the prescripts of the South African School's Act (1997) and the guidelines for the schools code of conduct as provided by the then Minister Sbu Bengu. The Tribunal was thus set up carefully, in keeping with all the regulations. The student was found guilty on a number of counts by the Tribunal and a recommendation for expulsion was given. This decision was then ratified by the School Governing Body and the outcome was forwarded to the Superintendent of Education.

A route plan had to be followed to get the process going legally and correctly. The matter was then handed to the Director General and the expulsion was sanctioned by the Department of

Education. Since the student was more than 16 years old the Department of Education was further not obliged to place the student in another school.

Only a week had passed when they were settling into a peaceful routine when the media tackled them. Both the Sunday National papers carried an article of learner abuse and victimisation by the Principal. It was a totally exaggerated report. The parents then hired an advocate and got a court order against the Department of Education. They interdicted the Department to defend the case within a certain time limit or to accept the student back into the school unconditionally. It was a sad day for the school when the Department of Education relented and accepted the student. They were intimidated by the legal action threatened by the parent.

The Principal was then telephonically instructed to accept the student. No explanation was given except to say that a departmental official would contact him. The following day when the student did not report to the office in the morning, the Principal intuitively walked into the school blocks towards the student's former class. It was here that the Principal witnessed the learner raising a clenched fist defiantly and shouted 'the Greens are back' and this was received with an arousing cheer from the strong support base he had developed. He then ignored the Principal in triumph and walked into class. Mr X describes this incident as the most humiliating in his teaching career.

The Principal describes himself as a disciplinarian, but at the same time advocates justice and fair play. The rights of students and teachers are equally important to him. He believes that in this particular instance, his rights were "trampled on and felt violated as a manager of a school". He was placed in a most helpless position and there was nothing he could do. The student had been given free reign and continued with his nonsense. He sat for his June exams and drew dagga plants and leaves on all his papers and boldly printed the words 'psycho' and 'chronic' which were self imposed nicknames that he used. Teachers had no choice but to put up with this taunting as they had followed the just and legal route and it had failed them.

The Departmental official eventually contacted the school with a set of 13 instructions presented in a stereotypical manner. The Principal responded by submitting pages of documentation confirming that the correct procedures had been followed. He then tried to contact the Department of Education to get the process moving again but it was to no avail. They were

simply not interested in assisting the Principal. He is bitter about the fact that they did not even bother to carry out an investigation. If he had violated any rules, then he was prepared to accept that. He had been publicly humiliated in the media and by the students and had no recourse.

The setting up of the Tribunal in schools has many advantages. It creates a forum for both teachers and students to express themselves. It also indicates to the students and parents that they have some kind of recourse, instead of the Principal unilaterally suspending the student for a period of 7 days. It is a mechanism that can be used to set an example at schools, to show the partnership between SGB and teachers in stamping out unacceptable behaviour.

Although the Tribunals are important structures, they come with many technicalities that are foreign and frightening to Principals. Principals have not been trained adequately to set up structures associated with a tribunal. They are not familiar with the "technical and legal jargon" associated with these forms. How to argue and construct cases is beyond their ability. How to debate a case from a legal perspective is also a problem. A student that brings in an attorney to a tribunal for the purpose of taking notes and not participating can overthrow the decision due to a legal technicality. Thus for the tribunal to be effective, greater development is needed for the stakeholders that are involved.

Chairperson of School Disciplinary Tribunal: Mr Naick

Mr Naick has been in school governance for the past six years. He has a passion for education and firmly believes that he missed his calling to be a teacher. To fulfil this yearning, he is actively involved in school governance with a strong determination that the community he lives in gets the best. It is a poor and generally under privileged community that he wants uplifted.

Currently, Mr Naick holds the position of Chairperson of the school governing body (SGB) as well as Chairperson of the School Tribunal. He was elected to serve as Chairperson of the Tribunal at a Governing Body meeting. Although Tribunals have been in existence for a number of years at school, it has only been put into place for less than two years at the school

in his community. Since its inception, he still believes that it is not being used as an effective tool.

The power is vested in the Principal of a school to set up a tribunal. His observation is that "the Principal is very reluctant to set up a tribunal". The school does not have clear cut guidelines as to when a tribunal can be set up. Being left to the Principal's discretion, the use of the tribunal has been non-existent over the last few months. Mr Naick also points out that the subjectivity in setting up the tribunal creates other problems. Parents point fingers and are disgruntled by the erratic measures applied on different students. There is no standardisation in terms of who comes in front of a tribunal.

Mr Naick attributes the reluctance of the Principal to set up a tribunal in his community to various factors. The first is linked to the amount of paper work involved for each tribunal sitting. The second reason boils down to ignorance. The Principal does not have a clear cut guide on the procedures to follow. There are also grey areas that could land him in a legal tangle. Hearsay from other Principals on how students get away on a simple technicality further strengthens the reluctance of Principals to set up Tribunals. A third and very powerful reason is linked to the Principal's reputation. There is a strong correlation between the number of students that sit at Tribunals and the Principal as an effective disciplinarian. Principals that have "too many deviant behaviour cases at a school are seen as being weak". To maintain a front of control, tribunal sittings are kept to a minimum.

Mr Naick is of the opinion that Principals are also influenced by the fact that it is practically impossible to expel a student from a school. The amount of time and effort expended on a tribunal does not justify the end result. The notion of the tribunal being a no win situation is being fostered. Mr Naick, however, disagrees with this type of thinking. He is of the view that tribunals have a crucial role to play in developing a certain culture at schools. Putting students in front of a tribunal for even minor offences will send out an important message to the school community. Ignoring minor offences will encourage a snowball effect and make it practically impossible to stem the tide. A large number of schools are on this sinking boat because they have not been proactive. Tribunals should therefore be seen as a corrective measure. Focussing on expelling students only should not be the ultimate goal.

Mr Naick quite blankly states that "teachers are not innocent role players in the sliding culture that exists at schools". Over the last few years, teachers have been embroiled in some crisis or another. In trying to get their demands met teachers have been on strike, chalk downs and go slows. In many cases students were roped in to support the cause of the teacher. The far reaching effects of this can now be seen in students demanding their own rights.

Another pertinent issue that Mr Naick raised was the effectiveness of the school's code of conduct. From his experience, it seems that it is a document that exists in schools because it is a requirement from the Department of Education. No effort is made to effectively implement the code of conduct. Decisions are taken on "an ad hoc basis to handle deviant behaviour". Punishment may be meted out in the form of suspensions, but students that return to school are not monitored to ensure that repetition of deviant behaviour does not recur. It is important that monitoring occurs in the form of pastoral care.

Mr Naick categorically states that the Department of Education needs to accept a certain degree of accountability for the haphazard manner in which tribunals operate. There has not been any empowerment of Principals and parents on how to effectively use the tribunal to create a secure and peaceful environment. Only those schools that are financially secure are able to seek legal advice and move forward with using tribunals confidently. Left to their own devices, the large majority of Principals place their own interpretation on how to use the tribunals and the procedures to be followed. As a manager, however, it is incumbent on the Principal to empower himself/herself. There is no excuse to sit back and be satisfied with mediocre service delivery. They need to be a driving force that challenges the Department of Education to develop capacity when any new procedure is introduced.

In conclusion, Mr Naick quite bluntly says that the power is vested in the Principal. If Principals care enough about the future of education and ultimately the growth of the country, they should use their power effectively even if it involves tedious procedures. Tribunals are getting the reputation of being "toothless committees because of inefficient Principals that have a narrow view of education". Principals need to be proactive by empowering themselves so that they can develop institutions that can weather the transformation in education in a smooth manner. It is their duty to bring all stakeholders together and take the school forward.

5.1.3 Emerging trends from narrative stories

The narrative analysis below identifies broad trends from the stories in terms of the nature, causes and impact of violence on teachers. Each trend that is unpacked is followed by substantiating data from the stories.

1. Vulnerability of teachers due to increasing level of violence

- There is a general perception that levels of violence in schools are on the increase with teachers taking the brunt of its impact.
- Teachers view the aggressive learners in terms of a reversal of roles. The teacher is vulnerable and has to tread carefully in the classroom.
- Female teachers seem to be more susceptible to abuse by learners.

Lungelo states that although violence in schools is nothing new to him, the increasing levels of violence against teachers, however, is disturbing.

The Principal, on reflecting on his earlier years of teaching, sees a distinct increase in the level of violent incidents in schools. Learners have evolved from using their fists to the use of more dangerous weapons. Casie mentions a reversal of roles where she has to be cautious and fear the aggressive behaviour of learner. In recalling her own school days she remembers respecting teachers. This change is supported by Nivi who sees the classroom as a place that has transformed from a safe haven to a mini battle ground. On a daily basis she has to face learners that have a flippant and don't care attitude and are not afraid to challenge her in an arrogant and aggressive manner.

Nivi believes that as a female teacher, she is further disadvantaged. She lacks the physical built and strength which many males have to subdue learners. Lungelo also noted that females are seen as soft targets.

2. Instigators and perpetrators of violence

The data identifies a multiplicity of factors that spawn violence in schools. It highlights a generation of youngsters that are undisciplined, disruptive, violent and lacking in integrity and morals. Although a large number of these factors have been quantified in the quantitative analysis chapter, this sections spices and deepens the

meaning by placing it in context. A number of new variables have also been identified through the narrative analysis.

2.1 Promotion requirements

One of the promotion clauses for Grades 1 to 9 is that no learner is allowed to fail more than once in phase (a phase consists of three years). Since many learners are aware of this rule, it has encouraged a don't care attitude as they pass with the minimum effort. Teachers are also put under tremendous pressure to keep failures to a minimum in these grades. The lax pass requirements have resulted in a back lash where students are not challenged to work and have a lackadaisical attitude.

Casie points out that learners are very blunt about the fact that they know that no one can fail. They quote examples of learners in the previous year that were absent for long periods and did no work and were still promoted to the next grade. It has created a culture where learners are bold in their negative work ethic. Teachers become the targets when they try and enforce the correct work ethic. According to Nivi, when she attempts to force a culture of learning it triggers a negative reaction that makes her vulnerable.

2.2 School curriculum

The school curriculum itself is seen as an instigator of violence, as it does not address the holistic development in terms of morals and values. This is further exacerbated by the lack of guidance counsellors in disadvantaged schools.

Lungelo states that the school curriculum is not geared towards addressing issues related to morals and values. The absence of guidance counsellors is also a gross injustice as they have a role to play in prohibiting violence. Nivi also expresses similar thoughts to that of Lungelo in terms of the gap in the school curriculum and the absence of guidance counsellors.

2.3 Territorial warfare

Educators that enter schools as new personnel are faced with a peculiar problem of having to stake a niche for themselves in the classroom. As an educator you have to prove your superiority by being put through a trial by a few student ring leaders in the class. These trials can range from mild challenges to more serious fist fights.

Lungelo recalls a territorial fight that he was forced into as a new teacher at a particular school. He was constantly demeaned and humiliated in an orchestrated move by the reigning class leader. The challenge was for him to prove that he was physically stronger than the class leader then only would he be allowed to teach in peace. His consultation with other male colleagues revealed that it was an initiation that they were all forced into. Casie mentions that learners are aware that nothing much can be done about their deviant behaviour and they therefore openly mock any efforts of disciplining them, effectively sending out the message that they are in control.

2.4 Class size

Large numbers in class have made learners inaccessible to teachers. Teachers cannot physically reach learners in many cases to monitor work progress as there are no gaps to walk in between the rows of desks. Not only on a physical level have teachers lost contact with learners but also on an emotional level. Learners have been relegated to numbers in class. The personal touch is missing because the large numbers precludes this.

Nivi describes learners in her classroom as practically sitting on top of each other, and no longer being accessible to her. It is also a mission to weave through a class packed like sardines as the isles have disappeared.

The Principal also notes his concern about over crowded classrooms and the ability of teachers to manage them. He puts approximately 52 learners in his junior grades just so he can offer a wider curriculum in the senior grades.

2.5 Teachers: not innocent role players

- Teacher unionisation

In heeding the call of unions, teachers have actively engaged in stay-aways and chalk downs which have left learners unsupervised over the years. The modelling of these rebellious and militant attitudes by learners is believed to have contributed to a culture in the classroom that is disruptive.

- Classroom management

Teachers that leave learners idle encourage disruptive behaviour. This generally occurs when teachers do not go fully prepared to the classroom and engage learners for the entire duration of the lesson.

According to the Chairperson of a School Tribunal, Mr Naick, teachers are not innocent role players in the sliding culture that exists in schools. Over the years, teachers have been embroiled in some crisis or the other which culminated in protest action. Learners are imitating this behaviour where they are demanding their own rights.

The view of the Principal is that teachers bring the more insidious forms of violence onto themselves due to lack of preparation where learners are not gainfully occupied. Teachers also need to strike a balance in their classroom management skills where they are not too lenient or strict in the handling of learners.

2.6 Community

The school is seen as a mirror of the community within which it is located. Learners that are exposed to drugs, gangs and weapons in their community transport the associated violent behaviour into the school. Gangs are commonly used to threaten teachers to tow the line. The role of the community in building morals and values in the youth of today is also questioned. Many youth are seen to model and transport behaviour patterns learnt from the community into the school. Learners are increasingly becoming carriers for drug peddlers in their community and schools do not have the security measures to address this problem.

Lungelo points out that gangs are often used to get teachers in line. If teachers do not accede to learners' demands, they are threatened by learners that are affiliated to gangs out of the school.

According to Lungelo, drugs move with frightening ease into schools. The rights of learner prevent them from being searched which add to the problem.

2.7 Role of family

The role of the family is crucial as a measure of disciplining learners both within and out of the school. Some of the factors that have been identified in the literature review as impacting on learners include:

- Physical/sexual abuse
- Lack of family ties
- Step parents/single parents
- Unsupervised learners

Parents that over indulge their children also encourage deviancy. They challenge the legality of decisions taken by school tribunals and the Department of Education, upholding the innocence of their children. The media is also used to intimidate the Department of Education, schools and school governing bodies into submission.

The Principal highlights a case where he was asked by a learner's guardian to 'kill him, keep the skin and send him the bones'. This kind of talk alerted the Principal to an abusive environment at home. Casie also associates the aggressive behaviour of learners to abusive backgrounds.

According to Nivi, parents have lost control of their children and respect is non existent in many households. This is being transferred into schools. Parents refuse to accept that their children can be deviant and they come to school not to resolve issues but with an inflexible mindset to nail the teacher.

The Principal describes the media as having 'tackled us' by printing a totally exaggerated report of a learner that basically violated every school rule. He was portrayed as being vindictive and was publicly humiliated. Nivi also feels very disillusioned by the way in which she was portrayed in the media. She was reported as being inhumane, uncaring and insensitive in a story that was totally biased.

2.8 Communication

The language barrier is seen as an obstacle to effectively disciplining learners. Teachers find it difficult to communicate with parents of deviant learners whose medium of communication is not English.

Multiracial classrooms are also a problem since many educators have not been trained to cope with diversity.

According to the Principal, many parents of second language learners do not have a good command of English, and this hampers communication between teachers and parents in an attempt to address deviant behaviour.

Teachers have been thrown into the deep end, according to the Principal, and are not skilled to cope with multiracial classrooms, which could lead to tension arising based on misconceptions.

2.9 Management

The manner in which a school is managed is seen as crucial in curbing violence in schools. In many cases, the management is viewed as not being empowered and strong enough to deal with violence. Principals are also afraid of being portrayed poorly in the media and are thus blackmailed into silence by parents and learners. A school that records high levels of deviancy reflects on the Principal's ineffectiveness as a manager. Thus, there is very little disclosure on the actual levels of violence in a school.

The Chairperson of a school's tribunal, Mr Naik, observed the following about managers that he believes impacts on poor discipline in schools.

➢ *Principals are reluctant to set up tribunals because they are not clear about procedures to be followed. Tribunals are also seen only as a means of expelling learners, rather than being used as a corrective measure.*

➢ *Too many tribunals are also a poor reflection of the Principals inability to maintain order in school. Principals thus avoid tribunals to portray an image of being effective disciplinarians.*

➢ *Erratic disciplinary measures are applied.*

➢ *Managers ignore minor offences which snowball and eventually it is impossible to stem the tide.*

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Nivi is also very scathing in her attack against her school principal. She notes the following:

> *The principal does not cultivate the correct tone which has resulted in learners not respecting the authority of the office.*
> *He is intimidated by parents of deviant learners and does not have the skill to deal with them.*
> *The principal does not engage in 'hands on' monitoring and remains largely an invisible figure.*
> *Nivi notes that Principals are more concerned with the image of the school being tarnished.*

2.10 Department of Education

The role of the Department of Education (DoE) in perpetuating violence in schools has been noted by the stakeholders that have been interviewed. Although policies are in place to address issues of violence in schools, many obstacles are experienced because:

- Managing discipline in schools is now cast within a legal framework
- The policies cannot be unpacked by managers because it is too vague with many loopholes.
- Schools do not have the financial muscle to implement some of the safety and security measures proposed by the Department of Education therefore making them unrealistic.
- There are no monitoring mechanisms to ensure that effective roll out plans are operational.

The Chairperson of the tribunal stated that the Department of Education needs to be accountable for the haphazard manner in which tribunals operate. Parents and Principles are not empowered enough to use tribunals, and are afraid of landing in a legal tangle.

The Principal notes that although schools have codes of conduct based on the constitution and the Bill of Rights, they are inadequate. It does not make provision for fair and effective justice to be meted out quickly. Time delays water down the impact of effectively dealing with deviant behaviour.

3. Ascendancy of learner power

In recent years there has been a strong drive to highlight the rights of learners by the Department of Education. As part of this initiative, the Representative Council of Learners (RCL) has been constituted as a legal body that has representation on the School Governing Body. Learners are also vigorously empowered on their rights on a regular basis via departmental workshops.

The media has also played its role in reinforcing the message being cascaded by the Department of education. The reservation expressed by teachers is that not enough is being done to develop the responsibility of learners. Learners, in the main, have misconstrued their rights to mean power. This has led to threats, blatant violation of school rules and the demeaning of teachers. This claim to rights has generated tension in the school context as there is no balance with other core values which include respect for everyone's rights and responsibility that makes a person accountable for their actions.

- *According to Lungelo, the words 'I know my rights' has become a mantra amongst learners as a response to deviant behaviour. They have the perception that they can do anything and get away with it.*
- *Casie shares Lungelo's view in that she states that learners believe that their rights reign supreme and nothing can be done to them. She has also found that learners have a very narrow view of what their 'rights' mean and apply it in a selective manner. Casie found that in trying to create a positive work ethic in class, she gets a negative backlash from learners who feel that she is infringing on their right to behave according to their individual whims and fancies. The majority of the learners have a don't care attitude, chat in a disrespectful manner and use vulgar language that makes the teacher feel totally powerless.*
- *According to Nivi, the publicity and emphasis on the rights of learner needs to be scrutinised in terms of its impact. Learners use their rights in its narrowest form to wield power over the teacher. In many cases they use the catch words 'I know my rights' loosely to intimidate and provoke teachers.*
- *The Principal recalls how a learner drew dagga plants and leaves on his examination paper and boldly printed 'psyho' and 'chronic' in an attempt to taunt teachers and to remind them that nothing could be done to him since the school had just been ordered*

to accept him in spite of him being expelled. The parents had interdicted the Department of Education and they then buckled under pressure.

4. Tied hands: who is to blame?

Teachers perceive themselves as having their hands tied when it comes to disciplining learners and preventing violence in schools. This stems from:

- Fear of victimisation from beyond the school premises.
- Lack of support from management, parents and Department of Education.
- Learners being given too many rights without being accountable.
- No effective means of disciplining learners.
- No safety net to protect teachers from violent learners.

- *Mr Naik, the Chairperson of a School Tribunal, observed the reluctance of Principals to use the Tribunal as an effective tool in disciplining learners. This reluctance stems from their ignorance of procedures as well as being afraid of landing in a legal tangle.*
- *Casie unfolds how the method of disciplining learners at her school is totally ineffective. Learners openly mock the system where their names are recorded in a defaulter's book. They generally ignore instructions to bring their parents and there is no follow up.*
- *To make a point on the extent to which teachers hands are tied, Nivi states that you cannot raise your voice anymore in class as it is seen as verbal abuse against learners. Learners lay a charge against teachers for the most trivial reasons and also take it to the media where the truth is distorted and exaggerated.*
- *According to Lungelo, a culture of non-compliance has set in amongst learners and the threat of physical harms is very real. He states that there is too much of red tape in trying to get the Department of Education to address threats and these time delays puts the teacher's life at stake.*
- *Mr X, the Principal, indicates that efforts in putting effective measures in place for deviant behaviour are frustrated by red tape and time delays. Basing the schools code of conduct on documents, such as the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, is inadequate as it is not practical. As a Principal he believes that his hands are tied especially when they are instructed to accept deviant behaviour that has been put in front of a Tribunal with all the correct procedures being followed.*

5. The emotional impact of violence on teachers

Teachers find themselves on an emotional roller coaster when it comes to dealing with violence against them. Emotions range from frustration, rage, stress and bitterness, to humiliation and isolation. These emotions are further aggravated by what teachers believe to be a lack of support from relevant stakeholders and the erosion of their power base. Learners are seen as having more rights than teachers. They see themselves as being trapped in a no win situation. The emotional strain in many cases manifests itself in physical symptoms.

- *Casie is a young teacher that views teaching as an interesting career, except for one major obstacle which is the discipline of learners. As a teacher, she feels that she has no support in dealing with this problem. She goes home everyday with a headache and a sore throat from interacting with learners.*

- *Nivi recalls being pushed to the edge on numerous occasions where she felt that she was experiencing a heart attack. A medical diagnoses pin pointed it as being stress related. She believes that she is fighting a losing battle because of a lack of support. She has been reduced to pretending not to hear or see disruptive behaviour even though it evokes feelings of guilt and shame. This has been evoked due to her incarceration in the media for the so called abuse of a learner. This incident has broken and changed her as a teacher. She had been deemed guilty without an investigation as the learners word carried more weight. The incident was a nightmare that shattered her family peace and led to sleepless nights.*

- *According to Lungelo, the dominance of learners in schools is demoralising teachers. It has resulted in increased teacher absenteeism due to stress and depression. Teaching is no longer a noble calling. It has lost its joy.*

- *The Principal, Mr X, describes an incident where his rights were trampled on and he felt violated as a manager. In this incident the learner's right superceded his and he was not supported by the Department of Education. He ended up being humiliated not only by the learner but also publicly in the media.*

5.1.4 Concluding comments on narrative stories

The narrative stories in this chapter provided a means of exploring the lived experiences of teachers, Principals and education stakeholders in dealing with issues of violence

against teachers. The complex terrain that teachers need to traverse to protect themselves while attempting to educate their learners is clearly detailed. The lack of a moral and values based foundation distinctly emerges.

Chapter Six will focus on synthesising the major themes that have pervaded this study. It will also provide a framework via the CV^2 Theory to understand that schools are institutions that do not operate in isolation. They are extensions of the community within which they exist and reflect what happens in society in general.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Implications and Caveats:
An aftertaste

"Values are at the heart of the human condition. The daily pattern of life is woven from a myriad of choices, all of them derived from our values. Whether we like it or not life involves the use of some sort of moral compass."

(Selmes & Robb ,1993)

Orientation to Chapter Six

The purpose of this study was to explore the nature, causes and impact of violence against teachers. The survey method, supported by narrative stories, was used to enhance our understanding of teachers' endured experiences of violence.

This chapter thus reflects on the implications and caveats of the various flavours (insights) alluded to in this study. While the flavours were meant to imbue and enhance our understanding of violence in schools, the lingering aftertaste that underpins and subtly permeates this study is the role of values. What are the forces that come to bear on inculcated values that drive aggressive behavioural patterns in schools? The school can be seen as a site where individual values develop and evolve. These values are not a static entity, but are constantly being shaped and transformed through interactions with others. The transient and impermanent nature of values will be used as a basis to understand violence against teachers.

This chapter is sub-divided into two sections:
Section One *presents the Core Values Viscosity theory (CV^2) to understand violence against teachers. It also addresses some of the key issues that emerged through the CV^2 theory.*

Section Two *profiles violence in schools by crystallising the main findings of this study. It further explains how the study has been methodologically extended.*

SECTION ONE

6.1 Profiling violence in schools: a summary

In focusing on profiling violence in schools, this section will crystallise and tie in the main findings of this study, in keeping with the critical questions which are:

- What is the nature and extent of violence against teachers?
- Why are teachers becoming victims of violence?
- What role do the school management and the Department of Education play in reducing violence in schools?
- Are there effective policies and approaches in place to manage school violence?
- How does violence impact on the emotional and physical well being of teachers?

The survey of violence against teachers in the Ethekwini region reveals a high prevalence of violence as defined in this study. There is an emerging perception that violence is becoming more pervasive and is on the increase in schools. Most teachers have experienced some form of violence during their careers which is disturbing. The two most common forms of violence that teachers are exposed to are 'arguing and back-chatting' and 'the arrogant refusal to follow instructions'. Unstable family background of learners, the banning of corporal punishment in schools, overcrowded classrooms and increased awareness among learners of their rights are some of the reasons for teachers becoming victims of violence. This is further compounded by paltry preventative measures that are in place to ensure the safety of teachers. The data highlights a lack of proactive support from all stakeholders which includes parents, management in schools and the Department of Education in preventing violence in schools.

The results of this research suggest that any experience of violence, be it insidious or physical, has a number of negative repercussions. Not only does it have career impact implications but also emotional symptoms such as anger, frustration and stress. Health symptoms included head aches and a general deterioration in physical health. A major implication is the deterioration of the teaching-learning environment which is the core responsibility of schools.

6.1.1 Levels of violence in advantaged and disadvantaged schools

An important finding of this study is that learners from disadvantaged schools are more likely to perpetrate violence against teachers than those in advantaged schools. Possible reasons for this difference emerged from both the data and literature review.

- Disadvantaged schools generally have larger learner enrolments.
- The communities within which disadvantaged schools are located are classified as being average to high violence areas.
- The monthly income of parents of learners attending disadvantaged schools is low. Poverty is therefore an issue that underlies a number of other problems. It has implications for parental involvement as well as for the upliftment of schools.
- The security measures to prevent violence in disadvantaged schools are inadequate.
- There is a lack of guidance counsellors in disadvantaged schools due to financial constraints.

Although the level of violence experienced by teachers in advantaged and disadvantaged schools differ, the main cause of violence in both categories of schools was identified as, "lack of discipline at home". The influence of the family is therefore being pinpointed as a crucial factor in determining the direction of a child's behaviour.

6.1.2 Race

The data reflects that African teachers experience higher levels of violence as compared to teachers from other race groups. This could be due to:

- The culture of violence that existed during the apartheid era because African schools were generally used as sites for political resistance.
- Economic challenges brought about by poverty and unemployment. This is supported by the data where 67% (Table 4.10) of African teachers identified socio-economic background as an important cause of violence.
- Schools are located in communities where levels of violence are generally high.

The passing of racist remarks, according to the data, is a form of insidious violence that is most problematic for Indian teachers (74%), while it is of least concern to African teachers (14%). This has been attributed to the limited integration that has taken place in ex-African schools. African teachers are still teaching in schools that are mainly mono-racial, whereas the face of previously Indian schools have changed.

The impact of violence seems to be more pronounced on Indian and African teachers as their schools are generally classified as disadvantaged, and experience higher levels of violence. The impact of violence on White teachers is low, which is in keeping with the low levels of violence in advantaged schools where they generally teach. The overall perception of teachers in all race groups, however, is that the level of violence in all schools is on the increase, with "arguing and back chatting" being the most common from of violence experienced by teachers.

6.1.3 Gender

Male and female teachers do not differ in terms of their thinking on the causes of violence in schools. The main causes were identified as follows:
- Lack of discipline at home.
- Socio-economic background.
- Unstable family background.
- Banning of corporal punishment.
- Overcrowded classrooms.
- Peer pressure.

There is also no significant difference between males and females in terms of the impact that violence has on them. Stress, decreased productivity, decreased job satisfaction and frustration seem to be the main adverse effects.

6.1.4 Insidious vs. physical violence

Teachers are exposed to higher levels of insidious violence as compared to physical violence. The data suggests the following reasons for the increasing boldness displayed by learners in terms of insidious violence:

- Banning of corporal punishment.
- Formation of a Representative Council for Learners.
- Empowerment of learners in terms of their rights.
- Media coverage of learner rights.
- Ineffective measures to caution deviant learners.
- Poor parental involvement in disciplining learners.
- Lack of school counsellors.

There was congruency in the thinking of teachers (94%) and learners (80%) that arguing and back-chatting were the most common forms of violence experienced by teachers. These percentages are extremely high and put the spotlight on the level of degradation in the classroom. Insidious violence, being on the increase, suggests decreasing respect for teachers. One wonders whether this is due to greater sensitivity and awareness of learner rights. It could also be a sign of learners rebelling against authority. Yankelovich (1998) explains the erosion of hierarchy as one of the most powerful forces operating in society today. According to him, even parents no longer have much authority over their children as they once did. This ties in with "lack of discipline at home" which has been identified as the main cause of the deviant behaviour of learners. Further research, however, is needed in this area to explore the relationship between a lack of discipline at home and deviant behaviour at schools.

6.1.5 Size of schools

Schools that have lower enrolments generally display lower levels of violence against teachers. This suggests that schools with smaller enrolments are easier to manage, and is something that should be taken into account in the planning of schools. The following forms of chronic insidious violence were prevalent in all schools, irrespective of enrolment:

- Arguing and back chatting.
- Undermining of authority.
- Arrogant refusal to follow instructions.

6.1.6 Years of service

No distinct relationship exists between years of service of educators and levels of violence experienced. The data reveals that even seasoned teachers are grappling with the levels of deviancy displayed by learners. The impact on teachers unfolds in the following ways:

- Decreased productivity and job satisfaction (40%).
- Increased teacher absenteeism (33%).
- More than 30% of teachers experienced a range of negative emotions such as stress, frustration, anger and low morale.

These statistics that give an overview of the impact on teachers raises serious questions about the quality and state of education in many schools.

6.1.7 Role of stakeholders in curbing violence

The majority of teachers perceive that ineffective measures are in place to deal with violence in schools. The data suggest that although insidious forms of violence are rife, the measures in place to curb this are paltry.

- Only 29% of teachers view the school governing body as playing an active role in curbing violence in schools.
- 94% of teachers blame the Department of Education for the spiralling levels of violence in schools.

- 54% of teachers believe that schools themselves have ineffective measures in place to deal with violence.

These statistics highlight the need for proactive steps to be taken to reduce violence in schools. Collaboration between the different stakeholders is another important factor to consider.

6.1.8 Narrative stories generate deeper meaning

Narrative stories were used to enhance our understanding of teachers' experiences of violence in schools. The use of narrative stories has extended this field of study methodologically. Giving voice to relevant education stakeholders to understand violence against teachers is an area that is absent in South African research. This study has therefore filled this methodological gap.

From reflecting on the narrative stories, several possibilities emerge for creating contexts which influence the type and levels of violence that teachers experience. It seems that violence in its various forms is a reality within secondary schools in the Ethekwini region. There is a general perception that teachers are being subjected to higher levels of violence and this makes them feel vulnerable. In a reversal of roles, teachers have to be cautious and fear the aggressive behaviour of learners. Below is a summary of the main trends identified from narrative stories that generate violence against teachers in schools.

- Minimal promotion requirements in the foundation and general education and training (GET) phase have encouraged a lazy and casual attitude to school work. Learners are inculcated into this mode at an early age and this gets transported into the secondary phase. More stringent promotion requirements are needed to challenge and encourage learners to be gainfully occupied in school. Idle learners that are not motivated to hard work are easily distracted and slip into deviancy due to other influences.

- The school curriculum does not address issues related to morals and values. The lack of guidance counsellors due to financial constraints worsens the problem.

- The large number of learners per class makes control difficult. Personal attention cannot be given to learners and thus initial minor offences go unobserved. These accumulate to become a norm and mutates into more serious forms of deviancy.

- The community within which learners are raised influences their behaviour patterns. Learners that are exposed to gangsterism, drugs and weapons are more prone to violent behaviour as they imbibe this value system. This then gets transported into the school and creates a potential for conflict.

- The family, as a role model to learners, is a crucial factor. Dysfunctional families encourage deviancy in learners.

- Multicultural classrooms are a problem as teachers have not been trained to deal with diversity.

- Ineffective management strategies have failed to stem the tide of violence in schools. Fear of poor publicity and maintaining a good image has forced many managers to conceal and overlook incidents of violence at their schools.

- Disciplinary policies are ineffective in dealing with the rising levels of violence in schools. More stringent measures that send out a message of zero tolerance towards violence are needed.

- Too much emphasis has been placed on learner rights. Mutual respect that promotes the rights of both teachers and learners in the school context is needed.

- Peer pressure forces many learners to adopt value systems that clash with the culture in schools. This tension forms the impetus for deviancy.

Being subjected to violence in its various forms has put many teachers on an emotional roller coaster. Emotions of frustration, rage, stress and humiliation amongst others have become common place. These negative emotions are further exacerbated by the lack of support structures to ensure the safety and security of teachers.

This section, while summarising the main findings of this study, also serves as a reminder that transient values have created a gap that needs to be filled. This idea is explored within a Values Viscosity framework in the next section to understand the causes of violence in schools.

SECTION TWO

"Youth are not lost- they are pushed"

<div align="center">(Anonymous)</div>

6.2 Transient values

This section seeks to deconstruct violence in schools by going to the subtext of schooling. The social, emotional and economic contexts within which individuals operate are embraced to understand shifting values and its impact on behaviour. According to Kunjufu (1993), the ages between 13 and 17 are when youth are particularly vulnerable to outside influence, before their values and ideas have been fully developed. Values at this age shift and push the youth until there are no well defined boundaries. A viscosity suggests that forces of influence are overbearing to the extent that the youth lose control. The lack of control is due to the absence of core values which will be unpacked in the Core Values Viscosity Theory.

Core Values Viscosity Theory (CV^2)

Within the context of this study, it has emerged that a number of influences control the values that the youth adopt. Below is a diagrammatic representation of some of the core influences.
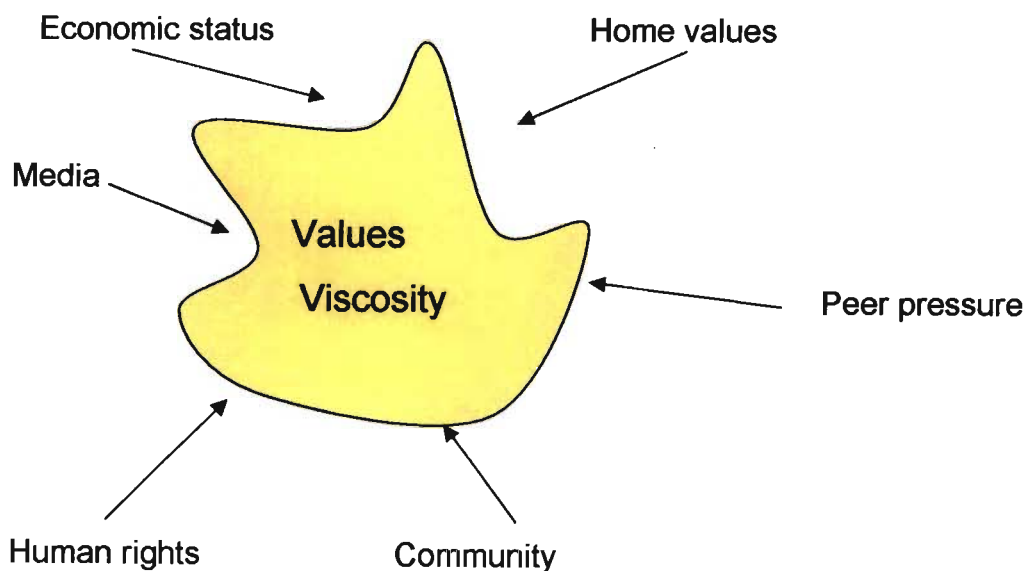
Being bombarded with an array of values, this study suggests that the youth are pushed into having a value system that is constantly being altered. This state of flux creates what is called a "Core Values Viscosity" or transient-values that alter when 'alterations find'. Various pressures come to bear on the youth that distort and impinge on their day to day realities. Tension arises between what values are important in different contexts. The school as a context becomes the ubiquitous intersection for the various values that get transported from the learner's different spheres of life. The school then unintentionally gets thrown into a contentious role, because it comes with its own value system. According to Beachum and McCray (2004), this result in a conflict of values, which sometimes result in discipline problems. Conflict being experienced by youth is further supported in surveys conducted by Dovey (1996) which states that "South African children and youth from all walks of life are living in a conflict ridden culture, whether it is at intra-personal, interpersonal, inter-group or at a broader societal level".

It seems that the individual values of the youth are being constantly shaped and constructed through interaction with other value systems. The constant push and pull of values creates a fluidity of values. It is a viscous movement that distorts according to the extent to which pressure is exerted. Resistant youth that are forced to conform to the dictates of a school's norms and values, initiate a chain reaction where their thinking reconstitutes according to acceptable values at a particular point in time. The clash in values provides the impetus for deviant behaviour. This thinking is encapsulated by Wilson (1990) who asserts that deeds of violence are performed largely by those trying to establish their self esteem, to defend their self image, or to demonstrate that they too are significant. Thus, violence and deviant behaviour is seen as a reaction to a clash of values.

There are various external influences and factors that shape and fuel the choices that youth make. The impulse for violence develops when youth cannot integrate or conform to existing values because it clashes with a more dominant value at a particular point in time. Thus, reference is made to viscous values. The data from this study, as well as

the literature review, have identified the following contexts that generate and give rise to its own value system.

According to Meyer and Farrel (1998), one of the causes of aggressive behaviour is the drift of youth towards membership in deviant peer groups. In trying to conform and avoiding being rejected the values of the deviant peer group is adopted. Dyson (2001) and Kitwana (2002) include dialects, attitudes, expression, mannerisms and fashion as a part of this contemporary culture that is adopted and has a great influence on youth. Opposition to these contemporary values, within the context of school values, creates the impetus for violent behaviour as reported in the media by Khan (2005). A group of learners at a secondary school in Durban went on the rampage and attacked their teachers because they were aggrieved about having to comply with paying school fees and the wearing of uniforms.

Kunjufu (1990) supports the view that television promotes violent behaviour because it promotes a value system based on materialism and immediate gratification. Youth that are generally impressionable take these values to be credible. A study conducted at the University of Illinois reported, "the more violence children watched on television, the more aggressive their behaviour at school" (Nemecek, 1998). This is another example of youth imitating behaviour learnt from other contexts, where they learn to value rather than devalue the use of violence.

According to Futrell and Powell (1996), youth that come from communities where they are exposed to hostile experiences are generally filled with rage and a sense of rejection. They believe that they do not owe society anything, which gives rise to rebellious and hedonistic behaviour that involves acts of violence. These attitudes are then transferred into the school environment, and in many cases manifest itself in the form of displaced aggression. A substitute object is found for the expression of aggressive feelings when it cannot be directed towards their real target (Gross, 1992). The substitute target in school is likely to be the teacher who is trying to impose a conflicting value system.

Further, exacerbating this problem is dysfunctional families. Parenting that indulges, neglects, abuses and ignores children, fails to provide strong positive guidance and nurturance and contributes to the spread of violence in schools (Futrell & Powell, 1996). Children that are victims at home, become perpetrators at school, feeling the need to lash out. They have become products of the values and culture created within the home environment.

The economic status of families seems to have a direct bearing on aggravating aggressive behaviour. According to the South African Survey 2000/2001, conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations, adverse social and economic conditions have resulted in antisocial behaviour where young people are trapped in a cycle of marginal social adaptation and delinquency. In international studies (Gibbs, 1988; Nightingale, 1993) it has also been found that poverty aggravates male aggressive behaviour. They engage in rebellious behaviour in response to the reality of powerlessness where males are perceived to be dominant. Underlying poverty are factors such as a lack of facilities, family stress and social breakdown. This creates a context for the youth to develop skewed values that do not integrate with the widely accepted values of the school.

According to Prinsloo (2003), post-1994 in South Africa has brought about an ideological shift which causes contradictions and confusion in the youth of today. Young people of all races find the complex and nuanced world of over-emphasized individual human rights, structured integration and reverse discrimination confusing. This line of thinking is also supported by Saphetha (2004) who states that youth are grappling with their new responsibilities and roles and are in a crisis trying to find their feet in the current juncture. One of the biggest challenges that face the youth is having to redefine themselves according to a new set of norms and values. The marginalising effects of entitlement and affirmative action policies have been detailed in the literature review chapter. Together with being marginalised, some youth come from poverty-stricken and abusive backgrounds. The destabilising effect of this background according to Prinsloo

(2003) has resulted in a generation of young people who are undisciplined, disruptive, and violent and without morality and integrity.

The youth, in being exposed to a variety of value systems generated by the different contexts within which they operate, suggest that they have been thrown in an environment of viscous values. Values imbibed from different contexts compete with each other. The struggle that ensues from adaptation, adjustment or rejection of new values creates the potential for conflict. The CV^2 theory thus unpacks the potential for violent behaviour in schools as being manifested by conflicting values learnt in different contexts. In deconstructing violence in schools, the CV^2 theory asks what factors influence our youth's values and how these factors shape these values.

The youth that mould their values around pressure points such as peer opinions, breakdown of family life, low self esteem, gangster ethics and poor role models do not have a stabilising influence to guide their actions. There is a need to instil in youth a core set of values that will give direction to them and prevent a generation of young people who are undisciplined, violent and without integrity.

Schools in promoting values need to take cognisance of their own individual needs within the framework of the values contained in the South African constitution and the "Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy" released by the Department of Education in August 2001. This manifesto on values highlights the following values:

- Democracy
- Equality
- Ubuntu (human dignity)
- Responsibility
- Respect
- Social justice
- Non-racism/non-sexism
- An open society
- Rule of law

- Reconciliation

These values have been developed to enable youth to realise their potential and enable them to take up a meaningful position in South Africa as responsible citizens.

This study, in keeping with the South African constitution and the Manifesto of Values, recommends that a core set of values needs to be instilled in youth to form a stable foundation from which they can operate. Rights, respect and responsibility (3Rs) are examples of such core values that this study proposes. Just as youth have rights, so to do teachers. Infringing on the rights of others can be a major source of conflict. Respect underlies rights and acts as an antidote to prevent conflict. Learners need to have a common understanding; just as they want their rights entrenched, they must respect the rights of others. Responsibility in managing ones' rights is another important core value. Abusing another's rights translates into disrespect and irresponsibility. Thus, a person has to take responsibility for their actions.

6.3 Conclusion

This study examined the nature, causes and impact of violence on teachers in an organised and systematic manner to determine the scope and range of the problem. It has moved the knowledge domain of violence in schools forward in the following ways:
- Theoretically, this study has proposed the Core Values Viscosity Theory to analyse and understand the causes of violence in schools.
- Methodologically, the study has used a fusion of two research methods, that is, the qualitative (narrative stories) and quantitative (questionnaires) to draw new insights on the nature and extent of violence against teachers.
- Practically, it has created a framework for stakeholders in education to explore and introduce core values in the school curriculum. It will also assist policy makers to identify the gaps and base future policies on informed decisions.

It must be noted that this review was not meant as a guide on how to deal with violence in schools. There is already a plethora of material available in this regard. It is however hoped that it will form a basis for future efforts to understand and address violence against teachers. In this regard, it is suggested that all stakeholders gather to address violence in schools generally, and violence against teachers specifically.

This study in no way attempts to undermine the gains of a transformed society through the South African Constitution, Bill of Rights and other legislation and policies. However, in recognising these gains, the study highlights the tensions that emerged in response to the changes. Furthermore, issues arising from the perceptions of teachers can now be conceptualised in future developments of our society. The legal and constitutional framework that currently exists to address the 3Rs is inadequate. A more holistic approach is being proposed.

The data reveals that violence is a complex problem and hence solutions do not reside solely within the educational system. Thus the role of all stakeholders in addressing the problem is crucial. Violence is an issue that can only be ameliorated through effective, concerted and sustained efforts.

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Appendix A
Schedule of Schools: Educators

No	Name of School	No. of respondents
1	A M. Moola Secondary	1
2	Adams College	1
3	Al Falah	1
4	Amandlethu High	1
5	Amaphuphesizwe	1
6	Amoati No 3 Comprehensive	1
7	Arena Park Secondary	1
8	Avoca Secondary	2
9	Belverton Secondary	1
10	Bhekisisa Secondary	2
11	Bonela Secondary	1
12	Buffelsdale Secondary	1
13	Centenary Secondary	1
14	Chatsworth Secondary	1
15	Chesterville Extension School	1
16	Christain High	1
17	Crescent Girls Secondary	1
18	Crossmoor Secondary	1
19	Dabek	2
20	Dabeka High	1
21	Daleview secondary	1
22	Dr Nembula High	1
23	Durban Akademie	1
24	Durbans Girls High	1
25	Earlington Secondary	1
26	Eastbury Secondary	1
27	Effingham Secondary	1
28	Ezithabeni	1
29	Fairbreeze Secondary	1
30	Foresthaven Secondary	1
31	Fozweni High	1
32	Fundenduku Secondary	1
33	Ganges Secondary	1
34	Gcinimfundo Secondary	1
35	George Campbell	1
36	Glenhaven Secondary	1
37	Greenbury Secondary	1
38	Grosvenor Girls High	1
39	Grove End Secondary	1
40	Havenpark Secondary	1
41	Hillgrove Secondary	1

42	Igugulabasha High	1
43	Imbeka Secondary	1
44	Inanda Seminary	1
45	Inkosinathi Secondary	1
46	Isibanisewe	1
47	Isifisosethu Secondary	1
48	Isisusa High	1
49	Isiziba Comprehensive High	1
50	Khamangwa Secondary	2
51	King Shaka High	1
52	KwaShaka High	1
53	Kwavusumuzi High	1
54	Kwavutha Secondary	2
55	Kwesethu High	1
56	Lakehaven Secondary	1
57	Lamontville Secondary	1
58	Lenarea Secondary	1
59	Lockhat High	1
60	Lugobe High	1
61	Magqibagquiba Secondary	1
62	Mandini Academy	1
63	Marklands Secondary	1
64	Mcothoni High	1
65	Mgandeni High	1
66	Mjele Secondary	2
67	Mnganiwakhe High	1
68	Mohawe Secondary	1
69	Mowat Park High	1
70	Mqhawe Secondary	1
71	Mqungebe Secondary	1
72	Mt Edgecombe Private	1
73	Mt View Secondary	1
74	Mvaba High	1
75	Myeka High	1
76	Mzuvele High	1
77	Nathaniel Sabelo High	1
78	Ndeya Zenex	1
79	New Forest High	1
80	New West Secondary	1
81	Newlands East Secondary	1
82	Ngunginini High	1
83	Nkosivombu Secondary	1
84	Nomavimbela High	1
85	Nombika Secondary	1
86	Nsuwgwini Combined	1

87	Ntuli Combined	1
88	Overport Secondary	1
89	P. R. Pather Secondary	1
90	Palmview Secondary	1
91	Phembisizwe Secondary	1
92	Phoenix Secondary	1
93	Phoenix Technical School	1
94	Pinetown Boys High	1
95	Port Natal School	1
96	Protea Secondary	2
97	Queensburgh Girls High	1
98	Qwabe Secondary	2
99	Riverdene Secondary	1
100	Rossburgh High	1
101	Rydalpark Secondary	1
102	Sabuyaze High	1
103	Sacred Heart Secondary	1
104	Sakhisizwe	1
105	Sastri College	1
106	Savanna Park Secondary	1
107	Sea Cow Lake Secondary	1
108	Seatides Combined	1
109	Shallcross Secondary	1
110	Sibambanezulu Secondary	1
111	Siphesihle Secondary	1
112	Sishosonke High	1
113	Sithabile Secondary	1
114	Siyaphumula Secondary	1
115	Sizamiseni Secondary	1
116	Sobonakhona High	1
117	Solvista Secondary	1
118	Sompukame High	1
119	Sparks Estate Secondary	1
120	Stanmore Secondary	1
121	Temple Valley Secondary	1
122	Thukela High	1
123	Tongaat Secondary	1
124	Trenance Manor Secondary	1
125	Trenance Park Secondary	1
126	Tshana High	1
127	Ubuhlebesizwe Secondary	1
128	Udumo Secondary	1
129	Umbilo Secondary	1
130	Umkhumbi High	1
131	Uyikhulu Secondary	1

132	V N Naik School	1
133	Velangezwi	1
134	Verulam Independent	1
135	Verulam Islamic	1
136	Verulam Secondary	1
137	Vikinozo High	1
138	Vukile High	1
139	Waterloo Secondary	1
140	Welbedene Secondary	1
141	Werda Secondary	1
142	Westcliff Secondary	1
143	Wiggins Secondary	1
144	Wingen Heights Secondary	1
145	Woodhurst Secondary	1
146	Woodview Secondary	1
147	Zakhe High	1
148	Zamakahle High	1
149	Zephania	1
150	Zwelibanze High	1

Appendix B

Schedule of Schools: Learners

No.	Name of School	No of respondents
1	Bonella Secondary	20
2	Wiggins Secondary	20
3	King Shaka High	20
4	Ferndale Secondary	18
5	P R Pather Secondary	19
6	Daleview Secondary	18
7	A D Lazarus Secondary	20
8	Queensburgh Girls High	31
9	Zwelibanzi High	18

Appendix C

Violence in schools survey
Educator Questionnaire

Background

You have been selected to participate in a survey about violence in schools. Within this study a broad based definition of violence is being deliberately used to capture both the insidious forms of aggression as well as the openly physical violence. As an educator, your experiences and comments about how you perceive violence in schools is important.

All information submitted to me will be treated with respect and confidentiality.

Instructions

Mark an X indicating your choice where applicable. Some questions are open ended, and will require a more detailed response.

SECTION A: Demographics

1. Name of School

2. Gender   Male ☐   Female ☐

3. Total number of years of teaching ☐

4. Racial group

African	White	Indian	Coloured	Other

5. Which one of the following best describes your employment at school?

Permanent educator	
Temporary educator	
Government body appointee	

6. Based on your perceptions how would you classify the area in which your school is located?

Low violence levels	Average violence levels	High violence levels

7. In which one of the following income categories do the majority of parents of learners in your school fall?

+R10 000	R7 000-R10 000	R4 000 – R7 000	R1 000 – R4 000	Less than R1 000

8. Size of school
    Number of learners
    Number of educators

SECTION B: Nature and type of violence <u>against teachers</u>

What is the extent of violence <u>against teachers</u>, if any, that occurred in your school?			
	Not at all	Sometimes	Often
Rude or obscene gestures intended to offend/insult/intimidate you	1	2	3
Personal insults or name calling	1	2	3
Use of obscene language	1	2	3
Arguing and back chatting	1	2	3
Deliberate undermining of authority	1	2	3
Chronic activities tolerable on own but in total intended to intimidate	1	2	3
Arrogant refusal to follow instructions	1	2	3

Racist remarks by learners	1	2	3
Verbal threats	1	2	3
Written threats of violence	1	2	3
Intimidation of a sexual orientation	1	2	3
Threatened physical violence	1	2	3
Attempted physical violence	1	2	3
Actual physical violence	1	2	3
Any other (specify)			

SECTION C: Causes of violence

To what extent do the following factors contribute to violence against teachers in your school?			
	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent
Use of drugs	1	2	3
Use of alcohol	1	2	3
Influence of TV and movies	1	2	3
Peer pressure	1	2	3
Influence of gangs	1	2	3
Unstable family background	1	2	3
Lack of discipline at home	1	2	3
Both parents working	1	2	3
Lack of recreational activities in community	1	2	3
Socio-economic background	1	2	3
Inadequate security measures at school	1	2	3
Lack of effective disciplinary measures at school	1	2	3
Unchallenging lessons	1	2	3
Poor school management	1	2	3
Lack of effective policies	1	2	3
Teacher aggression/provocation	1	2	3
Over age learners	1	2	3
Political intolerance	1	2	3
Racial intolerance	1	2	3

Banning of corporal punishment	1	2	3
Pupil rights	1	2	3

Section D: Impact of violence

How does violence in schools impact on you as an educator?			
	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent
Decreases job satisfaction			
Poor classroom management			
Decreases productivity			
Increased absenteeism			
Loss of authority			
Low morale			
Frustration			
Increases stress			
Low self esteem			
Anger			
Depression			
Helplessness			
Humiliation			
Fear of victimization			
Deterioration of physical health			
Other (Specify)			

Section E: Policies/preventative measures

What policies/measures have been taken in your school to reduce violence?			
Steps taken	Yes	No	Under consideration
Policy dealing with violence			
Effective sanctions			

Stakeholders familiarised with policies			
Training to deal with acts of violence			
Regular police patrols			
Availability of trained counselor			
Alternate measures to corporal punishment			
Recording of violent incidents			
Spot checks for dangerous weapons/drugs			
Gates locked/access control			
Walls/fence around school			
Security guards			
Identification cards for learners/ visitors/ staff			
Community involvement			
Other (specify)			

Section F: Perceptions

1. Do you think that the level of violence in schools over the past ten years has increased?

Yes		No	

2. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for this increase/decrease?

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3. Have you personally been a victim of one of the following forms of violence?

(More than one may be applicable)

Actual physical violence	
Threatened physical violence	
Attempted physical violence	
Insidious violence (e.g. rude gestures, back chat, arrogance)	

4. How would you generally describe the manner in which violence against teachers in your school is handled?

Informal resolutions are reached	
No satisfactory action is taken	
Inconsistent disciplinary action	
Formal effective disciplinary action is taken	
Other (specify)	

5. What role does the School Governing Body play with regards to curbing violence in your school?

Passive role	Limited role	Active role

6. Do you think that the Department of Education is doing enough to curb violence in schools?

Yes		No	

Explain.

Thank you for your support and assistance.

Appendix D

Violence in schools survey

Learner Questionnaire

Background

You have been selected to participate in a survey about violence in schools. Within this study a broad based definition of violence is being deliberately used to capture both the insidious forms of aggression (example: back chatting, name calling) as well as the openly physical violence. As a learner, your experiences and comments about how you perceive violence in schools is important.

This is not a test. Most of the questions have no right or wrong answers. To protect your privacy and the secrecy of your answers do not write your name on this questionnaire.

Instructions

Mark an X indicating your choice where applicable. Some questions are open ended, and will require a more detailed response.
"BE SURE TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION"

SECTION A: Learner Profile
Please tell me about yourself

1. Name of School	

2. Gender	Male	Female

3. How old are you?				
Below 13	13-15	16-18	19-21	Over 21

4. What grade are you in?				
8	9	10	11	12

5. Racial Group				
African	White	Indian	Coloured	Other

6. Based on your perceptions how would you classify the area in which your school is located?		
Low violence levels	Average violence levels	High violence levels

SECTION B: Nature and type of violence <u>at school</u>

To what extent have you either witnessed or participated in one of the following acts of violence <u>against teachers</u>?	Not at All	Sometimes	Often
Use of rude or obscene gestures			
Personal insults or name calling			
Use of obscene language			
Arguing and back chatting			
Deliberate undermining of authority			
Chronic activities tolerable on own but in total intended to intimidate			
Arrogant refusal to follow instructions			
Racist remarks			
Verbal threats			
Written threats of violence			
Intimidation of a sexual orientation			
Threatened physical violence			
Attempted physical violence			
Violence resulting from robbery/crime			
Actual physical violence			
Any other (specify)			

SECTION C: Causes of violence

To what extent do the following factors contribute to violence <u>against</u> teachers in your school?	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent
Use of drugs			
Use of alcohol			
Influence of TV and movies			
Peer pressure			
Influence of gangs			
Unstable family background			
Lack of discipline at home			
Both parents working			
Lack of recreational activities in community			
Socio-economic background			
Inadequate security measures at school			
Lack of effective disciplinary measures at school			
Unchallenging lessons			
Poor school management			
Lack of effective policies			
Teacher aggression/provocation			
Teachers disrespect learners			
Over age learners			
Political intolerance			
Racial intolerance			
Banning of corporal punishment			
Pupil's awareness of their rights			

Section D: Perceptions

1. How would you classify the level of violence in your school?

No violence	Low	Medium	High

2. Based on your response to question 7, give some reasons?

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3. How are learners who engage in acts of violence dealt with at your school?

Generally no action is taken	
Verbal warnings that are not taken seriously	
Inconsistent/unfair disciplinary action	
Consistent/ fair disciplinary action	
Learners are afraid to engage in acts of violence because firm disciplinary action is taken	
Other (specify)	

4. To what extent are you familiar with the school's disciplinary policy?

Unaware	To some extent	Very familiar

5. Are you aware of the sanctions/punishment that can be imposed for different forms of violent behaviour at your school?

Yes	No

6. Have you personally witnessed learners being abusive/violent towards teachers?

Not at all	
Sometimes	
Regularly	
On a daily basis	

7. Why do you think learners are abusive/violent towards teachers?

   ----

8. Suggest three ways to reduce violence/abuse <u>against teachers</u> at your school.

Thank you for your support and assistance