

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO LEARNER VIOLENCE IN
TOWNSHIP SECONDARY SCHOOLS:
A SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

by

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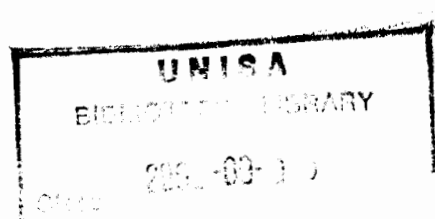
PROMOTER: PROF GD KAMPER

NOVEMBER 2002

DECLARATION

I declare that **An investigation into learner violence in township secondary schools: a socio-educational perspective** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the culture of students' violent behaviour, with a focus on socialisation provided by schools and teachers. It explores the beliefs and wishes of teachers, students and parents in some townships of Gauteng Province about the role of teachers in addressing and preventing students' antisocial and violent behaviour in schools.

The thesis offers six chapters divided into two components. The first component, chapters one to three, systematically explores socialisation of children by the home and the school. It discusses the historical/theoretical foundations of antisocial and violent behaviour of children/youth from low economic groups. The study utilises literature on strain theory on sociological considerations of adolescents' deviance from Durkheim (1897) to Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) in order to provide an in-depth appraisal of theoretical paradigms and thereafter. The second component, chapters four to six unpacked the research by analysing data from interviews and observations collected from township participants. It identifies five socio-educational factors that deterred students' antisocial behaviour. These included: teachers' attribution for success and failure; teachers' theoretical/practical leadership; the quality of the teacher-student relationship; the level of support to teachers and the function of home and community.

The findings identify the approach to antisocial and violent behaviour in Gauteng townships to be punitive. Participants regard township school violence, especially in secondary schools, as serious. The present study concluded that socialisation fostered by a supportive teacher, acting with efficacy and caring, working with parents and the community, can prevent antisocial and violent behaviour. Furthermore, the study uncovered patterns indicating that socio-educational measures are a constructive means to respond to antisocial and violent behaviour. While sometimes justified as responses to antisocial and violent behaviour, reactive measures (like corporal punishment, student expulsion, incarceration) may be less effective than socio-educational measures in instilling prosocial behaviour.

KEY TERMS:

Classroom management, socialisation, students' behaviour, violence, deviance, antisocial behaviour, anomie, school administration, violence prevention, community, values

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

Students' violent and antisocial behaviour has become a problem around the world and South African schools are not an exception. To grasp the trend of this phenomenon, it is important to give an overview of students' violent behaviour internationally, nationally and in some South African township secondary schools.

Of late, many schools in other countries have experienced some form of students' violent behaviour. For instance, schools in Latin America, North America, East Asia, Europe and Africa are struggling with the rising levels of students' violence. In its extreme form, student violence has received extreme publicity with the recent tragedy at Columbine High School in Colorado and cities such as Lake Worth, Florida, Jonesboro, Oregon and Arkansas (Elliott, Hamburg & Kirk 1998:7; Fitzsimmons 1998:4; Glassner 1999:14). In these residential areas, students who were psychopaths and sociopaths killed other students, teachers and themselves. Other shocking violent incidents reported by Shooter (2002) happened outside Little Rock, Arkansas on Saturday, April 26, 1998. Two students left two girls strapped in their car seats of a black car with the windows rolled up. Ana Maria Angel, an 18 years old student from Miami Beach was abducted by youths between the age of 16 and 18, raped, killed and dumped at South Beach (Hancock 2001:76-77). A struggling Nigerian law student went on a shooting spree at Gurndy West, West Virginia's Appalachian School of Law, killing a dean, a faculty member and a student (Wilson 2002:1). According to Wilson (1997:4) most acts of school violence are committed by people who could be categorised in one of the two groups: "sociopaths, who tend to be bullies and manipulators; or a psychopath, a socially inept 'loner'."

In Latin America, in countries such as Mexico, Chile, Argentine and Ecuador (Tilly 1994:225-242; Oliver & Myers 1999:38-87) reported that in the year 2002, student's strikes and violent demonstrations took place at a far higher rate than during the popular student uprising in 1968.

In these countries violent repression and several deaths have occurred. As a result the coalitions of workers, students, *compassions* and indigenous people are demanding their rights not to be sacrificed to neo-liberation (Carter 1992). On 4 April 1999, Nicaraguan President Arnold Aleman called out the army and police to crack down on agitators of social unrest and school disturbances and during this operation several students were killed (Grigsby 1999:1).

The Ministry of Education and Science in Japan announced that the total number of violent cases in the vicinity of school counted just more than 40,000, marking a ten percent (10.4%) increase from the previous year (Sanger 1993). The survey found that violence against teachers increased compared to violence against other students. Most cases consist of the violence among junior high school students who fought between school centred groups (Gautaman 2001:4; Hisatomi 1986).

Students' antisocial and violent behaviour is experienced differently in suburban and township secondary schools. The discussion will only focus on students' violent behaviour in township secondary schools because of its outrageous form. In order to comprehend township school violence, it would be helpful to describe its genesis since the inception of the first African secondary school by the British authority in 1870.

One of the first recorded stoppages of lessons and the first riot in African secondary schools occurred in 1920. According to Majeka (1920:68), students at the Kilnerton Training Centre, near Pretoria, went on a hunger strike for food. The strike spread to Lovedale Theological Centre, in the Eastern Cape, where students rioted and set buildings on fire and the protest concerned food.

During the 1930s, there were many more students' strikes, but the government of the day banned publications of school riots to avoid adverse publicity, especially during the inter-war years (Hirson 1979:27). The protest placards pointed out that parents pay adequate boarding fees, but students are not properly fed by the boarding masters in these missionary schools.

During the period 1943-1946, there were more than 26 serious incidents of students' violent behaviour and many schools were closed (Lodge 1990:116). To bring the violent situation under control, the school administrators applied severe punishment to offenders, expulsions were

common, some ring leaders were handed over to the police and criminal charges opened (Lodge 1990:124).

In the 1950s, there was only one major school-related strike by parents protesting against the introduction of Bantu Education (Lodge 1990:112). The new government clamped down on all student activists in the early 1960s and there was an absence of violence throughout the decade until the Soweto student uprising in 1976 (Hirson 1979:48).

In the mid-1970s, the trend of students' violent behaviour changed entirely from the previous forms. Students' violent behaviour was directed at state buildings, state vehicles, police informers, circuit school inspectors and school principals who were both police informers and suppressed student movements (Lodge 1990:121). Arson of state buildings and execution of police informers by township students included burning the victim alive by using car tyres and these horrendous acts of violence were carried out in various township streets. In the 1980s, the trade unions joined students' protests in the strikes and the issues covered broader areas including political issues such as a general election for all and the abolishing of Bantu Education.

In the early 1990s, students' violence behaviour subsided and took a new turn after the historical general election of 27 April 1994. School violence changed significantly and it appears that it was now directed at principals, White teachers in township secondary schools and female students. *Anomic* lawlessness in township secondary schools increased as drug traffickers and *tsotsis gangs*, invaded township secondary schools fighting for turfs and different interests (Molakeng 1999:3).

Although the era of apartheid has ended in South Africa, students' violent behaviour still remains a problem. In her 1994 Annual Report, for example, Mary Metcalfe, Member of Executive Council (MEC) for Education in Gauteng Province, referred to 31 cases of antisocial behaviour in Soweto, 15 on the East Rand and 11 in Pretoria (Metcalfe 1994:7). In the same year, Taunyane (1994:4), President of National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), was quoted in the Citizen, remarking that township principals have experienced unruly children for more than three decades and every decade is faced with a new type of antisocial behaviour.

He further stated that “40 principals in Soweto secondary schools were prevented by unruly students from attending to their duties”.

The South African education system historically has used corporal punishment to maintain discipline. Criticism of its effects led, in 1996, to the banning of this form of punishment. But this legislative (the South African Schools Act of 1996) intervention did not end the use of corporal punishment in schools. Corporal punishment has effectively disappeared from middle-class, formerly White, schools, but is still relatively common in township schools (Maithufi 1997). Reasons for the persistent and illegal use of corporal punishment include absence of alternatives, the legacy of authoritarian education practices and the belief that corporal punishment is necessary. These views persist because parents use it in the home and support its use in school. There is a tension between the prohibition of corporal punishment in schools and the increase in parent involvement in the affairs of schools. Unfortunately, the banning of corporal punishment in township schools without replacing it with any tangible strategy for dealing with student misbehaviour, resulted into various forms of students antisocial and violent behaviour.

In another form of students’ antisocial and violent behaviour, Garson (1996:14) reported that “trivial demands such as buying of the new soccer jersey, for school to close early on Wednesdays and for girls to wear trousers in winter would appear to have caused student riots at Ekurhureni High School.” He further mentioned that students set the principal’s car alight, smashed school windows and vandalised telephones after their list of twelve demands was given instant priority by the management. In another example of violent incident, Mecoamere (1999:5), reported that “school pupils held up women teachers with guns and took their cell phones and jewellery”. As students’ violent behaviour increases and the quality of learning in township secondary schools decreases, many students transferred from township to suburban and inner-city secondary schools (Memela 1998:4).

A research project commissioned by the Southern Metropolitan Local Council (SMLC) discovered that, “one in every three Johannesburg school girls had experienced sexual violence at school of which 36 percent had been reported to the Community Empowerment and Transparency (CIET)” (Maluleke 1999:12).

A research project commissioned by the South Metropolitan Local Council (SMLC) discovered that, "one in every three Johannesburg school girls had experienced sexual violence at school of which 36 percent had been reported to the Community Empowerment and Transparency (CIET)" (Maluleke 1999:12). This violence against children, especially school girls, occurs fundamentally within the framework of a male dominated society. In the larger African society, men have been taught to define their power in terms of their capacity to affect their will (Ndabandaba 1974), particularly over women, with or without the consent of those involved. This is a society where young males are taught to be assertive and masculine (Wolfgang & Ferracuti 1966), and women are expected to be subordinate and submissive (Freed 1963). In the context of increasing violence in township streets, the phenomenon of the "jackroll" menace emerged in the early 1990s. The term "jackroll" refers to the undisguised use of sexual violence against school girls in the township by young armed men (Maluleke 1999). The "jack rollers" continue to terrorise school girls and women in various parts of Reef townships' schools with a seeming impunity (Macoanere 1999). Because of break down of morals and mores in township streets and some homes, school girls are much safer in school campus because teachers are well skilled in their profession in preventing students' violent behaviour.

These incidents point out that there is a serious problem of discipline among students in schools and the community needs to address the problem of safety and security of children through its schools and teachers. Children must attend classes without any fear of violence because historically, schools are known to be the safest place for them.

Violence against school girls deserves special attention. This violence occurs, fundamentally, within the framework of a male dominated society. In the larger African society, men have been taught to define their power in terms of their capacity to effect their will (Ndabandaba 1974), especially over women, with or without the consent of those involved. This is a society where young males are taught to be assertive and masculine, and women are expected to be subordinate and submissive (Freed 1963). In the context of increasing violence in township streets, the phenomenon of the "jackroll" menace emerged in the early 1990s. The term "jackroll" refers to the undisguised use of sexual violence against school girls in the township by young armed men

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On the whole, however, children are safer in school than wandering on the township streets safer than when confined in prisons, and even safer than in their own homes. Certainly, this safety is attributable in large part to the structured nature of schools, but it is also a tribute to educators, especially those who run schools in areas with a high incidence of students' violent behaviour, particularly in the light of the aggression and antisocial behaviour they witness, confront, redirect and defuse.

Over the last two decades there has been an increased emphasis on addressing antisocial behaviour through medicinal perspectives and criminal justice perspectives, instead of the traditional educational and socio-educational emphases that schools have historically cultivated. Roemmelt (1998) mentioned that in the schools of first world and developing nations, there has been an increasing emphasis on the administering of medications to children exhibiting antisocial behaviour. This trend toward medicating students with antidepressants and stimulants is particularly disturbing because it appears that it is preferred above traditional educational and socio-educative methods (Grilly 1997). More disturbing is that it has increasingly involved young and pre-school aged children. It appears that the problem is real since the number of children in the US placed on antidepressants and stimulants (drugs such as Ritalin and Prozac) has grown enormously in the past decade (Grilly 1997).

Even more widespread than the trend towards medicating children has been an emphasis on criminal justice measures taken in response to youth antisocial and violent behaviour. These measures emphasise typical criminal justice procedures such as apprehension and incarceration and expulsion. In South Africa, what is more troubling is that communities in deep slum areas bordering inner cities, prefer more punitive measures than the government. These communities have established *street courts* (managed by individuals in the community with efficacy) to control individual's social *anomic* lawlessness and to prevent adolescent's antisocial and violent behaviour. According to Madywabe 1997) most of these youth who commit acts of violence are given lashes by the community leaders, or handed over to the police. The approach of punitive

measures and incarceration of youth has gained particular momentum, not only in South Africa, but in industrialised nations such as Great Britain, Australia and the United States (Cockburn 1996). The Minister of Correctional Services and Prison, Minister Ben Skhosane, has recently announced that the South African Custodial Services (SACS) will be constructing a 3,024 bed maximum security prison at Louis Trichardt in Limpopo Province (Cockburn 1996). This facility is solely for boys aged 13 through 19; adolescents who have been sent to prison because of the public outcry that prisons are overpopulated and some of the adolescents share the same cell with hardened criminals (Madywabe 1997).

Certainly, there is a justified concern about the crime in South Africa, especially in township schools.

Asmal (2000:4), the Minister of Education, in his address to educators in Port Elizabeth, also mentioned that the “community and the department of education observe with a growing trepidation the high rate of rape and sexual coercion by teachers and employers..., young girls under the age of eight were sexually molested by adult workers and teachers.” It is disturbing to note that some of the acts of sexual violence against school girls are committed by adults whom children should emulate for pro social behaviour. Cockburn (1996:7-8) calls this a “smooth transfer of violent behaviour war on kids, where adult violence is handed down in the form of blows, sexual predation and punishment”. Adult violence is a strong model for youth to emulate and they do it quite well. Aside from the damaging socialisation that has been fostered, many nations’ financial resources are increasingly being channelled toward efforts to address the aftereffects of violence (such as building new prisons), instead of efforts to prevent those aftereffects of violence from coming about, and instead of efforts to address the root cause of what causes that violence. The national criminal justice efforts are made at the *macro* level, the broadest and most inclusive level of society, yet also the level that is furthest from the individual (the micro level) and far from the level of the community and its institutions such as schools (the meso-level).

1.2 ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This contemporary and enlarged macro-level emphasis on incarceration has filtered down to the meso-level, to the schools. In South African, schools have reacted to political pressure to ban corporal punishment and to increase safety and security in schools to protect students and teachers. Many schools' districts, especially in former African schools, are unable to combat students' violent behaviour in schools because the budget is insufficient. For example, the Gauteng Department of Education was only able to offer R3000 per school in Gauteng Province to mobilise schools against crime and for security plans (Benghiat 2001). Whilst the South African government and school administrators favour the involvement of the community in fighting students' violent behaviour (Asmal 2000), members of the community favour removing students from school through suspension and expulsion (Benghiat 2001). These measures are popular despite the fact that there is no evidence that they reduce antisocial and violent behaviour by students (Skiba & Peterson 1999). They simply relocate the problem behaviours outside of school and in the community. Furthermore, there is evidence that forceful, prison-like reactions such as incarceration of violent students may worsen antisocial behaviours and create emotional harm in students (Hyman & Perone 1998). Medical researchers (Mercy, Rosenberg, Powell, Broome & Roper 1993) discovered that, "apprehending, arresting, adjudicating, and incarcerating students through criminal justice system, has not made an appreciable difference".

On the other hand, there is an emphasis at the macro level on criminal justice response. Some schools and communities are addressing antisocial behaviour with measures that do not rely not on medication, nor on incarceration or expulsion. These responses, mostly at the meso- and micro-levels, are socio-educative responses, and they include responses such as those that teach and support conflict resolution (Lai, Lai & Achilles 1993). For example, the Centre for Conflict, an autonomous institute affiliated with the University of Cape Town, instituted a co-operative research programme into South African youth, and the problems and challenges they face. The report looked at conflict resolution and peacemaking from the viewpoints of youth themselves and from educators' specifying how peace education could proceed in South African schools and the wider community (Dovey 1994). Another instance of a socio-educative response involves early intervention, such as that reported by Eckstein (1994), who looked at the situation of South

African pre-school children faced with problems of poverty, abuse, poor nutrition, homelessness and violence. He concluded that there were hopeful signs for pre-school education, including the establishment of a trust to support it, as well as an increase in the number of accredited educare courses, political support and an increased focus by the South African media on the plight of young children. Calling it "A break with the past", Maithufi (1997:1-15) outlined details of the South African Schools Act of 1996, which asked questions such as "What is basic education?" and "What is meant by equal access to educational institutions?" Maithufi discusses the implications of the new law with respect to discipline, corporal punishment in the schools, indemnity (payment of fees), and the establishment of the representative council of students.

In addition to these socio- educational programme efforts, schools are attempting to modify the context; that is, the social environment that exists within a school. Modifying the context approaches the problem of antisocial behaviour from a preventive and supportive - rather than punitive - perspective. For example, Pedro Noguera (1995:206) a researcher from the University of California, described a storybook approach to modifying a school's context by acting at the micro level. He studied an inner-city junior high school in California that hired a local grandmother (instead of a security guard) to monitor students in school. Instead of using physical intimidation to carry out her duties, this woman greets children with hugs. When the hugs appear to be insufficient to maintain prosocial behaviour, she admonishes them to behave themselves, saying she expects better from them. The finding was that this was the only school in this district where no weapons were confiscated from students during that school year.

Some teachers are teaching prosocial behaviour (to improve the climate within their classrooms) by integrating conflict management into their academic curricula. Barbara Stanford integrates conflict management in her classroom activities. She leads students to look at conflict outside themselves, through the short story (for instance), they explore ways to deal with conflict, including role-plays and empathy - building activities (Stanford 1995). Fliegel (1993:24) summarised aptly the value of addressing student socialisation at the meso- and micro-levels in his book *Miracle in East Harlem*: "Treat a classroom full of inner-city kids like a bunch of uneducable future criminals, and they won't let you down. Treat them with love, respect, and dignity, however, and watch bloom."

Many educators would agree with this sentiment, however, educators must operationalise the love, respect, and dignity to which Fliegel refers. Recent research has pointed out the important value of teacher interventions in the deterrence of students' antisocial behaviour, with special reference to teacher interventions that are caring interventions (Astor, Meyer & Behre 1999). Yet, there is little information available, beyond these types of results. For instance, it has been shown that teaching efficacy, which relates to students' antisocial behaviour is unclear, although one may guess that teachers who believe they can influence students' behaviour may be more successful at doing so than teachers who have a weaker sense of efficacy. However, there is little information available at present on the connection between teachers' efficacy and its effect on student behaviour. The professional literature is also not clear as to teachers' willingness or inclination to intervene, nor are there research indications of skill levels of teachers (perceived or actual) when they engage in interventions seeking to prevent violent or antisocial behaviour.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to find answers to the problem as observed in students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township secondary schools and to answer the following question: What is the role of classroom teacher behaviours inhibiting and/or preventing students' antisocial and violent behaviour in schools?

The study also attempted to find justification for cooperation and communication on the meso-level among the teacher, the parents, the students and community by providing answers to the question: Is there a difference, in practice, between socio-educational and medical and criminal justice measures?

Specifically, the study sought answers to the following questions:

- (1) What is the role of primary socialisation by parents and home?
- (2) To what extent does parent and community involvement in school help in preventing antisocial behaviour?

- (3) What is the influence of secondary socialisation, namely, peer groups, adults and media on students' antisocial behaviour?
- (4) Is teacher efficacy feasible in the schools?

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS

The main aims of this research were:

- (1) to disseminate knowledge of socio-educational rather than medical and criminal justice-responses to students' antisocial and violent behaviour.
- (2) to explore and identify factors surrounding students' antisocial behaviour.
- (3) to examine teacher behaviours that might inhibit or prevent antisocial behaviour.
- (4) to investigate the meso-level of teacher cooperation and communication with students and parents
- (5) to be able to deal with school and classroom as socio-educational background, as well as the teacher-student-parent relationship as central factors in teaching social behaviour and reducing students' antisocial behaviour.
- (6) to devise a strategy for teachers on how to deal effectively with students' antisocial and violent behaviour.

1.5 DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS

The following concepts are used in this investigation in the context indicated hereunder:

1.5.1 African

The term African in the present study refers to Black people generally (excluding the Indians, Whites and Coloureds).

1.5.2 Anomie

The word *anomie* seems, first appeared in the English language in 1591, in the work of the historian Lambada, who wrote: *To set an anomie and to bring disorder, doubt and uncertainty over all*. The term anomie is from a Greek root *nomos* interpreted in several ways, which means “custom” “practice”, and “law”, that is to say *anomos* means “lawlessness” (Durkheim 1961:34; Merton 1964:226). For the purpose of this study, the concept *anomie* will refer lawlessness, disorder and normlessness.

1.5.3 Antisocial and prosocial behaviour

According to the Oxford American Dictionary (1999:35) antisocial behaviour is a “behaviour that is opposed or contrary to normal social instincts or practices.” Antisocial can be conceptualised as a continuum, including behaviours less physical - violent behaviours highly physical - violent. At the less violent end would be rudeness and incivility, while at the other end would lie violent antisocial behaviours of rape, murder and armed assault. Prosocial behaviour in this study shall refer to voluntary actions that intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals. Eisenburg and Mussen (1989:3) refer to prosocial behaviour as those behaviours that are “performed voluntary rather than under duress.”

1.5.4 Deviance

Deviance in this investigation refers to aberrant behaviour. According to Merton (1964:11) aberrant deviants are people “who basically accept the validity of social rules but break them for some personal gain”.

1.5.5 Pedagogue efficacy and attribution theory

Pedagogues with a strong sense of teaching *self-efficacy* believe they can positively influence behaviour modification and student achievement. Teaching self-efficacy is the belief that “teachers can have an important positive effect on students” (Eggen & Kauchak 2001:436). Teacher

efficacy is closely related to attribution theory, whereby individuals explain their success and failures to themselves (Weiner 1994). Attribution theory describes how teachers explain, to themselves, their success or failures in teaching. There are four attributions: effort, ability, luck, and task difficulty. Teachers high in self-efficacy explain their successes to themselves in terms of their personal effort and ability, instead of luck or task difficulty. Effort is the only attribution an individual can control. Consequently, teachers who feel powerless (low self-efficacy teachers) attribute their failures (and successes) to external controls such as luck ("I'm unlucky"), or task difficulty ("They are an appalling group of students"). Teachers high in a self-efficacy attribute their failures (and success) to internal controls such as ability ("I'm a skilful teacher") or effort ("I perform to be an effective teacher").

1.5.6 Subculture

As used in the present investigation, the concept subculture refers to the understanding that there are value judgements or some social value system which is apart from and a part of a larger central value system. These are shared values that are learned, adopted and even exhibited by participants in the subculture and that differ in quantity and quality from those of the dominant culture. The subculture is important to principals of multicultural schools because the students' antisocial and violent behaviour can be classified as both *a priori* assumption and *posteriori* interpretation (Wolfgang & Ferracuti 1966:99-100). Because of the many students' criminal subcultures' in township secondary schools, the subculture concept is important. From the point of view of the dominant school culture, the values of the subculture set the central value system apart and prevent under achievers from proceeding with their academic goal, occasionally causing open or covert conflicts.

1.5.7 Subculture of violence

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1966) argue in their thesis that the subculture of violence is "the value system of some subcultures which not only demands solidarity, but also expects violence in certain social situations". For example, in a school situation, it can be regarded as a norm which affects daily behaviour that is in conflict with the conventional educational culture. For the present study

the term subculture of violence shall refer to derogatory remarks, or appearance of a weapon in the hands of an adversary, jostling, fist fighting, stick fighting and bullying. ✓

1.5.8 Teacher interventions

Interventions by a teacher are defined as any verbal, nonverbal and/or physical response by a teacher to an actual or threatened antisocial or violent behaviour by a student or students. ✓ Interventions can also be seen to apply to responses to prosocial student behaviour as well. Teacher interventions may be caring (warm, supportive, eager and/or show an interest in helping the students) or they may be non-caring (simply functional responses or harsh, punitive and/or unhelpful responses).

1.5.9 Tsotsi

According to Ndabandaba (1974:35) the term "tsotsi" refers to a "criminal tough guy" and it came to be used in Johannesburg in 1946 following the exhibition of a film entitled *Stormy weather* in which an all American Black cast wore stove-pipe trousers, wide-brimmed hats and massive watch chains. Freed (1963:73) defined "tsotsi" as an "organized crime syndicate group formed mostly by township males between the ages of 12 and 40 years old." The term "tsotsi" in this research shall refer to African youths who have adopted the Western culture in terms of language, clothes, music, food and a middle class lifestyle, but use illegitimate means to achieve middle class status or material success.

1.5.10 Violent behaviour and violence

Violent behaviour and violence are forms of antisocial behaviour, yet imply a more forceful and more-extreme manifestation of antisocial behaviour where bodily and/or emotional injury is likely. ✓ Thus, violent behaviour is defined as an "antisocial behaviour that involves great physical force" (Oxford American Dictionary 1999). The terms antisocial behaviour and violence do not necessarily imply a breach of law, they are not synonymous with the word "crime".

The present investigation will be conducted according to Merton's theory of *anomie* lawlessness among the youths. Here, Merton (1964:226) wrote of American society as being the cause of much of the youths' antisocial and violent behaviour which it faced. This is due to the fact that American society stresses material success, high and specialised educational standards without creating opportunities for its realisation by all its citizens.

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD

A detailed description of the research methodology used for this study is covered in chapter four of this thesis. This section, however, serves as a brief introduction to the method that was used to understand students' violent behaviour in township schools.

The present study was qualitative in design, and gathered data through naturalistic observation and interview methodology. It involves applied research, where the starting point is a "problem in the real world, and is designed to provide information" (Biddle & Anderson 1986:236; Patton 1990). Data gathering through naturalistic observation and interviews was necessary for the present study because the researcher observed the behaviour of the participants in their natural environment and also made an attempt to change or limit the environment or the behaviour of the participants (Graziano & Raulin 2000:49).

Ostensibly, participant observation is favoured by researchers because it includes "reliance on first hand information, high face validity of data, and reliance on relatively simple and inexpensive methods" (De Vos et al 1998:228). In participant observation, observations are made in order to learn about the ways in "which people usually make sense or attach meaning to the world around them" (Schurink 1998:279). Individual interviews usually comprise "open-response questions to obtain data of participant meaning - how individuals conceive of their world and how they explain or make sense of the important events in their world and how they explain or make sense of the important events in their lives" (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:443). Generally, either participant observation or individual interviews may respectively form a research study's main data collection strategy, but both were utilised in the present investigation. In the present study, observation

strategies were followed by individual and focus groups interviews (MacMillan & Schumacher 2001:443)

1.6.1 Empirical research

It seems unexpected that given the amount of empirical research that has been done into studies of human motivation and behaviour, there still exist high rates of students' antisocial and violent behaviour. Most of the empirical research incorporating students' antisocial and violent behaviour has focussed on school conditions and school curriculum. Regarding school conditions, empirical studies have analysed school conditions that foster antisocial behaviour. These factors include a lack of clarity, a lack of rules and policy enforcement and instruction which is ineffective (Biglan 1995; Mayer 1995). There have also been a number of empirical studies into approaches that address violence, such as conflict resolution programs, or programmes that seek to prevent weapons and drugs being brought to school.

It seems better to pursue the prevention of students' antisocial and violent behaviour because it is less distressing to both the individual and society than efforts to correct such behaviour after its manifestation to an individual. Early research that looked into the effectiveness of violence prevention programmes was mixed, some proved not effective at all, while others were ineffective when compared to new and different situations. For example, Webster (1993) reviewed three schools curricula specifically designed to prevent violence. He found that there was no evidence of a long-term change in students' violent behaviour in any of the schools he studied. Biglan (1995) and Mayer (1995) have described how improvement in teaching practices - the way teachers teach and the way they interact with students- may reduce the incidence of certain types of antisocial behaviour, including vandalism and dropping out of school.

Whereas there has been research into school conditions and school programs, relatively few studies have looked closely at the importance of the teacher-student relationship and its effect on students' antisocial behaviour. Some very current research has suggested that higher levels of student safety in school are associated with a prevailing sense among students that teachers care about students, and that a lack of caring fosters overt and covert forms of violence within schools

(Thayer-Bacon 1999). Astor et al (1999:24-25) observed a striking link between caring behaviour by teachers and students' violent behaviour in school. They identified that "teachers who made efforts to ensure students' attendance, expected students to do quality work, and went beyond what the students expected in terms of personal support". Those teachers whose interventions were perceived as most caring-responded clearly and unequivocally to antisocial behaviour and potential students' violence. The majority of these teachers claimed that they would intervene, regardless of location and time because they did not perceive hallways and other undefined spaces such as toilets as being unowned. As educators, they argued that they owned the whole school territory or whatever space the students occupied, expressing that they felt personally obligated to the whole child regardless of the setting, location, time, or expected professional role. It must be noted that these teachers although admired by administration were not offered overt or formal support. They acted alone and courageously. It was also noted that some teachers expressed an interest and support for caring involvement, but were hesitant to do so without a support from administration. The researcher also noted that these teachers experienced a "pervasive sense of powerlessness regarding what they could and couldn't do". While some teachers could respond strongly and in a caring way to students, it appears that many more may require the support of school district administrator and systematic support before they can do so. Unfortunately, there are few similar studies that corroborate these findings.

1.6.2 Three phases of research

The present investigation consisted mainly of two phases, namely, Phase 2 and Phase 3. Research preceding the present investigation will be referred to as Phase 1. Phase 1 began in 1992, with the observation of homeless children which was followed by informal interviews. Phase 1 was an informal study that helped focus the issues for the present investigation. Accordingly, the two phases that comprise the present investigation will be referred to as Phase 2 (participant observation and individual interviews) and Phase 3 (focus group interviews).

Participants for Phase 2 of the present investigation consist of fifteen teachers appointed permanently to primary and secondary township schools. These teachers work in township schools where students' violence is relatively common. These interviews are the culmination of

the present investigation, yielding findings that can help identify ways that teachers and schools can prevent and lessen the effects of students' violent behaviour. While it cannot be assumed that most township teachers work in violence-ridden schools, the converse generalisation is accurate. Schools where students' violence behaviour is common are largely, although not exclusively, located in townships, which tend to have the largest population of working class students. The townships where the present investigation was conducted were the Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve townships in the metropolitan area of Tshwane. It is hoped that a focus on township teachers for individual interviews will permit this investigation to be relevant in other township schools where students' violence is also a serious problem.

The third phase of the present investigation (Phase 3) involves a focus group discussion. This stage will fill a gap which may have been overlooked in Phase 2. The subjects for the study include: three teachers, three students and two parents (members of the School Governing Body). These individuals participated in the study because of their knowledge and experience about students' antisocial behaviour in township schools.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study was limited to observations of, and individual interviews and focus group interviews with out of school youths, students, parents and teachers in the Gauteng Province. This limitation does not support generalisation of the findings to groups of students and teachers in the other parts of the world, nor does it lend itself to the forming of generalisations about other groups of students and teachers in South Africa itself.

The study did not deeply address the current South African educational policy, particularly the banning of corporal punishment. African subcultures of violence were touched upon, but details regarding various deviant subcultures of township youths were not included in the present study. Another area which was not intensely examined was the strengths and the weaknesses of School Governing Bodies (SGB) in township schools.

The present study did also not seek to ascertain particular perspectives of educational administrators, religious and political leaders, and the police. Antisocial and violent behaviour is a complex phenomenon, the result of many factors. It follows that efforts to prevent antisocial and violent behaviour must take into account a variety of factors. The guidelines produced by the present investigation must be seen as guidelines applicable only to schools.

1.8 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The study is reported in six chapters. The following is the outline of these chapters.

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter which contains a general orientation; analysis of the problem, research problem, aims of the study, definition of terms, an outline of the research methodology and concludes with a brief resume of the chapters within the study.

Chapter 2 contains the review of literature available on the subject of students' violence in township schools within the socio educational perspective. The review as proposed by Merton (1968) was intended to reveal that students' antisocial and violent behaviour is caused by blocking the educational success of students by not providing all the educational means. It traces the methods of the functionalist, conflict, interpretivist and complexity theoretical models of preventing students' antisocial and violent behaviour in schools (Badenhorst 1998). It shares information about contemporary development within the field of socio-education using the ideas of various educationalists such as Butterfield (1997) and Gay and Airasian (2000) to highlight the importance of socialisation of children by home and the school. The chapter argues that contemporary punitive theory is at the point of change, and suggests that non-punitive measures are a deterrent to antisocial and violent behaviour.

In Chapter 3, the theory and the origin of youth violent behaviour are taken up, using the variety of strain theory designed by Durkheim (1897), Merton (1968), Cloward (1959). The chapter examines the historical formation of African subcultures of violence and whether it contributes to township school violence. The chapter builds on ideas expressed in Chapter 2 to show that students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools in South Africa is unique.

Chapter 4 begins with literature review on qualitative research design and then gives an outline of the research design. This includes specifying the target group, sample and sampling method, the research instruments and measures of credibility and data collection

Chapter 5 presents data on Phases 1,2 and 3 as obtained from the respondents and viewed by various authors and the view proposed by the current study. The data and various tenets of educators, parents and students were analysed

Chapter 6 presents a general summary, the conclusions from the study and recommendations related to violence as observed on international, national, regional and local levels at schools. It is hoped that this study will provoke further research. Thus, the chapter includes recommendations for further research in those areas outside the scope of the current study, or which arose out of the study.

1.9 SUMMARY

The school violence which has raged in township secondary school during the last three decades makes it necessary to look more closely at the behaviour of educators. Educators are gate keepers of school discipline and it is part of their professional practice to manage students' antisocial and violent behaviour in the classroom as well as on the school premises. These forms of behaviour have great consequences not only for the direct administration of the schools, but also socially, economically and politically and to society. Violent behaviour is perhaps the greatest challenge to the larger society even to world peace and stability and underlines a great deal of human suffering from its direct and indirect effects.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIALISATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH: ROLE OF THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the functions of home, school and community have long been acknowledged as essential in the socialisation of children and youths, only recently has this function seemed vital and indispensable towards society at large. According to Clune (1995) the function of parents and home is crucial towards teaching children and youth prosocial behaviour and prevention of antisocial and violent behaviour. Maria Montessori, an educator, spoke of the importance of education as a socialisation process, and in her schools she set up a continuing, natural social environment that was effectual and conducive for learning. Montessori abstracted the socialising qualities of the home, school, peers and community and synthesised them into a highly-controlled, well-structured environment where the teacher plays a non-dominant role, but as a facilitator of classroom activities (Montessori 1988:204-205). The non-dominant role of a teacher took its roots from constructivist pedagogy which had spread to schools throughout the world (Brooks & Brooks 1993; Bruffee 1993).

Epstein (1998) questioned Montessori teaching methods by asking how her pupils could possibly be socialised given the non-dominant role of the teacher? After her study she found that the subtle power of educative environment and the power of a group itself in socialisation supports non dominant roles of the teacher (Epstein 1998:25). Montessori's understanding of a child's social life and her innovation of classroom teaching style were in contradiction with the teaching of pedagogies that reflect the dominance of and reliance on the teacher as the sole method of classroom instruction and socialisation of children (Wheelock 1986; Finch 1993).

Of late, however, most professional literature on antisocial behaviour reveals that educative models do not place an emphasis on socialisation, but on medication and retributive measures. Medication measures have gradually been perceived to be increasingly valuable as a treatment for

students' antisocial behaviour. The popularity of the drug *Ritalin* is an indicative of this perception (Klein & Goldston 1977:vii). In addition to medication measures, retributive (punitive) measures, have also come to be seen as an appropriate treatment for antisocial and violent behaviour. Even more popular than medication, reliance upon punitive, criminal justice measures have become popularly seen as effective (or as the only) measures to address serious problems like antisocial behaviour and violence. Whereas some medical and criminal justice measures may be fitting responses to antisocial behaviour and violence once those behaviours have occurred, such measures stand apart from the preventive (and thus, educative) measures in child and youth socialisation. In a discussion of primary prevention, some teachers and parents were against the inclusion of potentially disruptive and violent students in regular education classrooms and schools (Gottfredson 1987). While some antisocial behaviours are unpredictable (especially some forms of violence), and even not preventable, a great deal of antisocial behaviour is clearly preventable.

Non-punitive prevention, which occurs prior to an undesirable act and involves no punitive measures, is deeply rooted in the centre of socialisation. Recent research showed that non-punitive measures have dramatic value in preventive efforts and youth behaviour. Hartley (1977:72) in his study of sixty teachers who received intensive training over a lengthy period of time in ways to foster socialisation in their classes, found that teachers can change antisocial behaviour of a child in high school without involving punitive measures.

Research has identified risk factors that contribute to the development of antisocial behaviours as well as protective factors that help children and youth to develop resiliency to overcome risk. This is more so in regard to Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (AD/HD) and learning disabilities (LD). Hawkins presents a model that promotes prosocial behaviour; and it suggests considerations for preventive practice (Hawkins 1995:10-18). This view was also held by Hartley (1977:72) who argues that, "schools could do something about what happens to a child in high school, in terms of social behaviour, by teaching certain skills to a sixth grade teacher". However, preventive rather than punitive measures, with respect to students' antisocial and violent behaviour, have been the subject of very little investigation. Hawkins (1995:13) pointed out that much research has taken for granted that repercussions (rewards and punishments) are inherently motivating, especially regarding preventing antisocial behaviour in at-risk students.

2.2 SOCIALISATION OF CHILDREN AND THE YOUTH

This section attempts to examine the socialisation process of children and the youth by the family and the school. The term socialisation has been defined as the process whereby children become members of a social group (or the community), in the sense that they learn to behave according to the value and norms of the group or community (Prinsloo & Du Plessis 1998:11). Botha (1977:39-40) added that this membership includes both intimate and impersonal experiences in work, school and participation in groups. Socialisation can thus be perceived as an essential component of learning to become human. It is the general process by which the individual becomes a member of a social group, which includes learning all the attitudes, beliefs, customs, values, roles and expectations of the social group (O'Keefe 1997:368-376). It is a truly worldwide process.

Although there are cultural differences within different nations, there are basic and worldwide similarities in the way children are raised and socialised, apart from the influence of their particular culture. This cross-cultural similarity is especially true with respect to the acquisition of prosocial behaviour. Eisenberg and Mussen (1989:32) wrote that although many behaviours and values are specific to one's culture, "membership in a cultural group can account only for general tendencies; it cannot be used to explain individual variations within a culture in the propensity to act prosocially." The researcher emphasises that antisocial behaviour emerges from the child's socialisation experiences, including all the child's interactions with parents whom are regarded as the most significant agent of socialisation when compared with peers, teachers and the mass media. These socialisation experiences are critical in moulding the child's prosocial disposition (Eisenberg & Mussen 1989:33). Furthermore, the child or young person is "educated in particular social relationships and social situations for adequate social life, from interpersonal interaction to international coexistence" (Prinsloo & Du Plessis 1998:4). Parents, educators, and members of society usually agree in this matter: Schools' and teachers' efforts must be prosocial, that is, oriented towards the good of society. This holds true across different cultures. A society that does not foster prosocial behaviour will almost certainly not survive.

In 1997, the sociologist Emile Durkheim argued that in order for people to live a contented existence in society, there need to be regulative power that is respected. There need in society to be norms and values that are internalised by individuals in society and enforced by legitimate authority. The society needs to limit the expectations of the individual in accordance with the resources available in the society. Likewise, in the township there is not a moral vacuum, but rather a lack of a normal moral authority particularly in relation to youth. Of course, optimally for Durkheim, nomination of members of the youth organisation, should occur in a social order that is just and democratic. For Durkheim, the main problem of modern society is that the moral regulators of the past, for example, a strong kinship network, or a forceful church (during the French revolution in the 1800s when the church replaced the absolute monarch power), has to be seen replaced by any other moral authority. The anomic state of society is such that society has broken away from moral bonds of traditionalism, but has not yet become subject to new and more appropriate moral regulation (Durkheim 1961).

Durkheim (1961:233) emphasised that in order for children to learn prosocial behaviour, they must first become oriented towards the well-being of others. He wrote that, “moral behaviour demands an inclination towards collectivity”. In other words, before one can teach children good behaviour, one must first instil in them a desire (inclination) towards the well being of others. Before they learn what to do, children must first want to do well for others. Furthermore, socialisation implies that some focus must be *outer*; other persons, which Durkheim called *collectivity*. This inclination towards collectivity is the necessary precondition for socialisation to begin and to carry on. It is important to note that medicinal and criminal justice (retributive) measures are not preventive, because they do little or nothing to advance one’s inclination towards collectivity. If nothing else, criminal justice measures may actually serve to decrease one’s predisposition to do well towards others, and work contrary to the development of prosocial behaviour. Despite universal proletariat wisdom that advocates strong measures in response to antisocial behaviour, such as ‘spare the rod, spoil the child’ (Gunnoe & Mariner 1997:768-775), there is no evidence that this is truly the case. There is no evidence that through the administration of medicine, or through the imposition of criminal sanctions, a child becomes oriented towards the well being of others, or towards the well being of herself or himself.

2.2.1 Primary socialisation of the child: the role of the home

Primary socialisation of a child is usually provided by the family and home, while secondary socialisation is bestowed by school, peer groups and the media (Allais & McKay 1995:126). The first social relationship of each child lies within the family, it is the parent-child bond. From the very first hours of life an infant engages in behaviours that complement and become synchronised with actions of the parent (Gormly 1997:127; Reissland 1988). The “I-you” relationship (also called attachment) is a tie of affection that the infant forms with one specific adult caregiver (usually, the birth mother) that binds them together in space, endures over time, and fosters survival (Bowlby 1980:39-41). This bond forms the foundation for future social development, by creating a secure base from which the infant can explore the physical and social environment and gradually develop a sense of autonomy. Ultimately, the “relationship between parent and child is characterised by a common orientation towards a common goal, namely the child’s becoming an adult” (Prinsloo & Du Plessis 1998:7). This relationship is bidirectional; the child and parent are each oriented towards and attracted to the other and the way the child responds to the parent will in turn influence the way the parent reacts to the child.

The trusting relationship by the parents provides the child with physical security as well as the child’s social education. According to Prinsloo and Du Plessis (1998:11), this signals “awakening of a positive attitude to fellow human beings and awakening a sense of social conscience”. This awakening of a tendency or inclination towards prosocial behaviour is facilitated by a secure maternal attachment. As the child grows, he or she moves on to display this tendency with non-parental adults. In total, if the “primary relationship is affectionate and nurturing, the child is more likely to imitate the parent’s or teacher’s prosocial behaviour when interacting with others” (Eisenberg & Mussen 1989:78). Studies of parenting and African adolescents reveal that this prosocial effect probably decreases as children age. Vilakazi (1962) added that among Africans “staying away of children from parents increases as children grow, although girls’ relations with parents remain generally closer than the relationship of adolescent boys and their parents.” If that secure bond has not developed early in life, it is likely that the adolescent years will indeed be more turbulent. This will place the adolescent at a greater risk for displaying antisocial and violent behaviour.

In contrast to a strong bond created by warm, secure, caring and loving primary attachment, abusive and harsh treatment of the infant can inhibit the development of prosocial behaviour and foster antisocial behaviour. For example, in a study of homeless children housed in a place of safety (Twilight Children Centre in Hillbrow), fifteen homeless boys (adolescents) were observed how they react when one was in some form of distress. Homeless children responded with fear, anger or aggression as opposed to empathy. Normally, children who have not been abused will show numerous prosocial behaviours such as concern, sadness, and empathy, when in the presence of a distressed child. Vuchinich, Bank and Patterson (1992:512) also discovered that regarding antisocial behaviour, there is a symbiotic relationship between parent and child and it is as if “ineffective parent discipline and child antisocial behaviour mutually maintain each other”.

Harsh, neglectful, abusive treatment of children, or indifference on the part of the parents can inhibit the development of prosocial behaviour. Uninvolved parents refer to those parents who are neglectful and indifferent to the child’s need for affection, structure and not regulated discipline. Children of uninvolved parents show greater impulsivity, earlier sexual behaviour, greater use of drugs and lower self-esteem (Fulgini & Eccles 1993; Kurdek & Fine 1994; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch 1991). According to Gormly (1997:225), uninvolved parents tend to “produce children who are aggressive and show disagreeable behaviour”.

Moving from primary to secondary socialisation, it is tempting to consider, for example, how closely the findings about the effects of moral decay of African family values in townships apply to the students’ *anomic* lawlessness in township schools. This is particularly relevant given the situation that in many township secondary schools teachers are unprepared to teach overcrowded classrooms, and to prevent students’ antisocial and violent behaviour.

2.2.2 Secondary socialisation of the children and the youth: the role of the school

The process of secondary socialisation is necessary because it represents the way children and the youth start to learn about the nature of the social world beyond the primary contacts. Although the main emphasis of schools is academic instruction, it still remains the key agent of socialisation, complementing the role of parents and the community. The importance of the role of the school

in socialisation is universal; it is exemplified by the action of government in establishing public schools. With the collapse of the apartheid system of education, South Africa, like many nations introduced a mandatory, compulsory education for all its citizens (Bengu 1997). Compulsory education has more recently come to Asian and other African countries. Recently, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo instituted Universal Basic Education (UBE), a compulsory and free education programme for all Nigerian children from age six through fifteen, because the nation's system of education declined rapidly during the 1990's (Reuters World News 1999).

Universally, there existed a strong connection between a child's readiness for school, and the preliminary education (socialisation) done by the parents and community prior to the child's entry. According to Badenhorst (1998:58) when describing some major forces that have shaped schools, he pointed out that "until recently, schools could assume that all children who entered school were well-prepared and ready for the socialisation to be undertaken by the school". In most nations of the world, upper-class and middle class children had an advantage of support from home and community that working class and poor children lacked. As a result, the latter dropped either out of school, or simply did not acquire the benefits from their schooling. Madisha (2001:2) mentioned that 42.1 percent, that is, 449,000 students did not pass their matriculation in 2001 and most of them came from economically disadvantaged communities. According to Madisha, chairman of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) more equitable educational resources should be distributed in favour of poor working class and rural schools (Madisha 2001). However, it appears that township secondary schools need more than equitable educational resources, namely, a new culture of teaching and learning as well as moral discipline for both teachers and students. In a similar direction, the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) had already begun to address safety of children in schools by passing legislation that all schools must lock their gates during school hours and suspend the role of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in schools (Jacobs 2002). The direction of the GDE seems to be aimed at the socialising value of schools which could only be realised if students experience the environment as safe.

The actual staffing of schools is also vital to realise the goal of socialisation. Caring by classroom teachers serves as an important guide to prosocial behaviour because it contributes towards the emotional and social well being of students. Professional guidance was introduced in South Africa

in all schools, but the service is still not available in many township schools and the classroom teachers provide guidance to their classes. Naidoo and Searle (1999:1-2) reported that by 2000, few township secondary schools would be able to employ guidance teachers. While the South African schools' guidance situation is more equitable today, there is a greater need for guidance teachers in township secondary schools to guide the aspirations of students. The service of guidance teachers is now possible because by 1996, funds allocated for Black schools were increased with 147 percent (Constas 1997:682).

South African schools have been severely challenged by students' violent behaviour, both within the school grounds and in the classrooms. It appears that most school violence is the result of interpersonal conflicts that lead to a desire for revenge. Straker (1992:3-4) claim that today the triggers to violence are "more sensitive, involving a quickness to bristle, an anticipation of offence....an individual with violent behaviour has a tendency to hurt other individuals with no evidence of malicious guilt". In South Africa, a major factor generating violence in schools and in the community is *tsotsi* gang activity (Seekings 1992), while other authors mention peer pressure, dysfunctional families, drugs, stress and self-defence (MacArthur 1999). There are overarching factors that promote interpersonal violence, whether initiated through *tsotsi* gang activity, or individual initiatives. These include the availability of guns and firearms among the students. In South Africa, there are more than 3.5 million firearms registered to private individuals, and up to another million unregistered firearms. These firearms are being used in ways that create dangers to students and teachers, especially in township schools. Masuku (1998), in his report about the Safe Schools, wrote, "students and teachers are daily faced with the dangers of being robbed, mugged, raped or shot in their schools". He further said, whilst in the past most teachers would feel unsafe from strangers or outsiders in their schools, today they sometimes feel unsafe from the very students they are teaching.

2.2.3 The background to township youth and the home

The youth in South Africa, especially in townships are not a homogenous grouping. Many of these youth come from the most terrible and humiliating conditions of squalor where some do not even live with their parents, but with siblings (Marks 2001). Others come from matchbox homes and

yet others from homes which are relatively lower middle class. Very few of the youth are from middle class homes. However, in the schools, there is a unity across the class divisions and a general acceptance of one another's living conditions. The majority of the children and the youth are from working class families. The lives of these youth are bounded by material deprivation and little chance of upward mobility. Schools are therefore potentially and actually very valuable, both to the child and his or her family, and to society at large. Schools are valuable because children tend to be physically safer in schools than in township streets and homes. The intended purpose of schools is to play an essential role in the positive socialisation of township children.

There are several different theoretical perspectives or views that have led to the manifestation of students' violent behaviour in townships. The first view professes that punitive measures prevent children' antisocial behaviour. Setiloane, cited in Straker (1992:53) conducted a study on the attitudes of ordinary African children about discipline and it was found that they "favoured harsh discipline for what seemed to be fairly minor infringements even within their family circles. Strict discipline was perceived as an indication of concern". The implication of this is that many youths are used to this form of discipline in their homes. In return, many teachers use corporal punishment in their classrooms as a form of control and discipline. It appears that corporal punishment is applied by teachers as a means of socialisation and prevention of students' antisocial and violent behaviour. Strict discipline is perceived by some teachers as a way to compel young people to "adapt to the economic, political and social institutions of their own society" (Badenhorst 1998:59).

Another view is that students' learn violent behaviour from their homes and families. Urbanisation and social dislocation has a profound impact on traditional family values. Moral decay and social *anomie* lawlessness, peer group pressure and mass media have negatively undermined African family values. It appears that children emulated the freedom of expression and normless behaviour of some township adults who have abandoned tribal life and certain customs. In the past, African traditional values were protected under the previous government both in the township as well as in the homelands were adult deviant behaviour and youth unruliness was effectively controlled (Cherry 1999a). Although the introduction of the principle of democracy in South Africa should be hailed, it appears that it undermined the role of chiefs in controlling deviant behaviour in their

territory and promotes social *anomie* lawlessness in townships. For example, youth *anomic* lawless behaviour in homes, families and community institutions is prevented through local impromptu punitive measures. The application of punitive measures by some township parents appears to be harsh which, in many ways, leads to the child to grow up to accept that violent means are the only methods of solving problems. Children do not only learn violent behaviour from their homes and families, but also from other immoral township adults.

Sexual molestation of babies and excessive punishment of a child contributes to adolescents' violent behaviour. Badenhorst (1998) believes that the collapse of family authority among some township families has contributed to a loss of moral purpose and a sense of alienation including sexual molesting of babies and physical as well as emotional family violence. The problem of family violence is being exacerbated, especially when it is contained within the family or home. The introduction of the Bill of Rights solved some major problems related to family violence, but has also curtailed the role of some parents and teachers in preventing violent behaviour by means of corporal punishment because even "parents can be arrested for spanking a child" (Bloch 2000). The interpretation of the Bill of Rights, regarding corrective measures against deviant and delinquent behaviour not only contradicts some African traditions and customs, but has also caused tension even among some government officials who are implementing the law. This was well illustrated when the former Minister of Safety and Security, Steve Tshwete told Barney Pitso, the previous Commissioner of Human Rights, not to interfere with the way the police operate (Bloch 2000:12-13). It can be deduced then that the values enshrined in the Bill of Rights are in sharp contradiction to the experience of people on the ground, especially parents. To an ordinary child and possibly some parents, democracy has created the expectation of equality and protection of social *anomie* lawlessness by government.

The liberal democratic values enshrined in the national Constitution, have created tension between township parents and their children. In seeking identity and fulfilment of their aspirations, the youth, then choose to respect the youth structures as opposed to the family authority. This was confirmed by Straker (1992) that the youth, owing to the breakdown of the family unit, have searched outside the family for support structures and places in which they can develop an identity which is recognised and respected. by the political power of the new democratic order. According

to Durkheim, cited in Giddens (1979:3), in order for “ people to live a contented existence in society, there needs to be a regulative power that is respected”. With particular regard to the breakdown of adult authority in families, township youth pays more allegiance to youth movements which are aligned to political parties. In the last decade or so, most of the dominant youth organisations paid allegiance to political parties and they were heavily involved in political violence. It is the involvement of the youth in political violence that has created tension between the parents and the youth. Many parents did not approve that their children should be involved in political violence, but because parents had nothing to offer materially, some of the youth chose to ignore the authority of their parents and support the latter.

The other key arena which led to students’ *anomie* lawlessness and violence was mass resistance in South Africa’s Black townships in the 1980’s. It became difficult for parents to control their children because some of the youth structures were already addressing crime, violence and family violence by establishing street courts (Straker 1992). In the decade of the 1980’s, children became used to power and control, and refused to yield to the authority of the state, adults, their parents and teachers whom they despised (Cherry 1999a). While many youths may not have been structurally involved in political organisations, they were no doubt involved in the resistance campaigns and activities of the 1980’s. Peer pressure groups in townships were so effective that almost all the youngsters participated in antisocial and violent behaviour and those who did not participate were “the exception rather than the rule” (Straker 1992:19).

There is no doubt that the spirit of revolution first touched African family settings and spilled over to the township schools where schools were turned into violent conflict. After the introduction of the new democratic order in 1994, township students discovered that they had lost the student power they commanded for two decades or so, that they were still faced with extreme poverty and little chance of eventual employment. There were constraints where some of the youth could not afford to pay school fees and a general feeling among the youth that they still lacked decent classroom and learning equipment. The conditions in schools rekindled the spirit of revolution of the 1980’s. According to Carter (1992:3), the “youth have developed a frightening belief upon which they acted, that is, they were going to die and they are battle-hardened soldiers”. The spirit

of revolution and radicalism was still not erased in their minds and was carried forth into today's school environment and formed part of the township youth subculture of violent behaviour.

It appears that the educational authorities did not attempt to transform the spirit of township youth revolution and their aspirations. It seems that policy makers in education believed that by provision of free and compulsory education, township students would return to classrooms and learn. These unstated assumptions, probably, were based on the belief that there is a well-functioning state in place, one which collects revenue and is able to deliver social services and is capable of providing free education. It was never realised that many people are battling economically and cannot pay their basic services (such as paying of electricity and water). Cherry (1999a) in her research on *declining democracy*, based on interviews and therapeutic work with youth from KwaZakhele townships, discovered that "most of the youths" interviewed "had no stable family unit, many came from single family homes, or homes with no parents at all". Straker (1992:xi) also referred to some parents leaving their children with "relatives and neighbours, deprived of opportunities for decent schooling and drenched in a culture of violence with no positive role models". Township schools were left with a momentous task of socialisation of these youth who are not properly educated, do not know how to solve their own problems and what is the accepted prosocial behaviour in schools.

In another study of township youth violent behaviour conducted by Geber and Newman (1996:56) one youth said: "Our parents think that a young person is someone with no opinion and there is no discussion about the child's problems at home". This further demonstrates the contradiction between the tribal African values and that of the new national Constitution. African tribal family values and teaching limit freedom of expression by children whilst the latter promotes it. The respondents felt that their parents have dictatorial attitudes, especially the fathers. Comparing this with findings from Straker (1992) where parents disapproved of the participation of their children in political violence, one can safely conclude that socialisation of township children by the home is a challenging task. It is obvious that proper socialisation of township youth either by homes or schools, has a long way to go in achieving this ideal.

Political parties have also contributed to township students' antisocial and violent behaviour. It is public knowledge that there are tensions between the Cosas, an ally to the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Student Organisation (Paso), an ally of the Pan African Congress (PAC). Both want to control schools (see section 1.1). These two student organisations appear to be uncontrollable because on many occasions they have defied the government and held illegal and violent protest marches. Moreover, the authorities took no decisive actions against the looters, the assault of vendors and damage of properties caused by some unruly protesters. Instead they were defended by some politicians (Mokone 1996). It appears that both Cosas and Paso also mistrust the authority structures in schools and they are often reported in various newspapers as student structures that are in opposition to school managements (Taunyane 1994; Mokone 1996; Mzilikazi 1997). The negative role played by comrade *tsotsis* found in both Cosas and Paso is fully discussed in section 3.6. In addition to some schools, they also direct their anger towards a grossly inadequate township secondary education and the failure of free education as promised by the politicians. It is highly unlikely that the present generation of students will take moral direction from teachers or principals, or even government (Mboyane 2002).

Township youth in South Africa have the greatest propensity to be involved in acts of violence. This is expected owing to their various experiences referred to above: their *transitory* position in society, their sense of themselves as moral guardians of the community and the prospect of a future of jobless with a poor educational background (Cherry 1999a). Some teachers and principals who cracked down on drug traffickers, enforcing school discipline and order were given marching orders by the student bodies (Taunyane 1994; Mzilikazi 1997). The transitory station of the township youth is exacerbated by the uncertainty of the future. Regarding a successful economic future, it appears that most youth realise that an educational qualification is the only document needed to accomplish the goal of legitimate economic success. In the past, most township youth knew exactly which political party to support, but in 2002, it was noted through the press that some youth organisations have changed their allegiance from the ruling party to another political party (Mboyane 2000). These uncertainties of township youth about their future make them vulnerable to acts of violent behaviour.

Paradoxically, it appears that one of the sources of moral decay, students' *anomic* lawlessness and alienation found in some of the township schools, is the collapse of the apartheid system. Under the previous dispensation there was a high degree of control, a feeling of predictability and order and a firm "social moral" under the Dutch Reformed Church - a morality which impacted on Christian values on which socialisation of children depended (Viadero 1999). The development of a new moral order cannot happen by itself. The schools need new institutions to fill the vacant adult authority lost in the new dispensation. The students certainly do need discipline. Giddens (1971:112) contends that, "if discipline is not good, it is not because we regard the work of nature with a rebellious eye, or that we see here a diabolical machine that has failed, but that man's nature cannot be itself unless it is disciplined". Due to the collapse of traditional authority, parents and teachers find it difficult to control students' violent behaviour. Ramphele (1996:36) wrote that the attack on "legitimate authority structure at home, school and local community by the youth was not accompanied by the creation of alternative modes of authority". It can be inferred that if traditional authority has broken down, it would be impossible for the parents and the teachers to continue with their professional mandate from the community, that is, the socialisation of the children by the schools.

The parents need to be supported by the schools and the community in their quest to provide proper socialisation of their children at home. This support however, should be critical since the temptation of protecting some groups in the face of students' violent behaviour is possible, especially in this era where crime in schools is rampant. If human rights bodies and school administration officials contradict the policy of the School Governance Body (SGB), they jointly will have to share the blame. So, it is within the means of the community to establish schools, not the justice system, to reverse the effects of moral alienation and social *anomie* lawlessness in schools and in the communities.

2.2.4 The role of the community in socialisation

The term community refers a group of people who live within some specific geographic boundaries at a certain point in time and who have cultural commonalities (Prinsloo & Du Plessis 1998:38). A community in this discussion shall refer to a cultural group especially within a

township. The role of communities has changed since earlier days when they implied strong ties of kinship and family. Communities have generally become depersonalised through forces such as increasing bureaucratisation of levels of government and increasing centralisation of power and authority.

The underpinning philosophy of the South African Schools Act (SASA) is that schools are encouraged to become self-managing and self-reliant (Madisha 2001) including in managing school violence. Given the fact that the notions of the community and management have been redefined, the principal is no longer expected to carry the burden of running the school alone. He or she is expected in terms of the amended provision of section 16 of SASA, to form a School Management Team (SMT) made up of senior staff (Asmal 2000). The SMT remains responsible for the day-to-day running of community schools and the implementation of the school policies. It is the school governing body (SGB) which determines policies (Department of Education 1996c) on aspects such as admitting new students and strategies to prevent students' antisocial and violent behaviour. The SGB therefore represents the new understanding of governance that is at the centre of the reorganisation of the school system.

Given the nomadic nature of communities in township and farming communities, some SGB's have found it difficult to manage schools in their jurisdiction. The SASA policy of 1996 demands that all children must be admitted by the nearest school. Due to economic hardship, some farmers have dismissed their workers, closed schools and dropped the dismissed families on the periphery of townships (Ngongo 1996). Those farm workers who kept their jobs found it difficult to attend to SGB matters on their respective farms. Also, the SGB's in some townships are compelled by policy (SASA of 1996) to admit all children in their jurisdiction. These are some of the challenges facing SGB's in some farm and township schools

The SGB's appeared to have failed in some community schools because the SASA policy of 1996 seems complex and difficult to execute. For example, it puts an emphasis on equity, access to education and improving the quality of provision of education. In many schools, particularly in townships, principals, SMT's, educators and SGB's are struggling with poor resources, absence of the culture of teaching and learning and *anomic* students' violent behaviour. The school

communities, even if they are willing to make a contribution, are themselves the victims of a poor education and unemployment. The banning of corporal punishment in schools without replacing it with a tangible strategy for dealing with students misbehaviour has made the task of the educators more challenging than in the past. In an attempt to address the endemic violence in township schools, several studies have been conducted to investigate its causes and the possible ways in which teachers can cope with students' anti social and violent behaviour.

The Potchefstroom University is examining the causes of violence crime and antisocial behaviour in South African schools. So far, the study, which is scheduled to continue until 2003 (Friedman 2000:1-7) has surveyed a number of townships including rural communities. The researchers identified squalor in townships as well as in the inner cities. These communities are predominantly African and impoverished, yet they also discovered that some of these neighbourhoods had lower levels of crime and violent behaviour than other neighbourhoods with exactly the same racial balance, and the same poverty levels. Some explanations for the findings of the study are quite interesting. The study identified that residents themselves in the informal squalor camps achieve public order by instituting street justice, rather than relying on external control (such as police crackdowns). Informal social control was also an example of what Naidoo and Searle (1992:4) called collective efficacy, defined by as the "willingness (of residents) to intervene and control group level processes and visible signs of social disorder, providing a key mechanism influencing opportunities for interpersonal crime in a neighbourhood" (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls 1997:918). This collective efficacy on the behalf of residents enabled them to reduce truancy, discourage the painting of graffiti and many other antisocial acts. This finding is significant because it identifies factors other than those traditionally connected with resultant violence and antisocial behaviour (e.g. poverty, racial discrimination, unemployment) and points to the importance of informal, internal neighbourhood controls instead of external, imposed sanctions. Collective efficacy is not vigilantism, which resorts to achieve its ends. But, in this situation, collective efficacy is often prosocial and in line with authority structures.

Sociology professor, Robert Sampson explained this finding in more detail. He said that the prosocial phenomenon of collective efficacy does not necessarily arise from personal or familial ties, but comes about in the presence of a "shared vision... a fusion of a shared willingness of

residents to intervene and social trust, a sense of engagement and ownership of public space” (Butterfield 1997:27). The finding points to new and promising directions towards a more holistic understanding of possible solutions by involving the community regarding violent and antisocial behaviour in children.

2.2.5 Communication and community participation

Communication and community participation are essential elements for the successful development, planning, implementation and monitoring of social control. Linking community involvement in social control and social intervention with socio-education, the findings should cause little surprise. Social interventions in this study shall refer to communication, the central concept of socio-education. The informal control exerted by communities in residents either in the township, or in suburban areas succeeds because there is effective communication. Prinsloo and Du Plessis (1998:9) described “communication as the interactive process through which thoughts, opinions, feelings or information are transferred from one person to another with the intention to inform, to influence or to elicit a reaction”. Interventions that bring about socialisation in the community are forms of communication, but they are, also in effect, means of teaching. The community in this sense is a school in the microcosm. Equally, schools and classrooms within schools are communities in the microcosm. Similar to the township neighbourhood watch which showed cohesion, classrooms within schools help to create the social glue of cohesion on a person-to person level. Teacher interventions within those classrooms may be either verbal or nonverbal, involving words, gestures, physical contact or other combinations of words and action. In any form, interventions are most effective in building social glue when they are made before the fact of misbehaviour. That is, teacher interventions are most effective when they serve to prevent misbehaviour, and when they serve to support and reinforce ongoing, prosocial behaviour. Conversely, teachers and schools (and communities) do not work efficiently as corrective, punitive enterprises. Accordingly, the community, whether it is defined as a neighbourhood or cultural group or both, has its greatest value in socialisation by providing a secure context for communication. Such a context serves its individual members and family groups well.

In addition to communication, the social context of the school works towards the fulfilment of human needs, which are essential elements in the development of the child. In Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, the fulfilment of higher level growth needs (such as knowledge, beauty and self-growth), require that lower level deficit needs must first be met (Maslow 1970, Brophy 1987:40-48). In their order from lowest to highest, these needs include survival: physiological needs, safety needs, belonging/love needs, and a need for self-esteem. The most basic need for survival includes the need to be fed and sheltered. It is unfortunate that this basic need seems not be part of the school plan by administrators. It has become a problem because, according to Prinsloo, Vorster and Sibaya (1996:316), in "South Africa the high percentage of the basic needs of students is not met and is growing by the day".

The next most basic need is personal safety. It is increasingly being identified as an unmet need, especially amongst adolescents students in township schools. It is easy to see how safety needs are compromised by school violence and antisocial behaviour. The importance of safety and security has also been emphasised by Rapoport, Rapoport and Strelitz (1977:11), citing Talbot's (1976:171) premise, including "being needed and wanted and being attended to, cared for, and protected". Schools' failure to provide for these needs has detrimental effects on the fulfilment of students' other basic needs, namely, belonging or love needs and self-esteem needs. In turn, this will diminish the likelihood that students' higher level needs (for self-actualisation) can be realised.

2.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIALISING ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

There are several different theoretical perspectives regarding the socialisation of students in schools. Realism holds a view that the world could be analysed by patient and systematic observation and described by statistics (Kalmijn 1994:258). It proposes that the world has power dynamics and sets of rules, and some are formal and others not. These rules are clearly depicted by the functional theorists such as Thompson and Powers (1983) and Fein (1990) who emphasised the statute of knowledge in organisational and educational theories which may be understood as the basic discerning of some of the set of rules.

Badenhorst (1998:59-88) describes four theoretical perspectives regarding socialisation of children by schools and they include: functionalist, conflict, interpretivist, and complexity theories. Functionalist theory holds that each person and group plays a part in the system viewed as a whole, and each part is viewed in terms of its function or purpose with respect to the entire system. Socialisation within that view seeks to have students “adapt to the economic, political and social institutions in their society” (Badenhorst 1998:59). Much of South African schooling has emphasised functionalist theory, ranging from the most recent testing and standards movement, back to the idealistic origins of its education system that placed emphasis on idealistic thinking (traditional way of doing things) rather than social concerns. The education system reflected clear objectives of the government, which mandated the various differential education systems for different ethnic groups which had many negative consequences (Dube 1985). The functionalist emphasis in South Africa’s education system (Badenhorst 1998) is also exemplified by its legal position which supports medication and criminal justice measures applied to students.

Conflict theory speculates that tension exists within society, brought about by competing interests of individuals and groups. The theory depicts, on one hand, the *haves*: those who hold power in a society, through wealth, material goods and the possessions of privilege. On the other hand are the *have-nots*, who are constantly seeking a larger share of society’s wealth, which is opposed by the group in power (Merton 1968). Conflict theory indicates that this tension results from conflict that is inherent in, for example, capitalist societies (Gottfredson 1987). For example, access to wealth is highly controlled and limited, with schools (controlled by the wealthy) playing a key role in this exclusionary process. In South Africa, even throughout the world, the children of the rich attend better schools than children of the poor. The practice of segregation, not only in South Africa, but also in some of the First World Nations, has served - and continues to serve - to ensure that this separation continues. Marxist interpretations of conflict theory (Gottfredson 1987) might point out that South African schools are even more racially segregated today than they were during the first democratic general election in 1994. Conflict theory holds that segregation in the first world nations and in South African schools is technically illegal, yet it continues to exist. Present day segregation is protected not by law, as was in the past, but by perpetuated patterns of migration and mobility. This new segregation comes about as a result of the exercise of choices available to persons with the financial resources to live in desirable, relatively crime-free and

racially homogenous areas, that is, '*de facto* segregation' (Schemo 2002; Jackson 2002). These circumstances result in the forming of mostly-White suburban communities, with well-funded schools that attract the most qualified teachers as opposed to township schools. The poor, largely African underclass remains in the township and over populated inner cities and less desirable suburbs resulting in an increase in school violence in their neighbourhood schools.

The third view on how schools socialise children is called an interpretivist perspective. This theory emphasises a scientific approach, involving observation of social behaviour that imitates the observation of natural, physical events by scientists. The ability to interpret the social behaviour of people is part of the aim of the present investigation. It is understood from the research that what is taken as normal in one cultural context may be taken differently in another cultural context. Consequently, the main task of this perspective is not to discover universal principles that govern interpretation, but to "uncover the specific framework that defines the rules and meanings of cultural life for a specific social group" (Badenhorst 1998:74). The main task of this approach is to unearth causes (and solutions) of violence and antisocial behaviour regarding the understanding of this phenomenon within the context of the culture within which it is occurring.

Finally, the complexity theory sees a world where relationship is the essential factor in determining what is observed, and how events manifest themselves (Badenhorst 1998). This theory conceptualises schools as "fluid, organic institutions" (Digiulio 2001), instead of discrete, mechanistic structures as they are seen in the functionalist view. It is not simple to identify a definition of what a school means within the complexity view because they are particularistic. In applying this theory to schools, it becomes evident that the established definition is not accepted; if accepted there are questions. Although the socialisation objectives of the complexity view are similar to those of the functionalist view, the means to achieve those objectives differ. In the complexity view, there is no prescribed, mechanical way of dealing with school violence.

The complexity view acknowledges that there is chaos in all schools. The traditional, functionalist response to chaos is to seek order through control, and that by "fixing the right parts, the whole will be fixed" (Badenhorst 1998). Accordingly, functionalist solutions to problems such as violence and antisocial behaviour are seen as a need to increase control in schools, typically

through imposition of harsher and harsher penalties, and through greater restriction of individual freedom. For instance, when students exhibit violent behaviour, it is by functionalist definition that it is unlawful, illegal and criminal behaviour. Thus, the solution arrives along with the definition of the problem. Having defined the problem as unlawful, the functionalist solution to criminal behaviour is clear: lawfulness, consisting of detection, arrest, trial and incarceration. Thus, to reduce crime in school is to detect, and then arrest the person. This is done by reporting the perpetrator to the police and all other methods of punishment such as inflicting of pain to deter crime.

However, if the issue of school violence and antisocial behaviour were to be re-framed and seen in the broader context of numerous systems occurring at once, one may be open to a richer, more holistic, and more accurate perception of the ways of preventing students' antisocial and violent behaviour. Undoubtedly, it is difficult to surpass functionalist perception, since the education system in South Africa has a tradition derived from secular traditionalism thinking, which is teacher-centred and many township schools still continue to place great emphasis on drill and memorisation. The danger with the "narrow application of functionalist interpretation is that one is missing the forest for the trees" (Digiulo 2001) of not seeing the broader social context within which students exist. In order to understand the socialisation provided by the school (including the teaching of prosocial behaviour), one must see the school as a richly complex environment and examine what teacher and students do within that environment.

2.4 SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL FACTORS THAT LEAD TO STUDENTS' ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Generally socio-educational problems rest, according to Botha (1995), on several problem areas which influence children. These problem areas include poverty, family violence, child abuse and neglect, inadequate health and welfare and family disintegration (Squelch 1998). In terms of their effect on the behaviour of young people, these problem areas contain specific socio-educative factors that lead to the development of inappropriate social behaviour identified by society as juvenile delinquency. Botha (1977:121-126) has identified four socio-educational factors that foster juvenile delinquency: disturbed involvement (family disharmony), disturbed role

identification (child-parent identification and tension), disturbed social-societal relationships (peer group associations and involvement in politics) and disturbed entry into the social environment (school factors). These factors differ from community to community and it is therefore apparent that children in different communities will also differ from each other in their social behaviour. A brief description of each factor will help to show its influence on the social behaviour of children.

2.4.1 Disturbed involvement

It is noteworthy that the family is the child's first school, and with regard to the family's educative role, that is certainly true. According to Ornstein and Levine (2000:278), the "family is the major early socialising agent and is regarded as the first medium for transmitting culture to children". At the centre of this is the mother-infant bond. In all infants, the basic sense of trust versus mistrust is established soon after birth, depending on the question of whether or not the infant will be loved, cared for, and protected from harm. It is common knowledge and it applies to all cultures that "parental rejection has a harmful, malignant effect on child development" (Rohner 1975:166) resulting in hostility and aggressive child behaviour. A child can also be harmed even before birth. Rohner (1975:167) further stated that "the health care and mother-to-be can be a victim of violence during pregnancy". Once born the new-born infant may be at serious risk of violence as well. The shaken baby syndrome has been identified (Rohner 1975) where serious brain damage, blindness, and death result from an adult's shaking an infant. According to Ornstein and Levine (2000), throughout the world, violent homes often produce violent children. In some highly aggressive adolescent boys, for example, patterns of violent behaviour show up early in life. Actually, the strongest predictors of whether or not a boy will be imprisoned by the time he is a young adult is whether or not he shows serious antisocial or violent behaviour at an early age; around four or five years of age (Buka & Earls 1993; Zahn-Waxler 1987) The family is also a formidable shaper of children's self-concepts, and for girls, the family may be an especially strong factor in the development of self-concept. Marjoribanks and Mboya (1998) conducted a study, looking at factors affecting the self-concepts of students in township secondary schools. They discovered that manifest variables for self-concept were based in family social status, most essentially, the number of parents in the family, and the quality of family housing. Among the female students in the study, self-concept was defined not only by their interest and involvement

in school, but also by their interactions with their families. The authors concluded that family macro-social structure, proximate family settings, and each student's personal responsibilities had moderate to strong associations with the adolescents' self-concepts (Buka & Earls 1993).

The role of family socialisation is also augmented by positive and supportive efforts from outside the family. These efforts include the extended help given to the family by external assistance towards developing the young child's potential to be a positive force in society. Atmore (1994) has described South Africa's Early Childhood Education and Care (EDUCARE) programs. Atmore alluded to how the community works with parents, and how the communities, by acting as a united force, assume both the right and the responsibility for participating in the political, educational, cultural, and collective matters that concern them. Whitmire (1994:10) cited Project Head Start in the United States of America, a project similar to EDUCARE whose primary aim is to assist children towards developing social and prosocial skills. In addition to external assistance for families and their children, parents, teachers, and caregivers as individuals can also play a bigger role to prevent violent behaviour. Massey (1998:3) suggested the following assistance as worthwhile, namely, "give children consistent love and attention; ensure that children are supervised and guided; model appropriate behaviours; do not hit children; and be consistent with rules and discipline".

2.4.2 Disturbed role identification

In general, young children identify closely with their parents and as they grow they identify with the same sex parent in different ways. Educational neglect or outright abuse of children will damage this identification. But a positive role identity and a constructive relationship between parent and child and between the child's two parents will promote a healthy role identity in the child.

Also, an *anomic* lawlessness community can contradict the moral parental values and those of the community at large. Prinsloo, Vorster and Sibaya (1996:163) described "toughening" where the boy is expected to act like a mature man, not allowed to express feelings. For example, there is a tendency for township parents to reprimand a boy who comes to the house crying, or reports

being beaten by one boy in the street. Furthermore, boys are taught by their parents to be tough and be able to defend themselves and their sisters because township life is violent. Harvard University researcher, William Pollack describes how boys are in a silent crisis, forced to individuate and separate from their parents, particularly their mothers (Kantowitz & Kalb 2000:161), masking their feelings in order to appear tough and masculine. Both boys and girls need positive human role models. Gurian (2000:18) further argued “that boys also need positive male models because they tend to be more impulsive than girls”. Looking at thirty different cultures around the world, Gurian (2000:19) discovered that traditional ways that boys have identified positively with older males are disappearing, especially during adolescence when such guidance is most critical, leaving young men morally neglected, surrounded with violent and sexual messages in media and music.

While schools have not given up on attempting to provide socialisation for boys, there are troublesome indications that schools may be accommodating (if not accepting) this shift towards regarding violence as a normal state of affairs. In a study of 452 African-American and European-American boys in North Carolina, researchers found that the most highly aggressive boys (tough boys) were also among the most popular and socially connected of children in their schools (Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl & Van Acker 2000). Boys who were gentle, or boys who strove for academic success, or boys who were overly sensitive to the needs of others were often referred to as effeminate or gay (Gurian 2000). In boys, bullying is connected with poor role identification, thus it is not surprising that bullies projected their fears of not being masculine upon other boys by being overly-aggressive and violent. Olweus (1995) has investigated bullying among school children in Scandinavia, as well as in schools in Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Australia, Canada and the United States. He found that male bullies were usually reared by parents who were indifferent, lacked warmth and involvement, were permissive towards aggressive behaviour, and used power-assertive disciplinary techniques, such as physical punishment. Olweus (1995) also found that 35 to 40 percent of boys identified as being bullies in Grades 6 to 9 had been convicted of at least three crimes by the time they reach age 24, whereas there were only 10 percent of the boys who were not classified as bullies. There is no doubt that bullying behaviour comes about through unhealthy role identification. The reverse is seen when boys learn how to treat others in prosocial and caring ways, especially in the boys' early life.

2.4.3 Disturbed social-societal relationship

The peer group is highly effective in its influence on a child's behaviour. Its influence exceeds that of parents, and even the school and the church. Peer culture is a major socialisation experience, with most students naming their friends as the best thing about their school (Goodlad 1984:76-77). Each adolescent needs to see himself or herself as part of a peer group in order to help form his or her adult identity. In a reciprocal fashion, the peer group becomes relatively powerful in the life of the adolescent, because there is an ongoing risk of being ostracised, of being excluded from the group.

In its powerful and influential role, the peer group may provide a mostly positive, prosocial orientation to the individual, or it may provide a more negative, antisocial direction. Van't Westende (1998:277) identifies several ways in which a peer group may promote or cause juvenile delinquency: First, the peer group provides a channel to greater independence, and if the group is positive, then sound relationships will be cultivated. If, however, the influence is negative, then the misbehavers will be sanctioned by the peer group. The peer group is also a field of experience for social relations, where an adolescent can learn where he or she fits in. Information (accurate or inaccurate) is often obtained through the peer group.

Peer antisocial behaviour is influenced by the social anomie lawlessness in the community. The peer group allows individuals to play different roles, to try different identities and to try deviant values and attitudes. Only if the group upholds deviant values and attitudes, the child may develop into an adult whose values and behaviour will clash with those in his or her future adult community. In addition to peer group relations, the individual engages in a social-societal relationship through his or her occupation and means of employment. As a matter of fact, unemployment and underemployment are the most challenging of topics that face most South Africans after the national general election in 1994. However, this problem is also found in other countries such as the United States, other industrialised nations as well as those nations emerging from Communist governments such as Poland and the Soviet Union. Journalist David Orr recently interviewed leading experts on South Africa who were concerned about the economic chasm between Black and White South Africans. It has been estimated that 84 per cent of South Africa's

Black population earn less money than is needed to ensure adequate basic nutrition for themselves and their families. Orr stated that “what is needed is more schools, more housing, more extensive health care, and above all, more jobs” (Orr 1994:12). In addition to the obvious economic need of this segment of South Africa’s population, there are also some socialisation needs that can be facilitated by a greater and more equitable number of Black South Africans in the work force, particularly in the upper civil service and in private business.

2.4.4 Disturbed entry into the social environment

The social environment of the school stands a better chance to reverse miseducative efforts by parents and family. Reversing some of the serious miseducative teaching cannot take place within a short space of time, it is a process. However, teachers and schools in lower grades are capable of reversing antisocial behaviour presented by the child by instilling prosocial behaviour. There are various strategies of accomplishing this and one method is to create a small society in each classroom; a society in microcosm where positive behaviour is valued, discussed, modelled, encouraged, and clearly expected from the children. In addition to educative teaching, the school is a unique environment in that, unlike the home, school places each child in a setting with different other children, who appear to be strangers with whom the child is expected to learn to work with and accept, if not befriend and love. No matter how salubrious an environment it may be, the home cannot provide this peculiar advantage; one that serves as a microcosm of larger society, and a training ground for relating to a new and wider social group than blood relatives. This is a colossal task, with tremendous implications for world peace and cooperation, yet it is a task that appears to be growing more difficult to carry out in many countries (Orr 1994).

It is a difficult task to teach prosocial behaviour in a multicultural school environment, especially if the majority of children come from economically disadvantaged communities. Even in that situation, teachers are challenged to carry out the educative teaching task of changing behaviour for all children in the school. A problem of teaching in schools in a low income group area is that schooling is not taken seriously by parents, or financing education is a problem. According to Kielburger (1998:309), in some parts of the underdeveloped nations, poverty prevents many children from getting to school. In parts of Africa and Asia, only about half of all children aged

six through 11 years were enrolled in school in 1992 and this represents a dramatic increase from 1960 (UNESCO 1994:26-27). Some of the developing countries are still faced with economic problems, or unstable governments, exposing their children to child labour or servitude, a situation which provides as a formidable barrier to school enrolment and attendance. "These children don't have a chance for education, to live a normal life, even a chance to play" (Kielburger 1998:168). Access to school, particularly for all poor children is imperative, because universally, schools are the safest of places for children and adolescents. Children and adolescents are safer in school than working in factories or fields, safer than wandering on the streets, and even safer than being in their own homes in certain instances.

On the other hand, although they are relatively safe places for children, in some cases schools can present an oppressive environment for children. In such cases, it can worsen the miseducative harm already experienced by the child, falling most heavily again on the child of poverty, irrespective of his or her citizenship, race or gender. "Unfortunately" Van't Westende (1998:275) relates, "the school and its teachers are often responsible for creating the very climate which may lead to delinquency". The way teachers interact with students may be one of the most "important affecting aggression and violence in the schools" (Van Acker, Grant & Henry 1996:317). Often, this poor interaction occurs in schools where teachers feel disempowered. South Africa's Minister of Education, Kader Asmal recently spoke of "low teacher morale as one of the biggest challenges we have to face" (Garson 2000), adding that violence and crime in schools throughout the world were contributing to stressful working conditions and low teacher morale. He called upon South Africa's teachers to help address the problems by showing a new professionalism, taking into account new and creative ways in which teachers can develop positive relationships with students, as well as improving the content of learning and materials used.

2.5 SOCIALISATION OF AT-RISK STUDENTS: THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

The concept of the at-risk student is not common to the orientation of most educationalists when compared to popular terms such as 'socialisation' or 'participant behaviour' to describe the interaction of students within their social environment. The concept at-risk has been selected in this discussion for the purpose of understanding the aspiration of the present students after the

collapse of student activism in South Africa. It appears that, since 1994, the present generation of youths has evolved into various forms of youthful cultism. This cult era is not only affecting the state, the family and the community, but is directly affecting socialisation of township students.

Historically, 'at risk' students referred to failure syndrome, that is, those students who were very likely to exhibit signs of antisocial behaviour. Unfortunately, the majority of these students were primarily those whose appearance, language, culture, values, communities and family structures did not match those of the dominant white cultures (Stephens & Slavin 1992; Richardson & Colfer 1990; Preisseisen 1988). However, more recently, the tendency to blame school failure and school violence on simply characteristics of the students, their communities, or their families has diminished. For the present discussion, at-risk students shall refer to students who have certain conditions such as living with one parent, unemployed parents, staying in slum areas and have a limited English proficiency.

Socialisation of at-risk students is not only important, but essential, for the long term of preventing school violence. Statistically, at-risk students are more likely, than any other group, to take part in antisocial and violent behaviour and even to drop out of school system (Richardson & Colfer 1990). It is from this understanding that the at-risk students are separately discussed in this section and also, they are a risk factor of school failing. Research shows that most antisocial behaviour develops from a combination of risk factors associated with failure syndrome, individuals' culture, families and communities (Gottfredson 1987; Hawkins 1995; Thornberry 1994). The same factors apply across races, cultures, and classes and their effects are cumulative and increase a child's overall risk. Also, antisocial behaviour evolves over the course of childhood, often beginning in the preschool and elementary years and peaking in late adolescence.

Second, an increased number of students are entering schools with various social problems such as students' antisocial behaviour and learning problems. Some antisocial behaviours are part of the community culture (for example African subcultures of violence) and some practices are accepted in their community. Teachers are expected to socialise these students and teach prosocial behaviour. However, when a group of students displays antisocial behaviour contrary to the school culture, some teachers would avoid to venture in such unfamiliar culture in their

professional practice and this results in school failure. Some students acquire failure syndrome from parents and relatives who express low expectations through a variety of direct and indirect means. Failure syndrome refers to students who are “low self-concept”, or “defeated”, and “frustrated” with very low expectations of success and who tend to give up at early signs of difficulty (Gottfredson 1987). Many students begin the school year with enthusiasm, but over time some find the experience of failure provoking and psychologically threatening. It is threatening because it provokes failure, especially if their performance is to be monitored in the classroom where failure carries the danger of public humiliation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that most students who have experienced failure, or a continuing history of failure begin to place the value of education at a low level. Eventually such students abandon serious attempts to master tasks and begin to concentrate on activities which are outside the school curriculum to “preserve their self-esteem” (Ames 1987; Rohrkemper & Corno 1988). Suggestions have emerged from research that such students will learn better through the integration of some of the theoretical approaches in the classroom activities which prevent students’ antisocial behaviour.

As with most aspects of teaching, a teacher’s personality and his or her actual method of implementation with regard to management techniques, will have a direct bearing on students’ antisocial behaviour. Consequently, a teacher may choose a theoretical approach which will prevent students’ antisocial behaviour in the classroom. For example, in a recent study in a high-poverty school Knapp and Glen (1996) concluded that meaning-oriented instruction produces authentic and practical learning and is more effective than traditional skills-oriented practices for at-risk students.

However, educators such as Caine and Caine (1993) and Brooks and Brooks (1993), support a constructivist view that teaching at-risk students requires group emphases in classroom activities. They maintain that this method puts an emphasis on teaching and learning models which highlight the context in which an idea is taught as well as the students’ prior beliefs and attitudes. It also enables students to take an active role in their learning and behaviour. Shifting the role of the student from passive to an active one occurs when students have richer units of learning, multiple

sources of information and longer time periods within which to build meaning. It also means that the activities and contexts in which students are engaged should be meaningful to them in order to make a connection between school learning and the world beyond school (Caine & Caine 1993). Students learn best in an emotional climate that is supportive and marked by mutual respect.

In another inquiry, researchers recommended the involvement of parents, or members of a family to assist with socialisation. According to Knapp and Glen (1996:14) we must “recognise the value of the resulting new synthesis, supported by both research and common sense, that home and school are interdependent and necessary factors for educational improvement in schools serving the urban poor”. For the parent to be effective they need to be trained and part of the training component consists of parent classes which are offered as an optional programme. The training is offered in collaboration with the local school and the School Governing Body (Brophy 1998; Slavin 1990; Brinich, Drotar & Brinich 1989). Parental support and involvement contributes to improved academic performance, behaviour, and self-esteem of at-risk students.

Efficacy training of teachers and parents also assist low achievers and at-risk students in boosting their self-esteem. The parents are trained to assist the student with learning patterns of instruction and feedback. Part of the parent training includes helping the child to set realistic goals, pursuing them with the confidence that one has the ability needed to reach these goals, if he or she applies a reasonable effort. Durkheim (1961) also pointed out that the youth *anomic* behaviour and strains during his era, were mainly caused by poor setting of realistic goals. In order to help these vulnerable youths from regression, educators should inculcate values of education such as discipline and teaching of prosocial behaviour during classroom teaching. According to Durkheim (1961), schools and the teachers are capable of preventing students’ antisocial and violent behaviour in the classrooms because teachers are ‘gate keepers’ of school discipline.

The final strategies of socialisation of at-risk students include involving highly effective teachers. Brophy (1998) found that highly effective teachers draw their success in preventing antisocial behaviour by encompassing the distress’ conditions of failure syndrome students. Their strategies include encouragement, engaging in supportive behaviours, providing reassurance and making

personal appeals to the student to improve performance. In spite of accommodation, highly effective teachers, demand appropriate behaviour and academic performance from all students. On the other hand, lower-rated teachers are more likely to fear that if they are to demand the same from at-risk students, it would be too difficult for them to handle the problem (Brophy 1998).

Collective efficacy arises from personal or familial ties and shared vision. The vision seems to be willingness of parents and the classroom teacher to intervene and win the child's confidence in a "sense of engagement and ownership of the school" (Butterfield 1997:27). Certainly, the level of education and poverty of some parents makes it difficult to achieve and maintain parental cohesion to the point where adults will intervene in the lives of children.

Implications for teacher education in South Africa, particularly for teaching in township secondary schools are strong, given the likelihood that teachers receive no training in how to effectively address and prevent students' antisocial behaviour.

2.6 SUMMARY

Undoubtedly, the role of primary socialisation that is carried out in the home sets the basis for prosocial and antisocial behaviour. The value of schools and the parents in the process of socialisation has lately been diminished due to centralisation and bureaucratisation, among other reasons. Indeed, schools represent what may be society's best avenue and most efficient vehicles towards supporting the educative effort of the home. Within the school in a microcosm, the role of teachers and the interventions made by teachers can serve to confront the problem of students' antisocial behaviour from the onset, and foster prosocial behaviour. The ongoing study of at-risk students by the Federal Education Department in New York (Bruffee 1993; Brooks & Brooks 1993) which started in the early 1990s, is encouraging and has dramatic policy and practical implications for schools, not only in the United States of America, but around the world. Research has shown (Astor et al 1999) that the best deterrent to school violence was the presence of a teacher, particularly when that teacher made supportive interventions, interventions that students characterised as caring. Students' need for safety was well-met by teachers who made caring interventions. These forms of teacher communication (caring interventions), along with an

administrative policy that was similarly caring (supportive of teachers' interventions), were identified as the most significant contextual factors in preventing antisocial behaviour in secondary schools. The importance of teacher-student, and student-teacher communication is aptly summed up Prinsloo and Du Plessis (1998:9) who said, "without interpersonal communication education cannot take place".

CHAPTER 3

ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR AND ITS MANIFESTATION IN SCHOOLS: A SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There is today a worldwide concern about the prevalence of antisocial and students' violent behaviour in secondary schools. This is not only confined to teachers who need to cope with problem students, but has increasingly become the concern of the community at large. In order to investigate this phenomenon properly, it is necessary to understand the theoretical background of antisocial behaviour, the application of this concept by educators and how it has manifested itself in schools.

Antisocial behaviour is a conduct that is opposed or contrary to normal social instincts or practices (Oxford American Dictionary 1999). It involves a violation of social relationships, such as classroom instruction and interpersonal relationships including a clear contrary behaviour against established values of education (Van't Westende 1998:268). More profoundly, ill-discipline and violent student behaviours are detrimental and disturbing not only to an individual or students, but also to effective learning and teaching in classrooms. Students who present uncontrolled violent antisocial behaviour lack the ability of self-discipline (Durkheim 1951).

Lack of self-discipline among students and teachers influences the culture of the school. It also influences the character of the school and unity of the community life, to the point where quality-of-life issues are involved. The community fear of antisocial and violent behaviour goad policy-makers to redirect funds towards crime detection, apprehension and incarceration, instead of towards education and other social services that would improve the quality of life of children and their families. For example, the Gauteng Legislature took a decision that all schools should lock up school gates during the official school hours (Maluleke 1999). Those schools who could afford it went further than that and installed security fences, burglar alarms and stronger door bolts. These measures permeate almost all schools' business and some homes. They serve to

intensify human fear, which in the case of schools, interferes with learning and human relationships. Speaking of this situation with regard to children from low income families, Prothrow-Smith and Quaday (1995:27) said: "When our children's ability to learn is being dangerously undermined, the foundation of our society is being damaged in a manner that cannot easily be repaired." If children, especially the above-mentioned group, do not understand the purpose of schooling, they may reinforce the idea that schools are unfriendly and an adversary to their aspirations.

3.2 VIEWPOINTS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Two perspectives of antisocial behaviour operate in a social environment. According to Van't Westende (1998:1998:262), one view of antisocial behaviour is that "it is a personal problem, where the causes and solutions lie within the individual and his or her immediate environment." This perspective emphasises a psychological, individually oriented view. Consistent with this perspective are adolescents who appear to lack the ability to practise self-restraint, or regulate their own behaviour (Feldman & Weinberger 1994). Such adolescents who lack the ability to control their impulses are described as under controlled (Robins, John, Caspi, Moffitt & Stouthamer-Loeber 1996:157). This perspective believes that a solution lies in treating the individual, typically with medication, and secondarily, through individualised therapy such as psychotherapy. It also strongly recommends that adjudication and incarceration should be followed to resolve the antisocial behaviour.

Some antisocial behaviours in schools are characterised by bullying, extortion, insubordination and physical fighting. Others include adolescents' aggression or acts of violent behaviour against other students and staff, sexual assaults, harassment, gang activity or weapon carrying. At another level, antisocial behaviour includes crime such as theft, property offences, and vandalism (Goldenstein, Apter & Hartoonuian 1984:16). Recent studies show that students' violent behaviour is more directed towards teaching staff and students making it very difficult for teachers to intervene (Curcio & First; Steinberg 1999) because they need to protect their own lives.

School violence as behaviour that occurs from aggression to assaultative behaviour is important to study. Hanke (1996:31) suggests that school violence should be linked to antisocial behaviour because if it is separated “it will limit the focus of the study to serious acts of violence and does not fully capture the nature and extent of school crime and victimization”. While people in community-based schools in other countries are increasingly tightening school security to prevent school-based homicides (Kagan 1992:46), administrators and managers of schools in large townships are beginning to enforce locking of school gates, thus preventing local communities to travel freely on the school premise (Maluleke 1999).

In a different perspective, antisocial behaviour is more than an individual issue, “it is a social problem, as well, one which has its causes and solutions outside the individual and his or her immediate environment” (Van’t Westende 1998:262). This perspective believes that antisocial behaviour is an educational problem since its solution or resolution involves the teaching of prosocial behaviour. Proper primary socialisation of children plays a strong role in the influencing of the inborn traits of affected individuals. The school stands a better chance of socialising students towards solving their own problems, rather than directing them to others.

Inborn, inherited traits certainly play a strong role influencing human behaviour. Humans are powerless to influence the physiological make-up of the individual (except through surgery or medication). In a community, school or home, more control can be exerted over the child’s social life and the child’s educational environment, than can be exerted over his or her physiological make-up. For the purpose of this study, antisocial behaviour will be seen as both a social problem and educational problem: a socio-educational problem, rather than as a purely psychological problem, to learn how child and adolescent antisocial behaviour can be best addressed by society through its schools, communities and teachers.

3.3 THE PRIMARY POINTS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The primary points of antisocial and students violent behaviour may also be analysed according to the direction toward which it is aimed or directed. By definition, antisocial behaviour is usually directed at others, although sometimes it is self-directed and in some extreme cases of violence,

it can both be directed at others and at itself, as in a murder-suicide (Durkheim 1951). Steinberg (1999:402) describes this issue in terms of the presence of “internalising or externalising disorders”. The former consists of harmful behaviours that are turned inward, directed at themselves, and show themselves as depression, anxiety or phobias. Externalising disorders, on the other hand, show themselves as behaviours primarily directed at others, where the young person’s problems are turned outwards (Steinberg 1999:403) and result in antisocial behaviour and/or delinquency. Because schools are primarily educational rather than therapeutic institutions, emphasis is typically placed on those behaviours that are externalising and obvious, instead of those that are internalising and more subtle. However, a school’s emphasis on a socio-educational approach to antisocial behaviour will benefit the individual, given the importance of needs satisfaction, such as self-esteem and belonging that require social participation.

3.4 PATTERNS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

As already discussed above, it appears that antisocial behaviour operates on low and high levels of force. At its lower level antisocial behaviour is nonviolent and may take the form of impoliteness: offensive, or unpleasant behaviour, rule breaking, name calling, the use of vulgar expressions and rudeness. Lower level antisocial behaviour may also involve passive-aggressive behaviour, where the student will refuse to cooperate. These lower levels are lower because the level of force is relatively minimal; there is usually no physical contact involved, and no one is threatened. However, lower-level antisocial behaviour can escalate into higher-level antisocial behaviour, which can result in physical injury or death. Higher level antisocial behaviour involves stronger force than low-level antisocial behaviour. Typically this includes physical fighting or smacking another, destruction of the property of others, strong, loud and threatening words directed at others, and at times, higher-level antisocial behaviour may involve strong forceful, violent acts such as rape, assault or murder.

Several studies have shown that most antisocial behaviour in schools is not violent. According to these studies, most families and peers all play a highly influential role during socialisation towards prosocial and antisocial behaviours. It may be safe to say that, as agent of socialisation, schools play an even greater role than ever before. Some have even claimed that schools have become the

primary instrument of socialisation (Siegel & Senna 1997:361), and the basic conduit through which adult and community influences reach the young person (Polk & Schaefer 1972:13). Much as it is accepted by the general public that a school is a socialisation agent, however this has been relatively difficult to accomplish. Mayer (1995:470) attributes this to the existence of setting events that occur in school environments. Setting refers to events that are incidents or antecedents that may occur within the same setting and closely precede the antisocial behaviour (Mayer 1995:476), such as the student's having just argued with another during recess. The effects of setting events can be cumulative, where several instructions followed by several errors can serve as a setting event for the next instruction, occasioning problem behaviour such as aggression (Munk & Repp 1994:391).

3.4.1 Unforeseen students' violent behaviour

Some students' violent behaviour cannot be foreseen or predicted and others may never be understood. Celeste Kenne-Shank (2000:49) wrote that, "in truth, there will never be any reason - whether it is television, video games, bad parenting, a secular society, or the press that fully explains how an adolescent, even as young as nine years old, can murder his classmates and teachers and feel a surge of power at watching them die". It was never foreseen that adolescents in townships could burn another individual to death by using an old automobile tyre and petrol, and sing while watching the victim burning. When tragic and horrible events occur, such as the murderous rampage during the 1980s in South African townships, one may never fully comprehend the reasons for such events. It is entirely possible that such disasters, like homicide and murder by township adolescents could be unforeseen. In the next section, literature related to foreseen students' violent behaviour is discussed.

3.4.2 Foreseen students' violent behaviour

While some antisocial behaviour cannot be predicted or foreseen, there is evidence that other types of violent behaviour, such as fist fights between students and physical aggression by students directed at a teacher, are forewarning. There is evidence that human tendencies toward higher-level, violent behaviour grow in stages, even though some or all of these stages may be not

apparent to the casual observer. All violent behaviour may seem to arise suddenly, but in some instances, violent behaviour is the result of or end product of lower-level aggressive behaviour that moves through increasingly violent stages. Fitzsimmons (1998:2) highlighted five stages of frustrations where student behaviour may grow progressively more forceful, ending in violence. They include:

- Anxiety, where the student will sigh, or use other nonverbal cues. This is the lowest level of aggression. It is a behaviour that is not clearly antisocial.
- Stress. The student will show minor behaviour problems.
- Defensive. The student will argue, and/ or complain. This will usually occur in reaction to a teacher's intervention, or attempt to intervene in the student's antisocial behaviour.
- Physical aggression, or violence. At this point of escalation, the student may hit, kick, bite or throw objects. Here, the teacher's first priority is to protect the safety of the student, the safety of other students, and his or her own safety. The student is usually escorted away, and the teacher may seek the assistance of other adults.
- Tension reduction. This is a denouement, where the student releases tension through crying or verbal venting, or the student might remain quiet and withdrawn.

As the result of the high level of students' antisocial and violent behaviour in most townships secondary schools, it was necessary to look into some assumptions that related to the origins of this phenomenon. The next section discusses a variety of assumptions that could help to clarify the origin of youth antisocial behaviour.

3.5 THE VARIETY OF STRAIN THEORY AND YOUTH ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Strain (educational strain) in this discussion, generally refers to the processes by which inadequate regulation of the success goal of education filters down to how the individual student perceives his or her need for an academic success goal. Strain (individual strain), on the other hand, shall refer to the friction and pains experienced by students as they look for ways to meet their needs (the motivational mechanism that causes antisocial and violent behaviour). Since the present study

discusses violent behaviour according to the social structural model, it is necessary to state from the outset that sociological theories in this category, hold a view that youths' antisocial and violent behaviour arises from strains caused by social forces. Strain theory has been an ever present in sociological considerations of individuals' antisocial behaviour for over a century; from Durkheim (1897) to Messner and Rosenfeld (1994).

The following section discusses the theory of strain as perceived by each of the following theorists, namely Durkheim (1897), Merton (1938), Cohen (1955), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), Agnew (1992), and Messner and Rosenfeld (1994). It is necessary to understand their separate views in order to link them to perspectives relevant to township youth's antisocial and violent behaviour. Durkheim's views on the causes of strain among the youth are discussed next.

3.5.1 Durkheim and the moral agent in schools

Durkheim's theory of *anomie* (lawlessness) is the basis for strain theory, especially if *anomie* refers to "deregulation". It should be noted that control theorists also trace their inspirations to Durkheim, and have translated "anomie" as "normlessness" Durkheim (1897) in his educational theory discussed strains experienced by high school students in France during the mid 1800s. It appears that many students participated in political violence (during the French Revolution) and ignored teachings of the church, parents and traditional French family values. Most of these high school students were suffering from strain because they lacked self-discipline and demonstrated anomic lawlessness behaviour (Durkheim 1961). He was concerned about students' *anomic* (lawlessness) behaviour during the peak of the French Revolution and abrupt changes in social life. The lives of most individuals, especially the youth were controlled by unlimited needs (Durkheim 1961:35).

Whenever individuals require more than can be granted, or even merely something of a different sort, they will be under "continual friction and only function painfully" (Durkheim 1961). The more one has, the more one wants. Durkheim's tenet is that a regulative force must play the same role in moral needs as it plays for physical needs. Society alone is the only moral power superior enough to do this. It alone can estimate the rewards to be presented for every human endeavour.

The school as the social organ of society socialises the youth towards the rewards of society. However, when the school is disturbed by some crises or abrupt transition, it is momentarily incapable of exercising this influence. Consequently, the sudden rises in students' antisocial and violent behaviour as we have seen in high schools all over the world occur.

According to Durkheim (1961), the education system has not gained equilibrium in respect of values in education regarding the regulation of behaviour among students and some teachers. For a time, schools will remain under siege. The limits are unknown between the possible and the impossible, what is just and what is unjust, legitimate hopes and claims which are immoderate. Consequently, there is no restraint upon students' aspirations. To Durkheim, it appears that students' speculative, or reflective thinking (referring to student organisations which take decisions on behalf of the student body) is unable to control the appetites of their colleagues and they are impatient of being controlled, thus their convictions are distorted (Durkheim 1961). A condition of *anomie* (antisocial behaviour and lawlessness) among some students results from passions being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining.

For Durkheim (1961), we need to study the "moral rules as they really exist in self-discipline and discipline to regulate all personal needs" Giddens (1971:3) added that "the school is capable of teaching social behaviour and moral discipline." However, it becomes apparent that the youth learn to select those 'regulative powers' of behaviour which they will respect. Durkheim (1961) appears to be referring to students' organisations which seems to have taken over all the power from the state, the church, the school and the parents. Subsequently, the youth only pay allegiance to their own youth organisations. He then explained that there is no lack of an 'authority vacuum' among the youth, but lack of 'normal moral'.

It cannot be suggested that there is no moral vacuum among the youth in South Africa, but rather a lack of a normal moral authority which is respected by the youth. Youth organisations such as Cosas and Paso enjoy more support from students than the government, the school and the family. For Durkheim, the main problem of modern society is that the moral regulators of the past, such as a strong kinship network and a forceful church, have not been replaced by any other moral authority. The social *anomic* state of the "modern society in its infancy has broken away from

moral bonds of traditionalism, but has not yet, become subject to new universal appropriate moral regulation” (Durkheim 1961). It appears that Durkheim was concerned about the industrial France in the 1800s, and the large number of people emigrating to the cities, searching for green pastures and jobs. These new immigrants had to break away with traditionalism. The situation in France at that time, is parallel to conditions in South Africa: informal houses, or shacks around big cities where the new immigrants expect their children to be admitted by local schools. This is clearly phrased in Durkheim (1961:40) where he stated that, “there is a need, a desire free of all restraints, and all rules, no longer geared to some determinate objective, and through this same connection, limited and contained, can be nothing but a source of constant anguish for the person experiencing it.” There is no doubt that new immigrants in the area experience some economic hardship and Durkheim gives a warning to young people particularly in the urban areas that unless they apply discipline and morals in their daily lives, they will end up in anguish.

A new moral authority needs to be developed to help bring about a new moral order in which students’ needs will no longer outstrip their means. These moral authorities, especially in schools, need to be based on respect and not on fear. The present discussion demonstrates that where traditional authority and moral regulation have broken down, such as in the family and the schools, there should be an effort for the construction of a legitimate institution to take over this role. As already discussed in section 2.2, Durkheim also pointed out that the weak state, church and the family will deprive the youth of setting realisable goals and avoiding inappropriate means of achieving these goals.

Durkheim, cited in Giddens (1977:177), asserts that a new “moral power is required whose superiority cries out ‘you must go no further’.” This phrase refers to youths who are taking a full load of courses and they are also burdened with extra work to make ends meet. Durkheim is warning such people not to overwork, but to work according to what the body can afford to carry.

According to Durkheim (1961:79), the school is “a moral agent where the child is systematically able to learn to know and to love his country, ... via the ‘spirit of discipline’, attachment to social groups, and autonomy”. In spite of the collapse of the traditional social groups such as the family

values, the state authority and the church, the school remains the only social institution that can successfully teach the youth skills on 'regulation' of moral behaviour and moral discipline.

Durkheim (1962:89) further maintained that discipline alone will teach the child to "rein in his desire, to set limits to his appetites of all kinds". The cornerstone of Durkheim's philosophy of education has shifted the responsibility of moral discipline away from social institutions such as the school to an individual student where the classroom teacher is the facilitator. This form of classroom teaching has been adopted by many educators, especially those educators who are involved with students with behavioural problems.

The present section pointed out that it is important for students to be disciplined and to focus on a particular goal. It also advises the youth to limit their desires. A condition of students' *anomic* lawlessness behaviour seems to be of the result of undisciplined passion, precisely when they need more discipline. The next section discusses the views of Robert Merton regarding the origin of antisocial and violent behaviour.

3.5.2 Merton and the causes of antisocial behaviour

Robert K. Merton, an American sociologist, borrowed Durkheim's concept of *anomie* to form his own theory, called 'Strain Theory'. It differs somewhat from Durkheim's in that it argued that the real problem of antisocial behaviour is not created by abrupt social change, as Durkheim proposed, but rather by imbalance, or dysfunction between culturally induced aspirations for the economic success goal across the social class. The theory explains why students' antisocial and violent behaviour is concentrated among the lower classes who have the least legitimate opportunities for achievement. It is the combination of the cultural emphasis and the social structure which produces intense pressure for antisocial behaviour (Merton 1968:199).

Students from the lower classes are the most vulnerable to this pressure, or strain, and will maintain their unfulfilled educational goal in spite of frustration or failure. Merton (1968:211) contends that the system can be stabilised by providing rewards for non economic pursuits, but stress, or "strain toward *anomie*" is still the operative. Merton seems to be concerned about the

norms in schools where some students are blocked, especially students from the lower class. Imperfect coordination of means and ends leads to limited effectiveness of social structures such as schools in providing regularity and predictability and a condition of “anomie or cultural chaos supervenes” (Merton 1968:214). By providing students with educational means, it will be possible for students to understand the purpose of education and to prevent students’ antisocial behaviour in school.

Merton’s theory attempts to link the structural inequality (for example, provision of education for different class groups) and individual behaviour for the sole purpose of shedding light on educational strain. It is this lack of integration between what schools calls for and what the families can afford that indirectly causes youth antisocial and violent behaviour. According to Robert Merton’s theory, deviance, especially students’ antisocial behaviour and violent behaviour are symptoms of society (Merton 1968). This statement implies that a violent community would produce violent individuals.

Merton’s theory does not focus upon crime, but rather upon various acts of deviance, which ultimately may lead to antisocial and violent criminal behaviour. Merton noted strongly that there are certain goals which are strongly emphasised by social structures (for example, schools) such as standards of excellence in education. Since schools belong to the community, it is the duty of the community to set standards which correspond to the capability of each individual.

Merton (1957:140) explained there are five possible combinations of reaction to the goals and means which are “innovation modes of individual adaptation.” For example, in order to control the classroom, it is helpful to let students know what is expected from them and what to do to avoid antisocial behaviour.

Innovation is another mode of adaptation with a specific message and meaning for the students’ antisocial behaviour, for it consists of a commitment to the norms and values of the school. Some students are prepared to attend classes, but they are blocked by financial problems and necessary skills to satisfy the criteria set by the school. According to Merton’s theory, the school expects all students to meet the required academic success criteria, but does not provide the means to

achieve it. He further explained that academic success is linked to economic capabilities of the parents and in this situation, most poor students are marginalised through well designed methods, such as setting a test to exclude certain groups of candidates. Students are then socialised according to the learning aptitude, those who will follow an academic course and those who will follow the vocational stream.

Some students who are classified under the vocational stream receive such classification with resentment and others with strain. Students who are excluded from the academic stream react differently to their learning conditions and some become aggressive and violent while others invent an illegitimate means of achieving an academic success goal such as cheating in the exam and those who cannot cheat ultimately drop out of the school system.

As already stated above, there is a congruency between academic success and wealth of the parents and academic failure and poverty of parents. Merton (1968) puts it clearly that as far as “official statistics show, antisocial and violent behaviour is found among the youth in poor communities”. In a school situation these imbalances between children from the ‘have’ and ‘have not’ parents are clearly noticed in secondary socialisation of children in schools. Students are classified according to their academic achievements and the results of these tests separate those who qualify for bursaries and further assistance to achieve their education goal. Those students without the ability to achieve good grades are further alienated by teachers who classify them as slow students and this is often received with indifference, resentment, aggression and antisocial behaviour. However, the theory does not imply that a poverty situation produces violent children, but simply infers that the strain of achieving an educational success goal from a poverty condition creates ‘strain’, ‘stress’, *anomic* behaviour, antisocial and violent behaviour among all students (Merton 1968).

Thus, the theory helps to elaborate the misleading and debatable contention that poverty is the cause of students’ antisocial and violent behaviour in schools. According to Merton’s theory, it is not merely poverty or a condition of economic deprivation that is aetiologically significant for the condition of students’ *anomic* and violent behaviour, but the imbalanced conditions normally found in several education systems. The *innovation mode* (the willingness to succeed) presents

a great challenge to the majority of poor students who are willing, for example, to continue with education, but are blocked by problems, such as financial problems at home, conjugal *anomie*, and other problems that are beyond their means.

Antisocial and violent students are most found among individuals who have accepted failure. Merton (1968) refers to such individuals who have abandoned their goals as 'ritualistic'. Ritualism is the antithesis of innovation because it refers to an individual who has accepted failure, for example, a student who no longer tries to do his or her homework, or avoids enrolling for certain school subjects because of past history of failure. In many instances, some signs of antisocial behaviour are clearly noticed by the classroom teacher because some students display new behaviours such as truancy, aggressive and violent behaviour. The theory of Merton suggests that such an individual can be rescued by a caring and high efficacy teacher.

It appears that the present discussion postulates that students' antisocial and violent behaviour is concentrated among working class students who have the least legitimate opportunities for achievement. Robert Merton in his postulation, refers to a situation he called *retreatism* (Merton 1968). Retreatism is an appalling social condition where an individual found himself or herself and Merton (1968:36) describes it as the "colloquially adaptive - where the deviant regains the status of tramps, drunks, drug addicts, psychotics and possibly even suicides, some rejected by the community and others rejected by the society." In a school situation, such strains may even result in a situation where a student murders his teachers, principal, classmates or parents (see examples in section 1.1).

The theory of *anomie* lawlessness by Merton is of great help to this study because it is broad and has assisted in understanding students' antisocial and violent behaviour. The final adaptation, is that of rebel which occurs when a group of students from a particular cultural group overtly rejects goals and objectives of the education system. Merton (1957:155) took pains again to explain that "rebellion should not be confused with the Nietzschean notion of resentment which implies a feeling of hate and hostility without the possibility of expressing outwardly such feelings." In a school situation this form of antisocial behaviour (rebellion), is culturally related and is found among minority students (Barkley 1997; Hollins 1996). If unchecked by the school

management, a minor classroom rebellion can spread to other classes and may turn into student political violence.

Turning to the values of education, Merton (1968) states explicitly that the American society is unstable, unbalanced. There is a tendency for some students to reject the 'rules of the game' and to strive for success by any available means. He was referring to a shared American economic success goal which is achieved through an educational qualification, talent, hard work and ambition. He warned that striving for an economic success goal through education can generate enough strain to cause social deviant behaviour (Merton 1968). Expectation of high academic standards without proving means to achieve them can cause strain to some students. Students who are at risk of 'strain' can be identified in the classroom.

Working class students experience strains from home, parents and in the school. Liska (1971) suggests that student's aspiration, income, educational goal and pressure from parents to achieve high grades is found more among low class students. He explains that low expectations, or chances of achieving these goals may result into a strain. The occupation of the parents combined with low expectation of a child to achieve these expectations may cause depression and strain to the child (Hirschi 1969; Quicker 1974). Other studies show that excessive pressure from the school, or the classroom teacher for students to achieve high grades without providing the means to achieve them can cause strain to those children who cannot achieve academic success. It is even worse when corporal punishment is used by the teacher to force children to pass an exam (Agnew 1992) placing educational goals over the educational expectations of an individual.

Teachers can measure strain of a particular student in the classroom (Hirschi 1969; Liska 1971 & Quicker 1974). Hirschi (1969) suggests income as an indicator. Other studies used occupational goals of parents and highly expectations for their children to succeed (Agnew & Brezina 1997; Brezina 1998; Agnew, Brezina, Wright & Francis 2002). Only Brezina (2002) frankly states that corporal punishment was the direct cause of strain and also the main causes of teenage violent and antisocial behaviour. Using occupational components for individually reported status, Epps (1967) found little support for Merton's theory. However, Farmworth and Leiber (1989) have recently suggested that the income of parents could be used to measure a child's strain in the classroom.

Merton is clearly explicit that normative concerns of an individual are evidence of *anomic* behaviour at the student's level. He cautioned that excessive pressure to children can only result in strain and antisocial behaviour. The next section explores whether students from low economic group are at-risk of participating in antisocial and violent behaviour.

3.5.3 Miller and students from lower economic class

The majority of lower class students use other means available to achieve an economic success goal, but using a different value system. Miller (1962) noticed that in most schools the educational values of lower class students often contradict those of the schools. As an anthropologist who was familiar with ethnography, he studied the lower class areas in Boston, United States of America, in 1955. It was after this study that he came up with the Lower Class Focal Concerns theory. He saw society as composed of different social groups. Each group had its own subculture. He used the concept of 'focal concerns', to further describe things that were important to the youth from poverty stricken communities and those things they pay attention to and care for.

Miller(1962) identified six focal concerns to which the lower class give attention. First, the concern over trouble is a major feature of the lower class. Getting into trouble and staying out of trouble is a very important daily preoccupation. For example, during the classroom activities it can be seen as a prestige by some working class students to oppose some rules of the school and get into trouble. A focal point is that of toughness, which represents a commitment to masculinity and shows courage in the face of physical threat and rejection of timidity and weakness. Several findings of this study are similar to township students' behaviour and the difference is that among some African customs, some of these antisocial and violent behaviours are accepted.

The third focal concern is that of smartness which involves the capacity to outsmart outfox, dupe, "take" "con" another (Miller 1962:15). Smartness is the ability to gain something by outsmarting or conning another. Prestige is often the reward for those demonstrating such skill. Another focal concern is excitement. Excitement involves the search for "thrills, for an emotional stimulus" (Miller 1962:17). The present researcher observed at first hand that outsmarting the teacher or

other classmates in the classroom is common in township schools. This tendency produces a group of students who argue in a form of disagreement rather than discussion as a form of sharing information and learning from the other person. Arguments and outsmarting another person comprise a cause of antisocial and violence among students.

Most students from low class groups rely on fate. Fate has to do with a belief that our lives are subject to forces outside of our control, lack of independent thinking, or autonomy. This notion is derived from the findings that most low class students come from single parent homes and have learnt to protect the mother and other siblings (Miller 1962:21). The last focal concern is looking after the family. In order to achieve looking after the family, the young boy learns appropriate male behaviour outside the family. In most cases street gangs accommodate the problem faced by young males and teach him some masculine methods necessary to represent his father as a father figure.

Miller (ibid) succeeded in unravelling some focal concerns similar to those of African youths, especially in townships. Some youngsters in townships who had grown up on the streets during the transition to democracy demonstrated several concerns about education and their future. One of the main concerns of township students was the untrustworthiness of some principals whom they believed were blocking their ways to achieving success (Fuphe 1998). These principals were accused by the youth of not having a will to transform the system of education (Madywabe 1997). In the researcher's experience, many of these at-risk students felt that the pace of transformation of education in township schools was too slow, or nothing had actually changed, particularly in the classrooms. The poor or in existent facilities, the under-qualified teachers and the virtual failure of racial integration remained focal concerns. In their effort of transforming the education system, these students embarked on antisocial and violent behaviour where classroom activities are usually disrupted by African students in township schools. Cohen (1955) in the next section shows that antisocial and violent behaviour of lower class groups is caused by envying the culture and values of middle class income groups.

3.5.4 Cohen and school based achievement status

Cohen (1955) in his thesis argued that class-based status frustration is the origin of antisocial and violent behaviour and identified “malice, non utilitarianism, and negativism” common among students from low income groups. Cohen’s focus is on school-based achievement status. The institution of the school embodies middle class values of honesty, courtesy, personality, responsibility, and so forth. (‘A middle class measuring rod’). The values of the middle income groups contradict those of a poverty culture because students from this economic bracket know very well that telling lies can save one’s life. Strain for Cohen is therefore not structural, but interpersonal, located at the level of group interaction. According to Cohen (1955:136) “group interaction is a sort of catalyst which releases potentialities not otherwise visible.” This means that to some social group it is correct to tell lies and buy stolen goods whilst in others it is an immoral behaviour.

Embracing immoral values by adults affects children. Relying on fate and surviving on immoral values, later turns the behaviour deviant individuals (White 1955). Students from the lower working class are capable of revising their aspirations downward (Rodman 1986). What distinguishes those who turn to violent antisocial behaviour is the social variable of peer influence and the psychological variable of reaction formation. These two variables were well clarified by Cohen’s concept of *status frustration*.

Frustration is generally regarded as an aversive internal state due to goal blockages or any irritating event (Berkowitz 1983). It has often been implicated in explanations of unexpected acts of antisocial and violent behaviour (Orru 1983; Austin & Willard 1998). Unexpected acts of disrespect for property could just as easily be predicted by Cohen’s strain theory. Frustration due to lower status origins would appear to be associated with more serious, repetitive offending, according to some aspects of the theory and Finch’s (1993) research. Incidences of antisocial and violent behaviour among low status groups were found to be explained by low expectations.

While the theoretical importance in Cohen’s strain theory is granted to the immediate goal of intangible rewards (Maurice 1993; Greenberg 1974), another line of related research focuses upon

tangibles in the school failure experience. Proponents of “school status theory” (Polk 1969; Kelly 1972:426) ignore status deprivation. They claim that poor performance in school alone is responsible for antisocial and violent behaviour. School failure in terms of grades, spelling ability, language usage, and general intelligence has been found to lead to antisocial and violent behaviour even when perceived deprivation (Schwendinger & Schwendinger 1985), home based class (Kelly 1972), and outside misconduct (Lourie 1984) were controlled. These same researchers also take issue with the idea that higher status groups are equally involved in violent behaviour, but do not contest the idea that peer influences can provide the belief that violent behaviour will be status rewarding.

According to Cohen (1955:8), there is no abrupt, discontinuous jump from a pressure situation to violent behaviour, instead, action is “tentative, groping, advancing, backtracking, and sounding out”. The psychological variable, reaction formation, is necessary to complete the justification chain from frustration to antisocial behaviour. At the same time, dishonesty represents a desperate need for status approval according to teaching of Cohen’s reaction formation as well as related tenets of alternative theories (Matza 1964). Cohen explicitly says that antisocial behaviourists learn to be pathological liars, but his reaction formation concept suggests they are convinced of their own truthfulness. Liebow (1967) has documented the kind of fiction deprived people live by. Many interpersonal problems are self created. There is some research supporting the idea that status frustration leads to dishonesty of the kind that can be measured by use of social desirability scales (Fuller 1996; Brake 1985).

For Cohen (1977), the importance of a youth to have deviant friends is to help to deal with a common problem of legitimacy. There is no need for attachment (for example with traditionalism), as control theory postulates (Hirschi 1969). Actors become humiliated from conventional standards, resolving their inner doubts and conflicts. Some youth may even plan offences that will legitimate their group. There is some evidence from recent studies that suggests that youths in trouble do derive psychological satisfaction from their peer groups in this fashion (Haskell 1961). More recent research on serious antisocial and violent behaviour indicates that peer groups have some of the same characteristics as gangs with slum values, which affect both males and females

who approve of violent subcultures in the community (Alvarez & Bachman 1997; Anderson 1997).

Cohen (1955) in his *Delinquent Boys* studied youths' antisocial behaviour and violent behaviour and discovered that delinquency among the youths was more prevalent among lower class males and the most common form of this was the juvenile gang. Cohen, a student of Sutherland and Merton, learned from Sutherland that differential association and cultural transmission of criminal norms led to criminal behaviour, while Merton taught him about structurally induced strain. These two positional perspectives emerge from the youths in the slums and the argument is complex because it intertwines with social *anomie* lawlessness. The complexity of social life in slum areas results in the complications of resolving students' antisocial behaviour in schools situated in the area. This implies that a child from a slum area is at risk of joining a delinquent gang. It is most likely that such a child will experience status frustration and strain and adapt into a delinquent.

Cohen (1955) further states that a delinquent boy leads a conventional lifestyle, making the best of a bad situation. They spend most of their time with peers and receive peer support in group activities. Their chances for legitimate success are limited. Cohen argues that their academic and social impediments prevent them from living up to middle-class standards.

Delinquent boys, argues Cohen (1955), collaborate together to define status within the group with no other motive. Their delinquent acts serve no real purpose. They often discard or destroy what they have stolen. Their acts are random and are directed at people and property. They are the hedonistic subculture with no planning. They often act on impulse, often without consideration for the future. Members are loyal to one another and allow no one to restrain their behaviour.

In the delinquent gang, stealing serves as a form of achieving and it is cherished by peer group including elevation into higher status within the group, with no other motive. Cohen declared that all children seek social status, but not everyone can compete for it in the same way. It appears that a delinquent subculture is created to resolve problems of lower-class status.

Cohen's work helps to answer questions that remain unresolved by strain and cultural deviance theories. His notion of status deprivation and the middle-class measuring rods have been useful to this study. Later, he expanded his theory to include not only lower-class males' antisocial behaviour, but also different forms of middle class delinquents found among males and females adolescents. In the next section, Cloward views discusses strain which is caused by anticipated failure.

3.5.5 Cloward and the illegitimate means of success

Cloward (1959) concurs with lower class focal concerns and further added that these youths also use illegitimate avenues of structure to achieve their means. In 1960 he and Lloyd Ohlin worked together and proposed a theory of delinquent gangs known as *Differential Opportunity Theory*. In discussing this theory, it is necessary to discuss some strategies used by the youths in avoiding strain.

The term *delinquent subcultures* will be used in conjunction with *antisocial and violent behaviour*. Delinquent subcultures, according to Cloward and Ohlin (1960), flourish in the lower-classes and take particular form as a strategy to escape strains usually caused by following legitimate means to achieve success. This theory maintains that low class group including the youth, use illegitimate means to achieve a success goal.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) state that criminal subcultures flourish in low class groups and it depends on the area in which they develop. They propose three types of antisocial behaviour. First, there is antisocial behaviour linked to criminal activities carried out by local gangs. The main line of criminal offences is linked to conventional values of behaviour such as stealing from a middle income group (for example, hijacking of vehicles) and business community. This type of gang is stable and has connection with larger gangs. Older criminals serve as role models and they teach necessary criminal skills to the youngsters.

The second type of antisocial and violent behaviour is non-stable and non-integrated. This group of youth operates where there is an absence of criminal organisation and often causes instability. These youths aim to find a reputation for toughness and destructiveness.

The third type of youths' antisocial and violent behaviour is referred to as the *retreatist* gang. These youths are equally unsuccessful in achieving either the legitimate, or illegitimate means of achieving a success goal. They are known as double failures, thus retreating into a world of sex, drugs, alcohol and cutting classes (Cloward & Ohlin 1960).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) further stated that the varying forms of antisocial and violent behaviour depend upon the degree of integration which is present in the community.

3.5.6 Agnew and the general strain theory

In the mid 1970's, strain theory came under heavy attack after having dominated deviance research in the decade of the 1960's, with the result that it was abandoned. In 1992, Robert Agnew proposed a general strain theory that focused on at least three measurers of strain. He argued that actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals, actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli, and actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli all result in strain.

Agnew (1992) in his strain theory focuses primarily on negative relationships with others, in that a person is not treated in a way that he or she expects or wants to be treated. He argues that some youths are pressured into antisocial and violent behaviour by negative effective states, such as anger, which result in negative relationships. As already mentioned (section 2.2), that tension between parents and children, also between the teacher and students result in anger when corporal punishment is applied excessively to keep order at home, or in the classroom.

Other strain theories explain strain in a way that relationships with others prevent one from reaching positively valued goals. They focus primarily on goals' blockage which is often experienced by the middle or lower chasses (Agnew 1992). Strain for Agnew is neither structural

nor interpersonal, but emotional. For example, perception of an adverse environment, such as the blockage of goals, will lead strongly to negative emotions that motivate one to engage in antisocial and violent behaviour.

Agnew argues that strain theory is central in explaining antisocial and violent behaviour, but that it needs more revision to play such a central role in resolving social problems. His theory is written at a social-psychological level and it focuses on an individual's immediate social environment. Much of the theory is focussed toward adolescent violent behaviour delinquency, because so much of the data available for testing involves surveys of adolescents. He argues that his theory is capable of overcoming empirical and theoretical criticisms associated with previous versions of strain theory.

Research indicates that anger is related to students' antisocial and deviant behaviour. It has been found to be a major influence on middle class delinquency (Richards, Berk & Forster 1979). Agnew (1992) treats anger as the most critical emotion since it is almost always "outer" directed.

Messner and Rosenfield (1994) developed an institutional *anomie* theory similar to Merton's, based on craving for material possession. Their argument is not only that concern for economics has come to dominate our culture, but that the non-economic institutions in society have tended to become subservient to the economy. For example, the entire education system seems to have become driven by the job market (nobody wants to go to school just for the sake of education, executives are expected to displace their families in service to corporate life. Goals other than material success (such as parenting, teaching, and serving the community) are just not important to the youth.

The Minister of Education, Kader Asmal is here rightly concerned with school violence and sexual molestation of young girls by fellow students and teachers, especially in township secondary schools (Griggs 1998). The present section has shown that students' antisocial and violent behaviour is more prevalent among youths from the low income groups and is mostly caused by economic deprivation. Since the legitimate means of achieving economic success is upon seeking a strong educational qualification, those who cannot, experience some form of strain. Unfortunately some children are not trained on how to manage strain and they simply turn to

antisocial and violent behaviour which the general society regards as unacceptable behaviour. The responses of society to delinquent youths should not be on criminal justice and punitive measures, but should consider the effective role of schools and teachers in the prevention of youths' antisocial and violent behaviour.

3.6 MANIFESTATION OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS: A SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The relationship between the individual and institutions of socialisation is more complex today than in the past. In the past, children were educated primarily by the mother and family in the home. As they grew, they were also educated by persons associated with local institutions such as school and church. Kidder (2000) refers to this state of affairs as a three-legged stool. The typical community had an ethics delivery system that rests on the three legs of home, church and school. It appears that community ethics are found in most societies, for example, township residents in the past were able to rely on their neighbours, the school and the church. For instance, a mother will leave the key of the house with the neighbour who will feed the children before they go to school and make a fire in the stove and put the meat to cook in the afternoon. Historically the home and family, and then peers, school and work described the educative society of the child in the past. Today, however, the influence of home, neighbours and church have to a degree decreased; the school remains largely alone in carrying out (or attempting to carry out) much of the educative functions that in the past were shared with parents, home and church. Kidder (2000) describes this as "modern society, it appears, has kicked away the first two legs", leaving school as the figurative last leg of a one-legged stool. In modern society, school now serves as the major institution devised by "the adult generation for maintaining and perpetuating the culture, providing the necessary tools for survival by transmitting values and knowledge" (Ornstein & Levine 2000:277).

3.6.1 An approach to education

In all societies, and especially in urban areas, schools have represented the means for upward mobility; that is, for those without inherited wealth or social position, schools remain the only pathways poor people had in order to achieve an economic success goal. It appears that this

opportunity to achieve a career through education has been blunted for persons living in poverty and those of low socio-economic status throughout the world. This situation continues to exist today, especially in South Africa, and acutely with regard to African youths in townships. Bempechat and Abrahams (1999) described an approach to education by Africans living in townships which differs from mainstream culture. According to the authors, township students “act White if they are to be seen as successful by mainstream society.” In a similar study, Ogbu (1994a:356) observed that African-American students are “hindered in school achievement, for they are perceived to be members of a low caste who experience inordinate ambivalence and affective dissonance toward success in school.” According to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), African-Americans have developed an oppositional frame of reference. Young African-Americans may discourage each other from doing well in school, to avoid the stigma of being viewed as White, or allowing oneself to be seen as co-opted or subjugated by the majority White school authorities and culture.

In South Africa, township students refused to be subjugated by the school system and disrupted schools through antisocial and violent behaviour.. The campaign of disrupting schools began in earnest in the 1980s during the mass democratic movement (Straker 1992). The disruption of schools by students provided a degree of political and psychological empowerment. (Bempechat & Abrahams 1999:842). It is possible that the leadership of students in township schools (for example Cosas and Paso) who are involved in the struggle with the government today, had developed adaptive beliefs about their personal efficacy. Because of their prominence in the past in their active participation in political violence, these students’ organisations (Cosas and Paso) regarded themselves as more central to the ongoing process of change in schools. But, there is a broader challenge facing not only township students, but all children in South Africa.

Nowadays, all contemporary children live in societies that are quite different from the societies of their parents and grandparents. All children today live with social phenomena that either did not exist, or were noticeable fifty years ago. These phenomena that have changed include the population explosion and resulting increase in socially disadvantage children; environmental degradation; child abuse; moral and sexual licentiousness; juvenile delinquency; alcohol and drug

abuse; and suicide of children and adolescents (Prinsloo & Du Plessis 1998:ix). These phenomena are not only problem areas in themselves, but they generate stress in other areas of modern life.

3.6.2 Stress and children's behaviour

In daily life today, stress in townships is experienced even by children in schools. Krueger (1993:14) has described a stressor model that identifies the effects of stress at three conceptual levels. At the macro-level, stress comes from violence outside the home of a child and a threat of violence within the culture of the parents. Stress also comes from the presence of poverty, and economic, political, and social conditions that perpetuate inequity. Stress at the meso-level includes stress brought on by experiencing antisocial behaviour and violence in schools, and includes stress that result from peer group pressure. At the micro level, the cumulative effects of stress from macro- and meso-levels are personally experienced. This type of stress results in physical and emotional illness. Stress at the micro level results in interpersonal conflict, antisocial behaviour, and at times violent behaviour, on the part of the individual. When this antisocial behaviour, for example, is between township *tsotsi* gangs and comrade *tsotsis*, (already discussed in section 1.1) a vicious circle of violence-breeding-violence is formed. When this affects many children and all schools in the district (for example East Rand schools closed for three months, see section 1.1), it becomes both a meso- and a macro-level phenomenon, institutionalised violence, producing a culture of violent behaviour.

3.6.3 Mass media and violent behaviour

As mentioned above, children and mostly those in townships have always experienced stress from their family relationships, their peer relationships, from school, and from the events in the natural, hostile environment outside the school. Much of the stress is attributed to the mass media. Mass media include spoken words by individuals, literature, radio, television and electronic games (Stronman 1991).

There is little doubt that mass media have become a much effective agent of socialisation among township children. Some have called television and the media the first curriculum because of the

way it influences not only children, but also a number of adults. It defines attitudes toward knowledge and learning, and influences socialisation (Stronman 1991; Taylor 1998). In South Africa, some of the television programmes consist largely of American soap operas and American shows featuring violence, aggressive police and scheming lawyers. As the result of their rapid growth and popularity among some township youths, these media have become an increasing presence in the lives of children and adolescents. The positive ability of the mass media to inform classroom television and entertainment is well established. Yet some aspects of the mass media have been identified as harmful, in that they transmit stress (from the macro-level) to the lives of children and adolescents. For example, prior to the advent of television in South Africa, children and adults were relatively unaware of squatter houses, raping of babies, family violence and wars fought and watched on television. Before television, children and adolescents were not able instantly to receive violent, antisocial information, ideas, pictures, and words on demand in great detail and delivered directly to home or school.

Children enjoy to imitating antisocial and violent behaviour on television. According to Gerber (1983) many parents and teachers are concerned about the effects of television violence on young children. Studies on the effect of the mass media found that children's violent behaviour has been attributed to television viewing (Zuckerman & Zuckerman 1985). In a review of the body of research on how children and adolescents are affected by viewing video and televised violence, Murray (1995:10) identified the following ways: The first, is the direct effects process, whereby children and adolescents who watch a great deal of violence tend to become more aggressive themselves, and develop attitudes that favour or permit aggressive behaviour as a way to settle conflicts. The second effect is desensitisation, where children who watch much violence become less sensitive to violence in their daily lives, less empathetic to others and more likely to tolerate greater levels of violence in society. Desensitised to violence, some would be less likely to intervene when others are victims of antisocial, destructive or violent behaviour. The third effect is what Murray called the "mean world syndrome": Children who view much televised violence come to see the world as a dangerous, mean place, becoming more fearful in general. Undoubtedly, the content of television has become increasingly violent, and many programmes viewed by children portrayed violence in ways that promote imitation by children (Belson 1978).

Nevertheless, this simple focus on television as a variable may present an incomplete picture, especially when one attempts to see students' violent behaviour in South Africa's township schools.

Botha (1995) conducted a major longitudinal study into the effects of television violence and aggression upon South African children. He collected data from 348 township children in grades 2 and 3. Whilst looking into the influence of television, he also considered the effects of several other variables thought to influence violent and antisocial behaviour, such as poverty, educational quality, poor housing and essential facilities, as well as political issues and the replacement of the extended family in township communities. Botha found that television did not play a significant role in the lives of the children and their parents; furthermore, he discovered that violent behaviour by children was strongly influenced by parental aggression, and parent's child rearing practices. There was a clear relationship between the number of actual (not televised) violent incidents the child had observed, and victimisation of the child by the parent. It can be deduced from this finding that children learn violent and aggressive behaviour from others, particularly parents, peers and teachers, and they learn it even more completely than they learn it from the media.

Attitudes toward violence are deeply influenced by personally experienced violence. Unfortunately, when violence is personally experienced, victims of violence tend to tolerate it, feel helpless to do anything about it, even wind up approving of its use. This was discovered in a study conducted at the University of Durban involving one thousand student teachers. They perceived schools to be violent places, characterised by political, state-linked, or gender violence (Suransky-Dekker 1997:1). The researcher found that many student teachers approved of corporal punishment. One student even said, "I was punished and look.... I made it to University!" (Suransky-Dekker 1997:2). Given the amount of violence children experience first hand in townships and in the nation, violence depicted on television may be a scapegoat youth violent and aggressive behaviour among youths that has been learned directly from parents, peers and school.

Although there are several ways in which school violence has manifested itself in township schools, it seems that it is mainly generated by students' approach to education. Most students from low socio-economic groups, including townships, regard education as the only means of achieving an economic success goal. For example, during the 1980s, a campaign was started by the students' mass movement to disrupt education in township schools in protest against the

differential education system which blocked the majority of students to achieve their educational success goal (Straker 1992). This unchecked student mass movement did not only cause stress in education, but resulted in some permanent features of students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools. The research shows that the mass media had little effect in propagating students' violent behaviour in these areas, but an approach to education did. The nature of students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools is discussed next.

3.7 STUDENTS' ANTISOCIAL AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR IN TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS

It is important for the present study to discuss students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools separately because school violence in these areas seems to be high and assumes various forms.

3.7.1 Forms of school violence

As already described in section 3.5.1 townships' schools provide education for at-risk students. During the early 1990s, students' antisocial and violent behaviour in townships' secondary schools had reached a high level. Also, discussed in section 3.4, higher-level antisocial behaviour involves stronger force and physical contacts than the lower-level. In 1999, South Africa as a country submitted a report about school violence to the *World Education for All Forums* and it included, "possession of weapons by students, sexual abuse, the use of alcohol and drug abuse on school premises, and burglaries" (Asmal 2000:4).

Contemporary studies demonstrate that antisocial behaviour originates from primary and secondary socialisation of children (see section 3.3). For example, parents employ punitive actions on their children whilst teachers continue to inflict physical violence on their students in the form of corporal punishment. According to the *South African Schools Act 84 of 1997, Section 10*, corporal punishment is illegal in South Africa. However, many teachers still see violence as an appropriate tool for child discipline and continue to physically assault children by caning, slapping and beating them to maintain classroom discipline, or to punish them for poor academic performance or improper behaviour (Vispoel & Austin 1995:6; Gunoe & Mariner 1997:768-775; Van Niekerk 1994).

Higher levels of antisocial behaviour which seems to be racially motivated among students in formerly White, Coloured, and Indian schools that are being integrated have been reported in 1999. In 1999, several high schools reported students' violent behaviour where 62 percent showed a pattern of racial incidents or racism in school, including derogatory and racial name calling and various forms of physical altercations (Pretorius 1999:29; Dalamba 1999:6).

The insecurity of the school environment routinely exposes students to gangs, violence, rape robbery and assaults. According to the Independent Projects Trust (IPT) report, a Durban based non-governmental organisation, which examined ten Durban townships schools in 1997, they discovered that gangs operate with impunity in some school environments making schools places where drugs, thugs and weapons can be moved freely through the gates by students and drug traffickers (Griggs 1998:7). Although the IPT findings are silent about the murder of principals and teachers at KwaMashu and Umlazi townships (Griggs 1998), there is a relation between drug traffickers and incidents of violence in these township schools.

Drug traffickers in schools are pushed by students and drug dealers who want to control township secondary schools. It appears those drug dealers in townships market their product in schools by controlling schools. However, the presence of several drug dealers in one school results in *tsotsi* gangs fighting for turf in order to sell drugs and recruit members. On the other hand, some political parties support a popular *tsotsi* gang to get votes during elections. In this way, many township schools are effectively destabilised by *tsotsi* gangs. Teachers report that sometimes they fear their own gang-affiliated students who carry weapons and smoke dagga or marijuana (Griggs 1998:8).

George (2001), in his 138 page report, "Scared at school: sexual violence against girls in South African Schools," conducted a study into the effects of students' violent behaviour upon township secondary schools. This author collected data from victims, parents of the children, teachers and school administrators in KwaZulu Natal, Gauteng and in the Western Cape concerning sexual violence against school girls. It documents how girls are raped, sexually abused, sexually harassed, and assaulted at school by their male classmates and even teachers. According to the report, girls have been attacked in school toilet facilities, in empty classrooms and corridors, hostel rooms and

dormitories. Teachers are also accused of misusing their authorities to sexually abuse girls. The Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, in his message about the *HIV/AIDS Emergency, Guideline for Educators* and said, “having sex with students betrays the trust of the community... Tragically, nowadays, it is spreading *HIV/AIDS* and bringing misery and grief to these precious young people and their families”. It is a common practice to associate sexual abuse and rape with *tsotsism*.

3.7.2 *Tsotsism* in township schools

Tsotsism is part of the township culture. It consists of prosocial and antisocial behavioural elements. The term *tsotsism* is commonly used by ordinary township residents during their conversation, both adults and the youth. Some of the users of the *tsotsi* language are prominent community leaders and church leaders as well as some teachers. Proponents of *tsotsism* support the Western culture and are attracted to Western values such as music, church, dressing, food and clothing. They are diametrically opposed to some of the African traditional values such as food, clothing, rituals and some customs which support the subculture of violence. A *tsotsi* is regarded as an enlightened person in the community who understands the Western economy and has embraced its values and culture. In order to properly investigate manifestation of *tsotsism* in township schools, it would be helpful to examine its origin.

According to Ndabandaba (1974:35), the term *tsotsi* “refers to a criminal tough guy, and it came into use in Johannesburg in 1946 following the exhibition of a film entitled “Stormy Weather” in which an all American Black cast wore stove-pipe trousers, wide-brimmed hats and massive watch chains”. African youths who adopted this kind of dress as something which was symbolic of daring-do, came to be known as *tsotsis*. Some of the individuals, who were attracted to Western dressing such as stove-pipe trousers, used original garments and not imitation materials.

Ndabandaba (1974:74) further explained that the term *tsotsi* is derived from ‘Ho Tsutsa’ a South Sotho meaning “to sharpen”, while other investigators hold that the word originated from “Zoot Suit” a fashion which originates from an American gang. *Tsotsi* culture is a well-known feature among the youth in township schools who spend their leisure time watching Western motion pictures, and videos. Again, it appears that socialisation between African and White youth resulted

in the creation of an elite African youth (*tsotsis*) who envy the freedom of expression enjoyed by their White peer groups in the classrooms.

It appears then, that *tsotsism* among township students came as the results of craving for material goods, freedom of expression and gender equality enjoyed by their White counterparts in their schools. The dilemma faced by township students is then, how to remove the blocks set by cultural structures through its schools and those teaching the African tradition which seems to be in contradiction with city life. On the one hand, the Western values in schools embrace discipline, competition, individualism, hard work and an educational qualification which is necessary to achieve a legitimate success goal (Merton 1968), and these are achieved through schooling. On the other hand, African values incorporate cooperation rather than competition, group effort rather than individualism. These diametrical poles created a situation in township schools where those students who cannot achieve academic success through the legitimate means attempt to achieve it by illegal means.

According to Freed (1963:73), *tsotsis* are an “organized crime syndicate group formed mostly by males between the ages of 12 and 40 years in the Black townships”. The crime syndicate has found fertile soil in township secondary schools where the trade of becoming a ‘professional thief’ or a *tsotsi* is well introduced to the youth (Vilakazi 1962:31). *Tsotsi* gangs are powerful and are capable of disrupting not only a classroom, but stop the whole curriculum of the schools. Mzilikazi (1997:5) reported that the principal of a township secondary school, near Ogies in Mpumalanga had to lock himself in a safe to avoid being hurt by pupils.

Miller (1968:41) wrote, “*tsotsis* demonstrate the following values: toughness, physical prowess, rhetoric, evidence by demonstrated position of strength and endurance and athletic skill, masculinities symbolized by as a distinctive complex of acts and bravery in the face of physical treats”. In the last two decades or so, ‘comrade *tsotsis*’, played a significant role in students’ antisocial behaviour and disruption of classes until they gained ownership of classrooms and control of the whole school.

Tsotsis in schools enjoy the support of some political parties and some teachers who indirectly sanction students' antisocial behaviour. For example, Mokone (1996:3) reported in the *Sowetan* that some high schools in the townships are still closed because 'comtsotsis' (refer to comrade *tsotsis*) from the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and Pan African Students Organisation (Paso) want to rule the schools". It is on record that students' violent behaviour is usually condemned by all political parties, but protected from prosecution and punishment.

Most antisocial behaviour in schools is well planned, apparently by adult professional thieves in the townships. Freed (1963:115) explained that arrested *tsotsis* revealed that they are taught by professional thieves how to plunder a school, and not to reveal information even if it means going to jail (Bodenstein 1969:7) and to avoid being caught by the police. A pattern of antisocial behaviour includes transactions involving cell phones, watches, cameras, fountain pens, textiles, fancy goods in some departments where computers are kept, collection of school funds and hijacking of automobiles (Mzilikazi 1997).

It appears that students' antisocial behaviour in schools is influenced by the mass media emulating the lifestyle of some adults who are perceived as models. However, there is a clear indication that school violence is also linked to African subcultures of violence.

3.7.3 African subculture of violence

Although township students are more responsive to Western than traditional African values, however, there is a strong bearing towards African subcultures of violence. African subcultures of violence in the present study refer to methods of courting, approved gender violence, style of organising general meetings by student leaders which resemble that of *imbizo* or *lekgutla* (a call by the chief or king), and reverence to masculinities (bullying, fist fighting) and violence against females.

Courting among the Thwala clan involves *ukuthwala* (to carry or abduct) an unmarried young girl by force. The Thwala clan is found between the Zulus and *ukuthwala* is not a crime. The *ukuthwala* custom permits a young man to abduct an unmarried girl by force (Vilakazi 1962:35).

As expected from the custom, the suitor's home compelled her to put on the clothes and insignia of a newly married wife.

In a similar manner, *tsotsi* gangs in townships use the term *jack rolling* and not *ukuthwala* to abduct a young girl by force. A *tsotsi* gang interviewed after *jack rolling* a school girl said, "*Abocherie* (girls) prefer tough guys not *sissies*. These girls like our *kwaito* music and you can tell when they get into the car because they are relaxed, singing and enjoying the good music. The community out there is ignorant about *jackrolling*, they think we are committing crime and call the police" (Fuphe 1998). The *tsotsi* gang leader expressed that jack rolling is not antisocial behaviour, but a 'self-volunteered abduction' for fun (Fuphe 1998).

A 'volunteer abduction' is sometimes planned by some girls in *shebeens* (taverns). *Shebeens* are popular among the youth and adults in townships because they represent how the African socialises. Students from various townships meet in a *shebeen* not only for drinking liquor, but sharing ideas about life. Students could listen to the adults' stories about social life during the olden days in traditional Africa and how boys used to court girls.

Antisocial behaviour such as 'volunteered abduction' is planned by a 'bad' girl; when she finds that she is falling in love with a member of another *tsotsi* gang, she then invites another member of a *tsotsi* gang to take her from the gang by whom she is presently held. According to Freed (1963:115), the girl usually does this by engaging in a form of dance known as "*famo*, in which she dances with a seductive voluptuousness revealing the more intimate parts of her body". It appears then that the *tsotsi* gangs get information that some girls need to be *jack rolled*.

Students' violent antisocial behaviour is influenced by the environment of the neighbourhood school. Machina (1974:45) interviewing Mr Mokoena, chairperson of the Reformed Independent Churches Association in his neighbourhood said, "... Soweto is 'n plek van skrik, veral oor naweke en snags. Mense kan dit nie na sewe saans in Soweto se strate waag nie. Ons noem dit 'death walk'. Gedurende skool ure, 'tsotsis' met groot spoed swaai hulle mooi en gesteelde karre rond". These comments explained how *tsotsi* gangs attract students by driving stolen vehicles at

a high speed in the school premises. It also suggests that condition of *anomie*/lawlessness and *normlessness*, exist in township schools.

Students' violent antisocial gatherings resemble that of *amabutho* or African military regiments. Students are rounded up by force to join a protest meeting and what Vilakazi (1962:76) called *ukubuthwa* custom. According to this Zulu custom, when the leaders call, an *imbizo* (gathering) everyone in the village must attend. The punishment is severe and can even include death to that individual or burning of his house. During the last two decades or so, township students' used the African style of *ukubuthwa* (calling of a public meeting) with success. Many students held an unlawful protest march to the city of Johannesburg and neither the teachers nor the police could stop them and the protest march turned into violence (Mkhwanazi 2000:2).

It is possible to teach prosocial behaviour in township schools. African culture teaches strict discipline among the youth. Some of the antisocial behaviours found among township students are subcultures of violence and have no place in the African culture in general and can "fall like a hat on ground" among the Zulu nation (Vilakazi 1962:15).

3.7.4 Administrative support for teachers

The incidence of antisocial behaviour increases when the school administrative support for teachers is vague about the nature of students' antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools. It is necessary for school administration to investigate all incidents about teachers and students. For example, teacher absenteeism tends to be higher in situations where there is less management support (Manlove & Elliot 1979; Spuck 1974). A few studies examined at the connection between student vandalism and administrative support for teachers. They discovered that when administrative support was absent or inconsistent, teachers were more likely to rely on punitive methods of managing students' (Mayer, Butterworth, Komoto & Benoit 1983; Mayer & Sulzer-Azaroff 1991). Meyer (1995:471) adds "inconsistent follow through by staff, often results in more behaviour problems by students".

The lack of follow-up by administration in cases of misconduct by teachers has been a pertinent issue in some South African schools. In his examination of South Africa's historically Black schools, Ngcongco (1996) found that teacher evaluation by supervision was poor in that it was highly judgmental rather than supportive. He also found that there was not much respect to teachers' concerns and hopes, as well as a lack of training available for school administrators and supervisors. In addition to these problems affecting Black high school principals in South Africa, Gumbi (1995) found that there were many bureaucratic expectations that guided the principals' behaviour. In addition, principals in Gumbi's study tended to work in violent school environments, disrupted by teacher and student strikes, to the point where they were unable to provide leadership. Gumbi advocated the restoring of dignity to the role of the school principal, declaring the role to be pivotal in the new education transformation under South Africa's democratic government.

The role of principals in large township secondary schools is more challenging in the new South Africa than in the past. At present most township schools have few role models because those who have succeeded relocated to the suburbs. The loss of the African role model and parental figure has had a far-reaching ramification.

3.8 SUMMARY

Universally, schools range in the nature of socialisation provided to children and adolescents. In South Africa, especially in townships, schools typically reflect the problems and disadvantages which are part of their immediate environment. In these areas, it appears that schools contribute to the problem of antisocial behaviour by, for example, using corporal punishment as a way to settle conflict or deliver justice. Schools in townships are reflective of the surrounding neighbourhood and community. Although there is a belief that children and staff are relatively safe in a violent neighbourhood, such schools are far from immune from the effects of outside violence and antisocial behaviour. Schools in wealthier areas rarely need to rely on strong antisocial violence measures within the school and on the whole, seem to work toward the instilling of pro social behaviour. From the literature, it appears that corporal punishment is in a tandem with poverty. In South Africa, over sixty percent of the children are living in poverty (Goodman

1999:17). Consequently, schools in poverty areas will be dramatically different from schools situated in the cities or in wealthy areas.

Nonetheless, in South Africa, schools in wealthy areas may be the most promising institutions at the meso-level of society, holding great potential to help reverse some of the problems found in township schools. This means that schools in wealthy areas can help to reverse the effects of poverty and inequality by serving as societies in microcosm. The strongest challenges faced in trying to maximise the potential of schools lies not only in the securing of adequate funding to maintain and improve those schools in townships, but also in the discovery of ways to ensure attendance by children in schools. To be able to ensure mere attendance by students mainly in township secondary schools that are adequately funded would be an important first step in bolstering the socialisation role of schools throughout South Africa. This will remove the negative perception regarding township secondary schools as a problem, but as part of a solution.

CHAPTER 4

THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to explore how violence and students' antisocial violent behaviour can be handled in secondary schools, particularly in townships, an empirical investigation was conducted. This was necessary because the teacher-student relationship with respect to students' antisocial and violent behaviour remains relatively unclear. This may be attributed to the fact that many previous investigations assumed a functionalist, behaviourist perspective. According to this view, is a result of consequences such as reinforcement and punishment. While this perspective frequently produces quantitative data, it has restricted possibilities beyond superficial signs and symptoms. It does not provide a broader understanding of the complexities of the students' antisocial behaviour in the context of schools. For instance, although a teacher's professional interventions are fairly obvious to a student when he or she is the recipient of those interventions, such interventions are difficult to quantify - to assign numerical values for such behaviour because they are not context-free. In such cases, qualitative research methods are more appropriate toward grasping the complexities of student antisocial behaviour.

Again, relatively little is known about teacher interventions, particularly those made in the context of students' antisocial and violent behaviour. A qualitative investigation would permit a broader, exploratory way of looking at these behaviours in context. Towards achieving this, the present chapter will focus on describing the research aims, design, methods and the data collection as well as analysis measures for this investigation.

4.2 RESEARCH AIMS

As stated in Chapter 1, the aims of the research are to:

- explore how student and antisocial violent behaviours can be handled in schools through the application of socio-educational strategies.
- design a plan for teachers on how to deal effectively with students' antisocial and violent behaviour.

Finally, the results of this research may inform teacher lesson preparation in a way that teachers can be empowered to make effective intervention preventing or responding to students' antisocial behaviour.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design used in this study followed a qualitative, exploratory and descriptive approach. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001:10-11), a research design “describes the procedures for conducting the study, including when, from whom, and under what conditions the data will be obtained.”

4.3.1 Qualitative research

McMillan and Schumacher (2001:14-16) emphasise differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches, and they highlight these areas of distinction: Quantitative research holds pertinent assumptions about the world, including the idea that there are stable social facts with a single reality, often free of context. Qualitative research assumes multiple realities, and is more concerned with understanding social phenomena. These two factors are integral to the present naturalistic enquiry, which aims at understanding phenomena within their usual contexts.

It appears then, that the most important and relevant aspect with respect to the present investigation is the importance of context. Qualitative research does not seek to establish generalisations that are universal and context free. On the contrary, qualitative researchers believe that human behaviour and actions are strongly influenced by the context within which they occur. Wilson (1997:249) emphasises that the social scientists “cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings

and action.” The research problem of the present investigation will be examined in context, a context that addresses the circumstances in which the socialisation of children in schools and the manifestations of antisocial and violent behaviour are examined.

4.3.2 Descriptive research

The method used in the present study is descriptive research. According to Gay and Airasian (2000:25-26), the main aim of descriptive research is the exploration and clarification of some phenomena where accurate information is lacking. Such research is intended to provide thorough descriptions, with a view to providing material and generating assumptions and targets for subsequent research. Furthermore, Gall and Gall (1996:274-376) explain that the descriptive approach is the most widely used research method in behavioural science. It produces findings, which are built both in the preliminary and final stages of an experimental study. The descriptive approach may serve as the ‘reconnaissance’ phase of an investigation in a new area in which the purpose is to identify factors, which are most promising for experimental investigation (Gay & Airasian 2000; McMillan & Schumacher 2001). The present study seeks to explore, and then describe how violence and antisocial behaviour occur and are addressed by schools through socio-educational - rather than medical and criminal justice - responses to students’ antisocial behaviour. The second descriptive component of the present study is to design a plan for teachers on how to deal effectively with antisocial and violent behaviour. This plan appears in Chapter 6. Such a plan requires a rich amplitude of descriptive research.

4.3.3 Explorative research

It was suggested in Chapter 1, that there are several areas central to the present investigation which have been either poorly investigated, or not investigated at all. This study is exploratory in that it seeks to understand the role of teachers in addressing students antisocial and violent behaviour in their schools. For example, relatively little research has been directed at the importance of socialisation of working class students’ and its relationship with antisocial and violent behaviour. The American national study, conducted by the National Coalition of Advocates for Children (NCAC) which studied school violence since the 1960s, discovered that

working class students are 'at-risk' to commit antisocial and violent behaviour in schools (Lowry, Sleet, Duncan, Powell & Kolbe 1995). Social structures such as schools do not take into cognizance that working class students lack early childhood primary socialisation programs which later reflect negatively in their schooling. It appears that their circumstances are not accommodated in the school curriculum except by those few teachers who seem to care about their educational needs. Thayer-Bacon (1999:24) claims that, "ignoring the needs of working class students will result into overt and covert forms of violence within schools". Astor et al (1999:24-25), also noticed a prominent connection between caring behaviours by teachers and violent behaviours in schools. In their study, they identified teachers who made efforts to ensure students' attendance, expected students to do work, and went beyond what the students are expected to do in terms of their personal support.

Those teachers who intervene to meet the needs of such students are perceived as most caring. Their intervention includes attending to issues which traditionally should be addressed by families and the church. This is evident in the increasing number of young parents who were themselves unsuccessful in school and need additional support and assistance to support their own children's educational efforts.

Unfortunately, there are few studies examining the above-mentioned issues. Since there are few studies that look at these issues from the teacher's viewpoint, there is clearly a need to take an exploratory approach in the present research design, examining closely the role of teachers in preventing student antisocial and violent behaviour.

4.4 RESEARCH METHODS

4.4.1 Ethical measures

Ethical measures were observed throughout the investigation. The following measures were followed:

4.4.1.1 *Voluntary participation*

Participants were fully informed of the purpose of the present investigation in advance. Each participant gave his or her permission to be observed or interviewed. Following the clarification, participants were given the option to discontinue participation, for any reason whatsoever, at anytime in the process.

Deception refers to the falsification of the investigation's expectations, or of giving other false information. De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, Poggenpoel, Schurink and Schurink (1998:27) describe falsification as the withholding of information, or the giving of false information, for the purpose of luring into the study, the participants who might otherwise decline. No deception was used in the present investigation, nor was any needed as all participants were willing to participate.

4.4.1.2 *Confidentiality and obscurity*

Teachers and students who took part in this investigation were given assurance of full confidentiality and anonymity. Other than identifying factors such as gender, race or general location of a teacher's school district (township in South Africa), no personal identifiable information was divulged, nor were specific schools identified by name. Each teacher was assigned a code letter(e.g Mr A, or Ms B).

4.4.1.3 *Researcher's competency and relationship with participants*

Researchers are ethically obliged to possess a high level of competency and skill in undertaking the study. In the present investigation, the researcher had served for 11 years as teacher, vice-principal, head of a department, and lecturer of education and had completed substantial graduate level study in research methodology. Moreover, the researcher has been involved in community based antisocial and violent prevention projects. On that basis, the researcher endeavoured to maintain a healthy relationship with each participant and shared a high degree of trust throughout the investigation.

4.4.2 Validity

Validity is that quality of a data-gathering instrument or procedure that enables it to measure what it is supposed to measure (Gay & Airasian 2000:42). In qualitative research design, validity rests primarily within the data collection and analysis techniques. In qualitative research, validity is important, but it is not a monolithic either - or matter (Best & Kahn 1993:207). McMillan and Schumacher (2001:407) state that “qualitative researchers use a combination of any ten possible strategies to enhance validity.” The present investigation used six of the ten strategies to enhance design validity. These included: participant language and verbatim accounts, prolonged and persistent field work, mechanically recorded data, level of inference descriptors, reinforcing for clarity, and triangulation strategies. ✓

4.4.2.1 *Participant language and verbatim accounts*

With respect to observation of homeless youths’ antisocial behaviour in Phase 1, the researcher, having taught in township secondary schools for nine years was able to relate to and to speak the youth’s street language, including the township lingo. In Phase 2 the researcher spent several years investigating antisocial and youth violent behaviour in the inner-city (Sunnyside) and township schools. Verbatim accounts were collected, and field notes from the observations included in the verbatim recording of the behaviours of students and teachers within the classroom and school. The in-depth interviews in Phase 2 were tape recorded, providing verbatim accounts. Both the pilot (early) and actual (later) individual and focus group interviews were transcribed, as were the field notes from participant observations.

4.4.2.2 *Prolonged and persistent field work*

The first survey and fieldwork investigation (Phase 1) began in 1992. The investigation consisted of participant observation of 15 homeless youth who were housed at Twilight Children’s Centre. Both Phases 2 and 3 were preceded by preliminary work where the researcher investigated antisocial and adolescents’ violent behaviour in the inner-city (Esselen Street - Sunnyside). Phase 2 culminated in participant observation in classrooms in selected township schools in Mamelodi,

Atteridgeville and Soshanguve. These schools were selected because, firstly they had experiences with students' antisocial and violent behaviour, and secondly they participated in the project *Tshwane Youth Against Crime*. The aim of the project was to investigate whether social prevention approaches reduced or stopped antisocial and youth violent behaviour or not. The project was completed on 21 March, 2002. The final focus group interviews in Phase 3 also took place in 2002. Thus, the investigator had been working closely with youth antisocial behaviour for the past nine years. This length of time had allowed for enhancement of validity, by bringing forth many opportunities for the researcher to refine ideas, including a discovery that antisocial and adolescents' violent behaviour is not merely caused by culture of individuals, but is also generated by goals of social structures.

4.4.2.3 *Mechanically recorded data*

Tape recorders were used to record the main interviews, that is, both the preliminary and the main in-depth interviews. Professional transcripts were made of the preliminary interviews. The present study proved to be exorbitant, thus, cost considerations, as well as a desire for greater involvement by the researcher in this project, meant that all the subsequent actual interviews in Phase 3 were transcribed by the researcher.

4.4.2.4 *Level of inference descriptors*

A low level of descriptors' inferences was observed. During both the observation and interview stages of the research, descriptions were as literal as possible, and preserved important terms used by the participants. For Phase 2 individual interviews were concluded with two teachers from Atteridgeville, one from Soshanguve and two from Mamelodi schools. The researcher improved upon his earlier questioning format by including aspects of African subcultures of violence, making the interview about school violence much more open-ended. Through careful prompting for elaboration, the researcher tested what was heard: "So you are saying that... *ligotshwa lusemanzi* (corporal punishment should not be abolished?)" "Is that correct?" The participant would then say "Yes,....." or "Not exactly. What I was referring to was..." The interviewer used concrete and precise descriptions both in field notes and in prompts for

elaboration in the interviews. This helped to ensure accuracy between the beliefs of the interviewees and the researcher's perceptions of those beliefs. This enhanced validity as well.

4.4.2.5 *Reinforcing for clarity*

As mentioned above, participants were asked to verify what was heard by the interviewer during the in-depth interviews, and immediately following those interviews. For example, regarding the African subculture of violence, some participants classified some social entertainments such as fist fighting, stick fighting as nonviolent behaviour. This allowed the researcher to have informal conversations with the participants following interviews, discussing further the issues raised in the interviews. This allowed for verification of the data through the strategy of reinforcing for clarity.

4.4.2.6 *Triangulation strategies*

Triangulation allows for cross-validation among data sources and data collection strategies (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:478). In the present investigation, triangulations allowed the researcher to corroborate numerous themes that emerged. For example, verbal clarifications were triangulated by the investigator's study of written references made by teachers in Phase 2. This reliance on corroboration amongst different methods served to enhance the validity of the present investigation.

4.4.3 *Reliability of the study*

Reliability is essential to the effectiveness of any data-gathering procedure. Gay and Airasian (2000:114) portray reliability as a "degree of consistency that the instrument or procedure demonstrates." Just as a researcher has an obligation to act in an ethical fashion, so too he or she has the obligation to maintain reliability, or truth findings, and trustworthiness throughout the study. Guba, in De Vos, et al (1998:349-350) presents a model for assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative data and the present study has embraced all four of the model's elements. These elements are: *truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality.*

4.4.3.2 *Applicability to other contexts*

Correlative to generality, applicability refers to the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups. According to Krefting (1990:216), a “strength of the qualitative method is that it is conducted in naturalistic settings with few controlling variables.” Each situation is defined as unique and thus less amenable to generalisation. Consequently, applicability in qualitative research would apply more to transferability, that is, when findings are comparable to contexts outside the study situation. As clearly defined by Krefting (1990:217), applicability is more “relevant to a person who wants to transfer the findings to another situation or population than that of the researcher of the original study.” Nevertheless, transferability is a strategy ensuring applicability. Strategies implemented in the present study to ensure transferability were:

- **Purposeful samples**

In the researcher’s earlier work (Phase 1) at Twilight Children Centre (TCC), fifteen homeless youth participated in the study. During the day these participants attended formal classroom teaching in one of the inner city schools and they were sponsored by TCC management. In the evening the participants attended informal teaching (mainly homework support) and they were taught by the present researcher. During the evening classes the researcher was able to observe the behaviour of the participants in a relaxed atmosphere. The participants were further observed in their natural settings in the streets of Hillbrow. Phase 1 is therefore regarded as impetus of the present study and beneficial in understanding the nature of township families, youth street culture, the effect of improper primary socialization of children by the home and the significance of caring by a teacher or an adult. The fifteen youngsters were purposefully selected for the present investigation and they attended evening classes in a separate room which was conducive for learning. This sample provided a deeper understanding of contemporary township schools and classroom dynamics in the inner city schools and the insistence that a parent and the teacher should work together in behaviour modification of an at-risk child. Furthermore, Phase 1 assisted to provide the researcher with an up to date foundation that was useful in the subsequent in-depth interviews of township educators. In Phases 2 and 3, sites selected were those in which township educators were working in schools where student violence was known to exist. In order to grasp the nature of township school violence, teachers, students and parents were interviewed.

- **Impenetrable description**

The researcher did his utmost to safeguard the confidentiality and privacy of each participant observed or interviewed, without compromising the richness of the data.

4.4.3.3 Consistency

An important criterion of trustworthiness is that of consistency of the data. Consistency aims at unearthing the consistent aspects if the enquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Krefting 1990:220). This expectation of repeatability is central to the concept of reliability, but it must be kept in mind that the idea of replication assumes a single reality, or a pre-existing set of truths that simply need to be identified and then used as a benchmark. While this is an accepted truth of quantitative research, qualitative research assumes variability, especially when the context is different. The strict controlling of variables in quantitative research becomes the antithesis of what must be unstructured and spontaneous within the qualitative research design. Krefting (1990:218) states that “qualitative research emphasises the uniqueness of the human situation, so that variation in experience rather than identical repetition is sought.” In spite of this uniqueness, consistency is a valid concern.

4.4.3.4 Neutrality

All research procedures must be free from bias in order to yield fruitful results. On one hand, quantitative research strives for neutrality through strict controlling of variables and methodological rigour. On the other hand, qualitative research seeks for neutrality by getting close to the data (e.g. throughout participant observation) by prolonged and closed contact with the informants. Instead of looking at the investigator’s neutrality, the neutrality of the data becomes the focal point. When data in such observations can be confirmed (in having truth value), the data can be regarded as having met the criterion of neutrality.

The researcher is confident that the results of this investigation are consistent, given the other validity amplifiers listed above. With regard to audit ability, the decision trail throughout the

investigation was clearly delineated, and could support an audit if necessary. In addition, all tapes and transcriptions have been preserved.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

The first phase was a catalyst for Phase 2 and Phase 3 and consisted of the observation of 15 homeless boys accommodated in a private home of safety for street children (see section 4.4.3.2). The aim of the investigation in Phase 1 was to explore and identify factors surrounding youths' antisocial behaviour (see section 1.4). In order to achieve this, informal conversational interviews were selected to enable the researcher to probe deeper into the problem of youth's antisocial and violent behaviour outside a formal classroom. During the 1980s, township schools were influenced by political violence, and Phase 1 helped to investigate youths' street violence vis-à-vis school violence. The findings by Cherry (1999a) indicated that the *mass democratic movements* in the 1980s instilled particular defiance campaign strategies in the youths - in the township streets, as well as in those in township schools. Furthermore, most township students grew up in township streets and returned to classrooms in the early 1990s, not to learn, but to transform the education system (see section 3.5.4).

Phase 2 consisted of classroom observations of 15 teachers and thereafter an individual interview with each teacher was conducted. Eight of these teachers taught in Atteridgeville, five in Mamelodi and two in Soshanguve. One of the aims of Phase 2 was to investigate teacher strategies in dealing effectively with students' antisocial and violent behaviour in the classroom (section 1.4). As already explained above, there is a strong relationship between the type of defiance found among the youths who grew up in the street and those who had returned to the classroom with the aim to transform the education system. In Phase 2 the researcher was observing the type of defiance (students' antisocial behaviour) exhibited by students in the classroom and the nature of teacher intervention. Phase 2 therefore linked the nature of antisocial and violent behaviour of the youths who grew up in the street with those who returned to school to transform the education system.

Phase 3 consisted of a focus group interview with three teachers, three students and two parents (members of a School Governing Body). These individuals were selected because they were knowledgeable about the violent behaviour of youths who grew up in the streets and those attending schools. The main aim of Phase 3 was to investigate knowledge of socio-educational rather than criminal justice procedures of members of the SGB. This phase linked very well with Phases 1 and 2 because most parents, some students and most educators supported the notion that those disruptive students who had grown up in the street and are returning to schools to disrupt classes must be arrested and kept in jail. The phases are discussed in greater detail in the next sections.

4.5.1 Sampling strategies

Sampling specifies how participants are to be selected in a study (Rosnow & Rosenthal 1996:413), involving the persons with whom the investigator will conduct the research. Purposeful sampling was used in selecting participants for this study. The target population for observation and interviews in Phase 1 were homeless adolescents and for Phase 2 were township teachers. All teachers resided and taught students in different township schools. The final group in Phase 3 was a focus group consisting of three registered teachers, three student leaders from various township secondary schools and two parents who were members of the School Governing Body. In quantitative inquiry, the dominant sampling strategy is probability sampling, which depends on the selection of random and representative samples from a larger population. The purpose of probability sampling is subsequently generalisation of the research findings to the population. By contrast, purposeful sampling is the dominant strategy in qualitative research.

According to Patton (1990:165), purposeful sampling, “seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in depth”. Furthermore, Patton (1990:169-183) identifies and describes 16 types of purposeful sampling. These include: extreme or deviant case sampling; maximum variation sampling; snowball or chain sampling; confirming or disconfirming case sampling; politically important case sampling; convenience sampling; et cetera. The researcher ensured that the focus group interviews in Phase 3 were guided by five research questions because these questions were

an impetus and they were ordered from the more general to the more specific (Stewart & Shamdasani 1990:61)

All potential participants in Phase 2 were African teachers who were openly asked about the extent of violence within their schools. Those whose schools were characterised as being violent or very violent were invited to be included in the sampling frame. All fifteen teachers (4 males, 11 females) were invited and agreed to be participants in the in-depth interviews. Thus, the sampling method was a combination of intense-case and critical case sampling (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:402).

4.5.2 Phase 1: Participation observation and the informal conversational interviews

For Phase 1 the target population were homeless adolescent males between the ages of 8 to 16 years old. The aim of the investigation was to study how community social structures for example, Twilight Children Centre (TCC) address youth antisocial and violent behaviour. Since the present researcher was involved in the management of TCC, it was possible to isolate 15 adolescents from 144 inmates at TCC for the investigation.

4.5.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation observes human behaviour as it occurs in natural settings. There are other ways, of course, of studying human behaviour, but those ways (such as through questionnaires and surveys) tend to be more artificial, and may force the subject into responses that do not accurately reflect what is most accurate or truthful about a situation, opinion or belief. The observer's participation in the group's context and activity provides a rich understanding, when coupled with observer's insights and empathy (Wiseman & Aron 1970:53). The researcher as part of the TCC management team was well known by homeless children. Participant observation by the present researcher was conducted in the late afternoon by grouping all boys together for the following activities: first, taking showers and a general talk about hygiene and advantages of prosocial behaviour during the evening meals; second, helping the boys with homework and

offering extra lessons to those who need assistance; Lastly, referring to the antisocial behaviour of the boys during the day, talking about the problem and resolving them.

In the participant observation, the main recording tool used for the investigation was the field notebook and the log book from TCC where all the boys' files were recorded. The field note book also covered the profile of each boy, that is, where they came from, what they usually did to survive in the street, and whether they wished the researcher to trace their parents.

4.5.2.2 *Informal conversational interviews*

Informal conversational interviews were conducted for two reasons. Firstly, to study how child care workers employed by community social structures (for example, TCC) respond towards adolescents who exhibit antisocial and violent behaviour. Secondly, to investigate whether rewards are a deterrent for youth who exhibit antisocial and violent behaviour. If the 15 subjects under study reduced acts of antisocial behaviour to an acceptable level, they would be promoted to 'Senior Boys' level. This level privileges the boys to occupy a single room, sponsorship to attend public schools, assistance in job seeking and free accommodation in the centre. Participant observation and interviews were appropriate tools for the study. A research document was specifically designed for the present study. The research document was intended to be used precisely for this type of study where one section of the boys could be isolated from the rest of the other inmates for the study. Since it was anticipated that the boys under study were not obligated to stay in the centre, it was necessary to label the document *inhabitant* or *non-inhabitant* depending whether the boy was still at the centre, or if he had gone home, or decided to move to another location. The following categories were designed:

- inhabitant or non-inhabitant
- age group
- programme (for example Senior Boys)
- birth date
- disciplinary record

Ultimately, statistics were available to back up any permutation of the above. A total of 15 boys was observed and also interviewed were necessary. Background data is provided in table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1: PARTICIPANTS' AGE AND RESIDENTIAL STATUS

Age	Inhabitant	Non-inhabitant	Total
14	7	2	9
15	4	0	4
16	2	0	2
Total	13	2	15

Profiles were compiled on each boy researched for the purpose of this investigation. The information was contained in the individual's file which could only be perused with the permission of the chairman of TCC because of the high level of confidentiality. Requests to review those files were to be submitted to the Chairman in writing and he retained the right to make information available for review at his own discretion.

4.5.3 Phase 2: Participant observation and individual interviews

The target group for investigation in Phase 2 comprised primary and secondary school teachers in township schools. Classroom observation of, and individual interviews with each teacher were part of the investigation.

4.5.3.1 Participant observation

The classical form of data collection in naturalistic or field research is observation of participants in the context of a natural scene (Patton 1990). De Vos et al (1998:228) credit Lindeman (1924) with having coined the term participant observation. Participant observation observes human behaviour as it occurs in natural settings, where an observer can best seek to obtain the "ordinary, usual, typical, routine, or natural environment of human existence" (Jorgensen 1989:15).

There are several inherent strengths in the process of participant observation. First, it is a particularly appropriate and effective way to study “social behaviours that are best understood within their natural settings” (De Vos et al 1989:292). There are other ways of course, of studying human behaviour, but those ways (such as through questionnaires and surveys) tend to be more artificial, and may force the subject into responses that do not accurately reflect what is most accurate or truthful about a situation, opinion or belief.

Second, the balance between being an insider and being an outsider in the group’s context and activity provides a rich understanding, when coupled with the observer’s insights and empathy. Furthermore, it provides a more comprehensive perspective on the phenomena under examination. Information is obtained first-hand in this manner. Third, participant observers can make more complex inquiries. Whereas questions on a questionnaire or survey are predetermined and conclusive as such, the participant observer is flexible and opportunistic, and able to direct his focus as the situation may offer. Fourth, participant observation has an assurance of a degree of validity that other instruments and methods may lack. Wiseman and Aron (1970:53) state that “if a participant who is trying to ‘pass’ as a member of the group he is studying misinterprets some bit of interaction and then acts on the basis of his misinterpretation, the group will soon show him the error of his ways!”

De Vos et al (1998:292-293) however, point out four disadvantages of participant observation. First, it can be time-consuming, and may be expensive, due to its labour-intensive nature. Second, it is quite dependent upon the observations of the researcher who launched the study. Third, because most participant observations consists of single case studies, the researcher must forego any claims toward generalisability. Fourth, particularly when there is a beginner observer, there is the possibility that floundering may occur, or the feeling that little useful can come from this process. Finally, De Vos et al (1998:292-293) say that because observations are time-consuming, boredom may set in when little new or remarkable has occurred over time.

In participant observation, the main recording tool is the field notebook, which is a log filled with descriptions of people, places, events, activities and conversations. In addition, it becomes a place for ideas, reflections, hunches and notes about patterns that seem to be emerging (De Vos et al

1998:292). In the present investigation, field notes were taken in chronological order in spiral notebooks. See next section.

4.5.3.2 *Individual interviews*

For Phase 2 of the present investigation, teachers whose daily work involved dealing with youth violence were interviewed. Kvale (1983:174) describes the purpose of the qualitative research interview as the “gathering of descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena”. Before the main interview, a preliminary interview was conducted with five teachers who were involved in the Tshwane Youth Against Crime (TYAC) projects. The participants were asked one single question: What are your experiences with school violence? Each interview was tape recorded, and each interview (including those with the other ten teachers) was transcribed word-for-word.

The individual interviews were conducted with fifteen teachers which included the five already interviewed teachers and were guided by the research questions (see section 5.3). As already stated above, five teachers participated in the TYAC project and the other ten not. The TYAC project had two aims, first to establish whether social programmes are a deterrent to antisocial and youth violent behaviour and, second to study how teachers intervene in youth antisocial and violent behaviour in the classroom. The five teachers who participated in the TYAC project accepted a verbal invitation to participate in an interview. The identification of the remaining ten participants was based on the nominations by their colleagues for their background in youth antisocial and violent behaviour in township schools. All 15 these teachers were residents of Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve townships. The researcher officially invited the 15 teachers, explaining the purpose of the interview and assuring their confidentiality, that is, no school name would be mentioned and they would be addressed only as Mr A or Ms B. The letters clearly explained the purpose of classroom visits and an interview. A letter of acceptance with a stamp was also included in the invitation letter.

TABLE 4.2: BACKGROUND DATA ON TEACHER PARTICIPANTS

	Male teachers	Female teachers	Total
Primary school	1	7	8
Secondary school	2	5	7
Total	3	12	15

The researcher needed to visit the participants' schools (two in Mamelodi, four in Atteridgeville and two in Soshanguve) in order to gain some understanding of the breath and depth of the problem of antisocial and students' violent behaviour in township schools and teachers' responses to it in actual classroom situations. The transcript of each in-depth interview along with the transcribed field notes thus comprised the main source of data for the present investigation.

4.5.4 Phase 3: Focus group interview

Stewart and Shamdasani (1990:10) define group interviewing to be "... limited to those situations where the assembled group is small enough to permit genuine discussion among all its members". Furthermore, Merton, Fiske and Kendal (1990:137) suggest that "the size of the group should not be too large nor too small... at least between 6-12 people". The participants in the focus group were fairly represented. The group consisted of three public school teachers (teaching in different township secondary schools), three students who were student leaders and two parents, members of the SGB.

The interviews took place in a well-prepared room where the rapport was built in the group. This was done by allowing group members to introduce themselves and telling a little about themselves. Glesne and Peshkin (1992:79-85) maintain that a good interviewer is "anticipatory; alert to establish rapport; naive; analytic; paradoxically bilateral (dominant but also submissive); non-reactive and therapeutic; and patiently probing". In order to further "break the ice" the following pattern was followed: welcoming all participants, overview of the topic and setting the ground rules for the discussion. Before asking other questions, each participant was asked one

single question: *What do you think about school violence?* Tape recordings and the transcribed field notes compromised the main sources of data from the focus group discussion.

A tape recorder was set prior to the interview and was visible to the participants. In order to follow the discussion, participants were asked to identify themselves according to the given tag name before they spoke and “garbling” of the tape was avoided (Krueger 1988). Notes were taken to capture exact phrases and statements made during the discussion. Note-taking is necessary in the event the tape recorder stops working (Morgan 1988).

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Bogdan and Biklen (1982:145) define qualitative data analysis as “working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell other”. One of the great advantages of qualitative research is that hypotheses are not developed ahead of time. Instead of testing pre-determined speculations or ideas, participant observation, models and theories that are grounded in or reflect intimate familiarity with the people in the setting under study (Schurink 1998:282). Bogdan and Biklen (1982:29), have compared the process of data analysis to a funnel, since “things are open at the beginning (or top), and more directed and specific at the bottom”.

The following approaches were used for data analysis in the present investigation. First, for Phases 1,2 and 3 the raw data were categorised according to eight propositional areas. These areas included: type, frequencies, magnitudes, structures, processes, causes, consequences, and human agency (Lofland & Lofland 1995:123). Examining the data in light of these propositional areas helped to create an initial frame, which was then used to create focussed code categories.

For the greater part of the investigation (eight in-depth interviews), Tesch’s approach (De Vos et al 1998:343-344) was used to analyse data generated. Tesch’s detailed eight steps in data analysis were followed by the investigator:

1. The researcher ought to get a sense of the whole by reading through all of the transcriptions carefully. He can then jot down some ideas as they come to mind.
2. The researcher selects one interview - for example the most interesting, the shortest, the one at the top of the pile - and goes through it asking, *what is this about?* Thinking about the underlying meaning in the information. He writes thoughts that come up in the margin.
3. When the researcher has completed this task for several respondents, a list is made of all the topics. Similar topics are clustered together and formed into columns that might be arranged into major topics, unique topics and leftovers.
4. The researcher takes the list and returns to the data. The topics are abbreviated as codes and the codes written next to the appropriate segments of the text. The researcher tries out this preliminary organising scheme to see whether new categories and codes emerge.
5. The researcher finds the most descriptive wording for the topics and turns them into categories. He endeavours to reduce the total list of categories by grouping together topics that relate to each other. Lines are drawn between the categories to show interrelationships.
6. The researcher makes a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetises the codes.
7. The data materials belonging to each category are assembled in one place and a preliminary analysis performed.
8. The researcher records existing data if necessary.

4.7 SUMMARY

This chapter, the aims of the research design, research methods, data collection and data analysis have all been described. The link between this chapter and the preceding chapters was discussed. That was followed by a discussion of relevant aspect of qualitative research, and the research design. Subsequently, the methods of data analysis were presented. The findings are discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter 1, the research aims were:

1. to explore how students' antisocial and violent behaviour is addressed in schools through the socio-educational approach.
2. to draw up guidelines for educators to cope with students' antisocial and violent behaviour. Eventually, the results of this research would inform the lesson plans of teachers in such a manner that they can make effective interventions to prevent and/or respond to students' antisocial and violent behaviour.

During the process of the present investigation of students' violent behaviour, three main sources of data, namely homeless youth observation (Phase 1), teacher observation and individual interviews (Phase 2) and focus group interviews (Phase 3) were utilised. Phase 1 focussed on the observing of antisocial and violent behaviour of fifteen homeless boys accommodated at Twilight Children Centre (TCC). The observation of the boys' behaviour assisted with the direction to be taken in Phase 2, namely observation of and interviews with fifteen teachers, teaching in township schools where students' antisocial behaviour was a common problem. Phase 3 consisted of a focus group interview with three teachers, three students and two parents (members of the School Governing Body). The participants in Phases 2 and 3 were selected because of their comprehensive knowledge of students' violent behaviour in township schools. The results of the data analysis are presented below. The conclusions and recommendations are presented in the final chapter.

5.2 SUPPOSITIONS GUIDING THE RESEARCH

The present research was guided by several suppositions: Fruitful learning and teaching in the classroom are guided by quality lesson planning and the behaviour of the teacher as well as the

role of secondary socialisation (see section 2.2 and 2.5). The classroom represents a community of students who come from various social backgrounds and in this new environment they learn how to get along with others and how to have their needs met. Other assumptions are that students emulate the value system of their teachers and the behaviour of the adults in the community or the family. Through qualitative methods, this study attempted to unravel information about this connection through participant observation and qualitative research.

5.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS RESTATED

There are five main research questions for the present investigation:

- Research question 1: What is the nature of teachers' responses (interventions) toward students' antisocial and violent behaviour in the classroom? (What is the relationship between teacher interventions and antisocial student behaviour?)
- Research question 2: What level of skill do teachers show in their interventions? (Do successful teachers utilise a social-constructivist or a functionalist-behaviour model in the classroom?)
- Research question 3: What reasons do teachers provide for their success and failures with regard to students' antisocial and violent behaviour? (Do teachers see themselves as trenchant and skilful in promoting prosocial behaviour of students in the school and in their classes?)
- Research question 4: Do teachers envision that some African customs are connected to students' antisocial and violent behaviour? (Are there any linkages between students' violent behaviour and the values of the community and those of parents?)
- Research question 5: What levels of cooperation and communication exist within the school among the principal, teachers, students and parents? (What support do teachers receive from their superiors and the community? What support do they need?)

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS: PHASE 1

A private shelter for homeless children, such as Twilight Children Centre (TCC) was still new in the early 1990s. TCC is situated in Hillbrow near Johannesburg and the present researcher was

one of the executive committee members managing TCC. The primary aim of conducting a study among the inhabitants of TCC was to collect contextual data for the purpose of answering the main research question for the present study (see section 5.3).

The document used for the analysis of data in Phase 1, was devised specifically for TCC with assistance and input by two qualified social workers (see section 4.5.2). It was intended to be used for precisely this type of research where one section of the boys could be isolated and the collated results analysed. The aim of the research was to investigate whether poor primary socialisation of children by family and homes results in children's or adult's antisocial and violent behaviour. It must be noted that during the early 1990's, children violence and *anomic* (lawlessness) behaviour in townships were not managed by both the home and schools, as a result, some children ended up homeless.

In the present investigation a total of 15 homeless children (boys), inhabitants at TCC, were observed between February to November 1992. During this period, these boys were isolated from other inmates at TCC, for the purpose of the study. The boys understood that they would be participating in the study and also realised that, after the completion of the study, they will be promoted to 'Senior Boys' category. All members of the Senior Boys had privileges such as occupying a single room and attending school, or be trained in certain skills for employment. The boys had only to conform to the house rules set up by TCC. These rules of behaviours were a rigid and simple disciplinary code of conduct based on the withdrawal of the right to stay at TCC, which was defined as a privilege granted to any child willing to comply by the basic and acceptable minimum standards. The conduct warranting discipline included theft, bullying, drug abuse, sexual abuse, insubordination et cetera. As the boys were stabilised and adapted, it was noted that contraventions were less frequent and less extreme.

In the research, the boys were classified as *inhabitant* and *non-inhabitant* depending on whether the boy was currently under observation had returned to the streets was in TCC, had gone home or left to another location. The following categories were used:

- inhabitant or non-inhabitant

- age group

The boys fell into the following age categories (age as on 31 December 1991):

TABLE 5.1: AGE GROUP AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

Age of the boys	Number of boys per age group
14	4
15	9
16	2

All fifteen boys under study were homeless and came from different provinces. They spoke reasonable English and Afrikaans. Seven boys professed to be Christians, the remainder were nonreligious. Eleven of the boys claimed to be moderate or staunch believers. A small percentage of the boys showed an interest in spiritual activities such as an established prayer group or hymn singing sessions.

TABLE 5.2: PARTICIPANTS' DISTRIBUTION BY RACE AND ORIGIN

Race	Number of boys per group	Origin
Zulu	8	Gauteng
Xhosa	3	Gauteng
North Sotho	1	Limpopo
Coloured	2	Gauteng
South Sotho	1	Free State

Eight boys were Zulus, three Xhosas, two Coloureds, one North Sotho and one South Sotho.

5.4.1 Likelihood of a child becoming *anomic* (lawlessness)

During the early 1990s, youth defiance against the criminal justice system, the security police, the Department of Education, school authorities and parents was high. The violence threat from hostel dwellers and the security police was real and as a result many children did not attend classes, but stayed in the streets. In the streets, township youths learned how to give false information and how to defy any instructions from government authority. They also learned collective participation very well. Whilst working in the streets, the present researcher avoided asking sensitive questions about biological parents or relatives because a new boy in the street will give false information. It was therefore important for the study that the present researcher had to concentrate on an individual participant until he could win his confidence.

Section 4.5.2 of the questionnaire asked each respondent to answer questions on his perceived quality of relationship with his family (father, stepfather, mother, stepmother, guardian, brothers or sisters) whom he was staying with before deciding to live in the street. It is suggested that likelihood of antisocial and violent behaviour can be equated to family violence, uncaring home, physical and emotional abuse of a child. Before moving on, it is necessary to note that primary socialisation (see section 2.4) by home and family is crucial in preventing a child's antisocial behaviour.

The following questions were asked to each respondent during the interview (see section 4.5.1):

- (i) With whom were you staying at home before coming to Twilight?
(Were you staying with your father and mother, father only; mother only; stepfather; stepmother; guardian or extended family such as grandparents; sister or brother, or who else?).
- (ii) What was your relationship with your family before coming to Twilight?
- (iii) Why did you leave your home?

Following the above questions, other questions were asked as indicated in the discussion of table 5.3 and analysed as presented in figure 5.1. For the purpose of measuring the family condition at home, each response given by the respondents was marked as follows:

1 = good

2 = not particularly good or bad

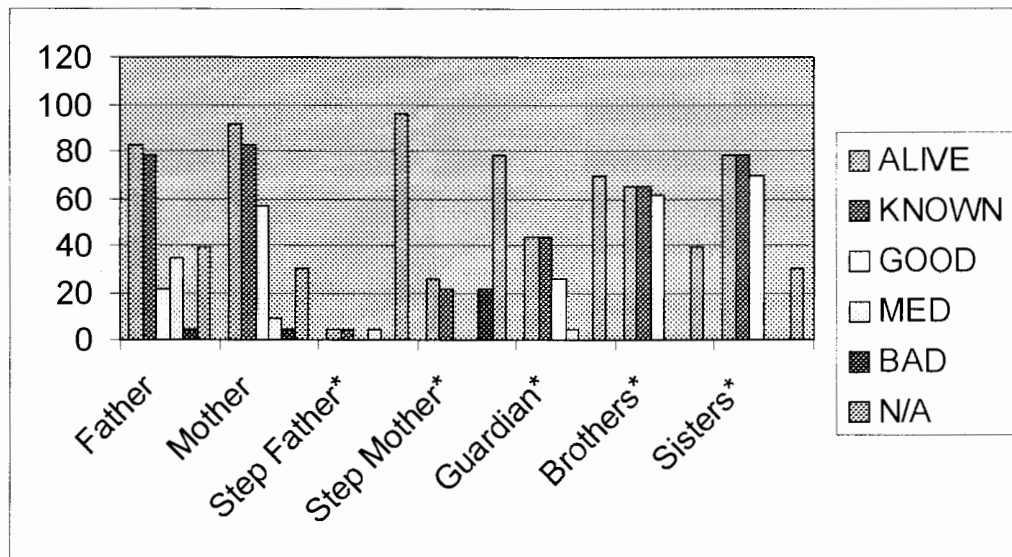
3 = bad

TABLE 5.3: FAMILY CONDITION OF HOMELESS CHILDREN

	Father	Step-father	Mother	Step-mother	Guardian	Brothers	Sisters
Child 1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1
2	3	3	1	2	2	1	1
3	3	3	1	3	2	2	2
4	3	3	3	3	1	2	1
5	1	3	3	2	2	1	1
6	3	3	1	2	2	1	1
7	3	3	1	2	1	1	2
8	3	3	1	2	1	1	1
9	3	3	1	2	2	1	1
10	1	3	3	2	3	1	1
11	3	1	3	2	3	2	2
12	3	3	3	2	1	2	1
13	3	3	3	2	3	1	1
14	3	3	1	2	3	2	1
15	3	3	3	2	3	2	2

Each boy was asked three questions about the father, stepfather, mother, stepmother, guardian, brothers and sisters (see table 5.3). These questions were asked in this way because from observation, the investigator discovered that street children do not tell the truth about their families, or place of origin.

FIGURE: 5.1: QUALITY OF THE FAMILY RELATIONSHIP



Scale for figure 5.1 is as follows:

- *Alive* refers to whether (next of kin) was alive, or not
- *Known* refers to next of kin, whether known to the child
- *Good*, refers to the quality of relationship
- *Medium* refers to not particularly good or bad
- *Bad* refers to quality of relationship

The analyses of the family condition of the respondents are now presented below with the percentages as reflected in figure 5.1.

5.4.1.1 *Equating a child's antisocial behaviours with conduct of the father*

Overall, twenty-two percent (21.7%) described the conduct of the fathers as good, thirty five percent (34.8%) as medium and 4.3 percent as bad. At least sixty-one percent (60.9%) still contacted their fathers.

5.4.1.2 *Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with conduct of the mother*

Overall, fifty seven percent (56.5%) of the respondents described the conduct of their mothers as good, 8.7 percent as medium and 4.3 percent as bad. About 69.6 percent still contact their mothers.

5.4.1.3 *Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with conduct of the stepmother*

Overall, twenty two percent (21.7%) of the respondents described the conduct of their step mothers as bad and none of them described it as either good or medium. It was also shocking to find out that 78.3 percent rated their stepmothers as bad.

5.4.1.4 *Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with conduct of the stepfather*

Overall, four percent (4.3%) described the conduct of their step fathers as medium, but none described it either, good or bad. About ninety-six (95.7%) never had contact with their step fathers.

5.4.1.5 *Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with conduct of the guardian*

Overall, twenty-six (26.1%) described the conduct of their guardian as good. Guardian in the present study shall refer to uncle, aunt and grand parents or extended family member (majority of grandparents stay with their grandchildren). At least 4.3 percent described their guardians as medium and none described them as bad.

5.4.1.6 Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with the conduct of the sister

Overall, seventy percent (69.6%) described the conduct of their sisters as good. None of the respondents described their sister as either medium or bad.

5.4.1.7 Equating a child's antisocial behaviour with conduct of the brother

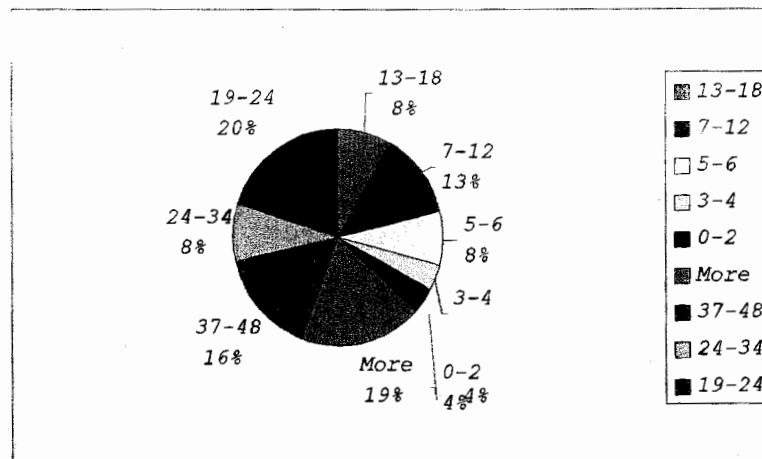
Overall, sixty- one (60.9%)of the respondents described the conduct of their brothers as good and none describe their brothers' conduct as, neither medium, nor bad.

5.4.2 Influence of socio-cultural factors on children' behaviour

The severity of children' antisocial and violent behaviour in South African townships indicates that it is of the result of the variety of strain they experience at home and in the community (see section 2.2).Depending on the 'inner-will', some children cannot contain strain and it affects their normal behaviour (see section 3.4).For example, some strains, compel some children to commit criminal offences (see section 3.5).Section 4.5.2 of the questionnaire asked each respondents to answer questions on their life prior coming to TCC and how they made a living on the street.

Figure 5.2, indicates the number of months each respondents was in the street and the Interference of peers' socialisation on behaviour.

FIGURE 5.2: NUMBER OF MONTHS SINCE FIRST LEAVING HOME



One standard question was asked “Why did you leave your home?” Thereafter follow-up questions were asked. The following themes emerged as the main categories.

- Lack of caring of parents/or adults for desperate children
- Orientation to poverty/street culture

5.4.2.1 *Likelihood of a neglected child to learn antisocial behaviour*

Children learn antisocial behaviour from peers, at home and adults in the community (see section 2.4). During an interview, twenty two percent (21.7%) of the respondents mentioned that prior to coming to TCC they were sleeping in parks, open fields seventeen percent (17.4%) and; at the Johannesburg railway station thirty five percent (34.8%). Thirty percent (30.4%) mentioned that they operated alone and it is suspected that these respondents were still new in the street. Fifty six (56.5%) percent of the respondents always moved in groups of more than three. The majority procured their food from a benefactor (this would include both the restaurants and individuals). One respondent indicated that he stole food. Most respondents indicated that they had been involved in general theft (56.5%), either from shops or houses. It is suspected that money procured from sale of stolen items was used for food.

5.4.2.2 *Likelihood of a hungry child to commit criminal offences*

As stated in section 3.4, there are various forms of antisocial behaviour and that higher forms includes criminal offences and violent behaviour. Thirty-nine percent (39.1%) of the respondents had been involved in assault and thirteen percent (13%) were involved in selling stolen goods. One respondent admitted to being involved in prostitution and one selling drugs. Many more came into contact with drugs. Sixty-one percent (60.9%) reported smoking dagga and (30.4%) sniffing glue. It should be noted that seventy-eight percent (78.3%) claimed to have no contact with any form of drugs and thirteen percent (13%) indicated that they partake occasionally whilst only two respondents did so regularly.

5.4.3 An overview of research findings

Considering the role of parents and the home in preventing children's antisocial and violent behaviour reported herein and the previous discussion, it is necessary to reflect on the findings on respondents' attitudes towards their parents. It would appear reasonable to proffer or extend the hypothesis of those researchers equating children's antisocial behaviour with improper primary socialisation of parents and home. This research does provide similarities with research conducted in other parts of the world (compare section 2.4 and 2.5). As justification to the aim of the study that the school and the classroom as socio-educational contexts are central factors in teaching social behaviour and reducing antisocial behaviour, Emile Durkheim (see section 2.2), said, "the school is a moral agent where the child is systematically able to learn the spirit of discipline."

Youth violent behaviour in townships is no longer the problem of the justice system and schools, but it has become a community problem. However, it appears that township schools were battle grounds and not moral agents. The youth who grew up in the streets, together with their leadership, returned to schools, not to learn, but to transform education. The most common antisocial behaviour found among the street children was that of collective action and defiance against authority. Discipline against a traitor or *sellout* to the security police was severe because in some situations some victims were hospitalised, others resulted in death.

It seems reasonable to assume that community social institutions, such as churches, a home of safety, medical and criminal justice will also perceive that parents, the home and the school appear to be crucial in preventing children's antisocial behaviour, just as the finding shows. Recent studies on children's antisocial and violent behaviour in schools are in agreement that teachers and parents should identify signs of deviance and correct the problem at an early stage (see section 2.5). Again the findings herein show that African children from a low economic class consistently show some signs of serious antisocial behaviour.

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS: PHASE 2

Data for Phase 2 was gathered by means of classroom observation and individual interviews. The aim of the investigation in Phase 2 was to analyse how teachers in township schools

address students' antisocial and violent behaviour. The interview participants were African teachers working in township schools that were generally quite violent places. The researcher dismissed any assumptions that the educators' experiences with school violence were similar to - or dissimilar to - places of safety for children, such as TCC (Phase 1). As already demonstrated in figure 5.3, the main purpose of Phase 1 was to investigate whether poor socialisation by parents and home contributed to street youths deviant behaviour. It is therefore, important to point out that analysis of data from homeless children was necessary to cover any area neglected in the present investigation.

5.5.1 Data analysis: Observation

Participant observation data was analysed using content analysis, involving the discovery of unifying ideas of codes (Berg 2001; Glaser 1992). Once the participant observations were transcribed into raw data, they were read and categorised according to Lofland and Loflands's (1995:123) eight propositional areas, namely, type, frequencies, magnitudes, structures, processes, causes, consequences, and human agency. These propositional areas served to create a framework for data analysis in qualitative research called social science framing (Lofland & Lofland 1995:182). This framing allowed the data to emerge and to be forced to fit into predetermined categories, while allowing the main and recurrent themes to be identified. These main and recurring themes were the first set of codes. Codes from the propositional areas were then examined in light of each of the five research questions (see section 5.3). This process resulted in the focus code categories and is represented by the following formula:

Raw data → Propositional areas → Coded data

Coded data + Research questions → Focused code categories

It is important to point out that data analysis was begun by a free identification of emergent issues that were embedded in the pages of transcribed observations and interviews. These issues became codes as they began to cluster together. They were allowed to proceed from the transcripts in a naturalistic fashion, not predetermined by fixed hypotheses or predictions. This process allowed a richness of analysis not possible with a purely quantitative approach. Finally, each of the five research questions was once again considered in light of the data that had emerged.

The focus code categories that emerged from the process were six in number. These were: the frequency of teacher intervention; type of teacher intervention; quality of teacher intervention; level of teacher skill and success; teachers' theoretical/practical orientation, and observed students' antisocial and violent behaviour. (At first the nature of incidents of students' violent behaviours were also tallied, but later abandoned because of the wide variety of student behaviour found in the classrooms). Including sex (male or female), a total of seven coded categories was established. Within these seven focussed code categories, a total of 19 distinct variables was seen to exist. These were: sex (*male* or *female*); frequency of the teacher' interventions (high, moderate, low); type of teachers' intervention (desists, guides, both); quality of teacher' interventions (*caring*, *neutral*, *uncaring*); level of teachers' skill/success (successful, mixed, unsuccessful); teachers' main theoretical/practical orientation (behaviourist/functionalist; social-constructivist/complex, other/*laissez-faire*); and presence of students' violent behaviour (two instances noted). From the practical observations, it can be assumed that most teachers subscribed to the functionalist's approach.

All fifteen teachers in Phase 2 were Africans and township residents (see section 4.5.3). Twelve teachers were female and three were male and most appeared to be middle-class. Observation of primary and secondary schools took place between September 2001 and February 2002 in the townships of Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Mamelodi. Each teacher observed gave his or her consent to be observed prior to participation. Since the researcher was a former deputy head teacher in some township secondary schools and the Executive Member of the area board for the Tshwane Community Police Forum, it was not difficult to obtain approval from the district manager in the jurisdiction, as well as getting permission from the Sunnyside Community Police Forum, which managed the project.

Each observation was assigned an identification number from 1 to 15, and each observation coded using letters and/or numerals to anonymously refer to each teacher (Mr A, Ms BB, Ms A5 etc). A Participant Observation Master Data Sheet was created (see Appendix A), containing the coded data in each of the nineteen distinct subcategories. The focus codes were the following:

5.5.1.1 ***Frequency of teacher interventions***

Content analysis revealed that there was fairly wide variation in the number of interventions made by teachers. Interventions were instances where the teacher interacted with the students, through desists (negative either/or statements telling students to go to their classes, typically, individual or group misbehaviour), or through guides (directions or guidance to individuals or groups). Eight teachers made four or fewer interventions during the hour-long observation (the low group), three made between four and seven interventions (the medium group), and five made nine or more interventions (high group).

5.5.1.2 ***Type of teacher intervention***

Desists were the most common type of teacher intervention observed. Desists are, by definition, commands to stop doing something (“Sit down!”), while guides, by definition, are commands to do something, rather than to stop doing something (“Please go to your classes!”). Teachers were categorised by the number of desists and guides they made during the observation. Seven relied mainly on desists; while three relied mainly on guides, and the remaining five relied on both fairly equally.

5.5.1.3 ***Quality of teacher interventions***

The quality of each teacher’s predominant approach in making interventions was also noted. There were teachers who appeared accepting, warm, supportive, and enthusiastic in their interactions with students. Two teachers were categorised as *caring* in the quality of their interventions. By far the largest group were teachers *neutral* in their dealings: they were neither especially caring nor uncaring, but were business-like. There were thirteen teachers whose interventions fell in this group. One teacher was characterised as *uncaring*, providing harsh, sarcastic, or punitive responses - or providing no response - to students. Although some teachers applied corporal punishment as part of intervention, such punitive actions were not recorded as part of the agreement between the researcher and the participants in the study.

5.5.1.4 *Level of skill/success*

By the end of the teaching period's observation, it became clear that there were diverse outcomes for students in different classes. Accepting that diversity in classroom activities was necessary, embracing also the idea that each observer would have experienced that diversity, the observer could however, make a judgement whether the classroom activities were productive, or unproductive, or an utter waste of time to the students. In this area, each observation was checked, then judged to have been successful or unsuccessful. For fifteen classes observed, only three were judged to have been successful, eight were unsuccessful, and four were mixed, or difficult to classify, or having roughly equal parts that were successful or unsuccessful.

5.5.1.5 *Teacher's theoretical/practical orientation*

Equally as there was an overall sense that the time had been well-spent or poorly spent, there was also a fairly obvious representation of each teacher's main theoretical practical orientation that emerged from each observation. Most school programs including classes revealed a theoretical/practical orientation that was reflective of a functionalist or behaviourist model. In these instances, classes were traditional in setting, that is teacher-led (more teacher talk) and followed the syllabus-focussed orientation, with relatively little student social interaction (student talk). Typically, in these classrooms, students were expected to work independently, quietly and without consulting others. Reinforcers and punishers (behavioural consequences) were used to a great extent in these classes. In fact, most interventions in this type of classroom were desisting, typically involving the teacher demanding that the student stop talking to a neighbour or neighbours. Eight classrooms were coded as functionalist-behaviourist.

In contrast to the behaviourist model, one classroom was coded as reflective of the social-constructivist model. In this classroom, instruction was more student-centred, with more social interaction, focussing less on the product than on process. There was a great deal of discourse and discussion and student activity in this classroom, as well as higher order thinking in social interaction between students. Students were given written class work and homework.

As observations proceeded, a third type of classroom model appeared. It consisted of a classroom that had no obvious, clearly defined or strong theoretical/practical orientation.

The term *laissez-faire* came to mind when observing this particular class. Classroom activities were, at best, disrupted with little or no teacher intervention. Judging by their behaviour, the last six classes correlated to either the functionalist-behaviourist or social-constructivist classrooms.

5.5.1.6 *Observed antisocial and violent behaviour*

As described above, there were so many incidents of antisocial behaviour that the noting of specific incidents of antisocial behaviour had to be abandoned during the observations. In six classes observed, the frequency of antisocial behaviours was substantial; in some cases there were many incidents in one hour. These antisocial behaviours included vulgar words, rudeness, interrupting other students, excluding peers from joining an activity, taking and hiding another student's pen, making loud noises and frequently going to the toilets. While these behaviours were not violent antisocial behaviour such as these did lead to incidents of violence.

It must be noted that students' antisocial behaviours were less common when the teacher was within a very close proximity range. When the teacher physically approached a misbehaving student, that student's behaviour became somewhat moderate. Sometimes when the teacher entered a classroom, the noise level went down, but not completely. The physical presence of a teacher seemed to have an effect on student behaviour. These factors included the frequency, type and quality of teacher interventions.

Regarding students' violent behaviour, there were four instances of in-classroom violence seen in seven classrooms and there was no incident of the student observed in the other classrooms observations. Violent behaviour referred to incidents of physical violence; one incident involved student to teacher violence and the other three were student-to-student violence. Regular violence involved male to female violence and some male to male violence involving the hitting of another student with the hand or clenched fists by a student. Of the eleven instances where student violence was noted, two cases involved a *tsotsi* gang who stole chairs from the classrooms and

sold them to a *shebeen* owner, not far from the school. The incident is mentioned because the researcher learned that incidents such as this, including stealing of doors and other school property, form a serious part of students' antisocial and violent behaviour (see a research problem in section 1.4). In the remaining three observations, of an hour's duration respectively four instances of observed violence were noted.

From a classroom management perspective, conducive learning cannot take place in an *anomic* (lawlessness) condition. In a situation analysis, it must be pointed out that most of the township schools visited by the researcher were situated in a violent environment where mugging, motor vehicle hijacking and tsotsi gangs reign without opposition. Students and teachers are always alert to any possibility of student antisocial behaviour. It has been noted (see section 2.2) that a violent environment produces violent youth; students from a low economic class are at-risk of participating in violent behaviour.

5.5.2 Data analysis: Individual interviews

The second source of data in Phase 2 was provided by individual interviews. The interview sample consisted of fifteen teachers. Through site selection, the participants were selected from township teachers. They were from Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve township schools. These individual teachers were drawn from areas and schools where violence was relatively common.

A set of written transcripts was made from the fifteen tape-recorded interviews, and the qualitative analysis proceeded according to Tesch's approach (see section 4.6). This process produced four main categories that influenced the existence and degree of students' violence behaviour: teacher's theoretical/practical orientation, credit of success and failure, the teacher attributes, and the classroom background. Inside the four main categories, a total of seven subcategories was identified as having a significant relationship in preventing and responding to violent and antisocial behaviour. Credit of success and failure included: parental involvement and support. Teacher attributes included: teaching efficacy, caring and relationship with students. Classroom background included: classroom activities, a responsive classroom control and classroom rules and expectations.

The classroom context encompassed: academic activity orientation, the classroom as a community, classroom ownership, as well as classroom rules and expectations. Level of parental involvement included only the role of parents as subcategory. Although no hierarchical order was inherent in the following presentation, those categories listed first (the teacher, and the classroom context) were more influential as preventatives of students' violence than the latter two categories (the school context and parents and community).

5.5.2.1 *Teachers' theoretical /practical orientation*

Teachers interviewed revealed a largely functionalist-behaviourist orientation, emphasising rules and consequences for misbehaviour in the classroom.

One teacher said:

In the beginning of the year we always start our classroom with prayer and then I give them the rules. I make it plain that anyone who breaks the rule will be punished just like the Bible told us.

Another teacher said:

Students in my classroom know the rule that if they don' t do their homework, there will be a punishment. If I give them exercises to do in the classroom, those who finish first I reward them by going outside for a break.

One teacher said:

For a student who gets all a total in the mathematics test, I reward that student by placing a star in the test exercise book. I do not acknowledge those who fail the test.

As already mentioned above, most teachers put emphasis on breaking behavioural rules and the consequences thereof.

5.5.2.2 *Credits for success and failure*

Teachers interviewed took personal responsibility for their success, and failure, crediting both their personal efforts and abilities. For example, one teacher said:

The best way of maintaining order in the classroom is to set standards at the beginning of the year. I do not accept any late coming, making noise and going outside during the classroom activities. Many students will stick to that rule throughout the year.

Another teacher repeated the same idea and added that he achieved success by preventing antisocial behaviour and violence through anticipating the tone and type of questions from a student and said:

You need to understand the local township lingo because some students are purposely disruptive. In order for me to be successful with that student, I need to intervene and be firm about boundaries of misbehaviour. It is necessary to set a strict boundary and stay with it I know it may set wrong precedents to other students.

Even the most successful teachers felt frustrated by the difficulty of inviting the parents to the classroom regarding a student with violent behaviour.

One teacher said:

It is extremely difficult to get the assistance of a parent to come to school about his or her child. Most students stay with relatives. In many situations it is difficult for working parents to come to school during the day because they are working and at night it is impossible because of transport.

Another teacher added:

Parents need to be involved in the school as well as in the classroom. I have a lot of parents who remind me that in African culture, I have a right to discipline their child if he or she is misbehaving. I remember calling one parent to my class about the child who play truant. The parent started to beat the child in my presence until I intervened.

Another teacher said:

Although many parents worked until late in the evening, it is always helpful to involve them in your classroom. Even a child's conscience will tell him/her that if my parent is absent from work, we might not have enough money at the end of the month. So, that in a way helps to involve parents.

This subcategory appeared to be valuable in preventing violence, especially when there was a link between the teacher and the parent.

5.5.2.3 *The teacher attributes*

The analysis revealed that the teacher himself or herself plays a most prominent role in student discipline, and his or her qualities influence whether violent behaviour will be exhibited in the classroom. Two manifestations of a teacher's qualities were specifically related to the prevention of violence, or the minimisation of the likelihood that students would act in a violent or antisocial manner. These two categories identified were: teaching efficacy and a personal caring relationship with students.

- **Teaching efficacy**

According to Eggen and Kauchak (2001:436), teaching efficacy or competence refers to the belief that a teacher can have an important positive effect on students. Teachers successful in preventing

and responding to violence espoused the belief that their efforts could and would be successful. One teacher from Mamelodi township said he does not welcome disruptive students:

Some of the children in this township grew up in a tough and rough environment and they need a tough teacher. I believe that in most cases a child can be forced to behave according to the expectation of the teacher. In fact, we are teaching these children to learn how to take orders from their parents and other adults.

Another teacher explained that students need to know about the values of education, and said:

I sometimes talk about material things such as driving a nice car, living in a beautiful house and staying in a nice neighbourhood and explain that these things are all possible through education. I give them these examples, with the hope that someone will notice that there is no short way in life and crime does not pay.

Another teacher said:

Many of our students come from broken families and I know about this because some of them share these things with me. Any problem I see coming I try to talk about before it is too late. I then call some of the students who can join us and solve the problem. Students can come with a solution and then I give them tasks and when to report back. You as the teacher you can learn a lot from their methods of solving problems.

Some teachers depended on corporal punishment. It was sometimes difficult to suggest new instructional methods that condemned corporal punishment because everyone seemed attached to the functionalist approach.

Another teacher said:

Teachers must punish those students who do not follow the rule and they will follow the rule. It is our culture (as Africans) not to spoil the child. These children are our children.

Another teacher reiterated this idea, adding that he keeps order and discipline in his classroom by being a strict, but fair disciplinarian and applies corporal punishment where it is necessary. He said:

There are some students that have a tendency of disrupting classes when they have not done their homework. In order to avert their responsibilities one of them will create a scene. If you attend to that scene then the whole period is over. In my class, I use a language that many children in this community understand better, that is, to use harsh words and a loud voice. I need to set an extreme firm boundary as to what is acceptable and what isn't and then stick to it.

Most interviewed teachers credit their success to being strict with those students who break the classroom rules. The relationship between teachers and students has limited boundaries, especially when some students can leave the classroom at anytime.

One teacher said:

If some students come late to my class, I need to know the reason and I learn that one boy is proposing love to her and she needs to agree for protection even if she does not want him. Our township schools have many such problems and gender violence and some of the students bring different kinds weapon including knives in my classroom.

One teacher stated that:

Teaching, especially in township secondary schools is a calling, a career that is different from any other field. You are a leader, a shaper of behaviour, and

values. Township youth come from a different social background and one need to separate what is antisocial behaviour and what is linked to African subcultures of violence. The teacher had an opportunity of explaining the relevancy of some African practices and the importance of learning to live with other cultures.

One teacher further explained the importance of self-reliance:

We have a lot of problems in our schools. My principal says, "Don't send a student to the office unless it is a serious case." So, I handle things in my own way in the classroom.

Another teacher said:

I don't use conflict resolution to undermine the rules. I think that once you begin to expel students from the classroom, you are not solving the problem. I am not saying that you should allow antisocial and violent behaviour of students uncontrolled, but one should devise a plan to deal with one's own classroom problems. Let us say, for argument sake you are hired as a manager for a system or business. Every time a problem arises, you have to go outside to find a solution, you won't have a business for a very long time.

Responses from the educators also indicate the various levels at which teaching efficacy can reduce student antisocial behaviour. The participants from school S and P argued that some African customs do not promote antisocial behaviour in the classroom, but teachers must set the classroom rules and follow them. They believe that expelling disruptive students from the classroom does not help the perpetrator to change behaviour. A few of such comments were also registered from school M.

Teaching efficacy was also connected to the way teachers understand the student cultures as well as the social life in the community. Teachers who were successful in addressing violence also tended to have certain personal qualities that manifested in their professional lives as teachers.

They were self-confident, self-reliant and trusted by students and they did not depend on support from outside. It appears that teachers who were successful in preventing violence were self-reliant since they were assured of their ability to teach and to bring about change in their students.

- **Caring relationships with students**

An important pattern that was identified was the following: Teachers successful with efficacy were those who sought to understand the needs of their students as individuals and have a professional personal relationship. This was shown through the conversations with students that dealt with what was important in the students' lives. They demonstrated a caring attitude. One teacher said:

In every classroom I took the first few minutes talking about almost everything from school transport, AIDS, sexuality, raping, soccer, girl and boyfriends, about God, about television.

Another said:

Many children come to classes with problems we never experienced in their age. Some are unfortunate not to have a support group in their family to discuss some of the worrying problems. They need to believe that you, the teacher, will help and you will not discuss their personal problems with other teachers.

Another teacher described how she dealt with conflict when a man attempted to insult her. She modelled her behaviour to other students and explained:

I was pushing a grocery trolley from the shopping mall when one young man said, Ah! "You are so ugly!" And I responded, "Thank you." He said, "Why did you say thank you" " Because you look at a person's appearance as a negative. He apologised.

In the present investigation, successful teachers clearly fitted the definition of high impact teachers. This was particularly true of township teachers, who worked in difficult teaching

environments that placed a high dividend on their teaching competency. In most cases support for teachers in township schools was not the same as in schools in middle income groups because they had to draw their personal strengths and qualities to produce good academic results at the end of the year. These teachers dealt each day with a culture of violence that included hostility, threat, intimidation, fighting, drugs, theft, prostitution and *tsotsi* gangs within the classroom situation. These incidents were reported by almost all teachers interviewed.

5.5.2.4 *Classroom context*

A pattern emerged that the context of the classroom as created and managed by the teacher had a powerful effect on preventing and minimising the effects of antisocial and violent behaviour. Four subcategories were identified: classroom activities, responsive classroom, classroom control and classroom rules and expectations.

- **Classroom activities**

Classrooms where violence was rare were classrooms where students were engaged in their school work. One teacher was asked by the interviewer, *If I walk into your classroom, what would it look like?* She replied:

Silent. When I teach, I do not want to be disturbed. After the lesson then they can ask questions and I will explain.

Another teacher who teaches biology mentioned that she liked to teach in groups:

Groups work well in biology because students share information. I discovered this method when a group of students who held an illegal violent protest were sent to group counselling. I began to understand that many students are not raised by their parents, but by relatives and grandparents. I started to link the method used in counselling with my Biology class. It works very well.

- **Responsive classrooms**

Teachers who were successful in preventing violence described their classrooms as places where there was a sense of shared social experiences. These teachers' classrooms were not places that encouraged confrontation and teachers did not foster oppositional behaviour by pitting students against each other. Clearly, their classrooms were not *laissez-faire* (disengaged). Given the understanding of high competent teaching of the successful teachers, students were not left alone to decide what to learn. Instead, successful teachers take advantage of the classroom as a tool for student socialisation and prosocial behaviour. This was discovered among some of the teachers interviewed.

One teacher said:

I change the students' desks around every month, so it helps them adjust with a new neighbour.

Several teachers mentioned that if a student misbehaves, he or she must be expelled from the classroom community:

If you don't foster a classroom community bond, there will definitely be school violence... Even when a student is caught stealing, I say, "Yes, you stole it. You did a wrong thing, but we want to help you to stop doing that."

The subject *respect in the classroom* appeared powerful among some teachers.

Students need respect and they will do the same. I start each day by saying "Good morning class," "Good afternoon." I have learned that students were saying I am the only teacher who expects them to respect each other.

Another important topic was conveying a sense of safety to students on their way to and from school. These teachers serve as a shield between the student and the culture of violence in the community.

One teacher said:

Our school caters only for girls and it is not safe to keep students until late in the afternoon. I prefer to have extra classes on Saturdays. It is very important to understand the culture of violence in the township and which days are safe for students. In order to serve as a shield I would rather follow these girls behind until I am satisfied that they are safe.

The present investigation revealed that successful teachers place a great emphasis on creating and maintaining a safe classroom environment, where students respect each other and the teacher respects all students. It also appeared that the teacher has the power to teach prosocial behaviour in the classroom.

- **Classroom control**

Teachers who were effective in preventing violence had a clear ownership of the classroom and were in control of all professional activities. In classrooms where students' violent behaviour was high and classroom ownership was unclear, or was in the hands of students and *tsotsi* gangs, the teacher was not in control.

One teacher said:

Students will test a new teacher. Reputation is very important. There are some teachers who have a reputation of letting anything go. There are some teachers who set the ground rules. I have a reputation of being tough, but fair.

On the other hand, teachers who are weak classroom leaders can get caught up in the culture of violence themselves or receive threats of violence, thus reducing him or her into a victim, a hostage or even both.

Another teacher said:

There are a number of classes with tsotsi gangs and some are rivals. I remember asking a student why he did not do his homework and he said it was not my business. A rival gang member stood up and said is that the way to talk to 'meneer'. He later threatened to blow his head if he just opened his mouth. I later learned that they both belong to a notorious tsotsi gang in the township. I had to separate the two rival tsotsi gangs and foster peace.

Some teachers would expel a member of a *tsotsi* gang from their classrooms. A teacher needs to be the custodian and the quality of classroom custodianship is related to personal strength. A classroom should not be owned by *tsotsi* gangs, but by the teacher. Whenever a *tsotsi* gang owns the classroom that particular teacher is disempowered and is placed in a no win situation. Seeking help from the police can result in the teacher's life being threatened by the students. Moreover, help from administration regarding *tsotsi* gangs and violent students is not helpful because of the emphasis on students' right to learn. This results in some teachers relinquishing the ownership of the classroom to *tsotsi* gangs that place the teacher under their control and destroy his or her authority in the classroom.

- **Classroom rules and expectations**

An important pattern which emerged in the investigation concerns the role of classroom rules and expectations. Violent behaviour was prevented by ensuring that rules and expectations were clearly conveyed to students. On the other hand, students must internalise the expectations and rules. This was achieved through active discussion of the rules and expectations. The expectations were modelled by the teacher, and students were expected to show, through behaviour, that these rules and expectations had been internalised.

One teacher said:

I don't allow students to come late. I don't accept late work. You are expected to have your work each day; you're expected to have your notebook for this class. It is the rule of my class to receive the names of noise makers when they have work to do.

Another teacher said:

Teach students to have routines, to solve their own problems. Tell students there are rules to follow, and if you follow them consistently, you will get answers, you will get results. The rules you set in the community classroom, follow the same rules, but not rigid rules, but positive behavioural expectations.

5.5.3 An overview of observation and interview findings

In Phase 2 data were collected on the subject of students' antisocial and violent behaviour in the classrooms. The phase began by classroom observation and thereafter interviews of teachers. Topics and subcategories emerged from data obtained from interviews and observation. The categories were presented and discussed under the topics: frequency of teacher of teacher interventions, type of teacher intervention, quality of teacher interventions; level of skill and success; teachers' theoretical and practical orientation and observed students' antisocial and violent behaviour. The categories which emerged during interviews included: teachers' theoretical and practical orientation; credits for success and failure; the teacher attributes; the classroom background.

Phase 2 aimed to explore what strategies successful teachers use to reduce the negative impact of poor socialisation (see section 4.5.2) and collective student defiance behaviour. As already indicated in section 5.4, most township teachers had to teach those students who grew up in the streets and only attended school occasionally, as well as those who came from stable environments and attended school regularly. The most common antisocial behaviour observed in the classrooms was collective defiance where the teacher found the classroom empty. Collective defiance was also seen where the whole student body left the school premises before the official short break. It appears that both street children (Phase 1) and classroom students (Phase 2) used a common strategy of collective defiance against the authority and used assaultative methods or even death threats against those who defied the youth leadership instructions.

The term *student's antisocial behaviour* was variously understood as expressed differently by other participants. Some were given in the form of objectives, others were quite brief and not

encompassing what is generally expected to be included in the interview topics. Despite these differences, all participants emphasised that affected schools need to identify factors surrounding students' antisocial and violent behaviour, and to examine teacher behaviours that may inhibit antisocial behaviour. Furthermore, most participants alluded to greater cooperation and communication between the teacher and the parents as well as the community. Finally, it emerged from the participants that the teacher-student relationship was a central factor, especially where prosocial behaviours were part of the classroom teaching activities.

5.6 DATA ANALYSIS: PHASE 3

In Phase 2 data collected from educators were presented and discussed. Phase 3 involved data collected through a focus group interview. Data analysis involved identifying clusters of similar responses which emerged from the data, grouping them in patterns which were further examined in comparison with what is available in literature and regrouped into categories. In order to accomplish this, three teachers, three students and two parents were invited for a focus group discussion. The main aim of the investigation was to shed light on socio-educational rather than on medical and criminal justice-responses to students' antisocial and violent behaviour. The content analysis process was once again followed to develop general themes and summaries from teachers, parents and students as main stakeholders in the community.

The Social Development Strategies (SDS) model was used as a framework to establish a research methodology to analyse data from the focus interviews. The SDS helps with the methodology on how to reduce risk factors that influence problem behaviours in schools (Hawkins & Catalano 1992). A matrix was constructed by coding and rating responses from the text, compiled from the main research protocol questions (see section 5.3). The next section outlines the main themes:

5.6.1 Themes identified

An interview schedule designed to elicit understanding of the problem under study in line with the aims of study was used to conduct the interviews which were the main research instrument. The interviews did not follow any strict order, but they were useful in obtaining information on the

different aspects of the problem. Arising from the overarching question: *What can you tell me about school violence in your school?* The following themes emerged:

- Parent-teacher partnership
- Role of home and community
- Teacher-student and parent relationship
- The role of certain African customs in students' violent behaviour

5.6.1.1 Parent-teacher partnership

Most participants agreed that a teacher-parent partnership was generally beneficial to the children and the school. A few views expressed by respondents in elaborating on this proposition were as follows.

One teacher said:

Most teachers that I know view parent involvement as helpful to the students they are working with. I have always welcomed a closer working relationship with parents. For example, during the school's extra mural activities or educational excursion it very nice to see parents accompany their children.

On the question whether parents should only be involved in extra mural activities, one parent said:

Some parents are specialists in their own fields of work, some are lawyers, psychologists, and some work for the Safety and Security and so on. Parents must also participate in the classroom committees.

On the question regarding how the school can utilise parents in promotion of prosocial behaviour and prevention of students' antisocial and violent behaviour, one student said:

I think students should be part of the partnership between parents and teachers in tackling school violence. Students know the culprits and they can point the trouble makers and solve the problem quickly

The analysis of this discussion supports the notion that parent involvement will assist the school with improved school performance, it will reduce drop-out rate, decrease students' antisocial and violent behaviour and promote more positive attitudes towards the school.

5.6.1.2 *Role of home and community*

Most participants agreed fully that participation of home and community in school activities is long overdue. Regarding the role of home and community, some respondents expressed the following views:

One parent said:

Students should wear a school uniform so that they can be identified by the community and be protected when attacked from outside. In our school we have formed a street committee that works together with the school in problems such as stealing of school property and burglary.

One student said:

I think the community should be involved in some school activities such as planting of trees. I also think some members of the community should help to stop those people who sell drugs to students, such as 'shebeens'.

One teacher said:

Students in our days no longer respect adults like in the past. It is worse today because even teachers are not respected. Homes must teach children how to socialise with other

individuals at school, home and in the community. This is what the school is trying to teach, respect other people so that they in return can respect you. This can be done jointly by the home and through the existing community structures.

In view of the fact that most township schools are surrounded by certain social *anomic* individuals, it makes sense that the school should involve stakeholders in the community. It is therefore necessary to involve the home as well as the community in assisting to develop the child as a responsible member of the community. The child as a junior member of the community needs to be taught prosocial behavioural skills through the school in order to live in harmony with other fellow members of the community.

5.6.1.3 *Teacher-student and parent relationship*

The involvement of the parent, teachers and students in the school is topical in these days as one of the participants stated. Participants presented the following views.

One teacher said:

School Governing Council is the best structure where all three groups can work together in matters that affect the whole school including school violence.

One parent said:

Parents who participate in the School Governance Council are able to make decisions and implement them about safety, better education for our children.

One student said:

In this structure parents, teachers and students sit down and discuss matters that affect students and the whole school. In most cases a decision taken by all stake holders is effective and respected.

Reflecting on the various comments about the involvement of teachers, students and parents presented the present researcher with two possible interpretations. First, the involvement of students in school management was not completely accepted by both teachers and parents because they feel that students are at school only for the purpose of learning. Second, the understanding was that the group thought that students were too militarised by political parties and considered it likely that members of Cosas or Paso (see section 1.1) will insist on participation and ultimately represent the ideology of their respective political parties

5.6.1.4 *The role of certain African customs in student violent behaviour*

As stated (in section 2.3 compared with 5.6) some members of the township communities appeared to be comfortable to buy stolen school property such as doors, chairs, tables, et cetera, which undoubtedly signals a poverty culture (see section 3.7). On the other hand, according to the Nguni custom, masculinities such as bullying, social entertainment using various traditional weapons (such as assegais, stick fighting, et cetera) and *ukuthwala* (abduction of young unmarried women) are acceptable (see section 3.7.3). For example, the recent incident of the young wife of king Mswati of Swaziland who was abducted by *amabutho* (soldiers) at *incwaleni* (Swazi custom festival) and the mother of the girl, who was from South Africa, who opened a criminal case against the king, was widely publicized by the printed media in the country. The researcher wanted to know whether certain African customs, which clearly promote a subculture of violence, encourage antisocial and violent behaviour.

One teacher said:

The African initiation schools is supported by some tribes and these schools teach boys that they are superior to women and men who did not pass through the tradition. During the training violence is used in moulding behaviour and some of the boys are killed in the process. Then how do you teach a boy who despises you?

A teacher said:

I have witnesses in our school that some of the students' antisocial behaviour is related to African customs which are not practised in the cities. Fist fighting and bullying are accepted in some African customs and are equivalent as 'stick fighting' for entertainment. Some adults, even teachers, condone as equivalent this behaviour.

A student said:

What I think is not correct is the way some African customs allow men to treat women as children. We see this in our school that some boys want to control girls. Some of the boys use violent means to propose love to a girl. If she refuses, then she is beaten.

A parent said:

Life in the township is very tough and boys need to be strong in order to defend themselves and their families. But I do not agree that girls should be beaten by boys, also women must know that when they get married they are under their hand of the husband. The Bible says it, 'angithi kunjalo.'

The analysis of this section shows that African subcultures of violence are certainly condoned by some members of the community. It can be concluded that township students' violent behaviour leans heavily on African traditions such as strategies of *imbizo* (general meetings) and collective decisions. In traditional times, attendance of the *izimbizo* (general meetings) was compulsory, just as students' meetings were in the last two decades. These strategies provided the recipe for students' normlessness and disruption of schools in the past and even today, they intimidate and force students to engage in *anomic* and violent behaviour. Finally, it can be deduced from the participants that among certain African customs, bullying by males and the concept of masculinity are still not regarded as an antisocial and violent behaviour.

5.6.2 Overview of the focus group interviews

In reporting on Phase 3, data collected from the participants were presented and discussed under different categories from the interviews. These included: the parent-teacher partnership; role of home and community; teacher-student and parent relationship; the role of some African customs in fuelling students' violent behaviour.

Considering various responses from the participants, it appears that the majority, if not all of them, supported strong cooperation between teachers and parents. Participants had various understandings of what cooperation between parent and the school entails. One parent mentioned that many parents were aware of the magnitude of school violence. Another parent mentioned that the involvement of parents and the community in school matters will go a long way in addressing school violence as well as learning problems. The school cannot function unilaterally in solving societal problems because the current trend of students' violent behaviour is a community problem. The culture of students' violent behaviour in township schools is unique (see section 3.5) and that uniqueness was clearly identified during discussions.

In a visionary statement, one teacher mentioned that the current school violence experienced by township teachers calls not only for parent involvement in schools, but also the involvement of the larger community. The educators further said that most township students are not properly educated in good manners (prosocial behaviour) by their parents.

Referring to retribution and incarceration of offenders, it appears that whilst the majority believe in sending offenders to jail, some favoured the introduction of behaviour modification strategies by teachers in their classrooms. The participants felt clearly that punishment for minor offenders (aggressive antisocial behaviour) will prevent incidents of serious crime (e.g using a dangerous weapon) that is, violent behaviour. Several views on retribution were supported by examples, such as if a student inflicts pain on others, he or she must be punished, thus, sending a message to other students. Although there was a noticeable level of difference among some participants regarding the use of corporal punishment as a means of preventing students' antisocial behaviour, there was a general understanding that schools need to teach prosocial behaviour in their

classrooms. This viewpoint is supported by the literature findings (compare section 2.5 and 3.4) where other researchers have discovered that retributive measures (such as corporal punishment) does not prevent students' antisocial and violent behaviour.

Most participants were concerned about the safety of the children and the quality of township secondary education. It appears that most of participants maintained that safety and security of staff and the students are solely the responsibility of the government and not the parents and the community. This view was also stated in the previous discussion concerning the antiviolent behaviour of Cosas and the protest of certain parents about the locking of school gates and payment of school fees (compare section 3.4 and 3.5).

In conclusion, education systems in other countries are moving away from retribution, corporal punishment and incarceration measures to curb students' violent behaviour and adopting medical measures. In context, this study revealed the importance of schools in preventing students antisocial behaviour (see section 1.3) compared with (section 2.2, 2.5 and 3.4).

5.7 SUMMARY

This summary presented the findings concerning each of the five research questions (section 5.3).

- Research question 1: What is the nature of teachers' responses (interventions) toward students' antisocial and violent behaviour in the classroom? (What is the relationship between teacher interventions and antisocial student behaviour?)

Teachers are aware of antisocial and students' violent behaviour in their schools, and classrooms. About six teachers displayed a *laissez-faire* classroom orientation, and apparently this is caused by the student power which has been discussed in section 3.5.1. Antisocial behaviour was widespread, ranging from rudeness, uncivil behaviour, bullying, harsh words, aggressive behaviour, theft, robbery, person to person violence, assault, fist fighting, fighting using sharp objects, firearms, stone throwing, leaving school premises before the school's official closing time, coming late and basking in the sun. Depending

on the nature of antisocial violence or student violence, teachers responded cautiously. However, regarding antisocial behaviour in the classrooms by students, when a teacher approached an offending student, the student usually desisted and obeyed.

In schools where violence was common, teachers were more preventive in their interventions, presumably due to the seriousness of students violent behaviour. Effective teachers in these situations were consistently high impact, managing potential student violence by maintaining a high profile in the school. Two schools which were part of the study have established an effective conflict management committee dealing with students' violent behaviour. This committee consisted of five members, students were represented by two members. In Phase 2 and 3 of the study, successful teachers emphasised the positive: they emphasised what students should do. Overall, the majority of interventions were neither caring nor uncaring, but open-minded and businesslike. Especially in violent schools, teachers who routinely made caring interventions had successful, nonviolent classrooms. Caring interventions by teachers prevented student violence, and caring interventions helped moderate violent behaviour when it occurred.

- Research question 2: What level of skill do teachers show in their interventions? (Do successful teachers utilise a social-constructivist or a functionalist-behaviourist model in the classroom?)

Teachers were successful in addressing antisocial and violent behaviour through either a functionalist-behaviourist orientation or a social-constructivist orientation. The latter model seemed particularly effective, in that it puts more emphasis on student-centred instruction and relies less on external rewards and punishments. The social-constructivist model is constructed within the student, basically through social interactions and experiences. When students are engaged in this manner, their attention does not easily shift to other areas, especially those areas that may lead to antisocial behaviour and violence. (One teacher added, after the interviews, that "it is not possible for students to disrupt a lesson, if you are occupied in delivering the subject matter"). The *laissez-faire* orientation, is not preferable in terms of preventing antisocial behaviour and violence.

- In the sample of township secondary schools, teachers were faced with greater potential of actual person-to-person violence. The situation demanded that they create a sense of trust, and interact with the students to help build that sense of trust. At face value, the
- teacher-student relationship was sound in those classrooms.

In the classrooms where students were productively occupied and where students had a clear understanding of what was expected of them, violent behaviour was unlikely. The converse was also true: irrespective of class, gender or other demographic factors, classrooms led by teachers who were indifferent, uninvolved and *laissez-faire* were classrooms likely to experience potential antisocial or students' violent behaviour.

- Research question 3: What reasons do teachers provide for their success and failures with regard to students' antisocial and violent behaviour? (Do teachers see themselves as trenchant and skilful in promoting prosocial behaviour of students in the school and in their classes?)

Teachers held themselves responsible for student behaviour; the most successful teachers interviewed felt they were capable of making a difference in student behaviour, irrespective of home environment and level of support received from inside and outside the school. This was clearly discernable from their initiatives such as establishing structures within the school which deal with strategies of handling students' violent behaviour. The structure is composed of the deputy principal, teachers, students and *high impact* (competent) teachers and is a separate structure from the School Governing Body. These *high impact* teachers were particularly essential in schools characterised by violence. These high impact teachers created prosocial classroom climates and made a strong impact under adverse conditions. However, all teachers knew that their influence was limited, partly due to a larger socialisation that involved the home, family, peers and the community. While support for the high impact teacher was acknowledged to be important by the School Governing Body, the precise support from political parties and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) seem unclear. For example, teachers interviewed and observed appeared to be attributing student violence to the interference of some

political parties and some SADTU members in the policy of the school. In over one hundred hours of observations, only in a handful of instances were teachers observed interacting with other teachers, principals or senior teachers.

Some teachers were carrying a large load of classes because of the rationalisation and deployment of teachers which are currently being enforced. As stated earlier, perhaps due to the difficult conditions under which they work, personal teaching efficacy is particularly essential for teachers, especially township teachers in preventing student violence.

Teachers who were successful in dealing with and preventing student violence were aware that their personal efforts were largely responsible for that success (personal teaching efficacy). This awareness was particularly acute among high impact teachers. These are courageous teachers who are successful under the most difficult of conditions conceivable.

- Research question 4: Do teachers envision that some African customs are connected to students' antisocial and violent behaviour? (Are there any linkages between students' violent behaviour and the values of the community and those of parents?)

During interviews, teachers were asked whether students emulate the antisocial and violent behaviour of adults, particularly that of African traditionalists. There was a consensus among teachers that moral decay and traditional values affected students prosocial behaviour in schools. During the interviews, one teacher pointed out that African traditions can still be applied in schools. The school should appeal to the community for help if the safety of their children is not guaranteed in schools and call for the *imbizo* or *legkotla* (community meeting).

Teachers seemed to agree that there should be a link between the culture of the home, community and school culture. During the interviews, certain comments made by the participants were not clear enough. The researcher probed further to establish whether there was a general understanding that a link between school values and some African teachings existed. One teacher explained it further and said:

In our African tradition, a child does not address his father by the first name. In my school, I do not allow students to address me by the first name either. That allows a child to practise that respect from the family to school without any contradiction of cultural practises.

An example was given by another teacher when distinguishing an African cultural practise which may be abused by township youth. The teacher said:

A number of boys and girls came to my office and they were delegates from each classroom. These delegates wanted me to give permission that the students are dismissed at 11:00 a.m. because they wanted to send a condolence to the bereaved family - where one of the fellow students died during a battle between students and a township tsotsi gang. Fortunately, most students were Tswanas and I responded that in the Tswana cultural practices bereaved families are not visited at this time of the day, except late in the afternoon.

From these two examples, it appears that some successful teachers use their own understanding of cultural diversity to prevent antisocial behaviour. This factor appeared among highly qualified teachers who were able to explain their actions.

- Research question 5: What levels of cooperation and communication exist within the school among the principal, teachers, students and parents? (What support do teachers receive from their superiors and the community? What support do they need?)

The interviews and observation showed sufficient cooperation and communication within the schools. Teachers receive functional support from the district office, the principal, the members of the community, but less support from Cosas and Paso on matters that demands accountability and discipline of problem students.

It was also strongly expressed that schools where violence was common did not receive cooperation or support from the District Office. This led to the formation of high impact teachers who decided to handle violent student behaviour on their own.

One teacher gave an example and said:

In our school a boy stabbed one girl on the shoulder and she was hospitalised for three days. The School Governing Council decided to expel the boy, but the District office opposed the decision of the School Governing Council saying that the boy will be better reformed at the school than expulsion. The parents decided to remove the boy from school for his safety to another school.

This lack of support seemed to have a dramatic effect on low impact teachers who looked to the District Office when faced with difficult and violent student behaviour.

Not only are students faced with school violence, but teachers also faced a greater threat from student violent behaviour and required a greater degree of support from the District Office, particularly the principal. This was evidenced when a group of students who failed their classes set the tuck shop on fire and demanded to be promoted. Again, the District Office supported the violent students saying that they condemned students' violent behaviour, but no negative actions should be taken against the culprits. Such cases were unusual, but were noted. The present investigation uncovered that teachers in township secondary schools face students with high levels of antisocial and violent behaviour in their professional practice.

It suffices to point out the overall pattern which emerged: A classroom was successful and had a low likelihood of violence when the teachers and students worked together, especially due to the efforts of the *high impact teacher*. Moreover, antisocial behaviour can be reduced when the teacher planned the classroom activities in such a way that

students were productively occupied, and when the teacher received personal support from the principal and the school management.

Another pattern that emerged was that antisocial and students' violent behaviour can be prevented and when it occurs, its effects can be moderated in the presence of the following:

- High impact teachers, who believe they can make a difference in students' behaviour and achievement (personal teaching efficacy) and have developed a caring personal relationship with students.
- A classroom context that has an intellectual orientation; a teacher who has created and maintained a community classroom and; ownership by the teacher, who has clearly conveyed rules and expectations that have been internalised by the students.
- A school context that provides deeper level support for teachers and other staff by the District Office, and supportive, rather than threatening and/or adversarial roles taken by police toward teachers and students.
- A classroom teacher who focuses on personalising cultural diversity. This includes acquiring a positive racial identity, reclaiming an ethnic identity and connecting with shared human experiences that transcend cultural, ethnic, and racial boundaries. This strategy is fundamental in a multicultural classroom.

In summary: It is not predetermined that medication and criminal justice are the most effectual ways to prevent or ameliorate youth's violent behaviour. It is not clear that such measures are superior to educational measures. In fact, the present investigation points to another conclusion. Educational measures may provide the most effective way of preventing antisocial and students' violent behaviour. In the next chapter, conclusions from the empirical investigation as well as the literature will be made. From these conclusions, the researcher will present guidelines for the prevention of antisocial and violent student behaviour. Recommendations for future research will be made. Finally, some limitations of the research will be identified.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND GUIDELINES FOR THE DETERRENCE OF STUDENTS' ANTISOCIAL AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Schools, like other social institutions are confronted with deviance, especially student violence. There is no simple solution, since violence is embedded in families, peer groups, adults, the state and the community. Whereas this chapter focuses on deterrence and strategies of reducing school violence and student antisocial behaviour, a more comprehensive response must involve teachers, students, parents and the community.

The triggers of students violent behaviour in schools are complex and require a multifaceted approach. The Graduate School of Education and Human Development at George Washington University, discovered that systematic barriers to certain groups of students remain the main cause of school violence (Cove et al 1996). The research emphasises that students' prosocial behaviour is enhanced by intellectual, social and emotional integration. The schools have several advantages of developing an ethos of holistic learning and achieving these goals. The holistic approach can have more impact than either individuals or secluded government offices. The introduction of the South African Schools' Act, places many schools at an advantage when dealing with school violence in partnership with teachers, students and parents. The involvement of the community at large in matters affecting the children requires understanding their social problems.

A significant number of social problems are, at least in part, the result of inadequate education. Researchers have found that the level of connection to the school of delinquent and violent youth is significant in the curtailment of violence in society (Hollins 1996:46). In the light of this and previous investigations by the present researcher that identified the teacher as the gatekeeper to school discipline, and the school as a means to address antisocial and students' violent behaviour, the present investigation sought to examine the role of teachers and schools in the deterrence of antisocial and students' violent behaviour.

6.2 SUMMARY

The results of the present study investigation revealed patterns which indicated that four factors contribute to preventing antisocial and students' violent behaviour. These factors are: the teacher's attributes; the classroom atmosphere; the school background; and the involvement of parents and social structures with an interest in education. Each of these components played an integral role in the deterrence of antisocial and students' violent behaviour. The following patterns unfolded:

6.2.1 The teacher's attributes

Teachers who work in conditions where violence is prevalent, develop a strategy of educational success by maintaining strong, positive relationships with students in their classrooms. In developing these strategies, less traditional approaches such as harsh intervention, corporal punishments are also implemented to control students' antisocial behaviour. Teachers emerge as leaders in their classrooms with personal teaching efficacy, initiating and maintaining personal caring relationships with students. A key aspect of this leadership was personal teaching competency.

6.2.1.1 *Teaching competency*

Cove and Goodsell (1996:4) maintain that teaching competency encompasses holistic instruction. They reveal that the growing body of research links the intellectual, social and emotional process to the new paradigm on personal teaching competency. According to the study, the new paradigm shifts in the social sciences and education incorporate issues such as gender, ethnicity and children from gay, lesbian and bisexual parents. The American Council of Education (2001) issued a report stating that the causes of deviance in schools result from marginalisation of certain groups of students. According to the report, marginalisation of some students in the classroom or in the school, is a recipe for antisocial and students' violent behaviour.

Kagan (1992) in his study of high efficacy and low efficacy teachers discovered that low efficacy teachers rely on praise rather than criticism and concentrate on students who are high achievers. On the other hand, high competence teachers persevere with low achieving students because they are more likely to show antisocial and violent behaviour. The latter are an asset to the school and a saviour to the at-risk group of students.

The present investigation found that the sample of township teachers who were successful in preventing students' violent and antisocial behaviour in their classrooms fit the definition of high efficacy teachers. For example, Mrs B did not give up on her Grade 8F, 8G and 8I, classes saying:

Some of my colleagues think that Tsonga and Zulu students in Grades 8F to 8I do not want to learn. I do not believe this. I believe that all students want to learn. The success of teaching is to understand the needs of your students. I think one must try to understand the causes of antisocial behaviour and concentrate on the positive side.

Ms D also concurs with her and said:

I confront anyone in these classes including those big boys who sit at the back row. When I give them a mathematics homework they know that I need it the following day. I do not report the matter to the principal or parents. I deal with them directly. I know that some boys carry knives in their pockets, but in my class I do not accept any violent behaviour.

6.2.1.2 *Devotion to students' aspirations*

The aspiration of a successful classroom teacher is to meet the needs of the students. When students sense that teachers are devoted to their aspirations, they respond positively. The converse is true where students discovered that they are purposely being excluded in classrooms and from some school activities. In their usual response to such behaviour, they foster overt and covert forms of antisocial behaviour (Short 1997:1). McInerney and McInerney (1998:3) identified a

connection between the student centred approach and student violent behaviour. A student centred approach is hinged on understanding the source of the antisocial behavioural problem. A caring teacher utilises this approach in the classroom to foster resilience in troubled students.

Glasser (2001:2) in his control theory, postulates that, “we are social and we like the support and interest of others by working together.” The foundation of the control strategy is the idea that low, middle and high achievers form a team in the classroom where stronger students help the weaker ones. Both stronger and weak troubled students gain a sense of belonging where their academic and social problems can be solved by the team. To establish a successful team, it is important to create a trusting environment. A trusting, warm classroom climate enables the highly competent teachers to listen to what may be the antisocial behavioural problem because students are encouraged to speak openly.

McKeachie (1999:158-166) promotes peer/collaborative learning and also headed that a student centred approach creates a meaningful relationship between a teacher and students, especially. The students and the high-efficacy teachers openly discuss problems and these discussions may include students’ family lives, and shared information from their own lives with the students. The objectives of discussions are rooted in their caring conviction and holding a high expectation for their students, and using a variety of teaching strategies to reach all students. Low impact teachers are less interactive, and quite authoritarian, distancing themselves from students. They regard educative teaching as unnecessary and placing the responsibility for learning entirely on the student.

Glasser (2001:3) in his reality theory, maintains that students need “self-worth in order to continue with their improvement in their behaviour and academic improvement.” The foundation of reality therapy is that regardless of what happened in our lives, we are able to choose more appropriate behaviours that will help us meet our needs more effectively in the future. The reality approach enables the teacher to focus on helping a troubled student to evaluate his or her behaviour and adjust to it. Glasser sees teacher-imposed punishment as counter productive. The students need to realise for themselves that there is a relationship between a caring teacher and their academic success.

Undoubtedly, when students perceive a caring atmosphere, they respond with improved and more regular attendance, improved behaviour and higher academic achievement. In fact, students need academic instruction to grow intellectually and to achieve a success goal in the future. For students to achieve a success goal, their socialisation in schools should be geared toward self-worth and knowledgeable choices between antisocial and prosocial behaviour.

Accordingly, caring interventions are particularly central for the educational and social growth of township students who are engrossed in antisocial and serious violent crime in schools. One teacher in the focus group interview mentioned that “*tsotsi* gangs in the school respect teachers who expect high academic performance from them, and who treat the students in a caring way.” McKeachie (1999:159) points out that “working class students do not easily separate the person from a teacher”. In other words, the behaviour of some students from a different cultural background has a tendency of self-alienation. It is important, therefore, for the teacher to be aware of culturally diverse students in the classroom and care for their learning needs in his reality theory. Glasser (2001:4) suggests that a problem student who is self-alienated must be confronted and asked to make a plan of finding alternatives to the behaviour. Students must be motivated to participate in classroom learning.

One teacher said during the interview:

Children today come to class with many difficult problems. Some of these problems were not there when we were in school. And there are no other people to support them in their families, or elsewhere. They need to believe that you, the teacher, will talk to them and be there when they need you.

After the interview, Miss D said that teaching is about helping a child to be self-disciplined in order to get along with other students. It is not about rules and punishment for those who break the rules and she said:

Students need someone to lean on and trust, especially at the beginning of the year. The students must believe that the teacher loves and respects them. Even if

the students misbehave, the teacher needs to tell him or her that there is another day to improve on the behaviour.

Wermer (1999:4) in her excerpt on resilient children, recommended that teachers “accept children’s temperamental idiosyncrasies and allow them some experiences that challenge, but do not overwhelm, their coping abilities; convey to children a sense of responsibility and caring, and, in turn reward them for helpfulness and cooperation.”

6.2.2 The classroom background

Results from the present investigation concur with other research that classroom background is created and managed by the teacher and has a powerful effect on preventing violence and minimising its effects. Peers are important agents of socialisation, particularly in an ethnically diverse classroom. They do not need to be accountable to their teacher for their misbehaviour, but must account to their peers (McKeachie 1999:160). Researchers have found that a student centred approach, “displays a caring attitude, willingness on the part of teachers to care for the student... and relationships develop, disciplines problems’ decrease significantly.” With respect to the present investigation, the classroom background encompasses four related areas that have a positive effect on antisocial and students’ violent behaviour: a challenging intellectual activity, making the classroom a community, classroom ownership, and conveying clear expectations/rules.

6.2.2.1 *Challenging intellectual activity*

The quality of classroom intellectual activities are related to antisocial and students’ violent behaviour. There are teaching behaviours that are positively related to antisocial behaviour in the classroom, specifically where students are not engaged in the instructional activities. If students are not involved in classroom intellectual activities, after a considerable period learning circumstances force some of them into antisocial and tragic violent behaviour (Barkley 1997; Naeth 2000). Some of the learning circumstances which may result in students’ antisocial behaviour include academic failure and not coping with learning with the values of competition in education. Students who experience failure in academics are at a higher risk for juvenile

delinquency and crime violence (Maguin & Loeber 1995). Studies have also shown that “schools that instil a commitment to learning, clear rules on discipline and academic achievement in all students tend to promote academic success and are likely to reduce the risk for violent behaviour as well” (Hawkins et al 1998:1990).

There is a connection between classroom intellectual activities and student violent behaviour. In their studies on contemporary teaching methods, Brooks and Brooks (1993) discovered that in most cases rote memorisation does not challenge the intellectual cooperation of the students. In order to manage behaviour of difficult students and provide challenging intellectual activities, for example, in the social study classes, they integrated the context of culture and social interaction in the textbook content. During the classroom learning student are able to interact authentically with the world. Vygotsky (1962) argues that this method promotes higher achievements because students are actively participating in a wide range of learning activities. For example, Mrs D (in section 4.5.3) encouraged more student-talk than teacher-talk, especially when teaching those classes which were labelled by her colleagues as slow. To successfully engage students in classroom intellectual activities, Fontana (1997) proposes that, teachers develop classroom activities which employ cooperative learning, critical thinking and creativity.

White (1995:45-47) also uncovered a marked difference in student behaviours between classes with different activity levels. This was particularly so in the behaviour of low-ability students. At the end of the first semester, students were given a survey to examine their thoughts on the value of using technology in the social studies’ classroom and their comments were noted. Their most frequent response was that technology not only made learning social studies more interesting, but also had given them tools such as: word processing skills, developing Power Point presentations, creativity, organising information and materials, public speaking, and so on. In another study Rice, Wilson, Rice and Bagley (1999) found that inappropriate behaviour, including violent behaviour such as fighting, occurred most often during independent seat work and silent reading activities. During activities that involved small groups of students, or whole-class teaching, these researchers found that misbehaviour was mild, including noninvolvement and mild misbehaviour. Similarly, Fontana (1997) found that serious misbehaviour occurred four times more often during quiet seat work than during times of recitations and whole-group activity. When students are doing quiet

seat work or silent reading, they are likely to be unfocussed, and not actively involved with learning.

These findings also lend support to the social-constructivist theoretical model for classrooms. As mentioned earlier classrooms that utilised the social-constructivist model showed no incidents of violent behaviour. Working on tasks in corporative groups has been shown to be even more productive than working independently. Slavin (1990:115) found that corporative learning directly contributes to a positive classroom environment. He wrote that, “most corporative learning classrooms are well behaved, because students are motivated to learn and are actively engaged in learning activities.”

Social-constructivism, which utilises cooperative groups, is a relatively new view of learning that holds that students construct their own understandings, new learning depends on current understanding, learning is facilitated by social interaction, and meaningful learning occurs within authentic learning tasks (Eggen & Kauchak 2001:292). This model is widely accepted (Rice et al 1999; Lambert & McCombs 1998; Phye 1997) although the behavioural model, which views learning as a function of significance, reinforcement and punishment, is probably the most common teaching model worldwide. In the present investigation, teachers who employed a social-constructivist model were more successful in preventing both antisocial and student violent behaviour.

Mrs E said that her class used a student centred approach, that is, social-constructivist model:

In my classroom we use the team work a lot. Team work is important because students work together. They are free to ask the neighbour any question if they do not understand (see section 4.5.3).

6.2.2.2 *Creating a positive classroom climate*

A positive classroom climate exists in a school when there is collaboration, high expectations, mutual trust, caring and support for all individuals (Naeth 2000:4). A positive classroom climate

influences the effectiveness of learning. Students in a classroom with a positive climate are more likely to attend regularly, cooperate fully, contribute more frequently and achieve better academic outcomes than students from a classroom with less desirable climate. Researchers concur that the classroom must be designed by the teacher to bring forth positive, prosocial interactions and this usually happens when the teacher encourages classroom discussion and discourse (Schmuck & Schmuck 1992). The society of students occupies a classroom like a small group of family or community. For a community of students to exist peacefully in a classroom, there must be coexistence, respect, tolerance and order.

Unfortunately, many schools are not communities, but hostile environments. Research has shown that a harsh and punitive environment produces antisocial and students' violent behaviour, engendering aggression, vandalism, rioting, protesting as an urgency to escape (Goodlad 1984; Brown 1986; Berkowitz 1993). It appears that teachers traditionally rely on punitive measures. Although harsh measures exist in different educational settings, studies reveal that they are much more likely to occur in teachers' interactions with males, working class students and students from low-income families (Comer 1988; Mc Fadden, Marsh, Price & Hwang 1992). Teachers employed in poverty areas, low-income schools, and schools where there are low percentages of White students tend to over-rely on corporal punishment, the suspension and removal of students (Moore & Cooper 1984). This finding supports the observation of some township school teachers in the present investigation, who work under difficult circumstances and are sometimes forced to use punitive measures to restore classroom order. Teachers who are successful in inculcating prosocial behaviour in the present investigation, emphasised creating a positive climate in their classrooms. Miss B said:

These children understand comradeship very well. As comrades they pay their allegiance to the community of peers. We must use the same strategy to create allegiance to fellow classmates and the teacher (see section 4.5.3).

The effect of community and consensus in the classroom was so important that even when a child's misbehaviour was severe, he or she was not excluded from the community by the teacher. During the investigation, Mrs H said:

I found two boys in a serious showdown in the classroom because boy A stole a textbook from boy B. I asked the community what should we do in this instance. The problem was referred to the team which applied the policy and disciplinary measures.

6.2.2.3 *The teacher and the ownership of the classroom*

Classroom ownership in this study refers to authority. The teacher needs to exercise authority because of the responsibility that is placed on his or her shoulders, which is educative teaching. Astor et al (1999) highlighted owned and unowned spaces and times in schools. Areas in the school that were seen to be unowned were more likely to be places of student violence. However, in most working class schools, classrooms are a common place for antisocial behaviour including serious violent crime, such as sexual molestation of girls. This has been discussed in section 3.6. In the present study, Mr D made it clear that he owned his classroom:

Students will test the teacher by coming late to class. Therefore, it is important that you define the rule clearly on what is accepted and not accepted. Your reputation as the teacher is very important. There are some teachers who have a reputation of letting anything go. There some teachers who stick to the ground rules and I am one of them. I have a reputation of being tough, but fair.

Mr B added:

I don't know if I am a very good candidate to discuss school violence. I am an African male and I have nipped student antisocial behaviour in my classroom because I own the classroom and not students.

The problem of student violence gets more complicated when it is connected to gangs and political parties rather than individual students. Recently, gangs and prostitutes have been operating within schools and classrooms (Digiulio 2001b). There has been little research into the conflict between the teacher and a *tsotsi* gang in controlling the classroom. The involvement of

political parties in school violence was discussed in section 3.5. As schools move towards more democratic and less authoritarian models in Third World countries, it becomes more challenging for educators to retain control of these schools and classrooms, without relying on force. Township teachers in the present investigation, however, clearly understood the question of classroom ownership, coming face to face with student *tsotsi* who took over the enrollment of new students in the early 1990s. Some teachers were successful in controlling the ownership of their classes, but several teachers were not. Instead they permitted a *laissez-faire* management style in their classroom and student *tsotsis* owned some of the classes. Mrs N said:

In the early 1990s, I had a few students in my English class. I asked a student: "How come you did not do your homework? One student stood up and said why I (teacher) asked him so many questions, I can see he did not do his homework. He then took out a knife and placed it on the desk. I quickly read the message. Another group of students took up a challenge on my behalf. From their disagreement I realised that there are two rival tsotsi gangs in the classroom. The second group stated that they came to class because they knew that I care about their future. My protection came from the rival tsosi gang, not from the administration.

In addition to the impact of *tsotsi* gangs within the classroom, there is a need to investigate how antisocial and students' violent behaviour manifests itself in classrooms. While some teachers in the investigation were successful in preventing violence in their classrooms, the investigator can only surmise that prosocial primary socialisation in the families had endured. Many working class students who are entering schools come from single parents and broken families and primary socialisation of these children is an important area for future research.

6.2.2.4 Classroom rules and expectations

The importance of conveying clear expectations to students, usually through rules, is a well documented and customary practice of schools. Clear rules can reduce behaviour problems that interfere with learning (Purkey & Smith 1983:445). The clarity of rules and expectations of

students is particularly necessary and valuable for low-ability students, particularly those who are coming from a low-income group. Students from the latter are at high risk for antisocial and violent behaviour. These students may have difficulty in understanding the classroom system and the hidden curriculum of silent social expectations, especially in schools where middle-class majority values dominate. Minority students have difficulty discerning subtle changes in the classroom context that would signal to other children to behave appropriately (Eder 1982). According to Doyle (1986:413), “if a student’s preschool or extra-school experiences do not foster understandings and behaviour congruent with classroom demands, it is difficult for him or her to follow rules and procedures, gain access to instruction, or display competence.”

Teachers who are explicit about classroom rules and expectations have a reputation of containing antisocial and school violence. The classroom procedures should be congruent with communication patterns in township schools. Naeth (2000) recommends that classroom rules be jointly established by the teacher and students, integrated into the school’s rules, posted in the classroom and reviewed by the teacher and other students periodically. In the present investigation, all successful teachers were explicit about rules and expectations for behaviour. The classroom where violence was observed tended to be where there is no clear ownership. The management style can be loosely described as *laissez-faire*.

Miss D was not a *laissez-faire* teacher. She said:

As teachers we must follow some patterns of solving problems. Let students know that there are rules to follow. If you follow the routine consistently, you will get answers. Let students understand the rules of the community or family, but as teachers follow the rules not for rigidity, but for positive behavioural expectations.

6.2.3 The school background

Teachers witnessed the circumstances of students with emotional neglect and students who are not thoroughly prepared for schooling. In order for teachers to succeed in their calling in

educative teaching, they need support from all stakeholders with an interest in education. Some of the crucial partners of the teacher include the school administration, the community, social-structures and the involvement of parents in the affairs of the classroom.

6.2.3.1 *Profound support from school administration*

Teaching staff need outright support from the school administration in their quest to prevent antisocial and students' violent behaviour. Mayer (1995:467-478) uncovered that administrative support for teaching staff shows an inverse correlation with student behaviour, that is, the more support is given to the teaching staff, the less misbehaviour was seen in students. Conversely, the incidence of antisocial behaviour increases when administrative support is lacking, weak or inconsistent, and when there is an absence of an administrative follow-through. Lack of administrative support has been shown to have many harmful effects on teacher morale, including teacher absenteeism (Manlove & Elliot 1979). According to Mayer (1995:471), the weak or inconsistent functioning of the school administration seems to be the "result of an inconsistent follow-through by staff, often resulting in more behaviour problems by students."

Township school principals work in a violent environment where teachers and students often disrupt classes by protest marches and violent strikes. Gumbi (1995) in his study of the role of Black high school principals discovered that school administrators and supervisors are weak and inconsistent in curbing violence in township secondary schools. It is likely that violent school environments render school administration less effective. This is another area in need of further investigation.

Some teachers in the present investigation did not receive profound administrative support and the following patterns emerged: Several ignored the administration altogether, seeking to handle all antisocial and students' violent behaviour within their classroom, or by relying on fellow teachers. Others were affected by that lack of support and felt that students' violent behaviour should be handled at a higher level than their classroom. Mrs D, said:

A Grade 9 male student came to school with uncombed hair. I asked him to return to class as soon as he has combed his hair. He refused saying that it is part of his religion not to comb hair. I refused him entry into the classroom until he fulfilled the instruction. He reported the matter to school administrative office which ruled in his favour. In spite of explaining that some boys are smoking 'marijuana' drugs in the name of a religion.

Another teacher took an active stance in seeking strong support from the director of schools in the district and arranged that he meet with the student and respond to their questions. Mr B said:

Once a month, I invite a guest speaker to address the student body. Students in such meetings raised issues that disturb them in the school. These are the best ways of preventing violent things from happening.

6.2.3.2 Security in schools

The high rate of school violence calls for security in schools to protect state property, students and staff. Security in the present investigation refers to perimeter fencing, control entrance and exits, additional security measured for special rooms, staircase landings, covered walkways, drainpipes/ledges, windows, security alarm system, lighting and a policy on students staying back after schools hours.

The present investigation discovered that in township secondary schools, violent crime, such as stabbing and the use of fire arms against students and teachers, is real. In many countries, unarmed security guards, are employed by schools to curb violent crime, theft and vandalism. Recent research indicates that visible signs of police presence, security guards and school security measures (for example metal detectors within the school) may make students to feel safe (Skiba & Peterson 1999).

While class size was not an identified result of the present investigation, some teachers noted how difficult it was teaching large classes. There is a growing consensus in the body of recent research

that size of a school is a factor in the amount of violence exhibited by students. Raywid and Oshiyama (2000:445) recorded: “There is overwhelming evidence that violence is much less likely to occur in small schools than in large one.” The schools identified for the present investigation, which were affected by student violent behaviour, enroll 1,000 students or more. In addition to the size of the schools, there is also a teacher shortage. Gladden (1998:116) maintains to “reduce juvenile violence, it is necessary to ensure that all high schools enroll between 400 and 500 students.”

Recently, it was widely reported in the South African media that Cosas organised an illegal and violent march protesting against locking of gates during school hours and paying of school fees. In spite of the presence of the police, students continued to destroy property and smashed passing by motorists’ windows and stole from street vendors (see section 3.5).

In the present investigation, police within the schools were perceived as menacing or harmless and ineffective, spending time chatting among themselves. One teacher spoke of the ineffective role of police in her school:

Students had organised an illegal protests against the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) and the police were called in because the march was illegal. The students had already made up their minds what they were going to do; they took their books and started singing and marching out of the school campus. Police were watching when they stopped a bakery van and unloaded goods

School property, teaching staff and students are not well protected because most township schools lack proper security fences.

6.2.3.3 Parental involvement and support

Parental involvement in schools is necessary to prevent students’ antisocial and violent behaviour. The involvement of parents in a school gives them first hand information about the safety of their children and their presence plays a crucial role in the life of the child. Myles and Simpson

(1998:266) discovered that, “parents and families play an important role in supporting children and youth with problems of aggression and violence.” In addition to the effect upon violent behaviour, their support also influences the self-concept of children and adolescents. When parents show interest in their children’s education, the child’s self-concept benefits, extending beyond his/her school-related self-concept (Marjoribanks & Mboya 1998).

Teachers play a crucial role in fostering parental support for learning. After a comprehensive review of factors affecting student academic achievement and learning, Wang, Haetel and Walberg (1993:279) remarked that “teachers must also develop strategies to increase parent involvement in their children’s academic life.” This means that teachers should work with parents to ensure that learning is appreciated in the home. In the present investigation, every teacher interviewed indicated the importance of parents as the children’s first teachers. However, the present investigation found that successful township teachers do not involve parents in the classroom activities, but rely more on the support of students in the classroom community. It appears that the influence of student leaders is more powerful than those of the parents in matters regarding antisocial behaviour. Most successful teachers in the present investigation indicated that they did not complain to parents about the behaviour of their children, nor did they ask parents to punish children for school misbehaviour. As earlier indicated (section 3.6), most township students do not stay with their parents, but with sisters, brothers, grandparents and other relatives. However, this does not imply that involvement of parents is unnecessary. Where possible, parents must be contacted.

Miss D said:

Many parents are working and do not have time to help their children with school work, even coming to school during working hours. However, a little bit of pressure from the parents on the student would help. But, when I have some student difficulty with an insignificant-child problem, I do not contact the parent because I understand the situation of many parents in townships. For example, I once said to a student, “I will call your father”, and she answered “Where will you find him, go and call him.”

Most township secondary school students are at an increased risk for academic and social failure. They live in homes either headed by a single parent, a grandparent, a sister, brother or relative or philanthropic adults (Magano 1997). The majority of these children are predisposed towards problem behaviours in school when compared to their peers living in two-parent homes. This makes the support from the teachers even more valuable for this vulnerable group of children.

The involvement of parents benefits the teacher's competence as well. Epstein (1990) discovered that teachers who sought to involve parents were more positive about teaching, and more favourably inclined toward their school. When teachers communicate with parents, they hold higher expectations for parent and feel positively about parental assistance when needed.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study are presented as answers to the questions as formulated in the research problem for the investigation (see section 1.3):

6.3.1 Questions related to the effect of socio-education in preventing antisocial behaviour

6.3.1.1 *Where do childrens' antisocial behaviours originate?*

In Chapter 2, it was concluded that students' antisocial behaviour is linked to improper primary socialisation by the parents and the home (see section 2.4). Within the theoretical frame of strain theory, developed by a number of sociologists, it was observed that students from a poor social class are at high risk of participating in antisocial behaviour (see section 2.2). These theorists do not imply that students from low economic class are deviants, but suggest that social conditions and pressure from the social structure create a situation that results in deviant and anomic (lawlessness) behaviour (compare section 2.2 and 2.3).

6.3.1.2 *Can community and parental involvement assist in preventing students' antisocial behaviour?*

Qualitative findings from interviews with stakeholders were reported. It was revealed that *tsotsi* gangs and drug dealers are controlling many township schools and their economic successes are envied by low class students (see section 3.5). It was indicated that the involvement of families,

communities and schools is needed to build resiliency to avoid disruptive behaviour disorders: oppositional defiant disorder, antisocial behaviour, and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. It is typically these children who are at-risk of violence as perpetrators and victims. The discussions also pointed out that the involvement of parents and students in the School Governing Body had decreased students' antisocial behaviour in several township schools (see section 4.5.3)

6.3.1.3 *Can students' antisocial behaviour be prevented without the criminal justice and retributive measures?*

This question is addressed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In Chapter 3 it was indicated that it is important to understand the nature of subcultures of violence in the community and how they are manifested in the school. In Chapter 4 and 5 it was pointed out that parent and community involvement is essential in reducing students' antisocial and *anomic* (lawlessness) behaviour. Some principles of socio-educative instruction place a focus on non-retributive measures in classroom instruction (see section 3.3 and 3.4).

6.3.2 **Questions related to classroom management and socio-educative instruction**

6.3.2.1 *Which instructional approaches underpin classroom learning for at-risk students?*

In Chapter 3, it was pointed out that there are two levels of antisocial behaviour, namely low and high levels. By definition high levels of antisocial behaviour are directed at others, although sometimes it is self-directed (see section 3.3). According to recent studies, the social constructivist approach within the socio-educative instruction, is effective in preventing students' antisocial behaviour, particularly for at-risk students. In addition to a child-centred approach (as suggested by social-constructivists) and Piaget's approach, it was also indicated that the high level of antisocial behaviour in township schools, has manifested itself mainly through the weak primary socialisation and the youth subcultures of violence (linked to African subcultures of violence).

6.3.2.2 *Application of socio-educative instruction in classroom activities*

Socio-education places more emphasis on a student-centred approach in classroom instruction and stresses teaching of prosocial behaviour to at-risk students (see section 2.5). Furthermore, recent studies compare a classroom to a community where different cultures live together under consensus rules. Most successful teachers prevented students' antisocial behaviour by introducing democratic principles in the classroom where the rights of individuals are respected and created a conducive learning environment (compare section 2.5 and 3.5).

6.3.2.3 *How can teachers prevent students' antisocial behaviour?*

Antisocial behaviour involves recurring violations of socially prescribed patterns of behaviour in a school. Recent research findings show that antisocial behaviour is mainly caused by the syndrome of failure and educational disability (compare section 3.2 and 3.4). Coordinated efforts by schools can help most children with antisocial behaviour, keeping them in school and out of the juvenile justice system. In every school, three types of students can be identified: typical students not at-risk, students with an elevated risk, and students who have developed antisocial behaviour patterns (see section 3.4). A three-tiered strategy of preventing and intervention is the most efficient way to ward off potential problems and address existing ones.

The following strategies are useful: Primary prevention provides school-wide activities to prevent the risk of developing antisocial patterns. Secondary prevention includes targeting at-risk students for more individualised prevention activities (see section 6.4.3). The last strategy is tertiary prevention, which involves long term and intensive service for students with persistent patterns of antisocial behaviour, delinquency, violence and destructiveness (see section 2.5).

6.3.3 **Summative conclusions**

The present study sought to develop knowledge on socio-educational rather than medical and criminal justice responses to students' antisocial and violent behaviour. From the foregoing observations and discussions in Chapters 4 and 5, the following summative conclusions were arrived at for both classroom practice and classroom activities.

It appears that most developed nations are moving towards an educative model that emphasises medication and retributive measures. Medication has been perceived to be increasingly valuable as a treatment for students' antisocial behaviour. For example, the popularity of the drug *Ritalin* is illustrative of this perception (section 2.4). In addition to medication measures, retributive (punishment) measures have also come to be seen as appropriate treatment for antisocial and violent behaviour. Punishment by the criminal justice has also become popular as perceived as the only effective measure to address serious problems like antisocial and violent behaviour. While some medical and criminal justice measures may be compatible responses to antisocial and violent behaviour once those behaviours have occurred, such measures stand exclusively from the preventive (and thus, educative) measures in students' socialisation.

Accepted prosocial behaviour is consequently a process and a learned action through socialisation. Human socialisation is primarily accomplished through primary and secondary socialisation. Primary socialisation includes the family and home while secondary socialisation is provided by schools, peer groups, and the media. Although there are cultural differences between and within different societies, there are basic and universal similarities in the way children are socialised. This cross-cultural similarity is especially true with respect to the acquisition of prosocial behaviour. Durkheim emphasised that in order for children to learn prosocial behaviour, they must first become oriented toward the well-being of others (section 2.2).

As already discussed in section 1.2, a high level of students' antisocial and violent behaviour is more prevalent in township secondary schools than other schools in South Africa. This might be due to inadequate primary socialisation by parents and home and the influence of secondary socialisation (see section 3.5). Such revelation suggests that students' antisocial and violent behaviour should be addressed at meso-level (at schools) rather than by medical and criminal justice responses. The school is the only social institution which is equipped with professionals capable of addressing students' antisocial and violent behaviour in schools.

It was noted that classroom activities in township schools were dominated by a functionalist perspective. For the functionalist model to succeed in its intended purpose, there must be a strong working relation between the teacher and the parents. Rather than introducing contemporary

teaching models in these affected schools, efficacy teachers (see section 5.5) claimed successes in preventing students' antisocial and violent behaviour. In addition to efficacy teachers, at-risk schools with a high risk of students' violent behaviour, also needs a teaching corps, which is committed to address learning problems faced by these students (created syndrome of failure) and thus prevent school violence (section 6.4).

In order to prevent violent behaviour in secondary schools, training in managing at-risk students would be expedient. Orientation or in-service training of new teachers at-risk schools organised by the school administration is advisable to enable educators at different levels to be abreast of contemporary classroom management issues. In the opinion of the researcher, leadership positions in at-risk secondary schools should be occupied by individuals who have had basic educational training with a component of educational management.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made regarding the prevention of school violence.

6.4.1 Recommendations to the international community

To ensure high standards of response to students' violent behaviour in schools, the international community should:

- Provide technical support and funding for programmes to train South African teachers on strategies for preventing school violence.
- Mobilise strong national and international support for a school-based human rights education program to teach students about their human rights, including the right to be free from violence on all grounds of violent behaviour, and the rights enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.
- Fund government and non-government organisations providing direct medical, counselling and support services to teachers and students who have been victims of violence in schools.

6.4.2 Recommendations to the national Department of Education

To ensure a more effective response to students' violent behaviour in schools, the national Department of Education should:

- Adopt a national plan of action on all forms of violence including sexual violence and harassment in schools.
- Provide guidelines to schools detailing the appropriate response in dealing with potential student's violence situations in schools.
- Provide funding for counselling and medical services for violent students and for victims of sexual violence.
- Provide counselling for students facing allegations of disciplinary action for and violent behaviour such as sexual assault, rape or insubordinate behaviour.
- In accordance with section 9 of the South African Schools Act No 84 of 1996, provincial Departments of Education should issue notices in the provincial government gazettes specifying the behaviour by students which may constitute serious misconduct justifying expulsion, and the disciplinary procedures to be followed in such cases.
- Appoint a director responsible for implementing policy on school violence in every provincial education department.

6.4.3 Recommendations to teacher training institutions

To prevent students' violent behaviour and better equip teachers to respond to the problem of anomic (lawlessness) in schools, teachers' colleges of education should:

- Provide teacher training to cover the needs of at-risk students.
- Develop in-service training programmes for experienced teachers on the prevention of, and response to all forms of school violence in their schools; offer these workshops throughout the country and appoint a faculty member within each college of education to coordinate training and research efforts.

6.4.4 Recommendations to the South African Council of Educators and the Teachers' Unions of South Africa

To further efforts to end students' violent behaviour in schools, teachers' organisation should:

- Identify high-efficacy teachers to deal with students' violent behaviour against other students and teachers.
- Cooperate with provincial Departments of Education to devise an awareness and advocacy campaign to combat students' violent behaviour of any form in schools in line with the national plan of action.
- Educate teachers on their responsibilities under any code of conduct that is developed.

6.4.5 Guidelines for the deterrence of students' antisocial and violent behaviour

6.4.5.1 *Promote high efficacy-teaching*

- Identify qualities and skills of highly competent teachers who are capable of controlling the formation of student defiance movements in the school. These teachers should be capable of influencing students' planned action of antisocial behaviour and show an interest in students' academic success as a key for academic excellency.
- Recognise high quality teachers.
- Reward high quality teachers who work successfully with the most difficult students.
- Conduct training for teachers who intend to teach students at-risk for violent behaviour. Such training should include practice teaching under the instruction of high quality teachers.
- Identify procedures on how to increase all teachers' self-proficiency, that is, the personal belief that one can reach even difficult students.
- Commission teachers who are confronted by students' antisocial behaviour or violent behaviour, to work closely with high efficacy teachers through observation and/or team-teaching

6.4.5.2 *Foster caring of teacher-student relationships*

- Apply and define caring, making it part of the job description of teachers, and include it in the evaluations of teachers' performance.
- Identify and acknowledge teachers who care strongly for students.
- Create teacher awareness of student caring regarding cultural diversity in the school and student culture.
- Teachers must model to students appropriate ways of dealing with frustration and anger.
- Teaching staff must not use corporal punishment, or other violent measures against students.

6.4.5.3 *Emphasise intellectual activities*

- Implement instructional variety which promotes intellectualism and students' academic success goals.
- Incorporate comparative learning as a teaching strategy in which small teams, each with students of different levels of ability, use a variety of learning activities to improve their understanding of a subject.
- Recommend the social-constructivist instructional learning model to teachers because it places emphasis on the student's active engagement in his/her own learning.
- Classroom instruction must include comparative learning strategies, such as Jigsaw (Slavin 1995), where each student as part of a group has a different part of the material to learn, and by becoming an expert on that part, can then teach others.

6.4.5.4 *Institute classroom communities*

- Create classrooms that resemble small family-like groups, permit classroom discussion and discourse.
- Identify students with cultural violence trends or parental subcultures of violence and address the problem according to the parent's culture.
- Adopt a classroom ethic of inclusion: All students are part of this classroom.
- Place cooperation over competition.

6.4.5.5 *Maintain classroom ownership*

- Teachers should command authority in the classroom.
- Work with members of the School Governing Body, local police, street committees, and student leaders to minimise *tsotsi* gang influence in schools. Preferable, a high quality teacher should patrol or visit classrooms with high risk of causing school violence.
- Maintain a reasonable number of students per class.

6.4.5.6 *Clarify classroom rules and expectations*

- Define conduct rules and disposition of the school subject/s.
- Set up a classroom management system that will ensure that the expectations and rules are practised and internalised.
- Set up classroom procedures that will influence behaviour and instill self-discipline.
- Promote reflective and speculative thinking in arriving at educative solutions.
- Create a positive classroom climate.

6.4.5.7 *Support service for teachers*

- The school administration should support teachers when challenged by antisocial and violent students.
- Administrators must follow-up on incidents of violence, or serious antisocial behaviour.
- A highly competent teacher should support teachers who have encountered students' antisocial and dangerous violent behaviour.
- The principal must know the name of each student as a measure of maintaining order.
- All schools must have a support team of competent teachers available, consisting of the principal/assistant principal, student leaders, senior teachers and parents, and in the more violent neighbourhood, necessary arrangements with the police station become mandatory.

6.4.5.8 *Security in schools*

- Maintain a reasonable security system to protect school property, students and staff.

- Advise students not to stay back in school unnecessarily.
- Install a security alarm system to deter any unlawful entry. Link the alarm to a reputable central alarm monitoring station.
- Lock up all gates during school hours to prevent students falling prey to criminal activities.

6.4.5.9 *Promote parental involvement*

- The teacher should keep a register of all parents.
- Teachers must spend time talking with all parents, and know all parents by their names.
- Contact parents telephonically or personally.
- Impersonal methods of communicating with parents, such as through e-mail and written notes, are less effective than personal or telephone contact.

6.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Future research should examine antisocial and violent behaviour from the gender perspective. In the past more male teachers were teaching in high schools than at the present time. It would be interesting to find out from the female teachers' vantage point about managing antisocial students violent behaviour, mainly those of *tsotsis* and gangsters operating in the classroom.

Such vantage points include township structures which deal with domestic violence and the youth and those who deal with school policies. School administrators would be a key group to examine, particularly since the quality and availability of support services for the school is of great importance in the prevention of students' antisocial and violent behaviour.

Extensive research on school violence in developing nations, especially in African countries would also be a valuable area of future investigation. Such a study should attempt to investigate the society of working class (at-risk) students and their role in the economy of the modern world. Such a study is not only important, but essential to the long term success of the broader and more general drive to restructure schools.

Finally, future research must examine violence in its global context, as it affects all human societies. Violence at macro-level is directed at groups of people, races, nationalities and religious and ethnic groups. This violence includes terrorist violence, as well as responses to terrorist violence and the violence of war. An appropriate question can be asked: What role can educators and the school systems play in the prevention of this macro-level violence? The guidelines for the prevention of antisocial and violent behaviour presented in the present investigation must be built upon in future research.

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PROFILE OF TEACHERS IN PHASE 2

Information about the respondents in Phase 2 is given below. They are not identified by their real names for purposes of confidentiality. Instead they are referred to as Mr A or Miss B or Mrs C and so on (see chapter 4). Respondents A to H were teaching in primary schools and respondents I to O teaching in secondary schools. Also, each respondent's school is referred to as township school A or B and so on. The information provided by the respondents is presented in the table below:

RESPONDENTS	APPOINTMENT	TOWNSHIP	EXPERIENCE	SCHOOL
1	1985	A	16 years	Secondary
2	1992	C	9 years	Primary
3	1982	B	18 years	Primary
4	1989	A	12 years	Secondary
5	1990	B	11 years	Primary
6	1983	A	17 years	Secondary
7	1981	C	28 years	Primary
8	1990	A	11 years	Primary
9	1987	B	14 years	Secondary
10	1988	C	13 years	Primary
11	1992	A	9 years	Secondary
12	1994	B	7 years	Secondary
13	1991	C	10 years	Primary
14	1985	A	16 years	Secondary
15	1990	B	11 years	Primary