THE INDIVIDUAL MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

Psychology

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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November 2018

DECLARATION

I confirm that "THE INDIVIDUAL MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE" has been solely produced by myself and all sources that I have made use of or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Dated

DEDICATION

For Iqbal, Irfaan and Zubair

And

For the youth who suffer at the hands of violence.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This accomplishment would not have been possible without the continuous support, patience, guidance and vast knowledge of my thesis supervisor Professor Petro Van Der Merwe of the Department of Psychology at the University of South Africa.

I acknowledge and am gratefully indebted to Cedric and Bahiyih Simons for their assistance with the research.

Thank you to Dr. Corrie Uys at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology in Cape Town, for her valuable input and contribution to vetting the questionnaire.

My gratitude to Deb Asrael, Director of Research at the Harvard Youth Violence Prevention Centre in Boston, for granting me permission to make use of the Boston Youth Survey.

I am grateful to the research participants, who willingly shared their stories and precious time during the process of interviewing.

Marcelle Heidtmann, thank you for being a soundboard and allowing me to vent.

My sister, Jasmine Justi, I am thankful for your unconventional encouragement and comments on this thesis. A special thank you to Nadia Kariem, for your unconventional "slow and steady" advice which I took far too literal, and the rest of my family and friends for your kind words of support.

My unending gratitude to my late husband Iqbal, who started me out on this journey and believed in my potential. You knew me better than I did myself.

My boys, Irfaan and Zubair – for whom this journey was not an easy one either. I am forever thankful for your unwavering support, love and patience.

My parents – your sacrifices, wisdom and guidance will always be my inspiration.

SUMMARY

The study aimed at exploring the "mindset" of learners, teachers and principals behind the violence in schools. "Mindset" is a person's general attitude with which he/she approaches a situation and the way they think about things, their experiences and opinions. The data in the current study was gathered from three schools on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. The Cape Flats is home to South Africa's most violent gangs, perpetuated by the socio-economic issues created by apartheid. A provincial breakdown of crime statistics ranks the Western Cape second highest in South Africa.

The researcher adopted Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Framework to delineate the risk factors which impact on the community, family, individual, peer group and school environment. Participants' selection was effected through a non-probability method of purposive sampling. Participants' in a non-probability sample are selected based on their accessibility or by the purposive personal judgment of the researcher. The downside of the non-probability sampling method is that an unknown proportion of the entire population was not sampled.

From the preceding results, it is evident that learners are exposed to many forms of violence. Too many children are reared in dysfunctional families, poorly managed schools and neighbourhoods caught in the grip of violence and poverty. If this malady is not addressed and managed, South Africa can expect another generation of youth who resort to violence as a means of conflict resolution.

The rich and in-depth information around participants' unique opinions, experiences and realities contribute towards a better understanding of school violence, dysfunctional behaviour and towards the improvement of school violence interventions. It is also argued that additional insights from the study would add value to the organisational incapacity management process of schools.

Key terms: School violence, Learners, Teachers, Principals, Mindset, Experiences, Opinions, Community, Family, Individual, Peer group, School environment.

ABBREVIATIONS

BYS: Boston Youth Survey

CJCP: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention

CSVR: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DoE: Department of Education

GAM: The General Aggression Model

HRC: Human Rights Commission

ICT: Information and Communicatoin Technologies

IPVPF: Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Framework

MPCCs: Multipurpose Community Centres

NGO: Non Governmental Organisation

OAU: Organisation of African Unity

SACE The South African Council of Educators

SGB: School Governing Body

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

WHO: World Health Organisation

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Determinism	The doctrine that all events, including human action, are ultimately determined by causes regarded as external to the will.
Frustration—aggression hypothesis	Frustration, which is defined as "the state that emerges when circumstances interfere with a goal response," often leads to aggression.
Instrumental aggression	Refers to an aggressive behaviour intended to achieve a goal.
Person-situation interactionist model	The model combines individual variables (moral development, etc.) with situational variables to explain and predict the ethical decision-making behaviour of individuals.
Situationism	The theory that human behaviour is determined by surrounding circumstances rather than by personal qualities.
Socialisation	The process through which individuals learn the ways, values and norms of a given society or group so that they can function within it.

TABLE OF CONTENTSINDEX

DECLA	ARATION	i
DEDIC	ATION	ii
ACKNO	OWLEDGMENTS	. iii
SUMM	ARY	. iv
ABBRE	EVIATIONS	v
DEFINI	ITION OF TERMS	. vi
TABLE	E OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST O	F ADDENDA	xii
LIST O	OF TABLES	xiii
LIST O	F FIGURES	.xv
LIST O	F CHARTS	xvi
	CHAPTER 1	
STA	ATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY	
1.1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1.1	Explaining the title and background to the study	5
1.1.2	Awareness of the problem	8
1.2	STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	8
1.2.1	Contributing factors	.11
1.2.1.1	Behavioural risk factors	.11
1.2.1.2	Socio cultural factors	.11
1.2.1.3	Structural factors	.11
1.2.1.4	Consequences of violence	.12
1.3	PURPOSES	.13
1.3.1	Research questions	.14
1.4	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	.14
1.4.1	Research methods	.15
1.5	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	.17
1.5.1	Autonomy and respect	.17
1.5.2	Nonmaleficence	.18
1.6	SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	.18

1.7	DELIMITATIONS19
1.8	OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS19
1.8.1	Education20
1.8.2	The concept "youth" remains contentious20
1.8.3	Violence
1.8.4	Types of school violence22
1.9	SUMMARY23
1.10	CHAPTER OUTLINE24
	CHAPTER 2
	THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1	INTRODUCTION26
2.2	UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE27
2.2.1	The legacy of apartheid29
2.3	NATURE VERSUS NURTURE31
2.4	THEORIES OF AGGRESSION32
2.4.1	Psychoanalytic theory32
2.4.1.1	Psychodynamic approach32
2.4.1.2	Evolutionary theory
2.4.1.3	Freud's instinct theory34
2.4.1.4	Frustration-aggression theory
2.4.2	The biological approach35
2.4.2.1	Genetic influences
2.4.2.2	Neurological influences37
2.4.2.3	The hormonal influences
2.4.3	The humanistic approach39
2.4.4	The behavioural approach43
2.4.5	The cognitive approach45
2.4.6	The general aggression model (GAM)46
2.4.7	Ecological framework48
2.4.7.1	Gender and violence50
2.4.7.2	Age and violence55
2.4.7.3	The context of child development55

2.4.7.4	Family and violence	58
2.4.7.5	School and violence	60
2.4.7.6	The social environment	63
2.4.7.7	Culture and violence	68
2.4.7.8	Technology and violence	69
2.4.7.9	Legislation and violence	70
2.4.8	The cost of violence	71
2.4.9	Measuring violence	72
2.5	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW	73
2.6	CONCLUSION	75
	CHAPTER 3	
	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
3.1	INTRODUCTION	76
3.2	THE RESEARCH DESIGN	76
3.2.1	Participants	77
3.3	RESEARCH OBJECTIVE	79
3.4	RESEARCH PROBLEM	80
3.5	STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH	80
3.5.1	Research questions	80
3.5.2	Data collection instrument	81
3.5.3	Pre-testing the questionnaire	85
3.5.4	Data collection procedure	85
3.5.5	Data analysis	86
3.5.6	Reporting findings	87
3.6	RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND GENERALISABILITY	88
3.7	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO THE	
	PARTICIPANTS	90
3.8	LIMITATIONS	91
3.9	CONCLUSION	92

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1	INTRODUCTION93
4.1.1	Views of the principals94
4.1.2	Views of the Life Orientation teachers95
4.1.3	Findings from the learner discussion96
4.1.4	Learner Survey98
4.2	DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION98
4.2.1	The Sample99
4.2.2	Geographical information101
4.3	ANALYSES OF QUESTIONS IN LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE101
4.3.1	Relationships with adults101
4.3.2	Violence inflicted by an adult in the household104
4.3.3	Relationship with peers108
4.3.4	Attention to academics109
4.3.5	Safety, violence and weapons111
4.3.6	Inflicted physical harm on another person in the preceding month112
4.3.7	Gang membership115
4.3.8	Exposure to violence and abuse117
4.3.9	Neighbourhood and community126
4.3.10	Health and Wellbeing132
4.4	CONCLUSION140
	CHAPTER 5
	DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION
5.1	INTRODUCTION141
5.2	DISCUSSION OF RESULTS142
5.3	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY146
5.4	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VIOLENCE INTERVENTION
	PROGRAMMES147
5.5	RECOMMENDATIONS HIGHLIGHTED IN THIS RESEARCH148
5.6	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY151

5.7	CONCLUSION	151
REFERI	ENCES	153

LIST OF ADDENDA

ADDENDUM A:	
QUESTIONNAIRE	164
ADDENDUM B:	
LETTER FROM WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	184
ADDENDUM C:	
COVERING LETTER	186
ADDENDUM D:	
INFORMED CONSENT	187
ADDENDUM E:	
PRINCIPAL/TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE	189

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Corporal Punishment complaints by SACE for 2014/2015	4
Table 2.2	HIV prevalence estimates and the number of people living with l	HIV,
	2002–2015	54
Table 4.3	The sample	99
Table 4.4	Gender of participants	99
Table 4.5	Grade of Participants	99
Table 4.6	Grade and age cross tabulation	100
Table 4.7	Cross tabulation between travelling to school and feeling safe	101
Table 4.8	Feeling understood by an adult in the home	102
Table 4.9	Feeling loved by an adult in the home	102
Table 4.10	Talking about problems to an adult in the home	103
Table 4.11	Approaching an adult at school for help	103
Table 4.12	Encouraging adults	104
Table 4.13	Pushed, grabbed or shoved	105
Table 4.14	Kicked, bitten or punched	105
Table 4.15	Hit with an object that could inflict bodily harm.	106
Table 4.16	Choked or burnt	106
Table 4.17	Physically attacked in any other way	107
Table 4.18	Neglected by an adult in the home	107
Table 4.19	Do most friends stay out of trouble	108
Table 4.20	Friends who follow the rules set out by parents	108
Table 4.21	Friends who do well at school	109
Table 4.22	Amount of time spent on schoolwork after school	109
Table 4.23	Amount of days out of school	110
Table 4.24	Reasons for staying out of school	111
Table 4.25	Hit back when someone hit me first	112
Table 4.26	Pushed, shoved or smacked another person	113
Table 4.27	Hit, punched, choked or kicked another person	114
Table 4.28	Attacked or threatened another person with a weapon	114
Table 4.29	Have you ever been a member of a gang	115
Table 4.30	Age at joining a gang	115
Table 4.31	Are you still a member of a gang	116

Table 4.32	Gang activity at school	116
Table 4.33	Gang activity in the neighbourhood	117
Table 4.34	Being taken advantage of/treated fairly	117
Table 4. 35	Bullied or assaulted	118
Table 4.36	Violent death of family and friends	118
Table 4.37	Cross tabulation between being forced sexually and age	121
Table 4.38	Kicked, choked or beaten by anyone	122
Table 4.39	Threatened or attacked with a weapon by anyone	122
Table 4.40	Teased due to ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation	123
Table 4.41	Witness to violence	123
Table 4.42	Access to a gun	124
Table 4.43	Carried a knife or gun	124
Table 4.44	Percentage of learners who carried a weapon at school	126
Table 4.45	Feeling safe on the street	127
Table 4.46	Feeling safe in the neighbourhood	127
Table 4.47	Safe places for abused children	128
Table 4.48	Trust in the police	128
Table 4.49	Size of household (people per household)	132
Table 4.50	Who participants live with	133
Table 4.51	Earners who are parents in the household	134
Table 4.52	Other earners in the household	134
Table 4.53	After-school activities	135
Table 4.54	Alcohol consumption	136
Table 4.55	Use of marijuana/pot/weed/dagga	137
Table 4.56	Use of methamphetamine/crystal meth/tik	137
Table 4.57	Use of other drugs	138
Table 4.58	Religious attendance	138
Table 4.59	Time spent in front of the TV, computer and cellphone	139

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1
Provinces ranked by total crimes in South Africa9
Figure 1.2
Crime statistics since 2009 (Nyanga Precinct)
Figure 1.3
Mixed methods driving the research design
Figure 2.4
South Africa's recorded murder rate per 100 000, 1911-201530
Figure 2.5
Schema showing the relationship(s) between biology and aggression:
Factors to be considered in rating "simple" interactions between individuals39
Figure 2.6
Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
Figure 2.7
Carl Rogers's Actualising Tendency
Figure 2.8
General Aggression Model (GAM): Proximal and distal causes and processes47
Figure 2.9
Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory
Figure 2.10
HIV prevalence in South Africa by gender and age, 201254
Figure 2.11
Total Crimes within the Cape Flats for 2017) (STATSSA, 2017)79

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 4.1: Cross tabulation between being inappropriately touched and gender	119
Chart 4.2: Cross tabulation between being forced sexually and gender	120
Chart 4.3: Reasons for carrying a knife or gun	125
Chart 4.4: Neighbours share the same belief about right and wrong	129
Chart 4.5: Trusting neighbours	130
Chart 4.6: Knowledge of abuse and neglect	130
Chart 4.7: Reporting abuse and neglect	131

"We owe our children,
the most vulnerable citizens in our society,
a life free of violence and fear"
Nelson Mandela.

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Violence in South Africa has presented itself in numerous ways over a long period of time. An increase in research pertaining to school violence is indicative of the steady growth of the problem, along with the challenges the youth are facing. The data amassed in research thus far is, however, by no means exhaustive.

Examples of such research have been undertaken by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention's National School Violence Study, which involved 12,794 learners from primary and secondary schools, 264 school principals and 521 educators (CJCP, n.d, para. 1).

Albeit the exact nature and prevalence of school-based violence in South Africa is unknown, it would appear that it has reached a new level of severity in that both perpetrator and victim have become younger, weapons have become more accessible and exposure to crime through various mediums has engendered a desensitisation resulting in a lack of mobilisation amongst communities.

The multi-dimensional nature of school-based violence contributes to the complexity of locating the source of the problem. Only through the joint collaboration of parents, community, education authorities and government, will school violence be successfully addressed. These combined endeavours must be exercised within the larger context of a comprehensive social crime deterrence plan which addresses, in particular, the violence within the domestic environment.

In South Africa, the rights of the learner are included in the following documents:

- The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996
- The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108
 of 1996
- The National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996

- The Employment of Education Act 27 of 19
- The South African Council of Educators Act 76 of 1998, responsible for monitoring and ensuring adherence to the educator's code of conduct.

Internationally, The African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child attained full ratification by all fifty-three Organisation of African Unity (OAU) states (African Union, 1990). This charter states that all children have the right to be protected from all types of violence including:

- Physical, emotional, verbal, psychological, sexual, state, political, gang, domestic, school, township and community, street, racial, self-destructive and all other forms of violence
- The right to freedom from corporal punishment at school, from the police and in prisons, and at home
- To be protected from neglect and abandonment
- To be protected from township and political violence and to have "safe places" and community centres where they can go for help and safety from violence
- To be educated about child abuse and the right to form youth groups to protect them from abuse
- All persons have the duty to report all violence against abuse and neglect of any child to the appropriate authorities
- Children should not be used as shields or tools by the perpetrators of violence
- Children have the right to say no to violence
- The media has a duty to prevent the exploitation of children who are victims of violence and should be prohibited from the promotion of violence
- To be protected from violence by the police and in prisons
- Not to be obligated or forced to follow adults in their political involvements
- All children have the right to be free from torture, detention or any other physical or emotional violence during apartheid or at times of unrest or war
- To be protected from drug and alcohol abuse by their parents, families and others and to be educated about these forms of violence
- To have the right to a special children's court and medical facilities to protect them from violence

- Special groups and organisations should be formed within the communities to protect and counsel victims of all types of violence
- No child should be held in prison or police cells at any time.

From the above, we can infer that schools should be a conducive environment for learning and development where all learners enjoy education free from fear and intimidation and where various legislative acts regulate equality, fairness and justice. Section 29 of the South African Constitution states that the South African Government has a duty to ensure that all learners' opportunities to education are not encumbered. Laws have been put in place with the specific intent of protecting every persons' right to physical safety.

The Western Cape Education Department has also undertaken several initiatives to promote the wellbeing of learners. One such initiative is the Safe Schools Programme to ensure safe school environments needed for successful teaching and learning. The programme's strategies include installing security systems; while also addressing the social environment by influencing learner behaviour and by working with schools to mobilise community support for safe schools. Safe Schools works in partnership with local police and community organisations, such as neighbourhood watches and Community Policing Forums ("Safe Schools Programme", 2018).

According to Ward (2007), schools that encourage academic ability usually have a clear mission, high-quality instruction, monitor learners' progress and emphasise staff development. These qualities are an indication of a school's ability to develop, model and reward prosocial behaviour. However, Ward adds that many South African schools are chaotic and challenging environments that do not attain these ideals. An additional concern about South African schools is that they often directly model violence for learners through corporal punishment. Despite the fact that in 1996, the South African Schools Act No. 84, under section 10 banned corporal punishment, many schools still rely on corporal punishment to ensure discipline amongst its learners (Veriava & Power, 2017). Ward (2007) further states that it was found in a 2005 study by the National Youth Victimisation Study that more than half (51.4%) of the respondents reported having been caned or spanked at school. In addition, 16.8% of young people indicated that they fear travelling to school and 20.9% had been threatened or hurt while at school. In 2012, a National School Violence Study exposed the prevalence of corporal punishment in South

African schools. The study showed that 49.8% of the nearly 6 000 learners who were interviewed had been corporally punished. Provinces that showed high levels of corporal punishment included KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Free State; those with fewer learners reporting incidents of corporal punishment included Gauteng and Western Cape.

African schools are unsafe places for young people and often model violence rather than pro-social behaviours. Veriava and Power (2017) points out that there is increasing evidence that corporal punishment has harmful effects. In May 2016, the Universities of Michigan and Austin in America published the findings of a study about corporal punishment. The study spanned 50 years and included more than 150 000 children. It found that spanking is linked to, amongst other negative consequence, aggression, antisocial behaviour, mental health problems, cognitive difficulties and low self-esteem.

The South African Council of Educators (SACE) is a legal body that was established to develop and maintain ethical and professional standards for educators. All educators are required to register with SACE, and to abide by its Code of Professional Ethics. Every year SACE submits a report that provides a breakdown of all the complaints per province of alleged abuse by educators. Between 2014 and 2015, SACE received 253 complaints of corporal punishment. Table 1.1 below is a breakdown of the number of complaints received per province by SACE in its 2014-2015 Annual Report.

Table 1.1: Corporal Punishment complaints by SACE for 2014/2015

PROVINCE	COMPLAINTS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND ASSAULT
Eastern Cape	8
Free State	5
Gauteng	22
Kwa-Zulu Natal	25
Limpopo	10
Mpumalanga	8
North West	7
Northern Cape	3
Western Cape	165
Total	253

Source: SACE Annual Report (2015, p. 30)

As can be seen in Table 1.1 above, the breakdown of the number of complaints received indicates that the Western Cape is the forerunner of the amount of complaints reported. As is the case with violence in schools, there is an issue with under-reporting of corporal punishment. The lack of reporting is associated with the lack of education around the banning of corporal punishment where many learners consider it the norm. Provinces such as the Western Cape have been proactive in providing awareness about the prohibition. So, while there are higher numbers of cases of corporal punishment in the Western Cape, it could be because learners, parents and educators are aware of their rights and are informed about the reporting process (Veriava & Power, 2017).

1.1.1 Explaining the title and background to the study

The title of this study: THE INDIVIDUAL MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE will now be explained:

The word "mindset" in the context of this study relates to a person's (learners, teachers and principals) way of thinking and their opinions of violence in schools. Formally defined, individual mindset is a set of values, beliefs, world views and assumptions that determine the way a person thinks and, therefore, the way he/she acts. The term "mindset" typically refers to a person's perception — how learners, teachers and principals see violence in schools. Perception can be regarded as a point of view which we acquire while experiencing life. Although the title indicated that the study examines the mindset behind violence, the aim of this study was also to examine the risk factors that contribute to participants' perception of violence. Learners, teachers and principal's perception of violence can vary in degree between positive and negative. Moreover, the way learners perceive situations will be the driving force behind how they behave and react to violence. Thus, any changes in their mindset may give rise to a change in their behaviour, although changes in mindset only may not necessarily be sufficient. Overall, it may be said that participants' individual mindset in the context of this study is the sum of their knowledge, including beliefs, thoughts and experiences about the violence and themselves in it.

Defining the extent of the problem

Some examples follow:

Learners at a Kraaifontein school are being tormented by alleged panga-wielding gangsters, who threaten and harass them on the school premises or attack them after school (Fredericks, 2015).

On Monday the 20th of April 2015, thirteen-year-old Fadiel Benjamin was stabbed by another thirteen-year-old outside their school in. Fadiel had told the thirteen-year-old boy that he shouldn't smoke at school, to which the thirteen-year-old responded "I will stab you" and seconds later stabbed Fadiel in the chest in full view of other students. He later died as a result of his injuries (Johns, 2015).

Eight school learners between the ages of 17 and 19 were arrested in connection with the murder of an 18-year-old man in Umbumbulu (City Press, 2013).

A Grade 12 learner was taken into custody after he shot and killed his classmate at Shammah College in Kamhushwa, Mpumulanga (City Press, 2013).

The principal of a Crossroads school where a 17-year-old learner was stabbed to death in 2013 said two rival gangs had been the cause of conflict for some time. (Dano, 2013).

A young mother tried desperately to save her son, a promising young rugby player, as he lay bleeding from a stab wound to the chest (Prince, 2013).

A teenage boy died at an Athlone High School after being shot (IOL News, 2013).

The Pretoria Education District came up with a management plan to address violent incidents in city schools, after a spate of fighting left seven learners suspended and some injured (Makhubu, 2013).

An argument over a pencil led to the death of a 16-year-old learner in an urban school after he was allegedly stabbed by a friend five times in the chest, back and arm (Ngoepe, 2012).

One in five South African secondary school learners is a victim of violence, including assault, robbery and even cyber bullying (Anthony, 2013).

The initial concerns which events such as the above raise are whether our schools are safe and whether these acts of violence can be prevented. This research study will also explore the risk factors contributing to violence amongst youths.

A cursory glance at any South African newspaper headline over the past few years would reveal that criminal reports make up a substantial proportion of the daily news. However, an in-depth scrutiny will reveal that, more than merely being victims, youths are involved in many of these violent incidences as perpetrators of violence. These incidents are taking place in areas usually thought of as safe from the violence that might affect the general public, such as schools or any private or public space which young people frequent. It is clear that, rather than such instances of violence against children being random acts or pathological or deviant behaviour, it has become far more pervasive (Burton, 2007).

The data in the current study was gathered from three schools on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. The Cape Flats, often termed as "the dumping ground of apartheid", is the area to which many displaced residents affected by the Group Areas Act (1950), were forced to relocate. Consisting of a number of townships, most of which house coloured inhabitants, the Cape Flats is home to South Africa's most violent gangs, perpetuated by the socio-economic issues created by apartheid (Bowers Du Toit, 2014). These three schools were selected predominantly for being situated in an area fraught with gang violence, poverty and unemployment. On average, the ratio of learners per educator is 45:1 in a school complement of 1000 learners.

School violence in South African schools has been extensively researched and is therefore not a new phenomenon. The nature of the violence has however shifted in that it goes beyond mere bullying and, as previously noted, has over the years advanced in severity and prevalence.

There have been various policies and frameworks put in place over the years in order to provide a safe learning environment for the youth, yet despite it's implementation, schools are still unsafe and not conducive to their intended purpose. What is the cause of ongoing violence hampering the education and development of well-balanced, academically enriched, leaders of the future? This study investigates the issue.

1.1.2 Awareness of the problem

The problem of school violence became evident to the researcher as an AIDS facilitator at target schools on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. Most learners were involved in some type of violence, whether overt or covert. The researcher found the learners to be disruptive and at times openly aggressive, with no regard for the consequence of their behaviour. A number of the learners were subjected to domestic abuse and most felt they could not wait to leave home in search of a better life for themselves. Some had fallen victim to rape by family members or had been witness to various other crimes. What was noted was that these youths had become desensitised to the violence experienced on a daily basis on the domestic front, felt they had no one to talk to and their aggression was in turn affecting their peers. This aggression manifested in physical fights, name calling, hurtful gossip, threats of violence after school hours, classroom disruption and theft. The majority of the females felt that they had been victimised into early sexual activity resulting in teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted disease and feelings of powerlessness to prevent these occurrences. What also became evident was the easy accessibility learners had to drugs and alcohol on the school premises.

In criminology, discourse has moved away from a simple causal relationship and instead recognises a range of factors which impact on violence; these may interact in different ways to produce different outcomes (Burton, 2008).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

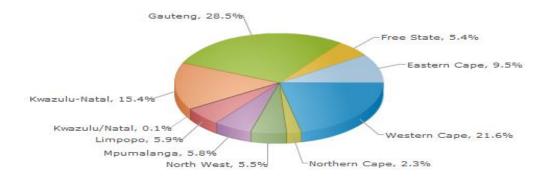
Violence, in its various manifestations, constitutes an enormous problem at both a national and an international level (Foster, 2012). Global crime statistics are notoriously skewed and difficult to compare given the varying quality of policing and record keeping around the world (Brown, 2013). Brown goes on to suggest that although the crime in

South Africa is high, the reputation for crime is much higher. This reputation is in part due to the country's bumpy transition to democracy. Rape is nevertheless one crime for which South Africa is the global forerunner, where one in four women is a victim of rape and one in three men have admitted to committing rape (Brown, 2013).

According to the most recent figures based on the GINI index (an economic tool which looks at consumption and expenditure to measure inequality) estimates from the World Bank, South Africa is the most unequal country based on income distribution between rich and poor (Greenwood, 2018). The rising income gap, coupled with the unemployment rate of 27.2%, and lack of service delivery has plunged South Africa into 144 protests between January and July 2018 (Daniel, 2018).

It has been claimed that the legacy of apartheid has bequeathed to South Africa a "culture of violence". This has been entrenched in the belief that violence in South Africa has become an acceptable rather than a deviant means of resolving social, political and even domestic differences (Simpson, 1993).

According to the 2013 National School Violence Study, over 90% of perpetrators of school violence were learners, followed by teachers at 6.8%. The Western Cape reported the highest number of cases of school violence, with 18.5% of learners reporting they had been either threatened, assaulted, robbed or sexually assaulted, followed by Limpopo at 15.9% and the Free State at 13.2% (Presence, 2015). A provincial breakdown of crime statistics ranks the Western Cape second highest in South Africa. As can be seen in the 2017 crime statistics below (Figure 1.1), the Western Cape is responsible for 21.6% of South Africa's crime while Gauteng ranks first at 28.5%.

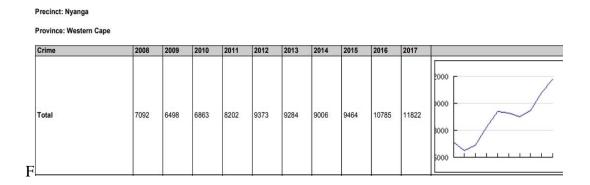


Source: Crime Stats SA - Crime Stats Simplified (2017, p. 1)

Figure 1.1: Provinces ranked by total crimes in South Africa

The Western Cape is home to a third of the country's police stations where the majority of homicides have been recorded and also houses South Africa's longstanding murder capital – Nyanga. According to the recorded homicide statistics, out of the country's 30 police stations where the highest number of murders were reported:

• Nyanga in the Western Cape remains South Africa's crime capital with 11822 crimes being recorded in the year ending in March 2017. As can be seen from Figure 1.2 below, the crime statistics have steadily increased since 2009.



Source: Crime Stats SA - Crime Stats Simplified (2017, p. 1)

Figure 1.2: Crime statistics since 2009

- The Gugulethu police station in the Western Cape, ranked number nine in the top 30 murder stations, however, recorded the sharpest percentage decrease of 26.1% in murders. In the 2015/2016 period, 184 murders were recorded while over the year ending in March 2017, 136 murders were recorded;
- The Khayelitsha police station in the Western Cape recorded a 27.2% decrease in reported rapes. The number of reported cases, 191 in the 2015/2016 period, dropped by 52, to 139 cases in the 2016/2017 period (Crime Stats SA Crime Stats Simplified, 2017).

One of the many obstacles to addressing school violence effectively is the availability of consistent, independent data with regard to the extent and nature of the problem.

1.2.1 Contributing factors

1.2.1.1 Behavioural risk factors

The Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Framework (IPVPF) points out that problems such as hyperactivity, impulsiveness, misconduct, and attention problems experienced in early childhood are important examples of psychological and behavioural factors that may predispose learners and young adults to violent and aggressive behaviour. There is also evidence that diet may lead to aggression and risk-taking behaviour (IPVPF, 2013).

1.2.1.2 Socio cultural factors

During childhood, the family dynamic is an important contributing factor in the later onset of violent and aggressive behaviour, whereas during adolescence peer relationships take the forefront. The IPVPF (2013) states that the risk factors at the family level for a child's development of aggressive or violent behaviour include a family having a large number of children, a mother bearing a child at a young age, a low level of family unity, single parent households, low socioeconomic status, and abusive parental behaviour including harsh physical punishment and parental conflict.

The risk factors outside the family for violence among adolescents usually relate to violent peers who may encourage delinquent and criminally violent behaviours, such as alcohol and substance abuse; and rape. Activities linked to gangs, guns, and drugs tend to increase the rate of violence within neighbourhoods while the psychological imprint of these experiences exposes children to a range of severe, negative mental health outcomes. In the Western Cape, these factors are evident (IPVPF, 2013).

1.2.1.3 Structural factors

Major social changes and demographic shifts resulting from migration, urbanisation or transformation have been linked with increased rates of violence among youth. According to research by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), there is strong statistical evidence that levels of inequality are important in determining why some

communities are more violent than others. The CSVR explains that in a society premised on the ideals of equality - ideals that are themselves constituted in opposition to the gross injustices of the past - inequality at the level generated by the South African economy is a kind of broken promise. This is made worse in a materialistic culture where one's level of income plays a very important role in shaping an individual's self-image, with the gap between expectations and reality sometimes feeding into feelings of humiliation, frustration and anger. These, in turn, sometimes manifest in violence (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation [CSVR], 2013).

1.2.1.4 Consequences of violence

As pointed out by Behl and Sehlapeto (2014) there is only a small proportion of violent acts against learners which are reported and investigated, bringing only a small percentage of the perpetrators to book, thereby dramatically undermining the problem. Learners' hesitance to report the crime for fear of reprisal by perpetrators, and ineffective intervention by authorities, are also contributory factors. The consequence of violence against children includes:

- The long term Brain injuries, bruises and welts, fractures, lacerations and abrasions
- Psychological effects Alcohol and drug abuse, cognitive impairment, criminal behaviour, depression and anxiety, violent and other risk-taking behaviour, developmental delays, eating and sleeping disorders and feelings of shame and guilt
- Sexual and reproductive effects reproductive and health problems, sexual dysfunction, sexually transmitted disease such as HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy
- General effects hyperactivity, poor relationships, poor school performance, low self-esteem, post-traumatic stress disorders, suicidal and harmful behaviour.

1.3 PURPOSES

According to Burton (2008) individuals bring elements to their social contexts which affect how that social context responds to them. Individual attributes such as gender, age, impulsivity, inattention and hyperactivity, substance misuse, the inability to feel guilt, and one's own victimisation have been identified as risk factors that increase the likelihood of aggressive behaviour (Burton 2008).

The main purpose of this study is consequently to examine the mindset behind violence specific to high schools situated on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. The study was intended to expand one's understanding of the ever-increasing incidence of school violence as well as the various contributory factors. A further purpose of this study was to generate information on how the data could assist in the recognition of, intervention in, and prevention of school violence. Additionally, the current study is intended to contribute to the vastly underexplored field of school violence in the Western Cape. These results may therefore serve to supplement the body of existing literature and should be interpreted contextually. These findings could assist all stakeholders in understanding and recognising the nature and extent of violence, identify contributory factors of pervasive violence and create an awareness of the long-term effects of youth violence. Based on the purpose of this study, the intended objectives of this study are to explore the following factors and their contribution to the perception of violence:

- The relationship dynamic in terms of supportive adults, trusting relationships, and peer relationships
- Adult to learner-based violence
- School attendance
- Exposure to violence, discrimination and harassment
- Aggression, violence perpetration and use of weapons
- Mental health and substance abuse.

Further objectives are to:

• Ascertain the family dynamic in terms of family size, employment, relationships and violent behaviour in the Western Cape

- Explore and describe the contextual factors such as community disempowerment, peer relationships and learner to learner-based violence
- Explore and explain the exposure and impact of violence on learners.

1.3.1 Research questions

The fundamental research question is:

What is the current mindset of learners with regard to violence particularly within their schools and surrounding community?

The following sub-questions also helped to guide the research:

- What is the relationship dynamic in terms of supportive adults and trusting relationships?
- To what extent are learners exposed to violence?
- How do neighbourhood factors contribute to the overall perception of violence?
- Is learners' lack of wellbeing a contributory factor?

In order to gain perspective on the above questions, this study explored literature pertaining to the following:

- Understanding what violence is
- The legacy of Apartheid
- Major theories' justification of aggression, violence and related behaviour
- Contributory factors which are explained by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The purpose of a research design is to ensure that the results acquired enable one to effectively address the research problem logically and as unambiguously as possible. Obtaining information pertinent to the research problem requires specifying the type of

evidence necessary to test the theory, to evaluate a programme, or to accurately describe and evaluate meanings related to an observable phenomenon ("Research Guides", 2001). In short, a research design is a general plan about what will be done to answer the research question. Research designs consist either of exploratory research or conclusive research. In order to determine the nature of the problem this study was conducted using exploratory research as it intends to explore, rather than offer conclusive answers, to the research questions. Conclusive studies recognise the concluding information as the only solution to an existing research problem. Exploratory research, however, is flexible and adaptable to change, is effective in laying the groundwork for future studies and is far more economical than conclusive research ("Exploratory Research - Research Methodology", 2017).

Chapter 3 offers a detailed discussion of the methodological constructs of this study. A brief overview follows.

1.4.1 Research methods

There are currently two broad research approaches in the social sciences: qualitative and quantitative research. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed in this study (mixed method). Mixed methods research is a methodology for conducting research that involves collecting, analysing and integrating quantitative (e.g., surveys) and qualitative (e.g., interviews) research. Both quantitative and qualitative research have weaknesses. Quantitative research is weak in understanding the context or setting in which data is collected. Qualitative research may include biases and does not lend itself to statistical analysis and generalisation. A quantitative study is conducted to follow up on findings from qualitative data. The researcher used the outcomes of the qualitative research (initial interviews conducted with principals, teachers and learners) to drive the quantitative process (learner surveys) (see figure 1.3). These two approaches involve different ways of thinking about and therefore investigating violence in schools.

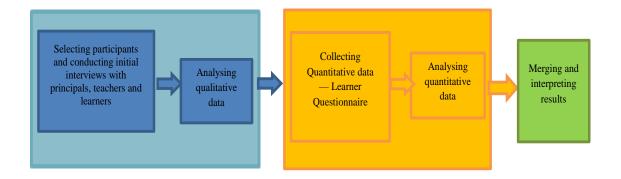


Figure 1.3: Mixed methods driving the research design

Qualitative research is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. Qualitative research is also used to delve deeper into the problem. Data collection methods for qualitative research use unstructured or semistructured techniques which may include group discussions, individual interviews, and participation/observations. The sample size is typically small because of the time and cost involved and not necessarily representative of the wider population, so it is difficult to know how far the results can be generalised (Patton & Cochran, 2002). Quantitative research on the other hand is used to understand the problem by way of numerical data. Quantitative data collection methods include various forms of surveys, are less in-depth but can be generalised across a larger population. Quantitative research designs are unambiguous, well designed, have been tested for their validity and reliability, and can be clearly defined and recognised. Research designs in qualitative research either do not have these features or have them to a smaller degree. They are less specific and detailed, and do not have the same structural capacity. The study designs primarily involve the selection of people from whom the information is gathered and investigated. The main focus in qualitative research is to comprehend, clarify, explore and discover the situations, feelings, insights, attitudes, ethics, principles and experiences of a group of people. Whereas, in quantitative research, the depth and organisation of the data that is gathered requires that the study designs be more organised, rigid, fixed and predetermined in their use, to warrant accuracy in measurement and organisation. Findings through quantitative research designs can be replicated and re-tested whereas qualitative research designs do not easily allow for this. Another difference between qualitative and quantitative research is the likelihood of researcher bias. Lack of rigidity and control makes it more difficult to check researcher bias in qualitative research.

By mixing both quantitative and qualitative research data, the researcher gains a wider and more in-depth understanding, while compensating for the weaknesses characteristic of each approach on its own.

1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The key purpose of research ethics is to ensure the welfare of the research participants (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). According to Kumar (2011), there are certain behaviours in research – such as causing harm to individuals, breaching confidentiality, abusing information and introducing bias – that are considered unethical in any profession. Bryman (2012) further adds that research ethics is primarily concerned with assuring that the dignity of human participants is respected and not abused or violated in the quest for knowledge. Ethical sensitivity can enhance the value of research practice if seen as congruent with the common goals of the research – which is the understanding and betterment of human existence.

1.5.1 Autonomy and respect

Prior to administering the learner questionnaires (Addendum A) participants were required to complete the informed consent letter (Addendum B) which reassured the participants that all information would be treated confidentially. The concept of confidentiality is grounded in the principle of respect for autonomy. Confidentiality is taken to mean that distinguishable information about participants gathered during the process of research will not be divulged without consent. Protecting research participants' right to confidentiality necessitates respect for the right to their autonomy (Privacy and Confidentiality: Issues in Research, 2012). The researcher has an obligation towards the research participants as well as (in this instance) the schools and the Western Cape Department of Education. Two key ethical issues that should be considered in any research are consent and confidentiality. Each participant in the study has freely consented to participating, without being intimidated or in any way coerced. The participants were well informed about what participation in the study entailed and

reassured that declining to take part, or withdrawing at any point, would not incur any negative consequences. No forms of identity (i.e., names, addresses or telephone numbers) were collected which might link information gathered to participants. Confidentiality is an agreement between the researcher and the participant, entered into via the informed consent process. Researchers must keep subjects' responses to the questionnaires confidential unless the participants have conceded otherwise (preferably in writing), (IRB Releases Updated Guidance on Anonymity, Confidentiality, & Privacy in Human Subjects Research, 2015). Ethical guidelines were strictly adhered to while administering the questionnaires.

1.5.2 Nonmaleficence

Nonmaleficence, according to Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter (2006), complements the autonomy principle and requires that the researcher ensure no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect result of the research. Harm includes research that might cause discomfort, anxiety, harassment, invasion of privacy or disparaging or dehumanizing research procedures (Kumar, 2011). If it is found that the research is likely to cause harm in any way, the researcher must ensure that the risk in minimal. Minimal risk means that the extent of harm or discomfort is not greater than that typically encountered in daily life. Nonmaleficence was upheld by the researcher as far as possible to ensure that no harm, risk or injury occurred during the research. Questionnaires were administered, and interviews undertaken in the safe and familiar setting of the school environment. At all times, the rights and dignity of the participants were respected thereby ensuring the emotional integrity of the all the participants

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are three key audiences for this research:

- The Western Cape Education Department
- Schools
- Academia.

To ensure that the results from the research inform and maximise the benefit to the audience, a dissemination strategy has been developed. Research is most effectively disseminated using multiple vehicles. In addition to giving written feedback to participants on request, copies of the study will also be handed to the schools and the Western Cape Education Department. The expected impact would be to enhance the current evidence available with regard to learners' mindset behind violence in schools and to enable schools to better measure the impact of violence at their own institutions, and thereby work towards successful interventions.

1.7 **DELIMITATIONS**

The following delimitations were considered in the study:

- Poor knowledge of the application of statistical analysis may adversely affect analysis and consequent interpretation
- Large sample sizes are required for more accurate analysis as small scale quantitative studies may be less reliable because of low quantity of data, which in turn affects the ability to generalise the findings to the wider population
- The researcher might miss observing phenomena because of the emphasis on theory or hypothesis testing, rather than on theory of hypothesis (McLeod, 2008).

1.8 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

In an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of school violence the researcher looked at where the concept of school violence fits in with the various definitions of violence as the larger construct. She examined the various types of violence and its prevalence specific to schools and the youth, which in turn assisted in understanding the consequences for the learner's ability to thrive in an educational environment. The researcher further explored and synthesised the various items of literature based on aggression, which lent credence to the understanding of the nature of violence amongst learners.

There is no single element which fully explains why a youth would commit an act of violence. Every act of school violence is the culmination of diverse factors that converge in a specific set of circumstances, often creating a perfect storm. School violence is fundamentally a form of youth violence; consequently, it is imperative that we understand the larger problem of violent juvenile crime.

1.8.1 Education

The purpose of education is to equip learners with the tools required to develop in a systematic and progressive way into members of a society. John Dewey's theories on education emphasise that education and learning are social and interactive processes; thus, the school itself is not only a social institution through which social reform can and should take place but also a place to learn how to live (Dewey, 1897).

1.8.2 The concept "youth" remains contentious.

Youth is a social construct, representing diverse meanings to diverse segments of the population. For some it represents a violent, unruly delinquent element in society; for others, it implies a marginalised part of the population. Definitions of youth shift with circumstances, especially with the changes in demographic, financial, economic and socio-cultural settings; however, the population used in this study consisted of principals, life orientation teachers and learners drawn mainly from poor socio-economic backgrounds with high levels of crime. For the purpose of this research study the focus fell on learners in grades 8 to 12, between the ages of 13 and 21 years. The expected norm for high school learners in grades 8 to 12 is that they are aged between 13 and 18. It was discovered during the research that 19 of the learners were aged 19, while 12 were 20 and 2 were 21 years old, hence the inclusion of the 19-21-year-old age group.

The National Youth Policy defines youth as "any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years". This is a very broad definition of youth. It is a definition that includes varied groups of the youth which have been exposed to different socio-political and historical experiences. A 35-year-old youth lived during a period of heightened political conflicts, when he or she was a learner in school, while a 14-year-old youth is growing up in an environment when many of the new reforms and achievements of the struggles are being

realised (National Youth Policy, 1996). The broader age band was selected in order to recognise that the education and development of many young people had been compromised during the conflict that accompanied the final years of the apartheid regime. This allows for policies that would be able to offer opportunities to people who were no longer "young" and who had earlier missed out in important ways (Ward, Van der Merwe, & Dawes, 2012).

In South Africa, the age range between 14 and 35 as youth has been accepted without taking into account public awareness of who the youth are and also what various government departments have identified as their youth target groups. No concerted effort has been made to analyse "the youth" they are dealing with. The White Paper on Social Welfare (1997), describes a young person as a woman or man aged between 16 to 30 years, while the Child Care Act (1983) describes a child as a male or female aged from 0 to 18 years. The Child Justice Act (No. 75 of 2008), signed into law in 2010, is the primary legislation that sets down processes for dealing with children who transgress the law. In terms of this legislation, children under the age of 10 do not have criminal capacity and cannot be prosecuted (Section 7(2)); those between 10 and 14 are presumed to lack criminal capacity unless the state proves the contrary.

Mkandawire (2016) points out that according to sociology, youth denotes an interface between childhood and adulthood. Many organizations consider the ages between 0 and 14 as in the childhood category, although UNICEF extends the childhood category up to the age of 18. Within this childhood age segment also falls the adolescent category, which is defined by WHO as falling between the ages of 10 and 19. The United Nations defines youth as "those persons between the ages of 15 and 24".

1.8.3 Violence

For the purpose of this study and to understand and address violence in schools, the NOVA RES Project (as cited in Pedro, 2012) defines violence as follows:

Violence is aggressive behaviour, which may be physically, sexually or emotionally abusive. The aggressive behaviour is conducted by an individual or group against another, or others. Physically abusive behaviour is where a

child, adolescent or group directly or indirectly ill-treats, injures, or kills another or others. The aggressive behaviour can involve pushing, shoving, and shaking, punching, kicking, squeezing, burning or any other form of physical assault on a person or on property. Emotionally abusive behaviour is where there are verbal attacks, threats, taunts, slagging, mocking, yelling, exclusion, and malicious rumours. Sexually abusive behaviour is where there is sexual assault or rape. (p. 74)

This definition assisted in understanding the context in which school violence occurs and the interaction between the different incidences of violence. The repercussions of violence affect not only the victim and perpetrator but have far reaching effects on families, communities and society as a whole.

In the words of the former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan (as cited in Behl & Sehlapeto, 2014):

Violence against children cuts across boundaries of geography, race, class, religion and culture. It occurs in homes, schools and streets, in places of work and entertainment, and in care and detention centres. Perpetrators include parents, family members, teachers, caretakers, law-enforcement authorities and other children. Some children are particularly vulnerable because of gender, race, ethnic origin, disability or social status. And no country is immune, whether rich or poor. (p. 102)

Rutter (as cited in Foster, 2012) cautions that in attempting to understand the causes of violent and antisocial behaviour, the current comprehensive studies are a set of fairly well replicated risk factors, which are very distinct from understanding the specific nature of contributing factors.

1.8.4 Types of school violence

According to Behl and Sehlapeto (2014) various national studies tell us that perpetrators of school violence may include school staff, with or without overt or tacit approval from government authorities. Educators, to whom children are entrusted, mete out their own

brand of physical and mental abuse such as corporal punishment, victimisation, bullying, sexual and gender-based violence, emotional mistreatment and neglect and spurning. Violence perpetrated by learners includes bullying, sexual and gender-based violence, school yard fighting, gang violence and assault with weapons. A recent type of school violence involves the use of technology as a platform for bullying: using the internet and mobile phones is referred to as cyber-bullying. Physical forms of bullying involve physical assault such as hitting, punching and kicking while psychological forms may include deliberate social exclusion, name calling, gossiping and malicious teasing, resulting in feelings of sadness, depression and mental health issues.

Every year, the Western Cape Government spends up to 80% of its health budget on preventable conditions, including injury-related deaths on our roads, and injuries and deaths from interpersonal violence fuelled by alcohol and drug use. This places a massive burden on the public healthcare system and drains precious resources which could otherwise be spent on improving the lives of the people of the province and providing healthcare to patients suffering from illnesses that are not preventable (Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Framework [IPVPF], 2013).

1.9 SUMMARY

Today's youth are faced with the insurmountable challenge of completing their education despite the threat of violence. The problem of violence has various contributing factors and cannot be narrowed down and understood without taking into account its dynamic nature. Violence is multi-faceted and has the ability to gain momentum if not kept in check. The effects of crime have a particularly corrosive effect on the healthy development of our youth.

This chapter has shown that the right to a basic unencumbered education is far from being a reality for many learners in South Africa and highlights the urgency of all stakeholders to address the problem of violence in general. Learners can only obtain a basic education if they are able to access school without fear of death or harm, therefore violence in schools should be seen as a violation of their right to a basic education.

It is impossible to attribute a single causal factor to violence; hence this chapter briefly touched on some of the contributing factors associated with violence. The background of, and justification for making use of schools on the Cape Flats provides some insight into its history and continuous spiralling decent into crime and violence.

The researcher further briefly discussed the research design and expanded on the different research methods, opting in favour of a mixed research method as part of the preferred research strategy. Qualitative or quantitative research on its own did not suit this study as it would not have adequately quantified the research findings. The Boston Youth Survey (BYS) (Addendum A) was selected as the research instrument because it could satisfactorily gather data and thereby partially serve the intended purpose of the research—which was to explore the learners' mindset behind violence.

A society based on the values of democracy and freedom is often judged by its respect for the rule of law and commitment to upholding the dignity and rights of its citizens. However, at the most basic level a society is measured by how it treats its weakest members (Williams, 2013).

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The remaining part of this study proceeds as follows:

Chapter 2 explores various literature sources on the subject of youth violence and what is already known about the subject. The researcher considers what concepts, theories and research have previously been applied to the topic as well as who the key contributors are.

Chapter 3 focuses on the different types of research designs and the different frameworks for the collection and analysis of data.

Chapter 4 aims to analyse the data obtained from the questionnaires administered at schools in the Western Cape, particularly on the Cape Flats. Owing to the vast amount of data generated in this study, it became necessary to divide the data into sections under the following headings: home environment, the neighbourhood, after-school activities,

peer/gang affiliation, unemployment, school violence, resources available to the youth, the school performance and education plan, substance abuse, exposure to violence, aggression and violence perpetrations, responses to crime, the impact of social media/television and video games, religious attendance and sexual violence.

Chapter 5 discusses the results of the preceding chapter. It further investigates current intervention programmes and proceeds to the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a number of important theories as to the causes of violence among young people in South Africa. It does not endeavour to offer a conclusive solution to youth violence but instead strives to examine a number of key single factors, as well as a combination thereof, which impact on and possibly escalate the prevalence and levels of violence among South Africa's youth.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of violence. Principally, the essential goal is to examine and consolidate different sources of information from existing literature; and apply this information to the South African framework since South Africa, as part of an international community, is influenced by global trends. Further objectives are to recognise the diversity of school violence and determine and clarify the reasons for school violence within the South African context.

According to Bryman (2012), existing literature represents an important element in all research and further reading is required to determine the following:

- What is already known about the topic?
- What concepts and theories have been applied to the topic?
- What research methods have been applied to the topic?
- What controversies are there about the topic and how it is studied?
- What disparities, if any, exist?
- Who are the key contributors to the research on the topic?

Delinquent conduct is for the most part viewed as a result of the combination of various factors originating from the individual, as well as the complex social framework in which he or she lives (Leoschut & Burton, 2009).

Student intimidation and violence toward educators, rape among students, the use of firearms, drug misuse, theft, assault and damage to school property have become

commonplace in and around many schools in the Western Cape. This volatile situation compromises the academic environment intended to prepare the youth for assuming a role of responsibility and tolerance in a democratic society.

In 2001 Tolan concluded that although violence is generally considered objectionable and unacceptable, it is not an uncommon human behaviour, exhibited by most people at some juncture. Most people can determine whether or not an act or situation is violent. However, there is considerable disparity as to its overall framework, though the lack of consensus does lean toward the motivation, effect, psychological, social and political meaning of violence. Tolan further suggests that these disparities carry significant implications for how violence is understood, how its patterns are identified, how risk factors are related, and which interventions and policies seem most appropriate. This in turn hinders coordination and comparison between studies, programming and policy design which address violence, and consequently impacts on the efficacy of these interventions. With this in mind, it is difficult to determine generalisable characteristics of violence. In the same vein, Leoschut (2008) adds that in addition to determining more detailed information on the magnitude, nature and consistencies influencing the incidence of violence within schools on a national level, also required are the identification of contextual factors that put learners at risk of violent victimisation within the school environment.

The researcher briefly evaluates some of the fundamental yet persistent disparities as well as the common factors of the various definitions of violence.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE

Before embarking on any discussion of the aetiology of aggression it is important to clearly understand what is meant by violence.

Tolan (2012) points out that violence is the intention to harm oneself or another. The notion of intent to injure is a common and central feature of what is meant by violence. There is nevertheless disagreement about how fully intentional the expression to cause physical harm must be for the act to be considered violent. For example, threatening to hit someone unless he or she did as one demanded, would be considered by most as

violent, but the question arises: would this constitute violence if the threat excluded physical aggression? Additionally, what influences the definition of violence is whether intimidation toward another should be considered as violent or the perception of potential violence, or whether the extent of the injury experienced by the victim contributes to the definition of violence. There is much debate around the extent to which cultural and gender variations should be incorporated into the definitions of violence as well. Tolan further explains that if one examines the patterns, causes and effects of violence and applies a multifactor, multilevel understanding of population trends and risk factors, then there appear to be benefits in distinguishing three types of youth violence:

- Situational violence seems to arise from group influence and is caused by surrounding circumstances such as poverty, neighbourhood disorder and low socioeconomic status. It may also be that these situations act to facilitate an individual's predisposition to violence. Common catalysts for youth violence are access to handguns and the use of alcohol and drugs.
- Relationship violence among friends and family members is a common type of adolescent violence; a large percentage of such violence arises from interpersonal disputes between persons in ongoing relationships. The incidence of relationship violence in youth may highlight the importance of building relationship skills in an effort to deter, end and recover from such violence.
- Predatory violence is defined as violence that is committed purposefully for gain or as part of a pattern of unlawful or antisocial behaviour with not much recurrence, continuity, or predictability among those exhibiting such violence.

According to Tolan (2012), each of these types of youth violence can be separated by patterns of frequency, continuity over the lifespan, required interventions and outcomes of various interventions. Burton (2008) adds that violence in any form is counterproductive to the collective moral and value codes within any society and presents a threat to peace, individualism, emotional well-being, stability and equality as well as a risk to ideals of development, and economic growth.

2.2.1 The legacy of apartheid

A considerable volume of literature has been published on the effects of apartheid on violence in South Africa. The high level of violence in South Africa has its roots in various elements and can be traced back over several decades in history.

Welsh (2009) points out that apartheid is an almost commonly accepted word, defined as "segregation on grounds of race," referring mainly to the circumstances in South Africa when the National Party was voted into power between 1948 and 1994. According to DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) the apartheid "philosophy" was used as a legitimate means of achieving white supremacy through racial segregation by the then ruling government. Laws sanctioned by the echelons within government were enforced, as well as resisted by many of the people through violence.

Apartheid left South Africa with a deeply embedded "culture of violence". The decades of apartheid, along with its associated political violence and subjugation, and pervasive criminal violence within communities, have contributed to the strategy of violence as a means of conflict resolution. While the general levels of violence in South Africa are high, violence tends to be focused in less economically developed urban areas such as the townships and informal settlements, which were created in terms of the apartheid-era Group Areas Act (DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF, 2012). Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) note that while the apartheid system has been abolished, its traces remain firmly entrenched in these neighbourhoods which are still largely segregated along lines of class and race. They further point out that regardless of the historical period, and even prior to apartheid, socioeconomic factors including unemployment and long-term poverty together with poor-quality schooling and family vulnerability, have been regarded as significant in explaining how the youth are drawn into crime, violence and gang membership. The CSVR (2009) suggests that the children who become repeat offenders are more likely to grow up with more negative family and school experiences. The migrant labour system and influx control during apartheid had particularly damaging consequences for African families, which may have been reinforced by other aspects of the social and economic transformation in South Africa over the last century (CSVR, 2009). Consequently, many children, predominantly amongst the poor, have grown up in single parent families characterised by an absent father or inconsistent primary caregiver, as well as being overcome with social ills such as alcoholism and violence.

It is reasonable to assume that one of the pervasive consequences of racism in South Africa comprises feelings of inferiority or low self-worth. Studies of violence which have been carried out in other countries indicate that there appears to be a distinct connection between feelings of low self-worth and the tendency toward violence. In 2012 Williams, Haile, Mohammed, Herman, Stein, Sonnega and Jackson published a research paper in which they found that chronic racial discrimination was negatively associated with self-esteem. Subsequently, a study by Shaheen and Jahan (2014) concluded that self-esteem plays an important role in aggressive behaviour, as it is negatively linked with aggression. Low levels of self-esteem among adolescents were linked to high aggression for both male and female adolescents. The CSVR (2009) confirms that the psychological consequences of institutionalised discrimination in the form of low self-worth are therefore likely to be a contributing factor to the problem of violence in South Africa.

Kriegler and Shaw (2016) searched through archives to put together Figure 2.4 which depicts all the official South African murder figures since 1911 to 2015.



Figure 2.4: South Africa's recorded murder rate per 100 000, 1911-2015

As can be seen above, there was a steady increase in the murder rate to the 1950's, a slightly more rapid rise to the 1960's, some years of relative stability followed by an enormous incline to the peak in 1993.and a decline from 1994. About 20% of the spike in crime from the 1980's has been directly linked to political conflict (Kriegler & Shaw, 2016). A further legacy left behind by the apartheid system is the criminal group and criminal culture which was entrenched in townships. Addressing crime in the townships lacked priority over suppression of resistance to the apartheid government, resulting in informal mechanisms of justice in townships (CSVR, 2009).

High levels of violence restrict access to services, ranging from police services to basic social and infrastructure services and access to a safe school environment. Many of the social inequalities that originated from apartheid continue to provide a fertile ground for violence. In addition to inequalities between groups, apartheid also left South Africa with fragmented families susceptible to violence (DSD, DWCPD AND UNICEF, 2012). As Schönteich and Louw (2001) states, "culture of violence" theories similarly point out that the effects of apartheid in South Africa coupled with years of political violence and the continued exposure to violence in the home and in the neighbourhood have produced a destructive culture which manifests itself in what the Nedcor Project on Crime, Violence and Investment called "murderous intolerance". It also means that South Africans quickly resort to violence as a means of solving conflicts — whether in the domestic, social or work environments.

In what follows, the researcher makes use of Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework approach to identify risk factors affecting the individual, family, school, peer group and community.

2.3 NATURE VERSUS NURTURE

The nature versus nurture debate has been an ongoing discussion in clarifying the basis of aggression. Many different theories about its nature and cause exist, all of which can be divided into two types: those that believe aggression is innate and those who accept it as learnt behaviour. Innate and learnt behaviour can be further categorised into the psychoanalytic approach which views aggression as innate, and the cognitive approach which attributes social learning to the cause of aggression (Owlcation, 2016).

2.4 THEORIES OF AGGRESSION

Aggression, violence and related behaviours have been studied in a wide range of theories. Below, the researcher examines contributions from three main categories of theories, i.e. psychoanalytic, biological and social learning theory. What follows is a brief exposition of the better known theories shaping our understanding of aggressive and violent behaviour. The following criteria had to be met for these to be included:

- Historical relevance of early theories and their contribution to recent theories of aggression
- Current aggression theories that are distinct from other theories.

2.4.1 Psychoanalytic theory

2.4.1.1 Psychodynamic approach

The psychodynamic approach, according to Glassman (2004), includes all the theories in psychology that regard human functioning as based upon the interaction of drives and forces within the person, particularly those that are unconscious, and between the different structures of the personality. Glassman further points out that psychoanalysis, the most familiar theory under the psychodynamic approach, was founded by Sigmund Freud. According to this theory, human aggression is an innate drive, related to the person and not the situation, and therefore an unavoidable part of human life. The term psychodynamic refers both to Freud's theories and those of his followers (McLeod, 2017). The researcher now considers three theories of aggression.

2.4.1.2 Evolutionary theory

Buss and Shackelford (1997) explain that evolutionary psychology is based on a set of assumptions about human behaviour. According to psychology of this type, all human behaviour is an outcome of personal internal mechanisms together with triggers which result in the activation of those internal mechanisms. At some rudimentary level, all psychological mechanisms are couched in the existence of evolution by natural selection. If behaviour requires the existence of mechanisms, and mechanisms are the result of

evolution by selection, then evolution is significant in every occurrence of human behaviour.

Buss and Shackelford (1997) further explains that current psychological theories of aggression often appeal to specific learning methods along with interpretations of the ills of modern lifestyles such as violence in the media, the values of Western society and toy weapons bought by parents as playthings for their children. The latter may assume aggressive tendencies through observational learning, which is unquestionably a contributing factor to the development of aggression but not an exhaustive explanation. Paleontological data suggests that humans have a long evolutionary history of violence, thousands of years prior to the invention of guns, television and the advance of Western society. Contemporary theories do not explain the pervasive nature of violence amongst conventional cultures which have been untouched by Western civilisation as well as unexposed to television. As an example, Chagnon (1988) (as cited in Buss & Shackelford, 1997) noted that one in four adult males within the Yanomamo tribe in Venezuela die at the hands of members of other tribes or neighbouring tribes. They maintain that a more in-depth explanation is required which does not fundamentally rely on prevailing circumstances such as violence depicted on television, toys or Western society.

As a means of survival, humans engage in stockpiling resources such as fertile land, access to fresh water and food. In order to gain access to these resources, they make use of bartering, theft or manipulation at an individual or group level with or without aggression. Campbell (1993) (as cited in Buss & Shackelford, 1997) stated that childhood aggression is typically about resources and territory while adults would resort to muggings and beatings as a method to forcefully extort money or diverse resources from others. Throughout history, armed conflict has been a means of pillaging land belonging to others; in turn, responding with aggression to prevent one's resources from being forcibly taken, could be used as a deterrent to other would-be aggressors. Modern-day forms of this type of aggression include bullying behaviour at school.

Darwin, who originally coined the term 'instinct theory', viewed aggressive behaviour as motivated neither by the seeking of pleasure, nor the avoidance of pain, but rather as an evolutionary enhancement that enabled humans to better survive (Glassman, 2004).

2.4.1.3 Freud's instinct theory

According to Glassman (2004), Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, stated in his earlier theories that human behaviour was motivated by sexual and instinctive drives known as the libido, which comprise energy derived from the Eros or the will to live. The repression of these libidinal urges is presented as aggression. As an example, Glassman explains that the manifestation of childhood aggression is expounded by Freud's Oedipus Complex. According to this theory, at around the age of five years, a boy develops a desire for sexual involvement with his mother and an associated sense of contention for the father. On the one hand the child loves his father but sees him as standing in the way of an intimate relationship with his mother. Thus, he develops an immense feeling of guilt over this tempestuous conflict and instead rejects, as essentially inappropriate, his fixation on his mother. Similarly, in terms of the Electra Complex, a girl around the same age develops penis envy in an attempt to relate to her father and hence rejects her mother. This follows the same internal conflict which is resolved by rejecting her father as an inappropriate love object and aligning herself with her mother. Glassman further explains that Freud later added the concept of Thanatos or the death wish to his theory. Thanatos energy encourages destruction and death. In an effort to avoid self-destruction, some of the negative energy between the competing and the displacement of negative energy of the Thanatos is the root of aggression.

Konrad Lorenz (in Glassman, 2004) expanded on the theory of aggression by combining Freud's instinct theory with that of Charles Darwin's natural selection theory. Unlike Freud, who believed that aggression is completely destructive and ultimately self-destructive, Lorenz theorised that aggression is beneficial and allows for the survival and success of populations of the strongest, ultimately resulting in a stronger, healthier population.

In Freud's view, we can never eliminate aggression; we can only find ways of controlling it by channelling it in specific ways which include symbolic gratification and sublimation as being the most desirable form of release. Sublimation is a mature type of defence mechanism, in which socially unacceptable impulses or idealisations are unconsciously transformed into socially acceptable actions or behaviour, possibly resulting in a long-term conversion of the initial impulse. It is important to note that defence mechanisms

are employed unconsciously, and the repressed psychic content can still penetrate to the consciousness in camouflaged ways (Jordaan & Jordaan, 1998, pp. 560 & 561)

Since most people are not adept at such activities, a more common form of managing is the use of displacement. This is a defence mechanism whereby the mind unconsciously substitutes unhealthy or harmful impulses with a more acceptable or less threatening target (Glassman, 2004).

Kline (1984) concludes that although some critics of Freud hold that the instinct theory of aggression is discounted as a scientific theory as there is no empirical evidence and is substantively based on hypotheses, the theory is considered a matter of historical significance as all research on theories of aggression has been reinforced by Freud's instinct theory.

2.4.1.4 Frustration-aggression theory

The frustration-aggression hypothesis was proposed by John Dollard and several other psychologists in 1939 at Yale University and further developed by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. Dollard et al. stated that not only does every frustration produce an urge to aggression but also that every aggressive act implies the presence of frustration. Miller later reformulated the hypothesis to suggest that while frustration creates a need to respond, some form of aggression is one possible outcome. Therefore, the re-formulated hypothesis stated that frustration might lead to many different responses, only one of which is aggression (Mentovich & Jost, 2017). Hence, the reformulated hypothesis stated that while frustration prompts a behaviour that may or may not be aggressive, any aggressive behaviour is the result of frustration, making frustration an insufficient, but necessary condition for aggression. In 1989, Berkowitz expanded on the hypothesis by suggesting that negative effects and personal attributions play a major role in whether frustration instigates aggressive behaviour.

2.4.2 The biological approach

To explain social behaviour, the biological approach emphasises the physical characteristics of the person, not the situation. According to O'Brien (2011), the main

focuses of this perspective are the hereditary influence, the brain's influence and the influence of chemicals; i.e., genetic, neurological and hormonal influences. Hence aggression is viewed as an innate characteristic of humans (Frustration–aggression hypothesis, 2018)

2.4.2.1 Genetic influences

The link between genes and crime is a contentious issue in the discipline of criminology, which has largely focused on environmental and social factors that cause or influence deviant behaviour. As noted by Beaver and Boutwell (2012), a study by UT Dallas criminologist Dr. J.C. Barnes focused on whether genes are likely to cause an individual to become a persistent offender. The study was categorised by investigating antisocial behaviour throughout childhood which could develop into violent or serious criminal behaviour in adulthood. The outline for the research was grounded in Developmental Organisation of Anti-Social Behaviour, a theory developed by Dr Terri Moffitt, who distinguished between three groups found in the population: persistent offenders, adolescent offenders and abstainers. Moffitt proposed that environmental, biological and genetic factors could be a strong predictor of which group an individual falls into. In her theory, she suggests that genetic factors will play a bigger role for the persistent offender as compared to the adolescent offender. Adolescent offenders display behaviours such as alcohol and drug use and minor property crime during adolescence. Abstainers are represented by the minority of people who do not participate in any criminal behaviour. To identify how people fell into each of the three groups, Barnes and his co-researchers employed the twin methodology, a study design that allows researchers to examine the overall role of genes in the development of a trait or disorder. Comparisons between identical twins and fraternal twins are conducted to evaluate the degree of genetic and environmental influence on a specific trait. Identical twins are the same gender and share 100% of their genes. Fraternal twins can be the same or opposite gender and on average share 50% of their genes. The conclusion was that genetic influences in persistent criminality were larger than environmental influences. For abstainers, genetic and environmental factors played an equally large role whereas for adolescent offenders, the environment played the larger role. Although the analysis does not identify the specific genes that trigger the different groups, Barnes suggests that in order to tailor interventions, if for example genes play a larger role in persistent criminality then one would need to know which genes are involved and how they are interacting with the environment. Barnes maintained that although there is no gene for criminality, genes increase the likelihood of being involved in a crime, albeit a slight probability, which would still be significant. To date, the genetic influence of aggression has not been directly proven, although gathering evidence suggests that genetics plays a part in criminal behaviour (Buckholtz & Meyer-Lindenberg, 2008; DiLalla, 2002).

2.4.2.2 Neurological influences

Bartholow (2017) reminds us that, given the complexity and multi-functionality of neural systems, researchers face an overwhelming challenge in trying to unravel the neurological origin of complex behaviour such as aggression. Notwithstanding, previous studies have reported that one of the more successful physiological fields of research has been the mapping of the human brain to identify the areas responsible for specific aspects of behaviour. The emphasis has largely been on the hypothalamus and the amygdala, in the evolutionarily older regions of the limbic system (Delgado 1969; MacLean 1990). However, Bartholow (2017) argues that although precise manifestations of aggression often differ across species, the ontology and purpose of relevant brain structures is often vastly similar. In particular, the neural organisation of limbic structures in rat and mouse brains is very similar to that of human brains. Therefore, significant research has focused on determining the neurophysiological and neurochemical processes responsible for aggression in animals, of which one aim is to apply this knowledge to understanding aggression in humans.

Bartholow (2017) further suggests that the portions of the brain which appear to regulate aggression are not specific to this function, suggesting that aggression is a developing property of a greater neural system involved in the control of social behaviours. The hypothalamus on the other hand appears to play a large part in aggressive behaviour. Lesion studies with cats recognised the hypothalamus as significant in controlling rage. Research with humans similarly supports the vital role for the hypothalamus in initiating aggression (Bartholow, 2017). Wright (2017) adds that the amygdala is the integrative centre for emotions, emotional behaviour, and motivation. Stimulation of the amygdala causes intense emotion, such as aggression or fear.

The amygdala is responsible for interpreting information from the thalamus as threatening or non-threatening, resulting in the "fight or flight" response if a threat is perceived. If the amygdala malfunctions, then a harmless situation could be perceived as threatening, producing aggression and *vice versa*. The case study of Charles Whitman who in 1966 murdered his family and shot a dozen strangers before taking his own life revealed a brain tumour pressed on his amygdala, and it was concluded that the brain tumour may have been responsible for his behaviour (Aggression AO1 AO2 AO3, 2017).

A large body of research has also supported the idea that the prefrontal cortex is associated with high-level reasoning and control of behaviour, suggesting that aggressive behaviour frequently results from a failure to self-regulate (Bartholow, 2017).

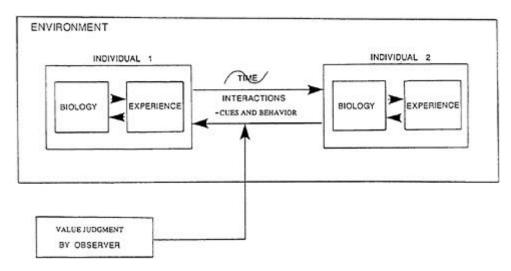
2.4.2.3 The hormonal influences

The link between aggressive behaviour and the endocrine system have been studied at length in recent years. Brain (2017) suggests that hormones are naturally occurring secretions of the body's' endocrine or ductless glands and are perceived as providing possible reversible therapies for some clinical disorders that include hyper-aggressiveness as a symptom. Hormones are transported throughout the body by the blood stream and represent the slow and chronic section of the neuroendocrine coordinating system that regulates physiological and behavioural activities. The hypothalamus has an important role in producing hormones. Adrenalin can be labelled as the aggression hormone. A drop in blood sugar levels makes the body release adrenalin which, in turn, causes the cells to release their stored sugar. Adrenalin is the 'fight, flight, fright' hormone (Brain, 2017).

Nelson (2017) informs us that in terms of their behaviour, one can theoretically think of humans and other animals as comprising three interrelating components: (1) input systems (sensory systems), (2) integrators (the central nervous system), and (3) output systems, or effectors (e.g., muscles). Hormones do not cause behavioural changes but instead, influence these three systems so that specific stimuli are more likely to provoke certain responses in the appropriate behavioural or social context. In other words, hormones alter the probability that a specific behaviour will be enacted under the

appropriate condition (Nelson, 2011). This is a critical distinction that might affect the way in which we think of hormone-behaviour relationships (Nelson, 2017).

It is important to mention that what we call aggression is (like any other behavioural concept) influenced by varied factors that are difficult and almost impossible to unravel. These include biological factors (i.e., genes, neural systems, neurotransmitters, and hormones); situational factors (i.e., the environmental or social context); and the amassed experiences of individuals.



Source: Brain (1989, p. 181)

Figure 2.5: Schema showing the relationship(s) between biology and aggression: factors to be considered in rating "simple" interactions between individuals.

Figure 2.5 illustrates the connection between biology and behaviour. If we look at forms of aggression between individuals, we are actually dealing with a fairly complex relationship between biology and experience. Added to this complexity is whether we choose to call a behaviour aggressive or not, which is based on the observer's value judgment. It is therefore questionable that we will find simple connections between any one biological factor and behaviour (Understanding and Preventing Violence, Volume 2, 1994).

2.4.3 The humanistic approach

In general, humanistic theory directs its attention to the role of the person (not the situation) in behaviour, including social behaviour. Since individuals are seen as able to

make choices, humanists reject the belief that people are influenced more by external situational factors than by internal ones. In terms of aggression, humanistic theorists unequivocally reject the idea that aggression is inherent or in any way predictable (McLeod, 2017). Therefore, in order to understand how humanistic theories account for aggressive behaviour the theories of Maslow and Rogers should be examined

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a motivational theory in psychology containing a five tier model of human needs, often portrayed as hierarchical levels within a pyramid.

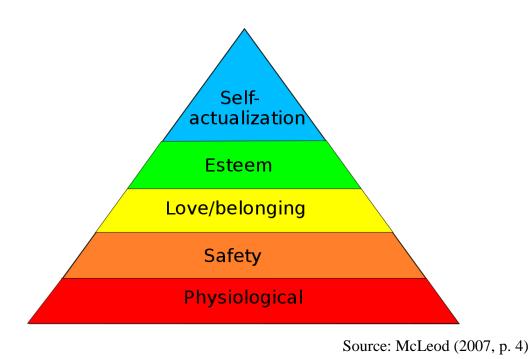


Figure 2.6: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

McLeod (2007) explains that Maslow's hierarchy of needs suggests that a number of different needs exist, and that for any individual, specific needs will have priority at different times. Maslow indicated that people are driven to meet certain needs and that some needs take preference over others. Our most basic need is for physical survival, and this will be the first need that influences our behaviour. Once that level is satisfied the next level up is the aspect which motivates us, and so on. This five-stage model can be separated into deficiency needs and growth needs. The first four levels are often referred to as deficiency needs (D-needs), whereas the top level is known as growth or being needs (B-needs). Deficiency needs are born out of deprivation and are said to motivate people when these deficiency needs are not satisfied. Furthermore, the longer the needs remain unmet, the stronger the motivation becomes to fulfil such needs. For example, the longer

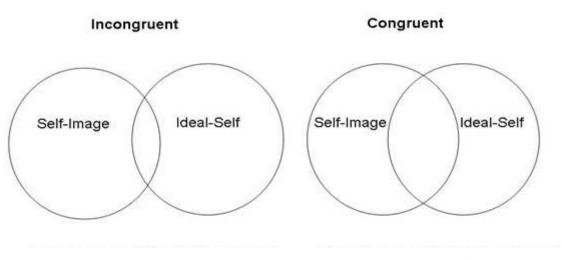
a person remains without food, the hungrier they will become. Growth needs are not the result of a lack of something, but rather from an aspiration to grow as a person. Once these growth needs have been reasonably satisfied, one may be able to reach the highest level, called self-actualisation (McLeod, 2007). Jordaan and Jordaan (1998) point out that Maslow's theory has been criticised on various counts, in that the development of needs does not necessarily follow the pattern of his proposed hierarchy. There are instances of people who are willing to forego satisfaction of their most basic needs in pursuit of higher needs. Additionally, Maslow's hierarchy of needs has been criticised for being sociopolitically insensitive in that it does not really allow for the socio-political circumstances in a given society.

Notably, there is no reference to aggression in his hierarchy. Rather than being an innate drive which must be fulfilled, aggression is a reaction to situations where satisfaction of one of the basic needs is blocked (Glassman Hadad, 2009). In this sense, Maslow's justification for aggressive behaviour is fairly similar to the frustration—aggression hypothesis, which states that aggressive behaviour is a possible response to particular circumstances. Similarly, Lozovska and Gudaite (2012) assert that aggression is subjectively perceived and explained as a reaction to unfulfilled needs, to violations of personal space, as a tool for setting boundaries and self-assertion. Applying the results of a study of the motivation of aggression in female prisoners, they concluded that aggressive reactions are caused by the frustration of and impetus towards the realisation of deficiency needs.

Glassman and Hadad (2009) further suggest that as an alternative, Maslow views aggression as just one likely reaction amongst many. Aggression may occur in response to deprivation of needs but is only one possible reaction. In the absence of any deprivation, Maslow sees aggressive behaviour as highly improbable. Hence, in his depiction of self-actualised individuals, aggressive behaviour is essentially absent. Since self-actualisation is not a deprivation need, it does not provide even a marginal reason for aggression.

Carl Rogers's model uses a different set of ideas from that of Maslow's but leads to a similar assumption concerning aggression. McLeod (2014) explains that Carl Rogers viewed humans as having one basic motive – the tendency to self-actualize – i.e., to fulfil

one's potential and attain the maximum level of humanness if the conditions are right, but an inclination which is constrained by its environment. Glassman and Hadad (2009) restate that Rogers viewed human growth as grounded in the actualising tendency, which is a positive force for development. Aggression, therefore, is not an inherent drive. Instead, aggressive behaviour is one of the likely consequences of a state of incongruence. Incongruence takes place when individuals experience a conflict between their sense of self and their ideal self.



Source: McLeod (2014, p. 21)

Figure 2.7: Carl Rogers's Actualising Tendency

In Figure 2.7, one can note that the closer the self-image and ideal-self are to each other, the more congruent one is and the higher one's sense of self-worth (McLeod, 2014). Carl Rogers believed that for a person to achieve self-actualisation they must be in a state of congruence. Usually, incongruence arises when other people impose conditions of worth as a prerequisite for giving positive regard. Glassman and Hadad (2009) provide an example where teenagers often dislike the rules of conduct which parents try to enforce, resulting in many forms of conflict, including acts of aggression. In Rogers's theory, there is a conflict between the teenager's own values (part of the self) and the parental values on which they were raised (part of the ideal self). As awareness of their own values increases, it results in resentment towards the parents, who employ conditional regard in an attempt to maintain the initial values. An aggressive reaction is one possible response to this situation. Another manner in which aggressive behaviour might emerge would be if a person assumes aggressive norms due to the need for positive regard. Aggressive behaviour is relatively common, considering that conditions of worth are regularly

encountered in everyday life. Rogers however believed that when individuals are in touch with their actualising tendency, they will come to view aggressive reactions as inappropriate. He considers that aggressive behaviour will not occur, given the circumstances for healthy growth and the development of congruence (Glassman & Hadad, 2009).

2.4.4 The behavioural approach

The earliest learning theory explanations for individual dissimilarities in human aggression focused on operant and classical conditioning. Operant conditioning theory, developed by behaviourists such as Edward Thorndike and B. F. Skinner, suggested that behaviour which is rewarded is more likely to be repeated. If, however, behaviour is punished there is a less likely chance that it will be repeated. Classical conditioning theory on the other hand, developed by Ivan Pavlov, suggests that through recurring pairing of an unconditioned stimulus with a conditioned stimulus, the unconditioned stimulus eventually causes a response similar to that produced by the conditioned stimulus (Bushman & Huesmann, 2009).

According to Glassman and Hadad (2009), the behaviourists view social behaviour, including aggression, as learned behaviour. Aggression does not rely on an internal drive but instead on a particular class of voluntary reactions, which are learned and adapted by means of reinforcement. This viewpoint therefore stresses the role of the situation rather than the person, since the availability of reinforces is situational. However, Bushman and Huesmann, (2009) point out that it became clear to the social theorist, Albert Bandura that conditioning by itself could not explain individual differences in aggression. Bandura theorised that the more powerful learning process in understanding aggression was observational learning or imitation (also called social learning) in which people learn how to behave aggressively by observing and imitating others.

There are two sides of aggressive behaviour which have been highlighted by behaviourists: instrumental aggression and the role of frustration in aggression. Glassman and Hadad (2009) proceed to explain that instrumental aggression is aggressive behaviour which endures because it is positively reinforced. To avoid instrumental aggression, one must change the environmental conditions so that such behaviour no longer pays off.

Notwithstanding the prevalent nature of instrumental aggression, it is necessary to note that some incidences of aggressive behaviour do not appear to be instrumental. As an example, Glassman and Hadad state that endorsing misbehaviour in a child after she or he has had a hard day at school is unlikely to lead to positive reinforcement. To explain this behaviour, Glassman and Hadad examined the role of frustration in aggressive behaviour. As previously noted, the frustration - aggression hypothesis states that frustration is the sole cause of aggression. In its strongest form, the hypothesis asserts that frustration always results in aggression, and aggression only occurs as a result of frustration. Glassman and Hadad challenged these ideologies, explaining that even when frustration does seem to produce aggression, the relationship has been interpreted as owing to the instrumental value of the aggression. The matter is further complicated by the fact that a particular frustrating situation may produce different types of aggressive response in different people. While the basic notion that frustration could lead to aggression garnered some support, over time the evidence also showed weaknesses in the original hypothesis. Aggression may nonetheless be directly expressed towards the immediate source of frustration or displaced towards another object. Displacement extends the frustration–aggression hypothesis to situations where there is no direct cause of frustration and may also account for some instances of aggression that instrumental aggression cannot explain. However, because it is difficult to predict the exact form of displacement, Glassman and Hadad suggest that it also makes the theory less accurate and testable.

Together, instrumental aggression and the frustration—aggression hypothesis are able to explain many cases of aggressive behaviour. While each has limitations, they are at least somewhat complementary. Most notably, both propose ways in which aggressive behaviour can be learned, and therefore offer an alternative to other approaches. If aggression really is learned, then no amount of catharsis will solve the problem. Therefore, the behaviourist viewpoint proposes that researchers focus on recognising those elements of the social environment that promote aggressive reactions and modify them so as to produce more socially-desirable behaviour (Glassman & Hadad, 2009).

2.4.5 The cognitive approach

Berkowitz (1998) notes that like the behaviourists, cognitive theorists see social behaviour as learned, not inherent. They also agree that reinforcement may influence learning and hence that some aggression is instrumental. However, the cognitive approach regards the behaviourist viewpoint as too limiting because it ignores the role of mental processes in learning, which accords significant weight to person variables while recognising the role of learning and the situation. Consequently, cognitive theorists would state that in order to comprehend aggression, we have to take into account mental processes.

Cognitive theorists suggest two ways in which mental processes appear to affect behaviour: firstly, we are able to learn through imitation; and secondly, our thoughts and perceptions may directly impact our behaviour. Glassman and Hadad (2009) explain that the role of imitation in learning aggressive behaviour is grounded in observing the behaviour of others, rather than direct experience and reinforcement.

Albert Bandura, a proponent of social learning, conducted a study to investigate whether aggression could be learned through observation and imitation. The Bobo doll experiment piloted by Bandura in 1961 measured children's' behaviour after seeing the model be rewarded, be punished, or experience no consequence for beating up the bobo doll ("Bobo doll experiment", 2017). Although there are flaws in this experiment (including the use of frustration, and the obvious differences between punching an inflatable doll and hitting an actual person), the study exhibits the basic principle of social learning theory in its context: aggressive behaviour can be learned from observing aggressive acts by others (Glassman & Hadad, 2009). Similarly, Cherry (2017) adds that in a follow-up study conducted in 1965, Bandura found that while children were more likely to imitate aggressive behaviour if the adult model was rewarded for his or her actions, they were far less inclined to imitate the action if they saw the adult model being disciplined or reproached for their aggressive behaviour.

Apart from social learning, the cognitive approach would reason that the cognitive schemata which guide individuals' behaviour could largely also affect the likelihood of aggressive behaviour. Each individual develops a wide range of schemata which impact

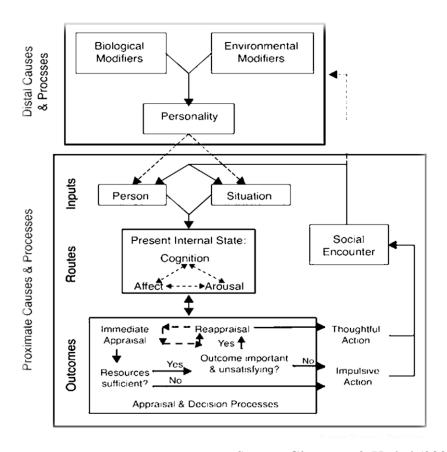
the way we observe and react to the world. For example, we develop schemata which guide our behaviour in a restaurant – waiting to be seated, selecting from a menu and so on. These schemata are in turn affected by the previous experiences we have had. As an example, people who watch excessive amounts of violence on television are more inclined to perceive their surroundings as dangerous, than those who do not watch violence on television (Glassman & Hadad, 2009).

2.4.6 The general aggression model (GAM)

The General Aggression Model (GAM) proposed by Anderson and Groves (2013) considers the role of social, cognitive, personality, developmental, and biological factors on aggression. GAM provides a broad framework for understanding aggression in many contexts, including media violence effects, domestic violence and intergroup violence. Calvalcanti and Pimentel (2016) adds that this model suggests that aggressive behaviour is grounded in the following three knowledge structures: perceptual schemata, which are used to identify phenomena as simple as everyday physical objects or as complex as social events; personal schemata, which include opinions about a particular person or group of people; and behavioural scripts, which contain information on how people behave under varying situations.

As can be observed in Figure 2.8 below, Glassman and Hadad (2009) illustrate that GAM is divided into two key aspects: proximal and distal processes. The proximal process of GAM describes how individual and situation dynamics influence cognitions, feelings, and arousal, which in turn impact the process of judgment and decision making, and subsequently affect aggressive or non-aggressive behavioural outcomes. Each cycle of the process acts as a learning curve that affects the advancement and availability of aggressive knowledge structures. The distal processes of GAM explain how biological and ongoing environmental factors could impact personality through changes in knowledge structures. Some of the most important knowledge structures include beliefs and attitudes (e.g., believing that aggression is the norm, assessing it positively), perceptual schemata (e.g., perceiving unclear events as hostile), expectation schemata (e.g., expecting aggression from others), and behavioural scripts (e.g., believing that conflicts should be resolved with aggression) (Glassman & Hadad, 2009). These knowledge structures are developed through experience and may impact perception at

different levels, ranging from simple perception of objects to complex perception of social events. Knowledge structures might also become automatised with recurring practice (as is the case with scripts) and can include both cognitive and affective mechanisms. As an example, anger is strongly linked with hostile attribution biases (the tendency to interpret ambiguous events as hostile) (Allen, Anderson & Bushman, 2017).



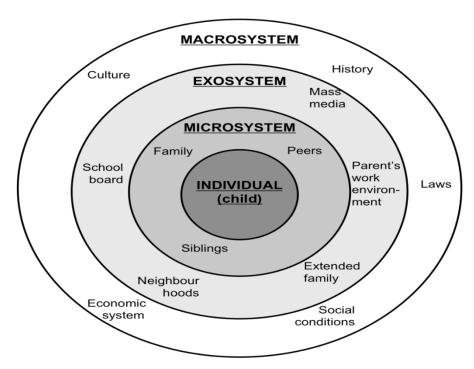
Source: Glassman & Hadad (2009, p. 373)

Figure 2.8: General Aggression Model (GAM): proximal and distal causes and processes

Allen, Anderson & Bushman (2017) conclude that GAM has already been used to guide research and interventions in many spheres of aggression. New research is necessary to further advance GAM as a complete model of human aggression and violence. More detailed applications to the understanding and treatment of perpetrators of violent crime, intimate partner violence, and sexual aggression are required. Likewise, GAM could be applied in order to assist in the development of aggression prevention programmes at the individual, family, community, and societal levels. The first step toward minimising aggression and violence is gaining an understanding of the causal processes on which GAM sheds light.

2.4.7 Ecological framework

Bronfenbrenner divided the environment into five different levels. The microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and the chronosystem are the five environmental levels that influence child development according to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory. Children grow up within an ecology of circumstances: smaller, more personal situations, such as family and school, are nested within larger contexts such as the neighbourhood (Bronfenbrenner, Moen & Garbarino, 1984). A key element of the ecosystemic model illustrated in Figure 2.9 below, is the connections between the various elements: none of which can be viewed in isolation.



Source: Bronfenbrenner, Moen & Garbarino (1984, p. 283)

Figure 2.9: Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory

Ward (2007) points out that Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is beneficial in understanding the conditions in which youth violence occurs. The microsystem is the most influential, has the closest relationship to the person, and is the one where direct contact occurs. Individuals are set within microsystems: these are systems where the child is involved in continuous, direct contact with familiar people. These close relationships are most influential in shaping children's development. Children who learn in these close settings that violence is an adequate means of solving a problem are more likely to use violence in their own interpersonal relationships. Mesosystem is a system of interactions

between the microsystems in an individual's life, such as interactions between a child's family and teachers. The macrosystem is the fourth layer and consists of the cultural context in which the child resides. The mesosystems refer to interactions between the microsystems, thus capturing the impact of one system on another. Interaction between systems is able to exert substantial effects on child development. Ward (2007) states that, for example, children whose home lives are not happy might find alternative support in the structure of a group of peers who later initiate them into a gang, which in turn may socialise them into violent behaviour. The macrosystem can be thought of as the "social blueprint" of a given culture, and consists of the primary pattern of values, belief systems, lifestyles, opportunities, customs, and resources entrenched therein (Johnson, 2008). This system is commonly considered to exercise a multi-directional influence upon not only the person but also the micro-, meso-, and exosystems. The macrosystem is embodied not just in the cultural, political, social, and economic climate of the local community, but in that of the nation as a whole.

Ward (2008) maintains that this ecological model considers the complex interplay between individuals and the places they inhabit at multiple levels: individual, relationship, community and society throughout their lifetime. Consideration of this complex interplay is important because of the strong role that socialisation plays in perpetuating violence. Ward further points out that socioeconomic conditions, which allow for widespread poverty will influence what the ecosystem makes accessible in terms of health and social services and will influence the whole system. Poverty does not cause violence, but it does set the conditions under which delinquency, crime, violence and substance abuse flourish.

The theory is also useful because it could combine an understanding of the historical and social factors of a particular society with the various other factors influencing a child's life (DSD, DWCPD & UNICEF, 2012).

According to the Centre for Disease Control (2015) (CDC), the ultimate goal is to stop violence before it begins. Prevention requires understanding the factors that influence violence. The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention uses a four-level social-ecological model to better understand violence and the effect of potential prevention strategies. This model considers the complex interplay between individual, relationship,

community, and societal factors. The overlapping rings in the model illustrate how factors at one level influence factors at another level and suggests that in order to prevent violence, it is necessary to act across multiple levels of the model at the same time.

2.4.7.1 Gender and violence

Are boys more aggressive than girls? There is a vast and increasing amount of literature available on gender differences with regard to aggression. Indeed, according to Papalia, Olds and Feldman (2004), it has been suggested that the male hormone testosterone may be a causal factor in aggressive behaviour amongst boys; however, girls may be more aggressive than they seem, and just express their aggression differently.

Developmental psychologists agree that being a female or a male is an essential characteristic of any individual's distinctiveness since women and men fundamentally define themselves in terms of their feminine or masculine characteristics. Through a process of socialisation, girls and boys come to learn about their femininity and masculinity (Leoschut & Bonora, 2007). According to social and developmental researchers, there are consistent (albeit modest) gender differences in physical aggression present from early childhood, which remain fairly constant throughout adolescence (Carlo, Raffaelli, Laible & Meyer, 1999). While each culture constructs its own meaning for the terms female and male, concepts of gender are in a constant state of motion. Notwithstanding this, Leoschut and Bonora identified a number of gender norms that are commonly associated with masculinity within different societies. Violence and masculinity are multifaceted issues while masculinity is often implicated in the persistence of male-dominated violence. Leoschut and Bonora further draw our attention to the fact that society expects men to behave aggressively and has largely encouraged boys and men to fight for what they believe in. As a result, violence has become the means of resolving disagreements. The general belief that men are responsible for protecting their female counterparts is indicative of society's expectation of men as the protectors. These beliefs are further entrenched when children who are taught to observe these traditional gender roles are also exposed to violent role models in other social environments. Dominant cultures encourage children to adopt particularly damaging stereotypical behaviours which teach patterns of gendered behaviour that will, in all probability, prevail throughout adulthood. These patterns of behaviour render girls

susceptible to sexual violence which is exacerbated by the structural inequalities that define a township culture (Jefthas & Artz, 2007).

The backlash from society with which men are often met when they behave in ways that society deems as feminine is evident of the uncompromising belief that men should behave in a 'masculine manner' (Leoschut & Bonora, 2007). Similarly, Jefthas and Artz (2007) add that male learners suspected of being homosexual are often beaten and abused by their male peers at schools.

The issue of gender difference has become rather controversial since survey results of American families have found that men and women were equally aggressive, where the most common situation in families occurred when both partners were mutually violent (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980). A variety of studies have also shown roughly equal gender rates in initiation of violent acts (Ward, Van der Merwe, & Dawes, 2012).

Both South African and international literature exhibit a gender bias in their expectations around criminality and aggression among women and girls, and men and boys, where women and girls are perceived as victims of crime, and men and boys as the perpetrators and aggressors. This simplistic notion of men as the offenders and women as helpless victims, tenders an excessively damaging understanding of men overall and further fortifies the good girl—bad boy stereotype. Not all men are violent, and only some violent men are violent towards women. By the same token women and girls do commit crime and violence, and boys and men are victimised by both males and females (Leoschut & Bonora, 2007).

These issues receive a negligible amount of attention in the literature; there remains a need for information on women and girls as offenders and boys and men as victims, particularly as victims of sexual violence. Research into this situation would contribute to a better understanding of youth violence and gender discussions. However, according to Tolan (2012) evidence has shown that males experience greater levels of violence than females. Gender differences, with particular emphasis on male aggression which includes more violence, capacity to harm, coercion and other hostile acts, seem to be present early and remain throughout development. The violence experienced by learners at schools, argues Tolan, is noticeably different for male and female learners. Girls are the victims

of rape, harassment and sexual assault, while boys tend to be the victims of assault and bullying.

While research into the root cause of delinquency focuses mainly on boys, Jefthas and Artz (2007) suggest that there have been some valuable contributions to our understanding of violence committed by girls and young women. They point out that girls who are subjected to abusive domestic environments are likely to develop "unique tactics of self-preservation", for example, running away from home, which ultimately makes them vulnerable to criminal abuse. Their delinquent behaviours are indirectly a subsequent result of their attempts to resist or escape abusive households. Jefthas and Allen (2007) cite further studies which have additionally highlighted the fact that abused and neglected girls are far more likely than their non-abused counterparts to commit violent offences, which predominantly take the form of domestic violence.

As Jefthas and Artz (2007) observe, literature has demonstrated that youth who take part in violence do so for a variety of multifaceted, interrelated reasons and that the correlates of criminal and violent behaviour include:

- exposure to conflict and violence in domestic settings
- a lack of constructive family guidance and social control
- the socialisation of young men into violent versions of manhood
- economic need and the desire for material and social goods, and
- peer pressure.

In this framework Jefthas and Artz (2007) advise that the disparities of the past and the present have contributed to the high levels of crime and violence experienced in South Africa today, which both debase and desensitise South African youth to violence. Hirschowitz et al (in (Jefthas & Artz, 2007) also indicate that the violence to which South Africa's youth were exposed in the past, and are still exposed to presently, has had and will continue to have a negative effect on South Africa's youth. The effects of exposure to high levels of violence include depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, withdrawal, disengagement, terror, rage, anger and the hardening of attitudes (Jefthas & Artz, 2007).

Further research corroborates that sexual violence experienced by girls and young women is alarmingly high. George and Finberg (2001) mentions that a Human Rights Watch study in 2001 found that sexual abuse and harassment of girls by both teachers and other students is widespread in South Africa. Cases of rape, assault, and sexual harassment of girls committed by both teachers and male students were documented. Additionally, according to the Human Rights Watch study in 2001, girls were raped in school toilets, in empty classrooms and hallways, and in hostels and dormitories. They were also subjected to aggressive sexual advances, and verbally degraded at school. It was noted that sexual violence spanned various levels of society and all ethnic groups. Eaton and Flisher (in Jefthas & Artz, 2007) indicate that girls and boys have different experiences of peer pressure and that the high level of sexual violence against girls is influenced by pressure of this type. The need for power and status among peer groups is considered to be one of the major drivers of crime among youth. They explain that young males' needs to be seen to be brave, to be included in a peer group and to have a girlfriend, could lead to criminal incidents.

Other studies reveal that boys are faced with the pressure to engage in sexual activity to prove their manliness while among certain peer groups, having multiple sexual partners affords a young man special status and admiration from his peers. Girls on the other hand tend to be ostracised on the basis of their lack of sexual experience (Jefthas & Artz 2007). Research into the dynamics of African cultural relationships exposed often far reaching, deep-rooted gender prejudice and subjugation of women. Of great concern as a consequence of the violence that girls experience is the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS along with the physical and psychological trauma of rape survivors and unwanted pregnancies (HIV and AIDS in South Africa | AVERT, 2016).

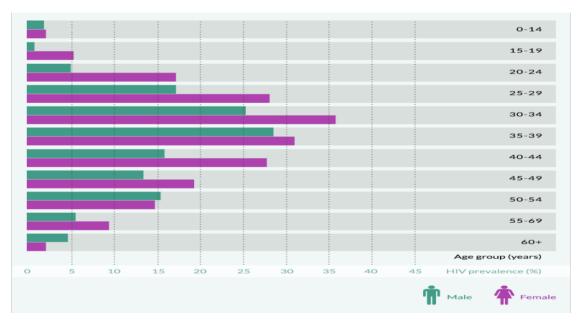
Table 2.2 below depicts the prevalence of and the total number of people living with HIV between 2002 and 2015. The total number of such persons in South Africa increased from an estimated 4,02 million in 2002 to 6,19 million by 2015. By 2015, an estimated 11,2% of the total population was HIV positive. Approximately one-fifth of South African women in their reproductive ages are HIV positive. Although HIV/AIDS in the youth population between the ages of 15-24 decreased slightly between 2002 and 2015 in the majority of provinces, in 2012, the prevalence rate in female youth was over four times higher than the rate found in males of the same age group, as is evident in Figure 2.10

below. South Africa has the biggest and most high-profile HIV epidemic in the world, where an estimated 6.3 million people were living with HIV in 2013. In the same year, there were 330,000 new infections while 200,000 South Africans died from AIDS-related illnesses (HIV and AIDS in South Africa AVERT, 2016).

Table 2.2: HIV prevalence estimates and the number of people living with HIV, 2002–2015.

	Prevalence					
Year	Women 15–49	Adults 15–49	Youth 15–24	Total population	Incidence 15–49	HIV population
2002	16,69	14,50	6,75	8,8	1,65	4,02
2003	16,85	14,58	6,35	9,0	1,63	4,14
2004	16,93	14,62	6,07	9,1	1,65	4,25
2005	17,01	14,65	5,91	9,2	1,67	4,35
2006	17,22	14,82	5,82	9,4	1,65	4,51
2007	17,52	15,10	5,76	9,7	1,58	4,71
2008	17,81	15,39	5,71	10,0	1,50	4,93
2009	18,09	15,66	5,69	10,2	1,43	5,13
2010	18,29	15,87	5,70	10,4	1,38	5,32
2011	18,42	16,01	5,64	10,6	1,34	5,48
2012	18,53	16,14	5,61	10,7	1,31	5,65
2013	18,67	16,29	5,60	10,9	1,28	5,83
2014	18,85	16,46	5,59	11,1	1,23	6,02
2015	18,99	16,59	5,59	11,2	1,22	6,19

Source: HIV and AIDS in South Africa | AVERT (2016, p. 6)



Source: HIV and AIDS in South Africa | AVERT (2016, p. 5)

Figure 2.10: HIV prevalence in South Africa by gender and age 2012

In conclusion, there is no irrefutable evidence that men and women differ in their distinctive biological or psychological inclination toward violence. The consensus that men commit the majority of violent acts may instead arise primarily from the social environment.

2.4.7.2 Age and violence

South Africa's youth make up a significant proportion of the population. According to Statistics South Africa, young people aged 10–29 account for 28.32% of the entire population, which was estimated at 54 956 920 people (Statssa.gov.za, 2015). According to the latest statistics available, the same age group accounts for 35.8% of a population of 56 521 948 people (Statssa.gov.za, 2018).

The earlier a child develops an aggressive pattern of behaviour, the more likely s/he is to continue to be aggressive. Aggressive behaviour between the ages of 6 and 13 among males is likely to persist into adulthood, while findings for females do not yield such consistency (Ward, Van der Merwe, & Dawes, 2012). Of particular concern in South Africa is the age at which children are likely to become engaged in criminal activity. According to Ward (2007) studies have reported that a large number of children are aligning themselves with gangs at the early age of 11 or 12 and, since joining a gang is a gradual process, this indicates an earlier introduction to and drift towards violent activity.

Studies also indicate that both offending and victimisation peaks between the ages of 12 and 21. Since the 12-21 age groups are most likely to be involved in crime, Leoschut and Burton (2009) conclude that a high number of the South African population falls within this "high risk" age cohort.

2.4.7.3 The context of child development

Why are some children more aggressive that others? Papalia, Olds and Feldman (2004) suggest that aggressive behaviour tends to be bred from early childhood by a combination of stressful home situations, punitive discipline, absence of maternal warmth and social support, exposure to violent adults and neighbourhood and transient peer groups which prevent stable friendships. Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) add that there are a

few important factors which set violent young offenders apart from non-violent young offenders. These factors include (early) age of onset of violent behaviour and high levels of aggression. Low individual guilt, current hard drug use and perpetration of violence have been identified as enduring and robust predictors of future violence in adolescents. Exposure to aggression and violence socialises children into lifestyles that spread violence in society (DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF, 2012). Apart from physical injuries, the experience of violence often has severe and long lasting consequences for children's mental and social development, their behaviour as well as their health — consequences which could affect them well into adulthood. Depression, substance abuse, anxiety, suicidal ideation as well as unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and sexual dysfunction are only some of the concerns accompanying the exposure to violence as noted by Jefthas and Allen (2007). Symptoms of post-traumatic stress affect a large number of South African children, with only a small proportion receiving any professional assistance. Traumatic experiences also affect brain development in children and may lead to difficulties in learning and mental functioning.

Extensive research into the connection between child abuse and crime also makes it clear that abused children are at higher risk of displaying problems in various developmental areas, including social development, relationships with peers and achievement at school, and are more likely to participate in crime, violence and antisocial behaviour (Jefthas & Allen, 2007).

With regard to children's milestones, Leoschut (2008) explains that younger children who have been exposed to violence are more likely to relapse in their developmental milestones by temporarily losing their bowel and bladder control or other newly gained skills. Leoschut advises that children of pre-school age may become anxious and have tantrums, while children of school going age and teenagers may struggle to concentrate, and exhibit mood swings and disruptive behaviour both at home and at school. Leoschut further suggests that the school environment as a social space may have a profound effect on the child's socialisation processes and should therefore be a place where children feel safe and are protected from violence or the threat thereof.

Exposure to violence has been found to have an adverse effect on children's understanding of how the social world works (Leoschut & Bonora, 2007). Victims of

severe violence are more likely to favour aggression as a social response, to experience difficulties understanding social cues and to display deviant social goals (Ward, 2007). Leoschut and Bonora emphasise that parents represent the primary socialising agents for children since the family is the setting in which they are first taught about acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. For this reason, they conclude that children who are exposed to violence in the home assume violent behaviour patterns which they imitate later in life. When the values taught in the home are reproduced within these social contexts, this aids in strengthening these violent behaviour patterns.

Commenting on parental discipline, Coie and Dodge (1998) (in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2004) note that parents of children who become antisocial often do not reinforce good behaviour and are harsh and inconsistent in discouraging or disciplining bad behaviour. On the other hand, harsh punishment, especially spanking, might backfire. Coie and Dodge points out that children who are spanked not only suffer shame, pain and frustration but also observe aggressive behaviour in an adult model and may later imitate this aggression themselves. Ward (2007) adds that whether a child is able to have feelings of guilt seems to depend largely on parents' responses in terms of teaching children accountability for any wrongdoing. Children whose parents have a compassionate approach, are receptive to their child's temperament, and who teach them empathy for the aggrieved person, are able to develop guilt. Conversely, argues Ward, children whose parents employ rigid discipline which includes asserting their authority are less likely to develop guilt. In a situation such as that of South Africa where many children are mistreated, it is possible that many parents use forceful discipline rather than teaching their children compassion and responsibility. As intimated, youth who feel little guilt in response to their aggression are at risk for future violence.

A concept known as reciprocal determinism, coined by psychologist Albert Bandura, states that three factors influence behaviour: the environment, the individual and the behaviour itself (Cherry, 2018). According to Cherry, a person's behaviour both influences and is influenced by personal factors and the social environment. In this way children not only learn from their environment, but their behaviour also causes reactions from the environment. Ward (2007) reiterates that as time passes, children's behaviour affects the social environments to which they are exposed, and in turn those environments adapt their behaviour. For instance, says Ward, a child whose aggression becomes

intolerable to his more moderate peers is likely to be excluded by that group. He may then only find acceptance in a more aggressive group, which over time will model aggression and reward him for being aggressive. As such, he will drift from a non-violent setting into a violent one and over time his behaviour will become more and more aggressive.

The high rate of youth victimisation in South Africa is consequently cause for concern not only in and of itself, but also because of what children may learn in terms of violent behaviour, what violence might accomplish, and what is acceptable in terms of behaviour used to reach goals (Ward, 2007).

2.4.7.4 Family and violence

While children largely benefit from living with both parents, the nuclear family is not the only form of family that is able to provide satisfactory care and protection from violence for a child (DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF, 2012). Violence against children often happens within nuclear families as well, according to DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF. Burton (2008) adds that the family is one of the most, if not the most, powerful socialising environments for children throughout adolescence. Many risk factors for youth violence are consequently situated in the family. These include:

- family conflict and violence
- criminality enacted by caregivers
- large family size
- low parental education
- low maternal age
- poor family management practices
- harsh and/or inconsistent disciplinary practices
- poor monitoring and supervision of children's activities
- permissive or lax parenting, and
- low levels of family bonding.

Children who are exposed to conflict and domestic violence are exposed to violent role-models and will in all probability learn the behaviour and its concomitant rewards (Burton, 2008). The role of family violence in children's violent behaviour has been

confirmed in a number of local and international studies. Burton states that violence in the family of origin, for example, has been demonstrated to predict physical and psychological abuse in later intimate partner relationships and against one's own children. One of the main factors in terms of children's development is parenting skills. According to Papalia, Old and Feldman (2004), Braumrind's model identified three parenting styles and typical patterns of behaviour, according to which:

- Authoritarian parents value control and obedient compliance. They try to make
 children conform to a set of standards of behaviour and punish them
 indiscriminately and forcefully for violating it. These children tended to be
 more discontent, withdrawn and distrustful.
- Permissive parents value self-expression and self-regulation. They make few
 demands and permit children to monitor their own actions as much as possible.
 They consult their children about decisions and seldom punish them. They are
 warm, non-controlling and undemanding. These children tended to be
 immature, the least self-controlled and least exploratory.
- Authoritative parents are caring and tolerant but also demand good behaviour, are firm in upholding standards and will impose limited, judicious punishment when needed. These children tended to be the most self-reliant, self-controlled and self-exploratory.

Although Braumrind's model seems to suggest that there is only one right way to raise children, it merely establishes associations between each parenting style. It does not indicate that different styles of parenting cause children to be more or less competent (Papalia, Old and Feldman, 2004).

Burton (2008) confirms Braumrind's model by stating that poor parenting practices – such as failure to set clear expectations for children's behaviour, failure to supervise and monitor children's behaviour, severe and/or inconsistent discipline, and either very strict or very permissive parenting – consistently predicts children's predisposition to violence. Conversely, Burton considers that good parent/child bonds, communication and good family organisation are associated with lower degrees of violence among children. The nature and style of parenting can be as important in the development of a child as the physical environment or growing up with both parents.

Household size has also been shown to be a comparatively strong indicator of youth violence and delinquency in any environment. The more children parents have, the less individual and personal attention can be given to each child (Burton, 2008). More children mean an overcrowded household, leading to heightened frustration, conflict, poor management and greater financial responsibility. In a review of data from a number of longitudinal studies, Burton noted that it was found that larger family size also increases exposure to potentially delinquent siblings. Burton concludes that while household size may not impact directly on victimisation outside the home, it does increase the chance of victimisation, mainly to sexual violence, within the home. This indirectly increases the chance of victimisation at school which is largely dependent on the social environment and peers children have around them.

Family makeup is an important factor in children's resilience to violent behaviour. Non-violent homes, positive parenting skills, parental education, parental support and parental self-esteem act as barriers for children who are exposed to violence. Protective factors at the individual level include high self-esteem, an internal locus of control, sense of humour, empathy, spirituality, easy temperament and good communication skills. Involvement in recreational activities builds many of these individual protective factors in children. (DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF, 2012). As a precautionary measure Leoschut and Burton (2009) also suggest that being raised in homes where members control their tempers, resort to healthy conflict resolution and where parents do not employ physical discipline, significantly predict membership in the non-offender category. Children who are not physically punished for their wrongdoings are twice as likely not to offend as young people whose caregivers physically hit them as punishment for their disobediences.

2.4.7.5 School and violence

Education is meant to benefit society as a whole; as a result, educational institutions are the primary locations to enrich young minds in preparation not only for their future but also for the future of society. When this learning environment is compromised, it creates a ripple effect in society; conversely, should this environment thrive, this consequently holds many benefits for the future of a society (Abramovay and Das Gracas, 2002). They further emphasise that the purpose of education is to give the young the tools they require in order to develop in a systematic, progressive way into productive members of society.

Education as a social and universal experience is necessary for the survival and operation of all societies. Each society, according to Abramovay and Das Gracas, contributes to the growth of its members' capabilities and prepares them for participation in the different circumstances of social life. This is demonstrated through knowledge, experiences, values, beliefs, behaviour, techniques and habits that have been learnt and passed down over generations. These are then integrated and reinvented by new generations.

Jefthas and Atrz (2007) remind us that the high levels of crime and violence in schools indicate that many young South Africans are being deprived of the opportunity to optimise their educational development. Research and an increasing number of media reports have emphasised the fact that crime and violence are cause for grave concern in schools. Leoschut (2008) re-iterates that the prevalence and threat of violence within schools compromises the learning processes of children, resulting in a number of damaging consequences for the learners. Leoschut further states that violence within schools has moved beyond mere bullying to a more severe and violent form of victimisation, meted out not only by students but educators and other adult figures of authority against learners as well. The public hearings on school-based violence arranged by the South African Human Rights Commission, according to Leoschut, revealed outcomes associated with the physical, emotional and academic consequences associated with learner victimisation.

Jefthas and Artz, (2007) adds that children are subjected to a variety of crimes and violence at school, including physical and sexual assaults, robberies, intimidation, bullying, shootings, stabbings, gangsterism and drug trafficking Gangs have also infiltrated schools and, according to Jetfhas and Artz, make use of the school grounds to assert their control in turf wars, recruit new members from among the learners and in some instances, lure students into selling drugs to their peers. Gang activities may also infiltrate schools when learners themselves are associated with gangs. DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) found that the community's socio-economic status could contribute to the risk of violence in schools. For example, the prevalence of gangs at schools and neighbouring areas where the school is situated increases the risk of exposure to violence both in the school and the community. In high-income neighbourhoods, parents are able to contribute financially towards increasing the safety of the children by employing

guards, erecting boundary fencing and sophisticated security systems, but DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF note that this is not the case for schools serving poorer areas.

Burton (2008) found that a national study on school violence conducted in 2008 reported that 15% of learners (approximately 1.8 million children) had experienced some form of violence while at school. While peers tend to be the main perpetrators of violence in the school environment DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) report that adults also account for some of the violence. In primary schools, 9% of principals reported physical abuse of children by their educators whereas in secondary schools, the percentage stood at 25%. It is possible that these figures are not a true reflection of the prevalence of violence as principals would not know about all incidents.

Notwithstanding the fact that corporal punishment has been banned from schools, Burton (2008) found a 2005 CJCP Youth Victimisation Study which showed that educators continue to mete out corporal punishment to learners for misbehaviour. For many educators it is not so much the lack of corporal punishment that is the issue, but rather the absence of other viable options. The growing levels of violence and absence of respect, which are apparent amongst learners, are often cited by educators as the consequence of the inability to discipline children effectively. Burton reminds us that corporal punishment in any form constitutes an assault on learners and assists in propagating the many forms of violence to which South African learners are exposed. School violence often manifests through learner-on-learner violence; educator-on-learner; learner-oneducator; adult-on-learner; and peer-on-learner, while learner-on-learner violence appears to be the most common. Many acts of violence go unreported by the learner and, according to Burton, would only come to the attention of the authorities as a result of the severity of the injuries incurred which prevent concealment of the act. Learners may fear a libellous backlash, being targeted, or might merely view the act of violence as not being serious enough to warrant reporting to anyone.

The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) designed and undertook a youth resiliency study. Leoschut and Burton (2009) indicate that its main purpose was to identify why some young people from high-risk environments refrain from engaging in criminal or violent behaviour. In the study, the CJCP found education to be one of the most substantial protective factors against offending. Grade 12 learners were nearly six

times more likely to be resilient to engaging in crime than those in lower grades. Attitude toward one's schooling, regarding schooling as personally important, striving to attain good results at school and the intention of furthering their studies after grade 12 were notable attributes in the non-offending category. The CJCP noted that youth who work hard to obtain good marks are 31 times more likely to refrain from engaging in criminal behaviour than those who do not show an interest in their schooling.

According to Burton (2008) school-based studies have shown that the toilet area in schools is the most dreaded, with both girls and boys indicating that they are scared to make use of the toilets as these are a common site of various forms of violence and crime. At many schools, boys' and girls' toilets are situated immediately next to each other, making it easy for boys to unobtrusively enter the girls' toilets, or to harass girls entering or leaving their toilets. Burton proceeds to explain that although the main location of theft in primary schools is in the classroom, toilets are also fairly common locations for sexual assaults.

High levels of various forms of violence inflicted on learners in the classrooms or the playground are likely to compromise productive learning. Yet, Burton reports, other factors that affect a child's positive experience of school, such as the trip to and from school on foot or public transport, may place them at risk of numerous forms of victimisation such as assault, robbery and theft. This in turn impacts on their school attendance and performance in the classroom.

Research in South Africa and internationally shows that learners whos scholastic progress are adversely affected are more likely to drop out of school before completing (Over-age learners in South Africa, 2010). Abramovay and Das Gracas (2002) conclude that if school is the place where young minds are trained and provided with information, then violence represents a component that demands immediate attention in the development of our youth.

2.4.7.6 The social environment.

In attempting to explain the incidence of violence within educational institutions, researchers have frequently attributed this phenomenon to influences stemming from the

social environments surrounding the school such as poverty, exposure to family and community violence, gangsterism, high levels of drug and alcohol abuse, materialism and the desensitisation to violence within South African society (Leoschut, 2008). For this reason, the school situation is often a reflection of what is happening in the broader social surroundings. Leoschut points out that high levels of violence, crime, easy access to drugs and alcohol as well as easy accessibility to firearms are indicative of unstable communities and are known to place youths at risk of victimisation, given their proximity to other offenders.

Kipperberg (2007) noted that The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report demonstrated that during apartheid, South Africa's children were exposed to subjugation, abuse, deprivation and degradation. Structural violations by the state included gross inequalities in educational resources, massive poverty, unemployment, homelessness, widespread crime and breakdown of the family unit. Kipperberg (2007) also comments that despite experiencing violence and jeopardising their lives, partaking in the struggle also gave young people new skills, such as the ability to analyse, improve strategies, organise and mobilise. Kipperberg suggests that the liberation struggle nurtured wisdom, tolerance, leadership, responsibility and resilience. Between 1990 and 1994, Kipperberg claims, townships functioned as headquarters for the freedom movement and soon after the government switched strategies with the aim of preventing liberation movements from transforming into organised political parties. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), children and youth were now more exposed to what was happening in the entire community during these four years. Their earlier role as proactive political activists was replaced by a more defensive function. Once portrayed as key social and political agents, they became gradually more marginalised to vital political transformation. This created a vacuum that was filled by gangsters and criminals. The high levels of violence in South Africa today, according to Kipperberg, may be as a consequence of the HRC's failure to address the needs of the youth. The issues mentioned above are now elaborated on.

• Drugs, Alcohol and Weapons

Communities that are fraught with high levels of crime and violence are also usually linked with the accessibility of alcohol and other addictive substances. According to

Pinnock (2017) more than six in ten crimes in South Africa are drug related, of which Cape Town is the forerunner. Pinnock adds that the drug trade into and through Southern Africa was estimated by the 2013 National Drug Master Plan to be worth R136 billion.

The violence data applicable to schools shows a noteworthy link between access to addictive substances and victimisation at schools (Leoschut, 2008). Although primary school learners and most secondary school learners are legally prohibited from consuming alcohol, there is an indication that alcohol and drugs are becoming an increasing problem in schools (Burton, 2008).

Youth who engage in the use of drugs and alcohol are more likely to be involved in aggressive behaviour and there seems to be a supporting relationship between the development of aggression and the use of alcohol and drugs over time, during adolescence (Ward, 2007). One study as noted by Ward found that prior violent behaviour and current use of illicit drugs was a strong predictor of current violent behaviour, adding that intoxication inhibits young people's ability to monitor and control their behaviour. Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) also assert that a number of studies have established an association between prior use of alcohol and committing a violent offence, but scholars have warned that the relationship between alcohol use and violence is unlikely to be simple, linear or unidirectional.

Ward (2009) claims that the use of substances may also expose children to environments where violent behaviour is exhibited and rewarded. Ward provides us with an example of children living in communities in Cape Town where gang activity is prevalent, who report that substance use offers a passage into gang membership. Once addicted, they may move on to selling drugs on behalf of a gang in order to feed their own addiction, resulting in a life of crime and violence in order to meet the demands of the gang.

While a conclusive cause—effect relationship is often hard to identify, Burton (2008) argues that there is little doubt that a strong relationship exists between substance abuse and crime. Often both alcohol and drugs are used to create the courage needed to commit a crime, while the aggression linked with excessive alcohol and drug use may escalate the levels of violence used to commit crime and may simply increase the probability of the actual crime taking place.

Burton (2008) further remarked that while learners bring alcohol and drugs on to school property, they are also being used by educators to fetch alcohol from taverns and shebeens while principals and educators report learners sneaking out to shebeens to buy alcohol for their own consumption. "Merchants" (drug sellers) wait outside the school gates or in close proximity, peddling drugs to learners during school hours and after school. The rates at which this was witnessed and reported across all nine provinces suggests that it is a long-standing issue, with young people identified by dealers as easy prey and as a reliable source of income.

The accessibility of weapons at school aggravates an already volatile environment (Burton, 2008). This, according to Burton, is worsened by the fact that it is not only "formal" weapons that are available but also everyday utensils and stationery that are often turned into weapons. This includes items such as scissors and pencil sharpeners from which learner's report removing the blade to use when threatening others. With such easy access to substances and weapons, it is hardly surprising that schools display the levels of violence that they do. Burton also points out that the pervasiveness of and easy access to weapons and drugs within schools suggests that these goods are freely available outside the schools. It is improbable that guns and drugs are easily available within the school and not outside, since they need to be sourced somewhere before being brought into the school environment.

• Gang Affiliation

Today, as in the past, gang formation is the consequence of young people in search of an identity These are youth whose only role models carry guns, gang bosses who drive smart cars and the only way to avoid the trappings of their identity is through illegal activity (Pinnock, 2017). Investigations into South African gangs suggest that gangs are the exclusive domain of young males. The gang subculture in South Africa and the role gangs have played in the lives of the country's youth has received extensive coverage in academic literature (Jeftha & Artz, 2007).

Ward (2007) maintains that having delinquent friends is an important predictor of youth violence. Association with a delinquent peer group or siblings, and predominantly gang membership, consistently predicts youth violence, while association with peers who reject

delinquency lowers its probability. Ward states that often delinquent acts are committed by youth seeking peer approval, indicating that peer groups serve a socialisation function similar to that of families and schools.

Jeftha and Artz (2007) reiterate that gangs often fulfil the unmet needs of 165 members. Where acceptable educational opportunities are lacking, and high levels of unemployment and poverty are high, the gang provides young men with friendship, support, dignity and a means of income. Jeftha and Artz add that joining a gang helps youth to overcome feelings of helplessness or low self-esteem as the gang provides a sense of belonging not provided by other social structures like the family, the broader community, the church, other religious institutions and schools. Upon joining a gang, members are required to accept gang rules, which often include the use of violence. The rites and practices of the gang allow young men to create and offer one another alternative ways of asserting their gendered identities as heterosexual males. In a society where their masculinity is not recognised through, for example, a good education, permanent employment and the economic means to support families, young men resort to physical strength, bravado and violence as an alternative means of showing their manhood.

• Poverty and Unemployment

Ward (2007) tells us that family poverty also impacts child development in many ways. Evidence on a global level according to DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) shows that living in impoverished conditions constitutes a significant risk factor in relation to exposure to violence. These sources indicate that murder rates worldwide, as an example, are generally found to be highest in impoverished areas. This, on the other hand, does not suggest that there is always a direct relationship between poverty and violence, but that poverty is an aggravating factor that needs to be taken into account when attempting to make sense of youth violence. The relationship between poverty and violence can also work inversely as increasing rates of criminal activity within a community may result in increases in poverty.

DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) explain that unemployment and poverty affect children both directly and indirectly. High levels of unemployment and poverty could

result in family stress and frustration, which in turn, may result in abusive behaviour toward children. As a result of South Africa's history, DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) point out that poverty is concentrated geographically. More precisely, poverty is concentrated in the more rural areas which were the regions to which African people were confined during the apartheid era. These areas are deprived both in terms of the socioeconomic status of the occupants and in the access to and quality of government and private services. Poverty is also concentrated in the urban informal settlements, which continue to attract poor people who travel from rural areas in the hope of accessing employment and services.

2.4.7.7 Culture and violence

Culture, according to DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012), is the foundation of social identity and provides individuals with specific meanings for conduct and social relationships. Nevertheless, while specific social identity is beneficial to its affiliates, cultural norms can at times be detrimental and undermine the dignity of its members, particularly that of women and girls. Flannery, Vazsonyi, and Waldman (2007) state that cultural differences may influence our definition of violence: for example, what may be considered harmful and offensive in one culture may not be the case in another. Attempts to harm or manipulate the wellbeing of others may be considered injurious in some cultures, whereas in others, Flannery et al. remind one that the concept of injury is reserved for physical harm. Whether cultural norms would be considered when defining a given act as violent, may vary subject to the act and who is outlining it. Establishing a level of certainty and distinction that promotes shared agreement, over what is meant by violence and the role of social status and power, is among the greatest challenges in defining violence. Cultural considerations with regard to the definition of violence would be an important criterion in understanding aggression in a culturally diverse South Africa. Tolan (2012) further indicates that the percentage of violent deaths due to suicide or homicide differs considerably among regions of the world, inferring that cultural differences may contribute to the framework of violence, predominantly violence resulting in fatalities.

2.4.7.8 *Technology and violence*

Popovac and Leoschut (2012) posit that the significant increase in the use of mobile phones, text messaging, emails, chat rooms and social networks has transformed our social environments and has in many ways directed our social interactions. Comparative data suggests that South Africans are some of the main users of mobile technology and mobile social networking on the continent. Popovac and Leoschut (2012) further point out that young people, who are known to acquire technological skills faster than adults, lead the way in the daily use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). While the benefits to this technology are limitless, it also has the potential to expose young people to high-risk content and individuals with whom they may not otherwise have had contact. In separate studies, the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University found that over a third of young people had experienced some form of cyber aggression (DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF. 2012). Popovac and Leoschut also emphasise that the often unrestricted and unmonitored nature of the cyber world exposes young people to pornography, violence, injurious information, sexual predators, disturbing images and, more alarmingly, new forms of aggression and victimisation to be perpetrated against youth with whom they may not normally have had contact. These may include harassing emails or text messages, posting indecent, offensive and libellous messages on online bulletin boards or social networking sites, or developing web pages to promote and distribute slanderous content. An important finding in the CJCP study is that the line between culprits and victims of cyber bullying is most often distorted. Many young people in the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention study as noted by DSD, DWCPD and UNICEF (2012) also admitted to being perpetrators of cyberbullying. 18% admitted to bullying someone via text message, 17% had bullied someone via phone calls, 12% via chat rooms, 12% via instant messaging and 9% via video/photos. Seven out of ten (70%) of those who admitted to cyber bullying someone had themselves been bullied. Hence it appears that being a victim of cyber aggression may increase the likelihood of committing such hostility against others, perhaps in retaliation. Popovac and Leoschut (2012) indicate that cyber bullying tends to have comparable effects on children to those of traditional bullying, but with a number of important differences that could aggravate its adverse consequences. They argue that the anonymity of the perpetrator is one of the most harmful characteristics of the internet, giving people the freedom to communicate in ways they would not ordinarily use face to face. The fear of being caught, which generally acts as a behavioural control in people, is absent in the cyber world.

Verbal abuse and remarks via ICTs, can be distributed to a wide audience very quickly, can be saved and reread several times which might affect the everyday reality that victims may experience in the physical environment; in turn this could increase the incidence of suicides, murders and school dropouts as a result of the experience (Popovac & Leoschut, 2012). Other literature, according to Popovac and Leoschut, reports that victims of cyber bullying are more likely to report depressive symptoms, emotional distress and becoming offenders of cyber bullying.

2.4.7.9 Legislation and violence

• The Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution upholds human rights for all and applies to both adults and children (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, 2011). The first right listed in the Bill of Rights speaks of non-discrimination on any grounds including race, gender, religion, disability, language or age. There is also a right to dignity and freedom. Section 28 as stated in the Constitution outlines rights that apply specifically to children. These are informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as well as by the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. Section 28(d) of the Constitution states that every child has the right: "to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation", section 28(e) "to be protected from exploitative labour practices", and section 28(f) "not to be required or permitted to perform work or services that – (i) are inappropriate for a person of that child's age; or (ii) place at risk the child's well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral or social development.

The Children's Act No.38 of 2005 along with the Amendment Act (No. 41 of 2007), provides for a full range of services, from prevention and early intervention to protection services, as regards different forms of violence against children. The introduction to the main Act states that one of the aims is to set out "principles relating to the care and protection of children". One of the major principles underlying the Act is that of the best

interests of the child. The Act imposes a legal obligation on a wide range of professionals and officials as well as staff and volunteer workers involved in delivery of child-targeted service to report cases of abuse or neglect of children to the police, to social workers or to an agency designated in terms of the Act. It also stipulates procedures for the removal of children in need of care and protection from harmful environments where this is necessary, and placement of such children in safe care. The Children's Act and Child Justice Act (No. 75 of 2008) are the laws providing for care and protection of children. These laws afford a South African child the right to be protected from any form of maltreatment, abuse and neglect. This includes provision for removal of a child to alternative care if they suffer neglect or abuse in their home environment and if such removal would be in their best interest (www.gov.za, n.d).

• South African Schools Act, no 84 of 1996.

Section 10 of the South African Schools Act states that no person may enforce corporal punishment at school on a learner, and further cautions that contravening this prohibition will result in an offence similar to assault. This is echoed by the National Education Policy Act (No. 27 of 1996) which in addition emphasises that: "No person shall administer corporal punishment or subject a student to psychological or physical abuse at any educational institution" (www.gov.za, n.d).

• The National Education Policy Act (no. 27 of 1996).

Section 4 of the National Education Policy Act is directed towards the "advancement and protection of the fundamental rights of every person guaranteed in terms of Chapter 2 of the Constitution". Subparagraph (b) specifically speaks of enabling the education system to "contribute to the full personal development of each student". (www.gov.za, n.d).

2.4.8 The cost of violence

Violence is tied to a country's economy. Another factor to consider is the direct costs of health care and intervention that school-related violence can impose on an economy (DSD, DWCPD & UNICEF, 2012).

Ward (2007) maintains that poverty and the apparent gap between the wealthy and underprivileged seem to play a role in degrees of violence. There is often, but not always, a relationship between the Gini coefficient – a measure of income inequality in a country – and violent crime. Ward explains that children who are reared in poor families and in neighbourhoods where the majority of families are poor, are more likely to engage in aggression. Ward further notes that neighbourhood poverty is often associated with community social disorganisation, and that poor families have less chance of moving to less impoverished neighbourhoods. Poverty at the family and neighbourhood level is, however, more likely in a country where poverty is widespread. Factors such as opportunities for employment play a major role in determining whether a family is likely to be poor or not.

Violence against children imposes costs over and above those for which the victim and their family are responsible. According to (DSD, DWCPD & UNICEF, 2012) Government incurs the cost of health care, criminal justice as well as of additional government agencies that are involved in investigating reports of abuse and placing children in alternative care. Costs are also incurred by the non-governmental organisations that provide care and support to the children and families. Society ultimately bears the costs of lowered productivity resulting from the consequence of trauma of workers who suffered violence in their childhood.

Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) conclude that the human costs of violence are beyond calculation yet clearly substantial in terms of loss, grief and pain, but also in infecting communities with a climate of fear, anger, suspicion and terror.

2.4.9 Measuring violence

Measuring crime accurately over sustained periods offers its own challenges. For crime to be recorded in official statistics, victims or witnesses must report the incident to the police and the police must have an official record of it. Many crimes fail to make it over these hurdles and into the official statistics (Schönteich & Louw, 2001).

Burton (2008) comments that one of the many challenges to addressing school violence adequately is the availability of reliable, objective data on the degree and nature of the

problem within the context of a specific country; South Africa is no exception. Despite government prioritising the issue of youth violence, the Department of Education (DoE) itself possesses minimal or no conclusive data on the levels of violence within schools. Burton further states that the documenting of incidents reported is chiefly reliant on the principals of the specific schools, and where they fail to do this, it creates a loophole in the process of feeding information back to district, provincial or national officials. This may in turn undermine efforts by the national DoE to accumulate accurate statistics. Burton goes on to explain that the scanty data that is available on violence within schools tends to be drawn from locality-specific, non-representative studies undertaken by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) offering school-based interventions within small areas. The Western Cape Department of Education has perhaps the most comprehensive data on some schools, which, while not representative, is related to the activities and efficiency of the departmental Safe Schools initiative.

Tolan (2012) further suggests that it is important to apply clear and specific definitions to help enhance our understanding of violence. Reaching this common understanding is hindered by the difficulty in accurately measuring most incidents of violence. What we know about violence hinges on the distinction and consistency of what we understand as violence. Its measurement depends on this consistency.

2.5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As is evident from the literature review, violence is multidimensional, dynamic and complex. The definition of what violence and aggression actually are, lacks consensus and cannot be universally defined given their various interpretational parameters. It is important to be clear that in order to understand the present one has to examine the past as well. The literature accords much importance to South Africa's history and apartheid as pervasive causes of the country's culture of violence.

Extensive and ongoing literary investigation have been applied to the causes of violence and aggression. This literature appears to be split between theories relating to nature or nurture. Each theory looks at the different approaches to understanding the nature of violence. The psychodynamic approach suggests that aggression can be understood in terms of unconscious drives and the forces within the person. At any time if drives are

thwarted or not satisfied, the ego copes by making use of defence mechanisms. The biological approach predominantly concentrates on physiology to understand violence, although biological reasons on their own prove inadequate. Filley et al. (2001) conclude that overall, the evidence for a biological basis for aggression seems more evocative than definitive. Marginally, it supports the notion that some forms of aggressive behaviour (but by no means all) have a biological foundation which is essentially independent of learning. While some researchers support the stronger view that all aggression is embedded in the structure of the brain, at present, some form of interaction between nature and nurture seems more probable. Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which serves as the foundation of Rogers's actualising tendency, takes into account the whole person and views aggression as the result of unfulfilled needs. Notably, as has been indicated Maslow and Rogers' theories do not take account of violence, but regard aggression as one of many possible reactions to needs that are unmet. While the explanations of aggression presented by Maslow and Rogers are in line with their overall theories of behaviour, neither theorist offers much in terms of direct empirical support for their views. This could in part be attributed to the humanists' approach, which stresses the individual nature of experience rather than traditional experimentation. The behavioural approach assumes that all behaviour, including aggression, is learnt through our experience with the environment. Additionally, Skinner's operant conditioning asserts that any response such as aggression can be conditioned by applying two major concepts, reinforcement or a punishment after the response. Pavlov's classical conditioning, on the other hand, focuses on involuntary, automatic behaviours before the response. Both these techniques are used to teach a new behaviour, but despite different applications, the goal remains the same. The cognitive approach views behaviourism as too restrictive because it does not recognise the mental processes accompanying learning. Here, Bandura's Bobo doll experiment highlights the importance of learning through observation. The general aggression model (GAM) provides a broader framework for understanding aggression. The processes of GAM detail how person and situation factors influence cognitions, feelings, and arousal, which in turn affect appraisal and decision processes, thereby influencing aggressive or nonaggressive behavioural outcomes. It is important to acknowledge that none of these theories can individually explain violence and should instead be viewed in conjunction.

Violence can be understood best when taking into account the environment and its impact on the individual. To help us understand how the environment exerts its influence, the literature study considered Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory and the interactions between the various microsystems. In order to investigate school violence and implement preventative strategies, it is important to have access to accurate data as well as a clear understanding of what constitutes violence. The literature research concludes with the impact of violence, not just on the direct recipient but also as regards its far-reaching consequences for society as a whole.

2.6 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the many references reviewed that there are numerous studies which examine violence and its impact. Recognising that violence is multidimensional, dynamic and very complex, radically affects how it is measured and what approaches are employed to confront the problem. A key realisation is that simple sectorial approaches are unlikely to be successful and should instead be viewed in conjunction with each other if one is to understand the nature and impact of violence.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the philosophical assumptions as well as the design approaches supporting the research. It provides information on the participants with regard to the conditions of eligibility for inclusion in the study as well the sampling technique. The researcher will explain the motivation behind the choice of research design for this study in addition to the research instrument employed for the collection of data. This chapter will also look at the methods used to analyse the data. Lastly, the researcher will discuss the ethical guidelines required for this research.

3.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to determine the nature of the learner's perception of violence at school this study was conducted using exploratory research as it intends to investigate rather than offer conclusive answers to the research questions. Exploratory research is flexible and can address all types of research questions (i.e. why, what, how), is suited to laying the foundation for subsequent studies and is far more cost-effective than conclusive research. The subjective experience of learners formed the principal data of the study; hence it needed a method that would deal with the topic in an exploratory fashion.

The research problem called for the identification of factors that influence violence at schools and for understanding the predictors of outcomes. This study employed the mixed method design which is the combination of qualitative and quantitative approach to collect and analyse data. Aliaga and Gunderson (as cited in Sagepubcom, 2016, p.1) describe quantitative research as "explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods (in particular, statistics)". The first component of explaining phenomena is a key element of all research. When we set out to do research, we are always looking to explain something.

The specificity of quantitative research lies in the collection of numerical data which is closely connected to analysis using mathematically based methods. The quantitative

approach employs the use of structured questionnaires. The quantitative method is one of the more practical ways of collecting and transforming the responses from the questionnaire into numerical data. This approach also enables the researcher to organise and summarise the data, thereby making sense of the responses. A quantitative analysis further offers a number of practical features in that it allows the researcher to identify similarities, differences and relationships between variables. Qualitative study designs are not as specific, precise and well defined as designs in quantitative research. Also, there is a degree of overlap between study designs and methods of data collection. Some of the commonly used designs in qualitative research are: case study design, oral history, focus group studies, participant observation, community discussion forums and reflective journal log. This research made use of a mixed method of research which have the attributes of both quantitative and qualitative research (Kumar, 2011).

3.2.1 Participants

Kumar states that accuracy of the findings relies largely on the way the sample is selected while the fundamental objective is to reduce the gap between the values obtained from the sample and those prevalent in the study population. The two main sampling methods used in survey research are probability and non-probability sampling. The main difference is that in probability sampling, all persons have a chance of being selected, and results are more likely to accurately reflect the entire population (Kumar, 2011). While it would always be preferable to have a probability-based sample, other factors such as availability, cost and time need to be considered (Gingery, 2016). The researcher adopted a cross-sectional study design for the research study. Kumar further describes a cross-sectional design as more relevant to research intended for exploring the frequency of a phenomenon, situation, problem, attitude or issue, by taking a cross-section of the population.

Participants consisted of both male and female respondents between grades eight and 12 from secondary schools on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape as follow:

Phase 1 - In each of school A, B and C, 2 learners, 1 life orientation teacher, 1 principal

Phase 2 - In school A, 65 learners
In school B, 117 learners
In school C, 86 learners

As indicated earlier, the Cape Flats, which is made up of 11 different areas, is the region to which many "black" and "coloured" households were forced to move as a result of the Group Areas Act.

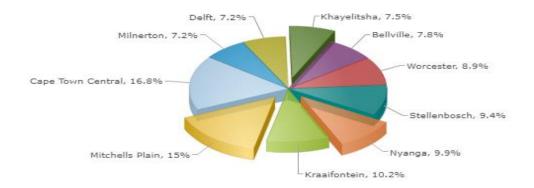
The researcher selected the unit of analysis grounded solely on her understanding of the characteristics representative of the population that was researched. Making use of the non-probability method of purposive sampling, a sample of 300 learners was drawn from the population of three Western Cape secondary schools on the Cape Flats in 2017. When selecting the sample, the researcher took into account the accessibility of the study sample as well as the learners' indication of willingness to participate in the study. According to Cherry (2018) sampling involves selecting a smaller sample of individuals that represent the characteristics of the larger population (the target population), and using the data collected for research information.

The population sample was made up of components that contain the most representative elements of the population. The variation between the different schools included in the research was representative of different socio-economic circumstances in the Western Cape.

The following conditions of eligibility for inclusion had to be met:

• The current research required that learners attend schools within high risk communities. To identify such communities, the researcher made use of the non-probability, purposive sampling method to identify the schools in terms of the rate of violence in the area as depicted in the latest available statistics. According to Kumar (2011), the main attribute of purposive sampling is the researcher's judgement as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study and approach: only those people who are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it. Non-probability, purposive sampling therefore allowed the researcher to select the study

population based on subjective judgement. As can be observed in Figure 2.11 below, Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Mitchells Plain, which form part of the Cape Flats, make a significant contribution to the overall crime rate in the Western Cape. Consequently, the study population was extracted from schools within the Cape Flats.



Source: STATSSA (2017, p. 16)

Figure 2.11: Total Crimes within the Cape Flats for 2017

- Although participants had to be in attendance at a secondary school at the time of the research, the age of the participant was not a criterion for inclusion
- Only English speaking learners were eligible for participation. This
 nevertheless proved to be a non-issue as all secondary schools in the Western
 Cape teach English as a first and second language, ensuring an acceptable
 understanding of the questionnaire
- Only learners who returned a completed informed consent form were invited to partake in the research.

3.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The main aim of the study, which is to examine the mindset behind violence specific to high school learners in the Western Cape, is closely linked to the objectives of the research. Research objectives divide the research aim into several parts and address each part separately. The main objectives of this research were to understand how the risk factors for violence contributed to the learners' overall perception of violence. To accomplish this, the researcher had to explore their relationships with parents and peers,

the availability of resources, substance abuse, access to weapons and exposure to violence.

3.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research in this study originated from the general problem of violence in South African schools, which has been previously researched and is therefore not a new phenomenon. It also appears that there is a need for research that concentrates on how aggression has shifted, in that it goes beyond mere bullying and has over the years advanced in severity and prevalence.

In a bid to provide learners with a safe learning environment, numerous strategies have been implemented over the years. Notwithstanding the vast amount of resources invested in the execution of these intervention strategies, schools are still unsafe places for young people. What are the causes of ongoing violence impacting the academic performance of learners?

3.5 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

3.5.1 Research questions

As stated in Chapter 1, the fundamental research question driving this study pertains to the mindset of learners with regard to violence, particularly within their schools. In order to gain perspective on this question, the researcher found that it became necessary to question the pervasiveness of violence, the extent to which learners are exposed to violence as well as the nature and contributory factors of school based violence within the Western Cape. To gain a deeper understanding of answers to these sub-questions, the researcher further required a grasp of the personal, home and community environments in which the learners find themselves. Once the researcher gained an understanding of learners' responses to these questions, she was able to gain a broader knowledge of the contributory factors and thereby apply this to the basic research question.

The following sub-questions also helped to guide the research:

- Do learners have supportive and trusting relationships with the significant adults in their lives?
- Does exposure to violence affect school attendance?
- To what extent are learners exposed to violence?
- How do neighbourhood factors contribute to the overall perception of violence?
- Is learners' lack of wellbeing a contributory factor?

3.5.2 Data collection instruments

Data collection represents the vital point of any research project. The empirical research was done in phases, combining qualitative and quantitative methods i.e., employing mixed methods:

Phase 1:

The qualitative method consisted of the initial interviews conducted with principals, teachers and learners.

Phase 2:

The quantitative method comprised the learner survey.

When planning a questionnaire, the researcher must firstly be aware of what information he/she expects to derive from the questionnaire. For example, the current researcher's intention was to conduct a learner survey to measure the learners' perception of violence. The researcher conducted interviews with the principals, life orientation teachers and learners to gain an understanding of how their perceptions of violence contributed to the learners' overall outlook on their future. A positive outlook on the future can protect learners from violence perpetration. The researcher conducted the interviews at the beginning of the research study as a pre-evaluation. Many in-depth conversations in the interviews could be compared to questions in the Learner Questionnaire to assess whether the principals, life orientation teachers and learners as a group have similar perceptions of violence.

Initial Principal Interviews

The interviews with principals, conducted by the researcher, consisted of an in-depth one on one conversation. These interviews were used in an exploratory context – in other words, the researcher also gained insight into what the principals saw as priority topics to be addressed by the study. The principals were interviewed and questioned on the level of support they provided to Life Orientation teachers on violence and crime prevention education, their perceptions of the influence of the violence on the general behaviour of the learners, the skills of their Life Orientation teachers, and the type of violent behaviour reports they received from their Life Orientation teachers. This evaluation and the responses evoked, provided the basis for the in-depth interviews with the individual teachers.

Initial Teacher Interviews

Interviews according to a schedule were used to address the identified themes, and to leave enough room for the participating teachers to explain any meaningful themes that arose from the discussions (Addendum E). The initial interview was conducted with all the participating staff members of each of the three schools to determine the general influence of violence on education programmes and on the entire school climate. The researcher brainstormed the topic with the teachers and wrote down every theme of interest without analysis or judgement.

Initial learner interviews

The researcher also brainstormed the consequences of violence with a group comprised of thirty learners. The interview with learners comprised 10 learners from the 3 target schools and took place in one sitting.

Learners' perceptions and opinions were captured and trends in thinking were identified in order to present a coherent picture of their insight and experience of violence and its consequence on their overall progression to productive adulthood. The questions below resonated with the learners because they recognised these as relating to real life events. The researcher further explored the reasons behind the learners' answers by posing questions such as:

- Do you think the crime and violence you experience is normal?
- What are the different types of abuse and violence you experience?
- Do you think crime only happens in poor areas?
- What can you do to change the social norms and the acceptance of violence and abuse?

Learner Survey

When a questionnaire is the preferred means of data collection, the researcher establishes in advance the expansive outlines of the research questions and design instruments to implement what needs to be known (Bryman, 2012). According to Debois (2016) a questionnaire is a tool for gathering data, and almost always includes asking a subject to respond to a set of oral or written questions. Debois further advises that apart from being cost efficient, questionnaires are a practical way of gathering data, yield speedy results and allow the researcher to gather information from a large audience. A structured questionnaire was selected for the following reasons:

- It is straightforward and therefore easy to apply
- It is versatile in the sense that it could be completed at home or school
- No names were required on the questionnaire, therefore ensuring the learners anonymity
- The majority of the questions in the questionnaire offered a multiple-choice option, which lessened the probability of misinterpretation.

There are several instruments available for measuring the mindset of school violence. For the purpose of this study, the researcher collected data over a period of three weeks in 2017 making use of interviews and the 2008 Boston Youth Survey (BYS) (Addendum A). Permission to use the questionnaire was sought from and granted by Harvard Youth Violence Prevention Centre. The BYS is a bi-annual survey administered to a representative sample of high school students in Boston Public Schools. The BYS is one

element of the Boston Data Project, a partnership between the City of Boston Office of Human Services, Boston Public Health Commission and the Harvard Youth Violence Prevention Centre, which monitors elements affecting youth well-being in Boston. The BYS examines a wide range of topics including education, mental well-being, use of public services and physical activity, emphasising particularly perpetration of violence, witnessing violence, and abuse. The BYS provides information on:

- Indicators of positive youth development and resiliency, including school performance, extracurricular activities and contact with supportive adults
- Risk factors for and experiences of violence, including exposure to violence and violence perpetration
- Perceptions of neighbourhood characteristics, including collective effectiveness
- Use of community resources
- Health behaviours (e.g., physical activity) and risk behaviours (e.g., alcohol and tobacco use).

As indicated, all schools on the Cape Flats make use of English as a first medium; hence the questionnaire was administered in English only. The questionnaire, adapted from the Boston Youth Survey (BYS) (Addendum A) consisted of 79 dichotomous and multiple choice close-ended questions divided into three sections, consisting of biographical and geographical information, and followed by section three, which contained the questions adapted from the 2008 Boston Youth Survey to apply in a South African context. The close-ended questions contained explicit options for the respondents to select from, which created data that was easily quantifiable and allowed the researcher to categorise the respondents into groups based on the options they selected. Questions pertaining to the learner's neighbourhood, school, safety, alcohol and substance use, weapons, violence and home environment were selected for inclusion in the questionnaire. Since violence does not occur in a vacuum, by including these diverse areas, the instrument would holistically encapsulate the learner's perception of violence. The adapted questionnaire was vetted and approved for use by Dr Corrie Uys, a statistician based at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology in Cape Town.

The survey instrument was anonymous; at no point was the learners asked to provide their names. The questionnaire helped the learners to reflect on their own violent behaviours, but the schools could also use the results to create awareness among parents and the community.

3.5.3 Pre-testing the questionnaire

To determine the effectiveness of a questionnaire, it is important that it undergoes a pretest prior to its actual implementation. Pre-testing assists in determining the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed questionnaire with regard to question format, wording and order, prior to use with the sample group. Pre-testing should preferably test for question variation, meaning, task difficulty, timing, interest and attention (Pretesting the Questionnaire, n.d).

The researcher selected two learners from each of the grades 8-12 from the sample and administered the questionnaire in one sitting. The responses were timed at an average of 25 minutes. During the debriefing session, it was confirmed that there was no ambiguity of words, misinterpretation of questions or sensitive questions contained in the questionnaire, while each learner appeared to have a clear understanding of the intention of each question.

3.5.4 Data collection procedure

The researcher administered the Learner Questionnaire after the pre-evaluation interviews. A copy of the questionnaire (Addendum A), a letter from the Western Cape Education Department (Addendum B) granting permission to conduct the research as well as a copy of the initial proposal were handed to the principals for perusal. Upon approval by the school principals, the appropriate meetings were arranged with the learners. The researcher provided the learners with an oral explanation of the importance and objectives of the research. Learners were handed a covering letter (Addendum C) detailing the reason for the research and an informed consent form (Addendum D). Only learners who returned the consent forms signed by their legal guardian were allowed to partake in the completion of the questionnaire. Of the 300 participants selected for the sample, 268 learners obtained signatures to the consent forms – a response rate of 89%. Of the 32

participants who were excluded from the research, 21 parents denied consent, nine participants did not complete 80% of the questionnaire and two participants were omitted due to questionable answering patterns (answered without reading the questions) thus excluding a total of 32 (11%) of the participants. Prior to commencement participants were reminded of the following:

- No names were to be written on the questionnaire
- As far as possible all questions had to be responded to as honestly and accurately as possible
- All questions had to be directed to the researcher
- All information provided would be treated with confidentiality and used only for its intended purpose
- Participation was voluntary, and their withdrawal carried no adverse repercussions for them.

The researcher personally administered the questionnaires and remained present for the duration in order to respond to questions or concerns from the participants. The sessions lasted between 30 and 35 minutes.

3.5.5 Data analysis

Lecompte (2000) emphasises that the raw data collected during the data collection process must be managed in order for the data to be more usable. Data analysis is the process of reducing large amounts of collected data to make sense of them. In order for data to be useful in improving programmes, solving problems, or explaining what happened, data must be transformed into results: this constitutes analysis.

The overarching aim of the research was to classify and explain what was observed in the analysis. The researcher posed a clearly defined research question to which objective answers were sought. The quantitative data was analysed within a framework determined by the area of particular interest using the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS®) programme version 20 for Windows®. In order to generate frequencies of responses as well as relationships between variables the data were further analysed using uni-variate and bi-variate cross-tabulation analysis. Quantitative data was also analysed

using figures, percentages and presented as tables and graphs. The value of 0 was assigned to "no" responses, while the value 1 was assigned to "yes" responses.

3.5.6 Reporting findings

The findings are reported in a logical sequence following the orientations of the analysis. The results of all participants are provided. "All participants" refers to all the grade 8-12 learners, Life Orientation teachers and principals from three participating schools on the Cape Flats. The researcher is of the opinion that the small number of participants per school is not a defensible sample for evaluation, therefore the results are not delineated per school.

The results will not seem like an answer to the original research question until the entire group's results are presented on paper, from the original problem statement to the interpretation of the results. In preparing the findings report, the researcher sought to identify evidence that repeats or that raises fundamental questions that beg further inquiry. For example, the results of all participants who participated may identify issues that should be explored further through surveys of a larger, more representative sample. In other words, although the results are not delineated per school, they are open to interpretation. Reporting the findings in this manner meets what Lincoln and Guba's (2002, p. 205) term "applicability criteria" (the reader should be able to draw inferences that may apply to his or her own context).

The interviews, verbalisations and observation data were analysed to re-examine the data out of the context of the participating schools to identify themes directly from the data that may have been otherwise overlooked. The interview transcripts were analysed using general inductive qualitative analysis procedures, following the methodological approach of Creswell (2014). This approach provided a representation of participant experiences from the data to broaden the findings beyond the contexts, identifying concepts or variables of interest that may not be evident by examining the data within individual contexts or from the literature review (Creswell, 2014). The analysis progressed through stages, beginning with the creation of analysis instruments from the first round of interviews. This included coding the data by dividing the text into small units (sentences or paragraphs) and assigning one or more codes to each unit. The codes were based on

concepts and main ideas from participant interviews, as recommended by Creswell (2014).

The data were analysed within a framework determined by the areas of particular interest, namely:

- learners' experience of violence and what they deem as normal behaviour
- the knowledge Life Orientation teachers have of any programmes and/or policies to address the problem of school violence
- the obstacles to implementation of strategies for preventing school violence
- the degree to which violence impacts on the school as a whole
- knowledge of the prevalence of factors that constituted barriers in the successful implementation of violence prevention in secondary schools.

The value of 1 was assigned to items that confirmed or positively described or supported the codes categorised under specific themes to answer the research questions, while the value of 0 was assigned to all items that refuted or contrasted the items categorised under a specific theme.

The interview data were detailed in spreadsheets, with the left margin used for sources and the right margin used for concepts or ideas, followed by themes (renamed variables of interest for consistency), following the process outlined by the methodological approach of Creswell (2003).

The quantitative data (learner questionnaire) was reduced to numbers and, as previously mentioned, computed making use of SPSS.

3.6 RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND GENERALISABILITY

Reliability refers to the repeatability of findings and is concerned with whether a study would yield the same results if it were to be repeated under similar conditions. To what level will the instrument yield the same results under the same conditions every time it is used? Reliability adds to the trustworthiness of the results because it is a testament to the methodology if the results are reproducible. The reliability is critical for being able to

reproduce the results; however, validity must be confirmed first to ensure that the measurements are accurate. To test reliability, Miz (2008) states that the research method chosen should generate the necessary data. In order to strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings, stakeholder checks were carried out on the initial questionnaire. As intimated, the researcher pre-tested the questionnaire making use of ten participants from the sample. Once completed, the questionnaire was given to the principals of the schools for further comment. Bias was minimised because the researcher administered the questionnaires by herself, thereby eliminating conflicting responses by the learners to questions. The conditions under which the data were collected were conducive to ensuring privacy and confidentiality, while the surroundings were amicable, and the effects of external distractions minimised. Instructions on how to complete the questionnaire were standardised and easy to understand and the degree of difficulty was moderated. Consistent scoring measures where 0=no and 1=yes were steadily maintained throughout the scoring procedure. According to Kumar (2005) it is impossible to devise a research tool which is 100% accurate. Save for any variation in the number of respondents, it is questionable whether a similar study would produce markedly different findings.

Validity on the other hand refers to the credibility of the research. Kumar (2005, p.153)) defines validity as "the degree to which the researcher has measured what he has set out to measure". In other words, how accurate are the results? To disregard validity is to put the trustworthiness of the research in question and to call into question others' confidence in its results (Miz, 2008). The simplest type of validity one could apply is face and content validity. The former is the least scientific method of validity as it is not quantified using statistical methods. It is concerned with whether it seems as if one is measuring what one claims to be measuring. Kumar (2005) explains that face validity is established when an individual who is not an expert on the research subject, while reviewing the questionnaire concludes that it is a valid measure of the concept which is being measured. Here the researcher requested that five random people examine how valid the questionnaire appeared to be on the surface and make subjective judgments based on this. In research, it is never sufficient to rely on face judgments alone and more quantifiable methods of validity are necessary in order to draw acceptable conclusions. Kumar further states that each question or item on the scale must have a logical link with the objective of the research. Content validity is also considered a subjective form of measurement because

it still relies on people's perceptions, for measuring constructs that would otherwise be difficult to measure. Where content validity distinguishes itself from face validity is through its use of authorities in the field or individuals belonging to a target population. Prior to administration, the adapted questionnaire was pre-tested on a group of 10 learners from the target population as well as checked for content validity and content bias by Dr Corrie Uys. It was found that the content of the questionnaire would successfully measure the learners' mindset to violence.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO THE PARTICIPANTS

There are ethical guidelines which have to be adhered to when undertaking any research. These guidelines serve to protect information sought from the respondents as well as inform them about the research.

As mentioned, once the researcher obtained consent to conduct the research at the schools from the Western Cape Education Department (Addendum B), meetings were set up with the principals of the schools earmarked to participate in the research. Verbal approval was granted by the principals; thereafter an appropriate date was arranged for the researcher to have access to the learners. All the learners who were selected to participate in the study were handed a covering letter (Addendum C) detailing the reasons for the study as well as informed consent forms (Addendum D) for signature by a parent or legal guardian. Learners were reminded that participation was voluntary and that the decision not to participate would not have negative repercussions. Learners who chose not to participate or did not provide the signed consent forms were excluded from the study. Care was taken to protect the privacy of the participants in that no learner could be identified in reporting the results. The researcher made every attempt to practice honesty and accuracy during the process of reporting the results. The research was ethical in intent, with its findings being designed to be of benefit to the Western Cape Education Department, its research teams and ultimately the South African youth.

Additionally, Gilston (2014) writes that debriefing as an ethical requirement involves a structured or semi structured dialog between the researcher and the respondents. Here the various topics are discussed and respondents are given an opportunity to ask questions. Reasonable care was taken to minimise any harm caused to any respondents. As a means

to identify and address possible issues, the researcher therefore offered debriefing to any of the learners who felt harmed physically or emotionally in any way as a result of the research.

3.8 LIMITATIONS

One major drawback of written questionnaires is the likelihood of low responses. Such rates are the bane of statistical analysis, because they can dramatically lower confidence in the results. Response rates differ extensively from one questionnaire to another however, a well-designed questionnaire could reliably yield high response rates (Disadvantages of Written Questionnaires, 2016). The researcher found that 11% of the participants were excluded when reporting on the results. This was due to absent consent forms, acquiescence (consistent agreement or disagreement) and incomplete questionnaires. Although this is not a significant non-response rate it is important to mention the reasons because if the response rate is very low, the findings may not be representative of the population (Kumar, 2015).

Although a structured questionnaire was a viable data collection option, it is not without its disadvantages. Debois (2016) reminds us that in an attempt to protect their privacy or give socially desirable answers, not all respondents may be entirely honest with their responses. There is also no way of knowing whether learners had actually applied their minds conscientiously to the questions. A further limitation is a learner's subjective interpretation and understanding of the questions, which could lead to skewed results. Additionally, questionnaires are structured instruments and allow little flexibility with regard to the format of responses. In essence, the respondents are not able to expand on their responses. By allowing space for comments, the researcher could to some degree address this drawback. Comments are important as they usually provide insight into responses which would have otherwise been lost (Disadvantages of Written Questionnaires, 2016). Furthermore, a large proportion of all communication relies on gestures and other visual cues which are absent from written questionnaires. The lack of personal interaction will have varying outcomes, subject to the nature of the information being requested. A questionnaire requesting factual information will in all probability not be affected by the lack of personal interaction, while a questionnaire exploring sensitive topics or attitudes may be adversely affected (Disadvantages of Written Questionnaires, 2016). Finally, questionnaires are not suitable for everyone. A written survey administered to a poorly educated group might not be workable because of problems associated with reading skills. (Disadvantages of Written Questionnaires, 2016).

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter offered a detailed discussion of the research methods and the application thereof in this research study. In order to examine the mindset of learners toward violence, it was important for the researcher to be absolutely sure as to which approach or method would provide the information required. Within the exploratory context of the study, it was clearly demonstrated that a mixed method research approach was more suitable if the researcher was to gain insight into the relevant phenomena. Exploratory research, being more flexible, allowed the researcher to address the why, what and how of the research questions. In order to investigate the relationships between variables which contributed to the learners' perception of violence, the researcher made use of interviews and structured questionnaires to collect data. For this purpose, a mixed method Interviews with learners, Life Orientation teachers and approach was employed. principals as well as a questionnaire containing 73 questions was used by the researcher to collect data from 268 high school learners ranging between the ages of 13 and 21 years. Permission to carry out the research was granted by the Western Cape Education department as well as the principals of each school. Ethical conduct was strictly adhered to during the data collection process and learners were assured that their confidentiality would be protected throughout. This chapter further described the population sample, data collection instrument as well as strategies used to ensure the ethical standards, reliability and validity of the study.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to construct the empirical procedure followed in this research, a large body of literature was studied. The literature consulted covered the factors which contribute to violence among youth. Here the psychosocial risks associated with increased exposure to violence were also closely examined to justify the research topic (see Chapter 2). The said literature provided background information for the study and served as a referential framework for the compilation and evaluation of the questionnaire (Addendum A).

This chapter begins with the results of the participatory discussions where the stakeholders (the researcher, principals, teachers and learners) made explicit their assumptions about violence. This chapter further examines the assertions emerging from the interview discussions as the first phase of the qualitative investigation and offers a summary of the findings of this investigation. The results are based on the experiences and comments of the participating principals, teachers and learners from the three schools that took part.

Following the completion of phase 1 (interview discussions), the second phase of the quantitative investigation on issues related to violence in schools was conducted. The section on phase 2 begins by examining the assertions emerging from the learner questionnaire by exploring their relevance to the school context and variables of interest. The data were generated as a statistical analysis of a quantitative multivariate nature. In this section, the results are presented in the form of tables, and charts, to illustrate the relationship between variables, followed by a discussion of the results. Questions for demographic purposes (Questions 1 and 2) were included to help the researcher better understand the families being served by the research. The results emerging from these questions were used to interpret differences between population segments by specific characteristics such as age, grade and gender.

4.1.1 Views of the principals

The following emerged in the interviews with the principals:

Each principal alluded to the fact that many of the learners had trouble expressing themselves in a non-violent manner. They further voiced their concern that changing learners' attitudes should be the responsibility of all parties involved. One principal remarked:

We can't do this job alone. It's pointless to try and teach our learners that violence doesn't fix the problem yet after school they go home to someone who is abusing them, everyone needs to play a role.

The principals were equally concerned about how the violence in the community contributed to learners' value systems and behaviours. They expressed further concern about neighbourhood violence spilling over into their schools, which adversely affected the normality of the school day. One principal commented:

Many days we have gangs using the school grounds as a battle field and sometimes it's because one learner is somehow involved with gangs. We have fences all around the school, but they manage to get in. This traumatises the learners and no teaching gets done after that.

The principals felt that some learners faced far more challenges than they should at their age and would inevitably become "part of the problem". Some of their remarks were:

Many of the learners don't know a life without violence.

Learners have no respect for teachers. Learner's rights have been put in place and teachers have little room to discipline them.

These days, any disagreement leaners have with teachers is recorded on their phones and the video goes viral. This creates a problem because teachers must now walk on eggshells around learners.

These are teenagers so there will be altercations, but lately arguments have become more about long term humiliation and death threats.

They complained that they struggled to involve parents in setting rules and guidelines for their children's violent behaviour, saying the parents were not interested in becoming involved and often also not interested in exerting themselves on behalf of their children:

Parents are so busy with their own lives that they can't be bothered much with disciplining their children.

I have a learner who comes to school at 10am every day. When I sent him home for coming late, the parent threatened me with violence. This is the example they set for their children.

Most parents in these areas have a low level of education so the cycle will continue until that changes.

However, this problem differed from school to school. The principal of School C was fairly satisfied with parent involvement.

4.1.2 Views of the Life Orientation teachers

The three teachers who were interviewed mentioned that they had little rigorous formal training in the presentation of violent prevention programmes. They also felt that the Department of Education was not genuinely concerned about their lack of the necessary knowledge and skills. They expressed feeling helpless, as is evident from the following remarks:

Many days when you read the newspaper you see that a pupil got stabbed or a teacher got killed and everyone condemns the act, but no one tells us how to deal with the situation.

When we do have violence erupting at school, we handle it as best we can. There's no guidelines in place. They erect fences to keep the elements out, but what must we do with the elements inside those fences?

We attend all kinds of training such as substance abuse, occupational health and safety and conflict management but it has little value when we are faced with a violent situation.

The general consensus was that most teachers in public schools were ill-equipped to cope with the added responsibilities placed on them. Although the teachers from schools B and C reported a slight yet notable degree of success in the presentation of the Safe Schools Project, they expressed their concern about the psychological effects violence had on learners.

The teacher from school A indicated her frustration at not having successfully achieved the outcomes of the life orientation lessons. She remarked:

Some of my learners are exposed to violence that it seems impossible to teach them responsible behaviour in this regard.

This points to the importance of a degree of correspondence between teaching style and programme assumptions. The researcher is of the opinion that the success of violence prevention programmes in schools often relates to the teaching style and knowledge of the teacher.

The researcher stresses the need for further research in this field, since the education system needs to further develop teachers' understanding of the need to embed a more practical and user-friendly violence prevention programme in the life orientation curriculum. The presentation of the violent prevention programme requires expert skills from teachers. They need to receive intensive training in a number of problem areas such as gangsterism.

4.1.3 Findings from the learner discussion

The learner discussion confirm that school violence is prevalent in schools. Most learners had a clear understanding of the forms of school violence prevalent in their schools.

According to learners, schools in urban areas, particularly townships, are regularly prey to gangsterism. The participants further confirmed that gangs still operated in their schools and that drug abuse was prevalent in the schools. A respondent from School C remarked that, "Learners are selling drugs to other learners". This implied that the bad element is present within the school as well as outside of the school environment.

A learner from School A said, "I believe that violence is learnt from our parents, the community and social media". A learner from School B responded, "I come to school hungry every day because many times we don't have food in the house. At high school we don't get a meal like we did at primary school. Sometimes other children threaten to hurt you if you don't give them money so that they can buy something to eat"

In School A, the learners reported that vandalism is a major problem in their school. One learner noted, "We came to school on Monday and there was a big hole in the ceiling. Someone broke in over the weekend and stole the geyser and all the taps, so we couldn't use the bathrooms".

Female learners from Schools B and C reported being sexually harassed in the bathrooms as well as classrooms when no teacher was present. Other forms of violence reported by the learners from all the schools included bullying, theft, homophobia, smoking, gossiping, and swearing or use of vulgar language which often resulted in physical altercations among learners. More serious problems such as stabbings and shootings are referred to the police. For example, a learner from School B reported that:

A learner in grade 9 stabbed another learner in grade 10 with a pencil during interval because of a girl. The principal reported it to the police and we never saw the grade 9 boy again.

A learner from School C claimed to have witnessed "other learners smoking dagga at school."

A respondent from School B said that, "When other learners talk behind your back (gossip), then fights break out". This implies that sometimes fights between learners, especially girls, are caused by gossip.

All learners agreed that that school violence causes disruptions which affect learning because they are unable to concentrate, are sent home or the situation demands that the problem be attended to urgently. One learner said, "Seeing your friends getting stabbed or gangs running through the school, I can't concentrate on my work [schoolwork] after

that and then it takes me days to come right [recover], so I fall behind with my work and it's difficult to catch up"

The learners interviewed reported that violence affects them negatively. The discussions also found that school violence had the following effects on learners: poor academic performance; chaos and lost time; and depression.

4.1.4 Learner Survey

This section centres on the findings of the quantitative study (Phase 2). The section examines the results for each of the research questions, applying the evidence that emerged from the results to one's understanding of the incidence of violence among learners. To reiterate: the intended purpose of this study was to broaden the understanding of learners' mindsets behind violence specific to the Western Cape through the analysis of data obtained by self-administered questionnaires.

The objectives of the questionnaire were to examine:

- The relationship with adults in the home
- The relationship with peers
- School and academic achievement
- Safety, violence and weapons in terms of causing physical harm, gang affiliation and exposure to violence and abuse
- The community and neighbourhood
- Learners' health and wellbeing.

The results of this survey are based on the response to the questions posed in the questionnaire.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

This section analyses the various demographic characteristics of the respondents. Supporting tables are provided, together with comparative information between the age and grade of learners.

Demographic questions 1 and 2 of the questionnaire (Addendum A) were included to assist in contextualising the results and to assist the researcher in better understanding the families being served by the research. The results emerging from these questions were used to interpret differences between population segments in terms of specific characteristics such as age, grade and gender.

4.2.1 The Sample

Table 4.3: The sample

N	Valid	268
	Missing	32
Mean		16.31
Std. Deviation		1.864
Minimum		13
Maximum		21
Range		8

As indicated in Table 4.3 above, the sample initially consisted of 300 learners. The final total was reduced to 268 participants whose responses contributed to the research. The average age of participants was 16.31 years, a range of 13-21 years.

Table 4.4: Gender of participants

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	143	53.3
Female	125	46.7
Total	268	100.0

The information in Table 4.4 indicates that 143 (47.6%) of the participants were male and 125 (41.7%) female.

Table 4.5: Grade of Participants

Grade	N	Percent
8	80	29.9%
9	58	21.6%
10	35	13.1%
11	49	18.3%
12	46	17.2%
Total	268	100.0%

As can be observed in Table 4.5, respondents ranged between grades 8 and 12. In ascending order, the majority (29.9%) of the sample were in grade 8 followed by 21.6% in grade 9, 18.3% in grade 11, 17.2% in grade 12 while the fewest participants (13.1%) were in grade 10.

Table 4.6: Grade and age cross tabulation

		Grade					Total
		8	9	10	11	12	
	13	11	0	0	0	0	11
	14	38	8	0	0	0	46
	15	19	19	2	0	0	40
	16	12	13	15	7	0	47
Age	17	0	8	8	24	9	49
	18	0	7	5	10	20	42
	19	0	0	4	5	10	19
	20	0	2	0	3	7	12
	21	0	1	1	0	0	2
Total		80	58	35	49	46	268

The cross tabulatiojn between age and grade in Table 4.6 above suggests that learners range between the ages of 13 and 21 across all grades. In an article entitled "SA learners too old for school", Meny-Gilbert (2017) states the Department of Basic Education's agegrade norms indicate that a child should be age7 years in grade 1, 8 years in grade 2 and so on, resulting in 18-year-old grade 12 learners. However, in the above table the "average" Grade 9 educator is teaching children from age 14 to 21. This is an immense task even for experienced educators, who need to accommodate children demonstrating significant differences in academic, emotional and social needs.

4.2.2 Geographical information

Table 4.7: Cross tabulation between travelling to school and feeling safe

Travelling to school		Do you feel safe to and from school			Total	
		always	rarely	sometimes	never	
Do you live in the area where	Yes	30	13	27	17	82
you attend school?	No	45	30	84	25	183
Missing		0	1	1	1	3
Total		75	44	112	43	268

Respondents' location in relation to where they attend school and whether they live in the area where they attend school was included to assess the safety factor of travelling to and from school. Eighty-two (82) respondents attended school in the same area where they lived while 183 travelled outside of the area. Table 4.7 above shows a cross tabulation of responses between learners who attended school in the same area where they lived and those who felt safe travelling to and from school. Of the 183 respondents travelling outside of the area, 45 always felt safe as opposed to 30 who lived in the area where they attended school. While 139 respondents travelling outside the area felt some degree of danger, less than half (57) who went to school in the area felt unsafe.

4.3 ANALYSES OF QUESTIONS IN LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

4.3.1 Relationships with adults

It is from their parents and caregivers, followed by siblings and peers, that children are most likely to learn acceptable behaviour, and it is on the behaviours of these adults that children's own behaviours are most likely to be modelled. Various research studies indicate that while a variety of multifaceted predictors influence a young person's likelihood of participating in crime, almost all of these factors (poverty, school truancy, neglect, large family size and even individual characteristics such as impulsiveness and low empathy) can be reconciled by the parenting variables (Burton, 2008). The data below suggests that a significant number of children are victims of violence and abuse perpetrated by an adult in their household. Eleven items on the questionnaire measured the relationship participants had with significant adults in their homes. This section

focuses on the relationship dynamic in terms of supportive and trusting relationships with adults, negative peer relationships, learner to learner and adult to learner based violence.

Participants were asked a subset of questions relating to their relationship with significant adults in their homes.

Table 4.8: Feeling understood by an adult in the home

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Always	83	31.0%
Often	47	17.5%
Sometimes	82	30.6%
Rarely	30	11.2%
Never	26	9.7%
Total	268	100.0%

Responses to a question relating to whether participants felt that their viewpoint was being understood are reported in Table 4.8 above. Of the responses, 83 (31%) felt an adult always understood their viewpoint while an almost identical 82 (30.6) felt that this happened only sometimes. The lowest number of 30 (9.7%) felt that their viewpoint was never understood by an adult in their homes.

Table 4.9: Feeling loved by an adult in the home

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Always	133	49.6%
Often	53	19.8%
Rarely	39	14.6%
Sometimes	23	8.6%
Never	18	6.7%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	266	100.0%

A further question was posed relating to how often participants are told that they are loved and wants the best for them by an adult in the home. As can be seen in Table 4.9 above, 133 (50%) of 266 who responded to the question were always being told that they are loved, while 53 (19.8%) were often validated in that way. An amount of 39 (14.6%) were rarely told by a significant adult in the home that they are loved, while 23 (8.6%) were sometimes told and 18 (6.7%) were never told.

Table 4.10: Talking about problems to an adult in the home

Frequency	Responses	Responses	
	N	Percentage	
Always	48	18.0%	
Often	52	19.4%	
Rarely	68	25.2%	
Sometimes	32	12.0%	
Never	67	25.0%	
Missing	1	0.4%	
Total	268	100.0%	

As can be seen in Table 4.10 over half the participants, respectively 68 (25.5%), rarely, and 67 (25.1%) never, speak to an adult in the home about their problems. The other 135 (49.4%), made up of 48 (18%) always, 52 (19.5%) often and 32 (12%) only sometimes, reported speaking to an adult in the home.

Table 4.11: Approaching an adult at school for help

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percentage	
Strongly disagree	46	17.2%	
Disagree	80	29.9%	
Agree	95	35.4%	
Strongly agree	44	16.4%	
Missing	3	1.1%	
Total	268	100.0%	

The question of whether a learner would approach an adult at school if they had a problem or were upset yielded a 95 (35.4%) in agreement and 44 (16.4%) in strong agreement in Table 4.11. However, 46 (17.2%) strongly disagreed and 80 (29.9%) disagreed about there being an adult at school who would help them if they had a problem or were upset.

Table 4.12: Encouraging adults

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Strongly disagree	23	8.5%
Disagree	39	14.6%
Agree	127	47.4%
Strongly agree	75	28.0%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	268	100.0%

This question was intended to identify whether participants knew adults who often encouraged them. Table 4.12 shows that 127 (47.4%) participants agreed and 75 (28%) strongly agreed with knowing such adults. However, 23 (8.5%) strongly disagreed and 39 (14.6%) disagreed with the statement "I know adults who encourage me often" while 4 (1.5%) participants did not respond.

4.3.2 Violence inflicted by an adult in the household

In the tables that follow the participants were asked to respond to questions about whether an adult in their household had:

- Pushed, grabbed or shoved them
- Kicked, bit or punched them
- Hit them with an object that could hurt their bodies
- Choked or burned them
- Physically attacked them in some way.

Table 4.13: Pushed, grabbed or shoved

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Once	44	16.4%
A few times	65	24.2%
Many times	24	9.0%
Never	128	47.8%
Missing	7	2.6%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.13 above reports that 128 (47.8%) of participants did not experience being pushed, shoved or grabbed by an adult in the household. 44 (16.4%) said this had happened to them once, 65 (24.2%) responded "a few times" while 24 (9%) indicated that this had happened to them many times.

Table 4.14: Kicked, bitten or punched

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Once	29	10.45
A few times	63	24.0%
Many times	25	9.3%
Never	146	54.4%
Missing	5	1.9%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.14 shows that over half (54.4%) of the respondents had never been kicked, bitten or punched by an adult in their household while 63 (24%) indicated that this happened to them a few times, 25 (9.3%) many times and 29 (10.4%) only once.

Tables 4.15-4.17 below lists participants' responses with regard to their experience of physical abuse.

Table 4.15: Hit with an object that could inflict bodily harm.

Frequency	Responses		
	N Percentage		
Once	36	13.4%	
A few times	42	15.7%	
Many times	29	10.8%	
Never	155	57.9%	
Missing	6	2.2%	
Total	268	100.0%	

As can be observed from Table 4.15 above, 26 (13.4%) of respondents experienced being hit with an object that could inflict bodily harm once, 42 (15.7%) a few times, 29 (10.8%) many times whereas 155 (57.9%) never experienced this at all. Six (2.2%) participants' responses were missing

Table 4.16: Choked or burnt

Frequency	Responses		
	N Percentage		
Once	14	5.2%	
A few times	4	1.5%	
Many times	21	7.9%	
Never	227	85.05	
Missing	2	0.74%	
Total	268	100.0%	

Participants were asked whether they had ever been choked or burned by an adult in their homes. In Table 4.16 above, 14 (5.2%) responded this had never happened to them, 4 (1.5%) indicated that this had happened to them a few times, 21 (7.9%) said that they were choked or burnt many times while 227 (85%) replied that this had never happened to them.

Table 4.17: Physically attacked in any other way

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Once	24	9.0%
A few times	16	6.0%
Many times	22	8.2%
Never	204	76.1%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.17 indicates that 24 (9%) were once physically attacked by an adult in the home in any other way besides being pushed, grabbed or shoved; kicked, bitten or punched; hit with an object which could inflict bodily harm or being burned or choked. While 16 (6%) revealed that they were attacked a few times, 22 (8.2%) indicated that this happened to them many times. A much larger number, being 204 (76.1%), never experienced being physically attacked in any other way.

Table 4.18: Neglected by an adult in the home

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Once	12	4.5%
A few times	18	6.7%
Many times	24	9.0%
Never	212	79.1%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

In Table 4.18 above, the question of whether the participant was neglected (where neglect was described as not having been given enough food, not given medical care when required or having their safety compromised in any way) by an adult in the home yielded the following results: 12 (4.5%) indicated that this happened to them once, 18 (6.7%) a few times, 24 (9%) reported many times whereas 212 (79.1%) indicated that this had never happened to them.

4.3.3 Relationship with peers

Peer associations constitute one of the most important social relationships amongst youth, often impacting behaviour and development. The following tables provide an indication of the participants' peer relationships.

Table 4.19: Do most friends stay out of trouble

Frequency	Responses		
	N Percentage		
Yes	185	69.1%	
No	79	29.4%	
Missing	4	1.5%	
Total	268	100.0%	

As shown in Table 4.19 above, 185 (69.1%) respondents reported that most of their friends stay out of trouble while 79 (29.4%) indicated that most of their friends do not do so.

Table 4.20: Friends who follow the rules set out by parents

Frequency	Responses		
	N Percentage		
Yes	170	63.4%	
No	94	35.1%	
Missing	4	1.5%	
Total	268	100.0%	

A minority of the participants (94 (35.1%) indicated that most of their friends do not follow the rules set out for them by their parents, while the majority (170 (63.4%)) felt that most of their friends followed the rules their parents had set out for them as shown in Table 4.20 above, while Table 4.12below lists participants' friends who did well at school.

Table 4.21: Friends who do well at school

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percentage	
Yes	203	75.7%	
No	64	23.9%	
Missing	1	0.4%	
Total	267	100.0%	

In response to the question about their friends who did well at school, 203 (75.7%) felt that most of their friends did well at school while 64 (23.9%) indicated that most of their friends did not do well at school as is reflected in Table 4.21 above.

4.3.4 Attention to academics

Violence has been linked to poor academic outcomes in youth. Rohm and Mok (2014) state that victims of crimes are known to avoid after-school activities and certain locations at school or skip class entirely. All these are behaviours which impede a student's academic achievement.

Table 4.22: Amount of time spent on schoolwork after school

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
More than 3 hours	47	17.5%
Between 1 and 3 hours	87	32.5%
Between half and 1 hour	63	23.5%
Less than half hour	28	10.4%
None	43	16.0%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.22 above reflects the responses of participants who were asked about the amount of time they spent on schoolwork after school, to which the majority responded that they spend between under 30 minutes and 3 hours or more, while 47 (17.5%) indicated more than three hours, 87 (32.5%) between 1 and 3 hours, 63 (23.5%) between half and 1 hour,

28 (10.4%) less than half an hour and 43 (16%) spent no time on schoolwork after school. Table 4.21 below addresses the responses of participants concerning absenteeism.

Table 4.23: Amount of days out of school

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
0	84	31.3%
1	33	12.3%
2	50	18.7%
3	20	7.5%
4	20	7.5%
5	35	13.0%
6	9	3.4%
7	2	0.7%
8	1	0.4%
9	1	0.4%
10 or more	8	3.0%
Missing	5	1.9%
Total	268	100.0%

Participants were asked to respond to a question about the number of days they were absent from school for reasons other than ill health. The majority (84 (31.3%) were either not absent or were absent for health reasons. The balance (68.7%) was made up of participants who stayed out of school ranging between 1 and more than 10 days. Table 4.24 below records the reasons participants did not attend school

Table 4.24: Reasons for staying out of school

Reasons for being absent	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Never absent/only absent when I was sick	92	19.0%
Other things I wanted to do	59	12.2%
Had homework I didn't finish	50	10.4%
Didn't care about school	25	5.2%
Overslept/too tired	51	10.6%
Having trouble with other students	22	4.6%
Having trouble with teachers	14	2.9%
Having trouble at home	37	7.7%
Felt unsafe getting to school	28	5.8%
Felt unsafe at school	17	3.5%
Personal/family responsibilities	57	11.8%
Other	31	6.4%
Total responses	483	100.0%

Participants were required to choose more than one response when asked for the reason why they did not attend school. In keeping with participants' perceptions of violence and whether their safety was compromised, Table 4.24 above indicates that 28 (5.8%) felt unsafe getting to school whereas 17 (3.5%) felt unsafe at school. An additional cause for concern is that, 22 (4.6%) and 14 (2.9%) did not attend school because they were having trouble with other students and teachers respectively.

4.3.5 Safety, violence and weapons

The data below focused on three types of violent experiences: threats of violence; physical assaults and exposure to violence. All of these were incidents that had specifically occurred within the home, travelling to and from school as well as at school or in the neighbourhood.

Of the three types of experiences of violence, while travelling to and from school, being threatened or attacked with a weapon appears to be the most common occurrence in comparison to having been punched with a fist, kicked, choked or beaten up and having seen someone be shot or shot at.

The following 22 questions (with responses recorded in Tables 4.25 to 4.36) dealt with the topic of participants' safety, violence and weapons.

4.3.6 Inflicted physical harm on another person in the preceding month

Table 4.25: Hit back when someone hit me first

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
0	110	41.0%
1-3	68	25.4%
4-6	30	11.2%
7-10	20	7.5%
11-13	17	6.3%
14-16	5	1.9%
17-19	9	3.4%
20 or more	3	1.1%
Missing	6	2.2%
Total	262	100.0%

As is evident from Table 4.25, the majority of the participants had retaliated by hitting someone who hit them first. Under half the respondents, 110 (41%), had not hit anyone while 68 (25.4%) did so 1-3 times, 30 (11.2%) indicated 4-6 times, and 20 (7.5%) reported 7-10 times. Of particular concern are participants who retaliated between 14 and over 20 times within the space of a month. The mean score of all participants partaking in retaliation is 5, which translates to an average of 5 retaliations per day for the month.

Table 4.26: Pushed, shoved or smacked another person

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
0	151	56.3%
1-3	60	22.4%
4-6	23	8.8%
7-10	12	4.6%
11-13	9	3.4%
14-16	4	1.5%
17-19	1	0.4%
20 or more	2	0.8%
Missing	6	2.2%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.26 above records the responses of participants who were asked the amount of times they had pushed, shoved or smacked another person in the preceding month, of which 151 (56.3%) indicated that this did not apply to them. Sixty (22.4%) indicated 1-3 times, 23 (8.8%) 4-6 times, 12 (4.6%) 7-10 times, 9 (3.4%) 11-13 times, 4 (1.5%) 14-16 times, 1 (0.4%) 17-19 times and 2 (0.8%) 20 or more times.

Table 4.27: Hit, punched, choked or kicked another person

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
0	171	64.0%
1-3	33	12.3%
4-6	23	8.6%
7-10	16	6.0%
11-13	14	5.2%
14-16	1	0.4%
17-19	1	0.4%
20 or more	2	0.7%
Missing	7	2.6%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.27 reports responses to whether a participant had hit, punched, choked or kicked another person in the past month. Again, as shown in the previous tables relating to participants inflicting physical harm on another person, the majority (117 (64%)) of the respondents indicated no participation. However, a total of 90 (33.4%) participants had committed this act between 1 and 20 or more times.

Table 4.28: Attacked or threatened another person with a weapon

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
0	211	79.0%
1-3	36	13.4%
4-6	8	3.0%
7-10	2	0.7%
17-19	2	0.7%
Missing	9	3.4%
Total	268	100.0%

For the sake of clarity, a weapon was described as an instrument such as a bat, bottle, knife or gun. The majority of the respondents reported that they had not attacked or threatened another person with a weapon. From Table 4.28 it may be observed that a significant amount of 36 (13.4%) participants had attacked another person between 1-3 times the preceding month, while 2 participants each had committed this act between 7 and 10 times, and 17 and 19 times respectively.

4.3.7 Gang membership

Table 4.29: Have you ever been a member of a gang

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Yes	33	12.3%
No	233	87.0%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

As pointed out earlier, many marginalised youth often find the acceptance they require through affiliation to gangs. These provide the youth with a sense of identity and belonging. However, within these groups, there are also much frustration and expressions of violence. Of the participants who responded in Table 4.29, 33 (12.3%) were at some point in their lives members of a gang.

Table 4.30: Age at joining a gang

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
I have never been part of a gang	232	86.6%
5-7	5	1.9%
8-10	10	3.7%
11-13	10	3.7%
14-16	8	3.0%
17-20	1	0.4%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

Recruiters of youth into a gang prefer to do so at a young age. Some gangs are informal groups of young people gathering on street corners while others integrate young people into a more formal structure that is organised and run by adults. The gangs' links to organised crime and the expanding drug trade often mean active recruitment of young people who may begin their involvement with the gang at a very early age. What may distinguish youth who join gangs from those who take another antisocial path may simply be access to the gang (Cooper & Ward, 2012).

As one may observe from the data in Table 4.30, for 33 (12.3%) of the participants, gang affiliation occurred before the age of 16.

Table 4.31: Are you still a member of a gang

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
I have never been part of a gang	241	86.1%
Yes	10	3.7%
No	15	5.6%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.31 indicates that of the 33 (12.3%) respondents who were affiliated to a gang 10 (3.7%) are still members of a gang. One of the risks attached to gang membership is facing the possibility of death at the hands of their own gang if they leave (Cooper & Ward, 2012).

Table 4.32: Gang activity at school

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Very serious/dangerous	160	60.0%
A little serious/dangerous	74	27.6%
Not serious/dangerous	30	11.2%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	268	100.0%

The question enquiring how serious or dangerous gang activity was at school was answered by 234 (87.6%) of the respondents as recorded in Table 4.32 indicating that it was a cause for concern. One hundred and sixty (160; 60%) felt that it was very serious or dangerous while 74 (27.6%) indicated that it was a little serious or dangerous. The least number of respondents, 30 (11.2%), felt that it was not a serious or dangerous matter at all.

Table 4.33: Gang activity in the neighbourhood

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Very serious/dangerous	157	58.6%
A little serious/dangerous	82	30.6%
Not serious/dangerous	25	9.3%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.33 records the responses of participants who were asked about how serious or dangerous they thought the gang activity was in their neighbourhood. Youth may live in neighbourhoods where gangs operate and are therefore visible and accessible, and they may have family members or friends who are members and who actively recruit them. More than half of the participants, 157 (58.6%), felt that the gang activity was very serious while the smallest number of 25 (9.3%) felt that gangs were not serious at all. In total 239 (89.2%) respondents felt that gangs were to some degree a serious matter in their neighbourhood.

4.3.8 Exposure to violence and abuse.

Table 4.34: Being taken advantage of/treated fairly

Being taken advantage of/treated fairly.	Responses	
	N	Percent
Try to take advantage of you	137	51.1%
Try to be fair to you	126	47.0%
Missing	5	1.9%
Total	268	100.0%

Participants were asked whether they felt most people in general would try to take advantage of them if they could or whether most people would try to be fair to them. This question was raised to determine participants' trust of other people. In Table 4.34 of the 263 responses 137 (51.1%) participants felt that most people would try to take advantage of them while 126 (47%) felt that most people would not do so.

Table 4.35: Bullied or assaulted

Indicate if you were bullied/assaulted	Responses	
	N	Percent
Yes	108	40.3%
No	156	58.2%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	268	100.0%

Bullying comprises all types of intentional and repeated aggression for no evident reason, performed by one or more learner against another, causing pain and distress to the victim (Neto, 2005). The findings of the research, as recorded in Table 4.35 found that 108 (40.3%) of learners were being bullied or assaulted in some way in the previous twelve months, whereas 158 (58.2%) were not victims of bullying or assault.

Table 4.36: Violent death of family and friends

Experience of violent death of friends or	Responses	
family	N	Percent
Yes	158	59.0%
No	110	41.0%
Total	268	100.0%

Table 4.36 records responses of participants who were asked whether, in their lifetime, any of their family or close friends had been victims of a violent death. In this question, violent death was defined as being shot, stabbed or beaten. Of the 268 responses 158 (59%) of the learners had a family or close friend die through violence. Violent death of a family member or friend impacts on the perception of safety. Excessive exposure to

violence predisposes the learner to violent behaviour where violence could breed more violence.

Chart 4.1 below illustrates a comparison between participants' gender and whether they were inappropriately touched.

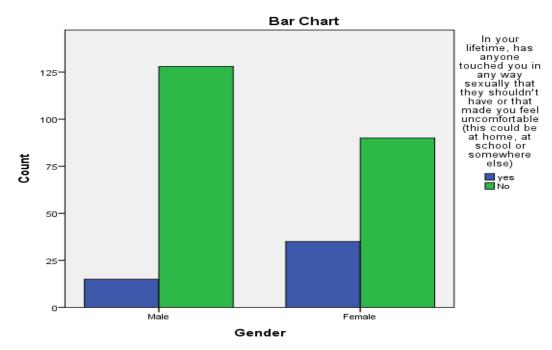


Chart 4.1: Cross tabulation between being inappropriately touched and gender

This question related to whether participants were ever inappropriately touched in any way sexually which made them feel uncomfortable. A cross tabulation in Chart 4.1 above between gender and being touched in a sexual way shows that of the 50 "yes" responses 15 were provided by male participants while the 35 female responses were more than double the number of the males' responses.

Chart 4.2 is a graphic representation of the relationship between gender and sexual coercion

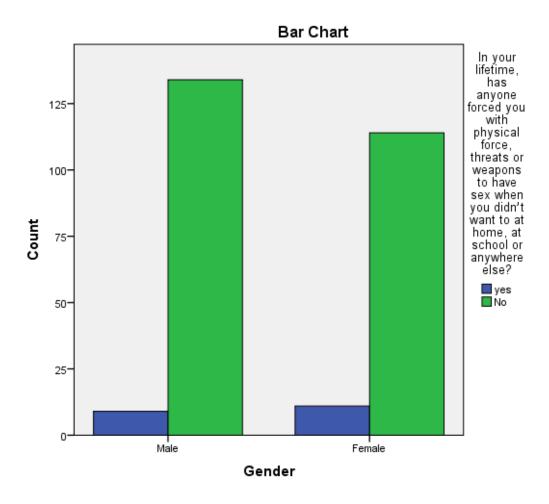


Chart 4.2: Cross tabulation between being forced sexually and gender

Chart 4.2 compares the participants gender with being forced with physical violence into sexual acts. As can be noted in the chart the difference between the males and females are significantly small. Nine male and 11 female participants indicated that they were sexually abused in their lifetime.

Table 4.37: Cross tabulation between being forced sexually and age

Age	forced to have sex		Total
	yes	No	
13	1	10	11
14	6	40	46
15	2	38	40
16	4	43	47
17	1	48	49
18	2	40	42
19	4	15	19
20	0	12	12
21	0	2	2
Total	20	248	268

Literature illustrates that young people who take part in violence do so for a variety of complex, interrelated reasons and that the correlates of criminal and violent behaviour include:

- exposure to conflict and violence in domestic settings
- a lack of constructive family guidance and social control
- the socialisation of young men into violent versions of manhood
- economic need and the desire for material and social goods, and
- peer pressure (Jefthas & Artz, 2007).

Sexual assault or rape is a form of violence not easily quantifiable by survey instruments. The nature of the crime and the multifaceted and innumerable dynamics and damaging emotions connected with such violence consequently result in large numbers of underreporting within surveys, as is the case with under-reporting to the police. Notwithstanding this limitation concerning the nature of this type of violence, in response to the question whether participants had ever in their lifetime been physically forced, threatened or threatened with a weapon to engage in sexual activity against their will at home, school or anywhere else, 20 participants indicated that they had been. Of these 20 participants 9 were male and 11 were female. A further look at Table 4.37.shows that the

age of the victims ranged between 13 and 19 where six of the victims were 14 years old. These statistics refer solely to unwanted sexual contact, whether penetrative or non-penetrative, and thus the forms of sexual violence could vary.

Table 4.38: Kicked, choked or beaten by anyone

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Yes	63	23.5%
No	205	76.5%
Total	268	100.0%

Data as recorded in Table 4.38 are responses to whether participants were punched, kicked, choked or beaten in the previous twelve months, of which 63 (23.5%) indicated that they had become victims while 205 (76.5%) were not.

Table 4.39: Threatened or attacked with a weapon by anyone

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percent	
Yes	84	31.3%	
No	183	68.3%	
Missing	1	0.4%	
Total	268	100.0%	

As recorded in Table 4.39 above, of the 268 responses 84 (31.3%) were threatened or attacked with a weapon in the previous 12 months. In this regard, a gun, knife or bottle were given as examples of a weapon. The majority (183) of the respondents indicated that they were not threatened or attacked with a weapon in the previous 12 months.

Table 4.40: Teased due to ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation

Frequency	Race/Ethnicity		Gender		Sexual Orientation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Not at all	194	72.4%	232	86.6%	244	91.0%
A little bit	28	10.4%	10	3.8%	8	3.1%
Sometimes	28	10.4%	18	6.7%	4	1.6%
A lot	14	5.2%	2	0.7%	0	0.0%
Missing	4	1.5%	6	2.2%	12	4.5%
Total	268	100.0%	268	100.0%	268	100.0%

The above Table 4.40 reports data for questions regarding whether participants were being teased, harassed or bullied by peers at school because of their ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation. Of the participants who responded to the questions, 70 (26%) were being teased, harassed or bullied to some degree because of their race or ethnicity. The target schools, as indicated, consisted of black and coloured learners. This type of victimisation could have occurred across race or across subculture or both; the results, however, speak of an intolerance toward others with a different racial and ethnic background.

In terms of the question of gender, 30 (11.2%) indicated that they were being harassed, teased or bullied because of their gender and 12 (4.7%) because of their sexual orientation. Table 4.41 below provides data on participants who witnessed acts of violence.

Table 4.41: Witness to violence

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percent	
Yes	106	39.6%	
No	149	55.6%	
Missing	13	4.9%	
Total	268	100.0%	

Table 4.41 above records that 106 (39.6%) of the respondents indicated that they had witnessed someone dying as a result of being shot, stabbed or beaten. Although 149 (55.6%) indicated that they had not been a witness to a violent murder, it is cause for concern that 106 participants between the ages of 13 and 21 had in the previous month been a witness to a violent murder.

Table 4.42: Access to a gun

Frequency	Responses	Responses		
	N	Percent		
Very easy	49	18.3%		
A little easy	38	14.2%		
Hard	35	13.0%		
Impossible	138	51.5%		
Missing	8	2.9%		
Total	268	100.0%		

According to the data in Table 4.42, 49 (18.3%) of the participants felt that it was very "easy" and 38 (14.2%) felt it was "somewhat" easy to obtain a gun. In essence, 89 (32.5%) felt some degree of confidence that they could get hold of a gun while 35 (13%) could, but with difficulty, whereas 138 (51.5%) felt it was impossible. Table 4.43 below further demonstrates the number of participants who carried a knife or gun.

Table 4.43: Carried a knife or gun

Frequency	Knife		Gun		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	
Yes	74	27.6%	40	15.9%	
No	191	71.3%	224	83.6%	
Missing	3	1.1%	4	1.5%	
Total	265	100.0%	268	100.0%	

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had carried a knife or a gun in the previous 12 months. As table 4.43 illustrates, 74 (27.6%) carried a knife and 40 (15.9%) carried a gun. The implication of this question was not to ascertain whether they made use of the knife or gun but merely that they carried it on them, possibly as a means of self-defence or bravado.

Chart 4.3 below, graphically illustrates participants justification for arming themselves with a knife or a gun.

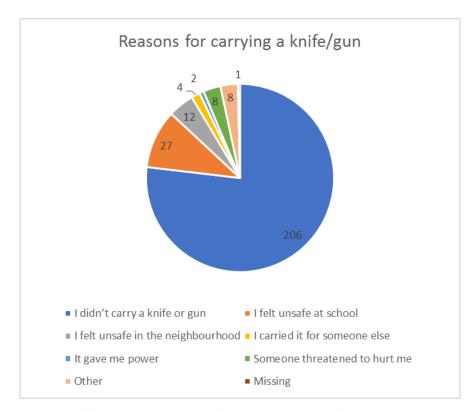


Chart 4.3: Reasons for carrying a knife or gun

The reasons participants gave for carrying a knife or gun are evident in Chart 4.3 above. The main reasons were that respondents felt unsafe at school, followed by feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood, someone threatened to hurt them, they carried it for someone else and finally, the least mentioned reason they carried a knife or gun was that it made them feel powerful.

Table 4.44 below presents the participants idea of the percentage of learners who armed themselves with a weapon to school

Table 4.44: Percentage of learners who carried a weapon at school

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
0%	8	3.0%
10%	7	2.6%
20%	11	4.1%
30%	15	5.6%
40%	20	7.5%
50%	24	9.0%
60%	12	4.5%
70%	16	6.0%
80%	10	3.8%
90%	30	11.2%
100%	12	4.5%
I don't know	102	38.0%
Missing	1	0.4%
Total	268	100.0%

Participants were asked to indicate what percentage of learners they thought carried a weapon at school. Table 4.44 shows that 102 (38%) did not know while 8 (3%) of the respondents felt that none of the learners carried a weapon. The balance of the respondents, 156 (58.6%), felt that between 10% and 100% carried a weapon to school.

4.3.9 Neighbourhood and community

The questions which follow relate to participants' perceptions of their neighbourhood. According to Pinnock (2016), the social and physical environments within which the family and individual live are ever present, yet their impact is often unobserved by those within them. Pinnock further explains that within organised communities there is agreement on important norms and values, often behavioural consistency and social contact amongst neighbours, willingness to intervene in disputes and to reprimand children for unacceptable behaviour.

Table 4.45: Feeling safe on the street

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Always	106	39.6%
Rarely	57	21.1%
Sometimes	68	25.4%
Never	35	13.1%
Missing	2	0.8%
Total	268	100.0%

Questioned about whether they felt safe on their streets, Table 4.45 indicates that 106 (39.6%) of the respondents indicated that they always felt safe while a larger proportion of 160 (59.6%) rarely (21.1%), sometimes (25.4%) and never (13.1%) felt safe on their streets while 2 (0.8%) failed to respond.

Table 4.46: Feeling safe in the neighbourhood

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Always	113	42.2%
Rarely	73	27.2%
Sometimes	55	20.5%
Never	23	8.6%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	268	100.0%

Responses to questions relating to feeling safe in the neighbourhood is shown in Table 4.46. Less than half (42.2%) felt safe while 73 (27.2%) rarely felt safe, 55 (20.5%) felt safe sometimes but 23 (8.6%) never felt safe and a non-response of 4 (1.5%). It is interesting to note that if one compares "feeling safe on the streets" to "feeling safe in the neighbourhood" more respondents felt safe in their neighbourhood than they did on the streets they live in. The reason for this could be a lack of cohesion amongst immediate neighbours who live on the same street.

Table 4.47: Safe places for abused children

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
No	61	22.8%
Yes	82	30.6%
I don't know	120	44.8%
Missing	5	1.9%
Total	263	100.0%

Participants were asked if they knew of any safe places for abused children in the neighbourhood. As Table 4.47 indicates,120 (44.8%) did not know and 61 (22.8%) responded in the negative. This indicates that either respondents had no need for this service or they were not aware of the several shelters for abused victims in and around their neighbourhood.

Table 4.48: Trust in the police

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
A lot	30	11.2%
Some	60	22.4%
Only a little	99	36.9%
Not at all	71	26.5%
Missing	8	3.0%
Total	268	100.0%

Public trust and confidence in the police is important in establishing and maintaining social connection, which in turn encourages active civic involvement amongst members of a community, thereby enhancing their quality of life. Participants were asked to indicate the level of trust they had in the police in their neighbourhood of which 30 (11.2%) had a "lot" of trust, 60 (22.4%) had "some" trust, 99 (36.9%) had "only a little" trust while 71 (26.5%) had no trust in the police and 8 (3%) non-responses. It appears from the data in Table 4.48 that there is little to no trust in the ability of the police to ensure public safety and a better quality of life.

Chart 4.4 below graphically illustrates learners' perception of whether neighbours have shared ideas about what is right and wrong. Right and wrong is determined by the particular set of principles or rules the relevant culture holds at a particular time. According to Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, the beliefs of a society are rooted in the ideas and beliefs about what is right or wrong and what is a good or bad character. It is also rooted in healthy social connections and attitudes held by its members. It is furthermore entrenched in the behaviour that are considered by its members to bring about social accord and cooperative living, justice, and fairness (Gyekye, 2011).

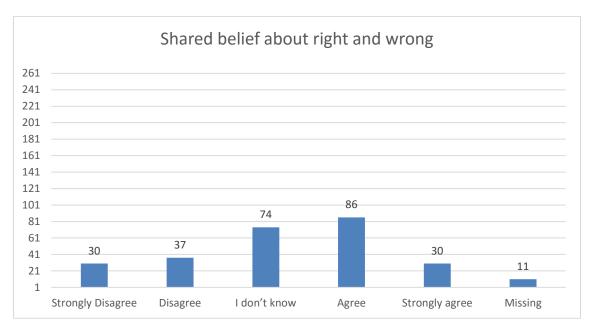


Chart 4.4: Neighbours share the same beliefs about right and wrong

Chart 4.4 above indicates the responses to the question about whether participants felt that their neighbours shared the same beliefs about right and wrong. As can be noted, 86 (32.1%) "agreed", 30 (11.2%) "strongly agreed" while 37 (13.8%) "disagreed" and 30 (11.2%) "strongly disagreed", 74 (27.6%) did not know and 11 (4.1%) did not respond. From this data, one can assume that while a small percentage (bar those who did not know) of learners did not agree that the neighbourhood shared the same belief about what was right and wrong, a larger number of participants affirmed to some degree that their neighbours had a shared belief in what was right and wrong, which gives an indication that most learners were aware of how these values contribute to the neighbourhood cohesion. Chart 4.5 below graphically depicts learners' trust in their neighbours.

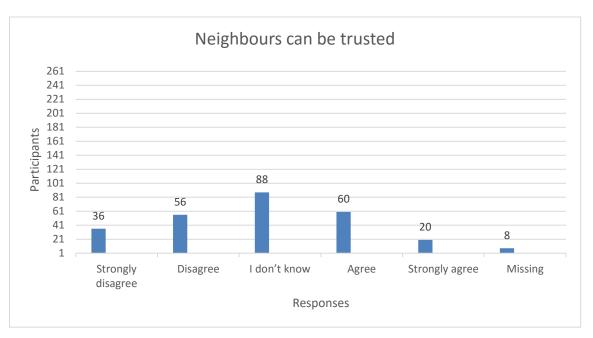


Chart 4.5: Trusting neighbours

According to Wike & Holzwart (2008), social trust is strongly associated with views about crime and corruption. They add that in countries where people generally trust one another, there are fewer fears about crime. Respondents were asked whether they felt that their neighbours could be trusted. Chart 4.5 indicates that a total of 80 (29.9%) were in agreement and 76 (28.4%) disagreed. Of interest is that a large proportion of 88 (32.8%) participants, did not know whether their neighbours could be trusted or not.

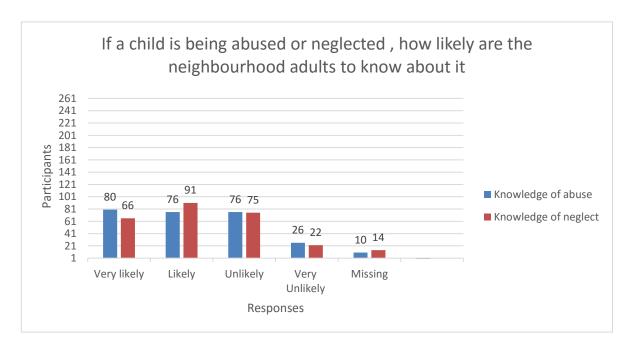


Chart 4.6: Knowledge of abuse and neglect

Neighbours are perceived as an important source of the prevention of child abuse and neglect. The questions around whether participants felt that their adult neighbours would know whether a child in the neighbourhood is being abused and neglected generated the above responses in Chart 4.6. Eighty (80; 39.9%) and 66 (24.6%) felt that it was very likely neighbourhood adults would know about abuse and neglect while 76 (28.4%) and 91 (34%) felt it was likely. A further 76 (28.4%) and 75 (28%) felt it was unlikely, and 26 (9.7%) and 22 (8.21%) very unlikely, that abuse, and neglect would be known to the adult neighbours. Broadly, there appears to be a minor difference in responses between those who are likely or unlikely to know about the abuse and neglect.

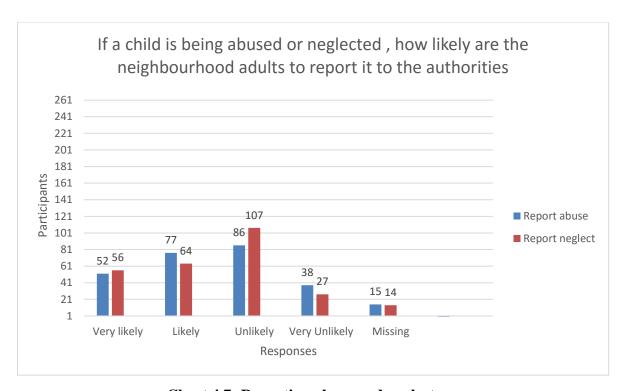


Chart 4.7: Reporting abuse and neglect

The answers to the question in Chart 4.7 above indicate the responses as to whether neighbourhood adults would report abuse or neglect to the authorities: 52 (19.4%) and 56 (20.9%) of respondents replied that these adults would very likely report it, while 77 (28.7%) and 64 (23.9%) considered that this was likely. A larger portion, being 86 (32.1%) and 107 (40%), were unlikely to report the abuse and neglect while 38 (14.2%) and 27 (10.1%) were very unlikely to report it. From these responses it is evident that participants felt that even though adults were aware of the abuse and neglect, a bigger proportion were unlikely to report such incidents to the authorities.

4.3.10 Health and wellbeing

The family is one of the most important socialising environments for children; many of the risk factors for developing a propensity for aggression are therefore couched in the family dynamic which, according to Burton (2007) includes large family size, family conflict and violence, low levels of family bonding and poor family management practices.

Table 4.49: Size of household (people per household)

Frequency	N	Percentage
2	6	2.2%
3	36	13.4%
4	79	29.5%
5	55	20.5%
6	43	16.0%
7	15	5.6%
8	10	3.7%
9	6	2.2%
10	12	4.5%
11	4	1.5%
13	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%
Mean	5.2164	

Data from Statistics South Africa's Living Conditions Survey (LCS) found that in 2015, the average South African household consisted of 3 to 4 persons. The above table, Table 4.49, indicates that a much larger proportion of households accommodates from 5 up to 13 residents. The data in Table 4.49 reveals that 29.5% of households are within the expected range of 5 residents each. Although a very small percentage of households accommodated 10 or more people, overcrowding is often associated with a low socioeconomic status which, as previously mentioned, is also linked to delinquency. While household size may not contribute directly to the risk of victimisation, it does increase the chances of the latter, particularly of sexual violence in the home (Burton, 2008).

Table 4.50: Whom participants live with

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
Mother	232	86.6%
Stepmother	6	2.3%
Father	132	49.3%
Stepfather	10	3.7%
mother's partner	20	7.5%
father's partner	4	0.2%
grandparent/s	52	19.4%
brother/s	162	60.4%
sister/s	170	63.4%
Family	2	0.7%
Other	114	42.5%

The home environment is the place where children are likely to spend most of their time. The family is often the first point of departure in understanding the many facets of violence. The responses in table 4.50 indicate that of the 268 respondents, 232 (86.6%) lives with a mother in the household and 132 with a father. However, we cannot assume that those living with their father also live with their mother. Alternatively, this could mean that a respondent may live with a mother, a granddparent, a brother, sister and other people in the same household. Approximately 134 come from a single parent home and/or reside with extended family members. Although this may seem a negative factor, in many cases children are better off in one parent families than being exposed to a parent who sets a bad example.

Table 4.51: Earners who are parents in the household

Earners	Responses	
	N	Percent
One parent	111	41.4%
Both parents	112	41.8%
Neither parents	43	16.0%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

Unemployment and poverty impact children both directly and indirectly. High levels of unemployment and poverty may result in domestic tension and frustration which in turn, could result in abusive behaviour toward children. Responses to the question relating to whether one, both or no parents earned an income in Table 4.51 indicate that in 111 (41.4%) households just one parent did so; in very similar figures for 112 (41.8%) households both parents earned an income, while in 43 (16%) of the households, neither parent did so.

Table 4.52: Other earners in the household

Co-earners	Responses	
	N	Percent
Sister	25	9.3%
Brother	43	16.%
Brother and sister	16	6.0%
Other family	36	13.4%
No one else	129	48.1%
Myself	15	5.6%
Missing	4	1.5%
Total	264	100.0%

Participants were asked to indicate who else besides the parent/s earned an income in the household. Table 4.52 shows that 84 (31.3%) siblings contributed financially to the household while 36 (13.4%) indicated that other family members who lived with them

contributed to the household earnings. A further 15 (5.6%) of the participants contributed financially to their household while 129 (48.1%) responded that there were no co-earners in the household.

Table 4.53 below, records the results to the question of whether the learner participates in extramural activities.

Table 4.53: After-school activities

After-school activities	Responses	
	N	Percent
At home alone	49	18.3%
Stay with family	63	23.5%
Go home to parent/guardian	45	16.8%
Take care of family members	24	9.0%
Hang out with friends	57	21.3%
Go to work	6	2.2%
Participate in school sports/ clubs/ activities	3	1.1%
Attend religious classes	2	0.7%
Go to sports, arts, tutoring or other programmes in the community	8	3.0%
Other	8	3.0%
Missing	3	1.1%
Total	268	100.0%

Youth living in a socially disadvantaged community often have few opportunities to become involved in leisure activities due to the lack of resources within the environment. This results in a large number of young people spending their time alone or "hanging out" with friends outside and on the streets because they have little else to occupy their time. After-school activities range from extra-curricular activities (school-based clubs or teams), to comprehensive after-school programmes (school or community-based) and faith-based groups. Programmes provide a safe space with supportive relationships, appropriate structures and positive expectations for behaviour. As can be seen in Table 4.53 a total of 13 (4.8%) participants took part in after-school activities, 63 (23.5%) stayed

with family, 45 (16.8%) went home to a parent or guardian. Additionally, 24 (9%) had to take care of other family members, 6 (2.21%) went to work and 57 (21.3%) 'hung out' with friends. Participants who were home alone after school accounted for 49 (18.3%) of the responses. Leaving children unsupervised while attending extra mural activities or home alone may present opportunities for risky behaviour such as alcohol and drug use, gang affiliation and early teenage pregnancy. Table 4.54 below records the responses to participants' alcohol consumption.

Table 4.54: Alcohol consumption

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
0	141	52.6%
1-5	56	20.9%
6-10	39	14.6%
11-15	19	7.0%
Every day	8	3.0%
Missing	5	1.9%
Total	268	100.0%

Participants were asked to indicate how many times they had drunk alcohol in the previous month. As can be noted from Table 4.54, a total of 122 (45.5%) of respondents engaged in alcohol consumption of which 56 (20.9%) did so 1-5 times in the previous month, whereas 39 (14.6%) consumed alcohol 6-10 times and 19 (7%) between 11 and 15 times. Although a much smaller amount of 8 (1.9%) respondents consumed alcohol every day it is important to remember that youth who engage in alcohol abuse are more likely to be involved in aggressive behaviour.

Table 4.55: Use of marijuana/pot/weed/dagga

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
0	191	71.2%
1-5	34	12.7%
6-10	30	11.2%
11-15	7	2.6%
Every day	4	1.5%
Missing	2	0.7%
Total	268	100.0%

The use of marijuana was distinguished from the use of other harder drugs, given its cultural implications. Table 4.55 record the responses of participants when asked about their use of marijuana and how often they used it; 75 (28%) of the respondents used marijuana, as opposed to 71.8% who did not do so. A very small number of 4 (1.5%) of the respondents smoked every day while 34 (12.7%), being the majority of users, smoked between one and five days of the month.

Table 4.56: Use of methamphetamine/crystal meth/tik

Frequency	Responses	
	N	Percent
0	262	97.8%
1-5	6	2.2%
Total	268	100.0%

Methamphetamine/crystal meth/tik is an extremely dangerous drug that entices users with its cheap price tag and promise of an intense high. Participants were asked about their use of methamphetamine/crystal meth in the previous month. The responses in Table 4.56 indicate that a very small number of 6 (2.2%) respondents made use of methamphetamine/crystal meth/tik between 1 and 5 times in the month. Although this number may seem negligible, the effects on the user's body and mind cause severe impairment not only to the user but also to those around them.

Table 4.57: Use of other drugs

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percent	
	265	98.8%	
every day	1	0.4%	
Missing	2	0.7%	
Total	268	100.0%	

Responses listed in Table 4.57 above relate to participants' use of drugs other than marijuana and methamphetamine, to which 1 (0.4%) participant responded affirmatively. While these percentages do seem very small, the above data is likely to be an underrepresentation of the existing state of affairs, as it relies on admitting to using essentially illegal substances.

Table 4.58: Religious attendance

Frequency	Responses		
	N	Percent	
One or more times each week	130	48.5%	
Once or twice a month	50	18.7%	
Between 3 and 11 times a year	28	10.4%	
Once or twice a year	13	4.9%	
Never	46	17.2%	
Total	267	99.6%	
Missing	1	0.4%	
Total	268	100.0%	

Ward (2007) explains that the mechanism by which religious connection protects against deviance is not well understood but there are at least two factors that deter antisocial behaviour, namely: exposure to models that discourage deviance; and the influence of a peer group that models pro-social attitudes and behaviours. StatsSA (2015) has estimated that 86% of South Africans were affiliated to the Christian religion, while 5.4% professed to following ancestral, tribal, animist or other traditional religions. An estimated 1.9% of the population considered themselves Muslim while 5.2% did not follow any religion in

particular and 0.2% of individuals were estimated to be Jewish. Given the large number of adult South Africans who do align themselves to religion, it is likely that they play a fairly important role in facilitating the behaviour of young people in South Africa. According to the responses, as listed in Table 4.58 above, the majority of respondents attended religious services either on a regular basis to once or twice a year, while a smaller amount of 46 (17.2%) respondents never attended at all.

Table 4.59: Time spent in front of the TV, computer and cellphone

Frequency	Watch	Watching TV Playing computer or		Talk on the		
			video games/surfing		cellphone/text	
			the internet		message with	
					your friends	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
I don't	28	10.4%	78	29.1%	51	19.0%
Less than 1 hour	32	12.0%	32	12.0%	50	18.7%
1 hour	24	9.0%	42	15.7%	44	16.4%
2 hours	36	13.4%	30	11.2%	18	6.7%
3 hours	27	10.1%	23	8.0%	25	9.3%
4 hours	28	10.4%	14	5.2%	19	7.1%
5 or more hours	71	26.5%	44	16.4%	61	22.8%
Missing	22	8.0%	5	1.9%	0	0.0%
Total	268	100.0%	268	100.0%	268	100.0%

A question pertaining to the amount of time participants spent watching TV, playing computer or video games during a school week was included in the questionnaire because of the possible violent content of these media and the effects on aggressive behaviour. Table 4.59 records the results: the highest proportion of respondents who made use of the TV, computer/video game or phone, watched (71; 26.5%), played (44; 16.4%) and spoke (6; 22.8%) for 5 or more hours. According to Draper (2017) no more than 2 hours of recreational screen time per day is adequate while lower levels are more beneficial for health and well-being. As evident from Table 4.59, the majority of the respondents spent in excess of 2 hours per day on various devices.

4.4 CONCLUSION

From the preceding results, it is evident that learners are exposed to many forms of violence. As may be deduced from the first set of questions relating to the learners' relationships with parents, a fair amount of learners' responses indicated that they did not have a healthy relationship with the adults in their home. Feeling understood and loved contributes to one's overall feeling of validation and safety in the home. When youth are initially exposed to violence in the home environment it sets the scene for further abuse outside of that environment. Additionally, peer relationships, as an important means of social development, whether negative or positive, solidify the learners' perceptions of whether violence is acceptable or not. This constitutes one of the important reasons why learners associate themselves with peers who can contribute as a positive influence on them. Violence also impacts on learners' abilities to function successfully as academics. It has been shown in research that exposure to violence affects school attendance, where learners feel unsafe travelling to school and also at school as a result of bullying and gang related activities. Learners' experience of physical and sexual abuse further enhances their fears and thinking around violence. Learners who carried a knife or gun felt the need to do so as a result of feeling unsafe either in their neighbourhood or school. To learners, the neighbourhood is no safe haven either, since the majority felt to some degree unsafe and lacking in trust as to whether they would report abuse and neglect even if they were aware of it. These are all factors which contribute to learners' overall mindset of violence.

In the final chapter, the limitations of the study are discussed, and recommendations for further research proposed, specifically to use the findings of this research to create guidelines for violence intervention in secondary schools in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on the conceptual framework and empirical analysis set out in the previous chapter in order to respond to the following questions:

- What is the relationship dynamic in terms of supportive adults and trusting relationships?
- Does exposure to violence affect school attendance?
- To what extent are learners exposed to violence?
- How do neighbourhood factors contribute to the overall perception of violence?
- Is learners' lack of wellbeing a contributory factor?
- Are learners' health and wellbeing a contributing influence?

To answer each research question, a mixed method approach was employed as described earlier. The sampling method used in this research was exploratory as it intended to explore rather than offer conclusive answers to the research questions. The questionnaire covered five broad topics, namely, learners' relationships with adults in their homes, peers, teachers, violence and health and wellbeing.

Furthermore, the purpose of this study was to generate information on how the data could be used for the recognition of, intervention in, and prevention of school violence. The current study intended to contribute to the hugely underexplored field of school violence in the Western Cape. These results may therefore serve to supplement the body of existing literature and should be interpreted contextually. These findings could further assist all stakeholders to understand and recognise the nature and extent of violence, identify contributory factors of pervasive violence and create an awareness of the long-term effects of youth violence.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The study has revealed aspects of victimisation and perpetration of violence by high school learners both at school and within their surrounding environment. The study further revealed that the expected ages per grade were exceeded by as many as 6 years. For example, where grade nine learners' ages are expected to be around 14, the research shows that there were learners as old as 21 in grade nine.

What became evident during the research is the extent to which learners were exposed to various types of violence in the home, at school and the community. Several points emerged strongly from the data, which the researcher discusses as responses to the research questions:

Question 1: What is the relationship dynamic in terms of supportive adults and trusting relationships?

The exact numbers of children who are victims of physical abuse in their own homes are unknown as these incidents are not always reported. A fair proportion of learners' responses indicated that they did not enjoy a healthy relationship with the adults in their homes. As has been emphasised, feeling understood and loved contributes to the overall feeling of validation and safety in the home. Several responses to questions about violence in the home have shown that learners are to varying degrees being attacked in several ways by an adult. The findings further indicate that one in five learners were neglected in terms of food, health and safety. The present study raises the possibility that many of the learners' negative perceptions of what constitutes safety begin in the home and develop from there. What was further discouraging was that just under half the learners felt that they could not approach an adult at school if they needed help, or had no adult in their lives who encouraged them. However, it is likely that such connections exist among peers. Looking at the results in relation to peers, the research has discovered that a majority of the learners felt that most of their friends stayed out of trouble and followed the rules set by their parents, which is encouraging if we are to assume that learners are sharing this connection with their peers. Additionally, peer relationships, as an important means of social development, whether negative or positive, strengthen the learner's perception of whether violence is acceptable or not.

Every home and the family should be a safe place for children, but the results indicate that this is not the case for all children. Some of the reasons for the abuse and violence experienced by children are those of families living in overcrowded houses, alcohol abuse by parents, drug abuse and stress experienced by parents (UNICEF, n.d).

Question 2: Does exposure to violence affect school attendance?

The second question in this research yielded results from 4 questions aimed at academics and school attendance. The current study found that while the majority of the learners spent time on school work after school, a large proportion also stayed out of school for reasons other than being ill. Contrary to expectations, this study did not establish that safety played a significant role in absenteeism. What emerged as the main reasons for staying out of school were family responsibility, the learner had overslept, the learner had incomplete homework or had other things they wanted to do. Although the observed difference between school absenteeism and feeling unsafe travelling to school and being at school was not significant, it does remain an issue that should be addressed by all stakeholders.

Question 3: To what extent are learners exposed to violence?

The results of Question 3 concentrated on violence inflicted on others and violence as experienced by the learner.

The results show that more learners than not retaliated with violence when hit by another person. Hitting someone back as self-defence would be warranted if the response was proportional. Children who learn that violence is an adequate means of solving a problem are more likely to use violence in their own interpersonal relationships. The question however did not indicate whether the learner retaliated immediately after being hit or sometime later. However, what is noteworthy is that the majority of learners found themselves in situations where they needed to retaliate with violence between 4 and 20 or more times within the space of a month. When it comes to inflicting violence on others the results show that a significant number of learners engage in it as perpetrators as well. Prior studies have noted that exposure to violence has been consistently linked to antisocial behaviour among youth. This study found that under half the sample assaulted

another person a number of times within a month. Further research is required to identify the factors that precipitate and exacerbate adolescent conduct, so that successful preventive efforts may be developed and implemented.

As mentioned in the literature, having delinquent friends is an important predictor of youth violence. Association with a delinquent peer group or siblings, and predominantly gang membership, consistently predicts youth violence, while association with peers who reject delinquency lowers its probability. Results related to gang activity found that of the 36 learners who joined a gang at some point in their lives, 33 did so prior to the age of 16. Further results indicate that a third of those learners are still affiliated to a gang. Queries as to whether learners thought that gang activity was very serious or dangerous at school and in the neighbourhood yielded very similar results where the majority indicated that it was a very serious problem.

Findings as regards exposure to violence and abuse revealed that the majority of the learners felt that given the chance, most people would take advantage of them. Findings in a cross tabulation between gender and being inappropriately touched and forced into sexual activity revealed that females made up the majority of victims with most experiences occurring around the age of 14.

Another important finding was the number of learners who had lost close family and friends to a violent death as well as having witnessed someone being killed as a result of violence. A further finding to emerge from the analysis is the actual physical violence which learners suffer. The results indicate that 23% were kicked, choked or beaten and 31% threatened or attacked with a weapon outside of the home.

Access to a gun appeared to be easily accessible to 49 of the learners while many carried some form of weapon at school. The main reasons cited for the latter were that learners felt unsafe in the neighbourhood and at school.

Question 4: How do neighbourhood factors contribute to the overall perception of violence?

The results show that the majority of the participants did not feel safe not just in their own neighbourhood but also other neighbourhoods. As pointed out earlier, more participants felt safe in their neighbourhood than they did on the streets they live in.

Further findings suggest that most of the participants lacked trust and confidence in the police. As previously mentioned, trust in the police encourages active public involvement amongst members of a community. On the question of whether neighbours trusted each other, this study found that slightly more participants agreed than disagreed. Additionally, participants felt that most neighbours would be aware of abuse or neglect of children in the neighbourhood, but it would be mostly unlikely that they would report it to the authorities.

Question 5: Is learners' lack of wellbeing a contributory factor?

One of the results obtained under wellbeing relates to family size. Findings indicate that the number of people living in one household ranged between 2 and 13. A strong relationship between household size and youth violence and delinquency has been reported in the literature. While household size may not have a direct bearing on victimisation outside of the home, it does increase the chance of victimisation, mainly in the form of sexual violence, within the home. This indirectly increases the chance of victimisation at school, which is largely dependent on the social environment and learner's peers. The results also show that in a small percentage of the households neither parent earned an income, but it is likely that other members of the household were earners.

Youth living in a socially disadvantaged community often have minimal opportunities to become involved in leisure activities due to the lack of resources within the environment. This results in a large number of young people spending their time alone or "hanging out" with friends outside and on the streets because they have little else to occupy their time. A significant number of participants did not take part in after school activities and instead stayed home alone, had to work or took care of family members.

Communities with high levels of crime and violence are also usually linked with the accessibility of alcohol and other addictive substances. Results confirm that just under half the participants consumed alcohol between 1 and 15 times per month while a small

percentage consumed alcohol every day. Slightly under a third (75, 28%) smoked marijuana while the majority smoked between 1 and 5 times in the preceding month. A very small number used methamphetamine and an even smaller number, just one participant, used other drugs.

Violent content on TV, in video games and the internet has become the norm. Research has found a link between violence in the media and its effects on aggressive behaviour. Results indicate that most participants spent in excess of five hours watching TV, playing video or computer games and talking or texting on their phones per day.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In the current research, several questionnaires were filled out incorrectly by participants despite the instructions in the questionnaire. As an example, incorrect completion is depicted in question 37b and 37c. Participants who were not bullied or assaulted should have indicated in 37c that they were not bullied or assaulted but instead marked one of the last 3 options which may have skewed the results.

- 3.37. In the past 12 months:
- b. Have you been bullied or assaulted?

	□ Yes	X No	
c.	If you were bullied/assaulted wh	ere did this happen	
	I was not bullied/assaulted		
X	In the neighbourhood		
X	At school		
X	Other		

It was not possible to fully explore issues that might have negatively impacted on the questionnaires' properties. Exploring the possible errors and conducting a thorough investigation into the construct validity of the questionnaire as well as the content validity of the subscales, would require further research.

The convenience sample drawn from the population of learners within the Western Cape may not be representative of the population under research. The reader should therefore approach the researchers' findings and interpretation thereof with caution. It should be noted that no contributory inferences can be gleaned on the basis of the current findings concerning the relationship between environmental factors and learners' perception of violence.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VIOLENCE INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

Violence in any form undermines the shared moral and value codes within any society and is perceived as a real threat to the aspirations of the standards of peace, wellbeing, economic growth, equality and stability of a society. When violence among young people becomes ingrained, the moral atrocity is even more evident. A growing awareness of the related issues and repercussions of such violence for the society as a whole, and for the future course of young people's lives, creates a serious concern about the future of any environment in which such youth violence is so commonplace. A number of theories for the high levels of violence, both generally and among young people, are commonly postulated in public and academic literature. Some of these include the following:

- Exposure to violence in the media through various channels entrenches violent behaviour
- The apartheid government led to an isolated generation for whom violence was the only effective means of achieving change
- The displacement of society under apartheid created a generation of future parents who themselves were products of a dysfunctional society and disjointed family structure, thus rendering them deficient of the vital parenting skills necessary to raise healthy children
- The impact of increasingly available drugs and alcohol, in particular methamphetamine, is also blamed for the violence that South Africa is witnessing among its young people, along with the rise in related gang activity, particularly in the Western Cape.

School violence is a subset of youth violence and is a broad public health problem. The learners', educators' and principals' experiences of violence emphasise the need for a developmental approach to, and a more developmental understanding of, school safety. Instead of concentrating on single aspects of the school or environment, it is proposed that when dealing with violence, a "holistic approach" is adopted in schools. The school as an entity comprises a number of components, all of which are mutually dependent – learners, educators, principals, school management teams, school governing bodies, and parents or caregivers – all of whom interact and exist within the larger system of the home and community. Only by focusing on all the facets of the system will violence eventually be minimised and ultimately eradicated. As Burton (2008) mentions, this would require a carefully targeted, comprehensible system of programmes and interventions which supplement rather than replicate each other.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS HIGHLIGHTED IN THIS RESEARCH

The violence which today's youth face as victims and perpetrators paints a bleak and disconcerting picture for the future of South Africa. Without significant and sustainable interventions to turn the tide and curtail the ongoing cycle of violence, South Africa's youth face a daunting future. The researcher makes the following recommendations based on the current research:

It is crucial that effective national policies and plans of action for the deterrence of violence in schools and the larger community be ongoing and periodically improved upon. This in turn should assist South Africa's youth in making a worthwhile contribution to society. In a country where the majority of citizens continue to live in poverty and where access to counselling and support services is limited, if not absent, the distress of the violence the youth endures results in adverse repercussions on their healthy passage into adulthood. This has grave consequences for young people and society at large. What we can expect in the future is a generation of adults who have suffered high levels of crime and violence, who have often been subjected to physical and psychological abuse, whose sense of security has been violated and, in many cases, whose education has been compromised. As adults, they are at high risk

- of becoming involved in crime and violence and may not reach their full potential as industrious productive adults.
- Learners should be educated about conflict resolution as a means of addressing issues as opposed to resorting to violence.
- To ensure learners' wellbeing, schools and the community should implement programmes as well as provide a safer environment in which learners can take part in extra mural activities. To this end, they should be encouraged to lead an active and healthy lifestyle. There is a strong connection between inactivity and victimisation and the pursuance of violence. Intentional, organised and consistent extramural activities are necessary at all schools to involve learners in positive activities and diminish their exposure to gangs and violence or criminal opportunities. Such activities could include sports, drama or other cultural events and activities. It is important that these events are accessible throughout the school year, and over the course of a learner's schooling.
- National drug and alcohol prevention programmes in schools should be implemented and monitored with the support of communities, family and the South African Police Service.
- A large number of learners who fall prey to violence do not report it. Whether this is for reasons of fear or mistrust in the authorities or a range of other reasons, failure to report undermines the establishing of trends and measures to effectively deal with violence at schools. Programmes should be put in place by the DoE where learners are empowered to speak out for themselves as well as others who for any reason will not speak out for themselves.
- Prospects for employment need to improve, while more programmes assisting in developing a skillset should be put in place. Initiatives are required to emancipate women and girls from financial and emotional constraints, which will assist in helping them to take control of their lives. Initiatives should also promote personal and financial independence as well as leadership opportunities for youth which should be inculcated at primary school level. Currently South African youth live in a society where their development as human beings is restricted by cultural, educational, societal and political limitations. The challenge lies in eradicating those limitations and affording all youth the opportunity to thrive in a truly equal society.

- Although statistics point to severe violence in schools, it is accepted that many additional incidents that take place are not recorded (Yablon, 2017). Without accurate statistics on rates of violence within schools, little can be done to gauge the success of interventions, the magnitude and causes of violence, and the authorities would be unable to offer support and services to learners who have been a victim of school violence. Accurate reporting is therefore of paramount importance in order to determine the percentage of all incidents which schools are aware of.
- While increasing security around schools, such as security fencing, security gates, alarm systems, security guarding and metal detectors, does not at any level focus on the origins of violence within schools, these measures do make it more difficult for learners to carry weapons to school (Burton, 2008). The DoE has already put in place security procedures, with support from a variety of organisations. These processes should also assist in preventing learners from other schools and gang members from surrounding areas from gaining access to schools something which is frequently reported by learners, educators and authorities in the media. Nevertheless, security fencing that has been damaged, security lights that do not work, or security gates that are left unlocked are of little benefit in the course of school safety. The stability of perimeter fencing requires daily monitoring: school authorities, together with school governing bodies, must shoulder the responsibility for monitoring and maintaining this infrastructure.
- On their own, these measures fall short of addressing violence at schools. There should be a very clear outline and code of conduct for learners, specifying what appropriate and inappropriate behaviour is. Such codes, disciplinary procedures and emergency procedures should all be explicitly communicated to learners. These measures are simply extensions of the current rules and codes of conduct already in place in relation to school violence. Policies and procedures should be displayed in areas accessible to learners and school management, serving as a constant reminder. Principals, school governing bodies and educators should be held responsible for incidents of violence taking place in unmonitored areas of the school buildings. Steps should be put in place to equip educators with the necessary skills to address violence at schools. The student governing body chairperson should adopt a

monitoring role in the school management team and should be responsible for making sure that there is a plan in place to identify existing and prospective hotspots where learners might be vulnerable. The DoE needs to establish minimum criteria of protection for all schools; responsibility for meeting these criteria should be included in educators' and principals' performance agreements as significant performance measurements, making all staff accountable. Love relationships and sexual engagement between educators and learners are inappropriate and should be handled with the strictest disciplinary measures.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Further research is required to address factors which contribute to learners' experience of violence. It is recommended that South African researchers formulate an adapted version of the Boston Youth Survey for use in the South African context. The current research provides some recommendations and a possible point of departure for an adapted instrument applicable in this context. It is further recommended that acceptable correlations between the original instrument and the adapted version be taken into account.

5.7 CONCLUSION

As mentioned previously, violence among young people is not a new occurrence in South African history. The apartheid state used young people to uphold its oppressive dogmas, and other young people were aggressively and intrinsically involved in the freedom struggle against apartheid, both as perpetrators and as victims. Consequently, South Africans have a long history of socially endorsing the use of violence to solve problems. This justification of violence provides role models, as well as an unspoken norm that the use of violence is an acceptable, necessary and even admirable means of resolution.

The fact that in South Africa the youth represent a significant proportion of both victims and offenders of crime, and in particular violent crime, is of grave concern. Research also shows that the ages between 12 and 21 are the peak years for both offending and victimisation where young people are disproportionately perpetrators and victims of

crime (Burton, 2007). Therefore, the cost to government and society in not satisfactorily addressing criminal behaviour amongst youth is substantial and should be given top priority. The problems facing the crime plagued areas of Cape Town are many and nuanced. But with violence so deeply entrenched in the lives of so many children and young adults on the Cape Flats, only a solution which forces the co-operation of all relevant departments and institutions is likely to succeed in making a difference to these children's lives.

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ADDENDUM A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions. Your name is **NOT** required. All information will be treated as strictly confidential.

Please place a tick (√) next to your answer

1.	<u>Biographical i</u>	Biographical information					
1.1.	Please indicat	e your gender					
	□ Male		☐ Female				
4.3	What is a second	2					
1.2.		your age?					
1.3.		re you in?					
1.4.	What school d	o you attend		_			
2.	Geographical Information						
2.1.	Do you live in	the area where you sch	nool?				
	□ Yes		□ No				
	f NO, which area do you live in?						
3.	Questions about yourself						
3.1.	How many people including yourself live in your house?						
3.2.	Who do you live with:						
	Mother	☐ Stepmother	☐ Father	☐ Stepfather			
	Mothers partner	☐ Fathers partner	☐ Grandparent/s	☐ Brother/s			
	Sister/s	☐ Foster Family	□ Other				

3.3.	Who works in your household?						
	One parent	☐ Both parents	□ Neither Parents				
3.4.	Who else besid	les your parents works in	your household?				
3.5.	About how m	uch time do you spen	nd each day working on schoolwork afte				
	school?						
	More than thre	ee hours					
	Between one a	nd three hours					
	Between half a	n hour and an hour					
	Less than half a	an hour					
	I don't spend ti	me working on schoolwo	ork after school				
3.6.	In the past mo i	nth , how many days were	e you absent from school when you were no				
	sick?	, ,	,				
3.7.	Why DIDN'T yo	ou go to school on the day	ys you were absent but not sick (mark all tha				
3.7.	applies)	a go to school on the da	ys you were absent but not sick (mark an tha				
		only absent when I was s	ick				
		Other things I wanted to do					
	Had homework	Had homework I didn't finish					
	Didn't care abo	Didn't care about school					
	Overslept/too	Overslept/too tired					
	Having trouble	with other students					
	Having trouble	with teachers					
	Having trouble	at home					
	Felt unsafe get	ting to school					
	Felt unsafe at s	chool					
	Personal/family	y responsibilities					
	Other						

narents/c	The last time you were absent when you were not sick, did one of your parents/guardian know that you were out of school?					
	't absent		One or both of my		☐ My parents/gu	ardian
unless	s I was sick	ı	parents/guardian		didn't know	
		ı	knew			
How impo	ortant is gett	ing good	grades to you?			
Very	important	□ A litt	le important	□ Ne	ither important or	□ Not important
				uni	important	
What is t	he highest ye	ear of sch	nool you think you	ı will co	mplete in future (m	nark only
I don'	t think I will	finish	☐ High school		☐ College/univ	ersity
high s	chool					
		f	:	latala aa		
	ortant is it to	· ·	l nily that you finish tle important		hool lite important	□ Very important
Not im	portant	□ A litt	tle important			□ Very important
Not im	portant you do most	□ A litt				☐ Very important
Not im What do	portant you do most e alone	□ A litt	tle important			☐ Very important
Not im What do Am home Stay with	portant you do most e alone	□ A litt	tle important			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home	you do most e alone family	□ A litt	tle important			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care	you do most e alone family to parent/gu	□ A litt of the tin uardian embers	tle important			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care	you do most e alone family to parent/gue of family me	□ A litt of the tin uardian embers	tle important			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care Hang out Go to wo	you do most e alone family to parent/gue of family me	□ A litt of the tin uardian embers	ne after school?			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care Hang out Go to wo Participat	you do most e alone family to parent/gue of family me with friends	of the tinuardian embers	ne after school?			☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care Hang out Go to wo Participat Attend re	you do most e alone family to parent/gue of family me with friends rk te in school s eligious classe	of the tinuardian embers	ne after school?	□ Qu	lite important	☐ Very important
What do Am home Stay with Go home Take care Hang out Go to wo Participat Attend re Go to spo	you do most e alone family to parent/gue of family me with friends rk te in school s eligious classe	of the tinuardian embers	tle important ne after school? bs, activities	□ Qu	lite important	□ Very important

14.	Is there a comm	unity centre/youth c	entre for teenager	s near y	ou?	
	□ Yes	□ No			l don't know	
	If your answer i	s "yes" to 3.14, how (often do you use it	?		
	□ Never	□ Rarely	□ Sometime	es	□ Often	
	Are any sports or ro	ecreation programme	es offered after sch	ool hou	rs at your school	or in
	□ Yes	□ No			on't know	
	If your answer i	s "yes" to 3.15, how (often do you use it	?		
	□ Never	□ Rarely	☐ Sometime	!S	□ Often	
•	not? (mark ALL			r activit	ies after school,	why
	No programmes/activities interest me					
	I have to work after school					
	I have to take care of young siblings after school					
		I don't know of any programmes/activities				
	Can't afford the programmes/activities I know about					
	Most programmes/activities I know about are for young kids I have no way of getting there or back					
	I have no way of getting there or back I feel unsafe there or getting to and from there					
	None of my friends go, I'd rather hang out with them					
	My parents want me to go straight home after school					
	Other					
	In the last 12 m	onths, how often did	you attend religiou	ıs servio	ces at church, ter	nple,
	mosque, etc					
	One or more tir	nes each week				
	Once or twice a	month				
	Between 3 and	11 times a year				
	Once or twice a	year				
	Never					

3.18.	What type of job do you want to have when you are an adult						
	Other						
	Don't know						
	Will not work						
3.19. How often does an adult in your household try to understar				rstand y	our point o	of view?	
	☐ Always	□ Often	□ some	etimes	☐ Ra	rely	□ Never
			•				
3.20.	How often doe	s an adult in yo	ur househo	old tell you t	that he	or she love	s you and
wants go	od things for you?	1					
	☐ Always	□ Often	□ sor	metimes	□R	arely	□ Never
3.21.	How often do y	ou talk to an adu	ılt in your h	ousehold at	out you	r problems	?
	☐ Always	□ Often	□ son	netimes	□ R	arely	□ Never
3.22.	Do most of you	r friends stay out	t of trouble	?			
	□ Yes			□ No			
3.23.	Do most of your friends follow the rules their parents make for them?						
	□ Yes	□ No					
	_						
3.24.	Do most of your friends do well at school?						
	□ Yes □ No						
2.25							
3.25.	Do you feel safe						
a.	-	In your school building?			□ Sometimes □ Never		
	☐ Always	□ Ra	arely	Some	times	□ Never	
b.	On the way to/from school						
υ.) a walte	□ Com	etimes	□ Neve	. <u></u>
	□ Always	F	Rarely	☐ Som	eumes	□ Neve	:1
C.	At your home						
C.	☐ Always		Rarely	□ Som	etimes	□ Neve	er
	- Always	L	an Ci y			_ INCV	

d.	On your street?			
	□ Always	□ Rarely	□ Sometim	nes
e.	In your neighbourhood?	1		
	☐ Always	□ Rarely	□ Sometim	nes Never
3.26.	You know at least one ac	dult who you coul	d talk with about	personal problems
	☐ Strongly disagree	□ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
3.27.	There is at least one adulupset?	t at school who w	ould help you if yo	ou had a problem or were
	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
3.28.	I know adults who encou	1		
	☐ Strongly disagree	□ Disagree	□ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
3.29. a.	In the past month, on ho	ow many days did 	you:	
b.	Smoke cigarettes			
		_		
c.	Use marijuana/pot/weed	d/dagga		
		_		
d.	Use methamphetamine/	crystal meth/tik		
e.	Use other drugs other t	than marijuana/p	ot/weed/dagga a	nd methamphetamine/
П				

3.30.	How old were you when you had your first drink of alcohol
	I have never had a drink of alcohol
3.31.	In the past month, how many times did you have an argument with someone outside of your family?
3.32.	How many times did YOU do EACH of these activities in the past month
a.	Hit back when someone hit me first
b.	Push, shove or smack another person?
c.	Hit, punch, choke or kick another person?
d.	If this happened, was the person/people you hit, punched, choked or kicked:
	Mark ALL that apply
	I never hit, punched, choked or kicked another person in the past month
	An <u>adult family</u> member
	A <u>non-adult family</u> member
	A girlfriend or boyfriend
	An <u>adult friend</u>
	A <u>non-adult friend</u>
	Someone else you know but not a friend or family member
	Someone you don't know

e.	Attacked or threatened another person with a weapon, like a bat, bottle, knife or gun
	in the past month?
_	
f.	If this happened, was the person/people you threatened with a weapon, bottle,
	knife, gun:
	Mark ALL that apply
	I never threatened another person with a weapon, like a bat, bottle, knife or gun in
	the past month
	An <u>adult family</u> member
	A <u>non-adult family</u> member
	A girlfriend or boyfriend
	An <u>adult friend</u>
	A <u>non-adult friend</u>
	Someone else you know but not a friend or family member
	Someone you don't know
3.33.	Have you ever been a member of a gang?
	I have never been in a gang
	Yes
a.	If yes, how old were you when you first joined the gang
b.	Are you still a member of a gang?
	I have never been in a gang
	Yes
	No
C.	If no, how old were you when you left
	I have never been in a gang
	Other

Very serious/ dangerous A little serious/ dangerous Not serious/dangerous	How serious/dangerous do you think gang activities are at your school?			
How serious/dangerous do you think gang activities are in your neighbourhood Very serious/	□ Very serious/	☐ A little serious	' [Not serious/dangerous
Very serious/ dangerous Not serious/dangerous	dangerous	dangerous		
In general, do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they a chance, or most people would try to be fair? (choose only one) Try to take advantage Try to be fair In the past 12 months: Have you used the following services/people when you needed help or support (Mark ALL that you've used) Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet	How serious/dangero	ous do you think gang	activities	are in your neighbourhood
In general, do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they a chance, or most people would try to be fair? (choose only one) Try to take advantage Try to be fair In the past 12 months: Have you used the following services/people when you needed help or support (Mark ALL that you've used) Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet	☐ Very serious/	☐ A little serious,		Not serious/dangerous
a chance, or most people would try to be fair? (choose only one) Try to take advantage Try to be fair In the past 12 months: Have you used the following services/people when you needed help or support (Mark ALL that you've used) Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet	dangerous	dangerous		
In the past 12 months: Have you used the following services/people when you needed help or support (Mark ALL that you've used) Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet			·	
Have you used the following services/people when you needed help or support (Mark ALL that you've used) Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet	☐ Try to take adv	antage	□ Try	to be fair
Local community centre Teacher	Have you used the formal (Mark ALL that you've Childline Peer counsellor Youth worker Doctor/Nurse Psychologist/social worker Religious leader Internet Local community cent	ollowing services/pe e used) orker	ople whe	n you needed help or support
Have you been bullied or assaulted				
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes		□ N	0
	_	ł		
In the neighbourhood At school	Other			

3.38.	What do you do most often when you are upset						
	Play sports or exercise						
	Watch TV, lister	Watch TV, listen to music					
	Hang out with friend/s						
	Hang out with family						
	Hang out with boyfriend/girlfriend						
	Go to community/youth centre						
	Go to church or	church grou	р				
	Spend time alor	ie					
	Drink alcohol						
	Hurt self						
	Take drugs						
	Binge eat						
	Other						
b.	☐ No	n do you use	□ Ye	es		I don't know	
	□ Never	□ Rarel	у	□ Sometimes		Often	
C.	If there are serv	ices and you	don't u	se it, why not?			
3.40.	Are there safe parts abused by some			o go to in your neig	hbou	rhood if they are being	
	□ No		□ Y	es		I don't know	

In your lifetim	ne, has an adult in you	r household ever:	
Pushed, grabl	oed or shoved you		
□ Once	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
Kicked, bit or	punched you?		
□ Once	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
Hit you with s	something that could h	nurt your body?	
□ Once	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
Choked or bu	rned you?		
□ Once	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
Physically atta	acked you in some oth	ner way	
□ Once	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
safe place to	live)		
□ Once			
	☐ A few times	☐ Many times	□ Never
by violence, li		nily members or close f	
	ne, have any close fam	nily members or close f	
by violence, li	ne, have any close fam	nily members or close f	
by violence, li	ne, have any close fam	nily members or close for dor beaten?	
by violence, li	ne, have any close fam	nily members or close for dor beaten?	
by violence, li Yes How were you	ne, have any close fam ike being shot, stabbed u related to them? (M	nily members or close for dor beaten?	
by violence, li Yes How were your parent	ne, have any close fam ike being shot, stabbed u related to them? (M	nily members or close for dor beaten?	
by violence, li Yes How were your parent Brother/sister	ne, have any close fam ike being shot, stabbed u related to them? (M	nily members or close for dor beaten?	
by violence, li Yes How were you Parent Brother/siste Cousin	ne, have any close fam ike being shot, stabbed u related to them? (M	nily members or close for dor beaten?	

	Friend					
	Classmate					
	Neighbour					
	Other					
b.	Was the person killed in your area?					
	□ Yes	□ No				
3.44.	In your lifetime, has anyone touched y	ou in any way sexually that they shouldn't have				
	or that made you feel uncomfortable	(this could be at home, at school or somewhere				
	else)					
	□ Yes	□ No				
3.45.	In your lifetime, has anyone forced y	you with physical force, threats or weapons to home, at school or anywhere else?				
	☐ Yes	□ No				
3.46.	beaten up by anybody?	been punched with a fist, kicked, choked or				
a.	If YES, where did this happen?					
	At school					
	On the way to/from school					
	In your neighbourhood					
	At home					
	In a different public area (like a park)					
	Other					
	This didn't happen to me.					
3.47.	In the past twelve months have you be weapon (like gun, knife, bottle etc)	peen threatened or attacked by anybody with a				
	□ Yes	□ No				

a.	If YES, where did this happen?							
	At school On the way to /from school							
	On the way to/f	rom school						
	In your neighbo	urhood						
	At home							
	In a different public area (like a park)							
	Other							
	This didn't happ	en to me.						
3.48.	In the past two	elve months, have y	ou be	en teased, bullie	ed, harassed by peers at			
	school?							
a.	Because of your	race/ethnicity						
	□ Not at all	☐ A little bit	□ s	ometimes	□ a lot			
			<u> </u>					
b.	Because of my g	gender						
	□ Not at all	☐ A little bit		ometimes	□ a lot			
c.	Because of my	sexual orientation (ie	. Bein	g gay)				
	□ Not at all	☐ A little bit	□ se	ometimes	□ a lot			
			•					
d.	Because of my r	religion						
	□ Not at all	☐ A little bit		ometimes	□ a lot			
3.49.					unched, choked, kicked or ne movies or the internet.			
	Also do not inc	clude times you wer	e play	ring with friends	, playing sport or joking			
	around)							
	□ Yes			□ No				
a.	If YES where did	I this happen? (Mark	ALL t	hat apply)				
	At school							
	On the way to/f	rom school						
	In your neighbo	urhood						
	At home							

	In a different public area (like a p	ark)				
	Other					
	This didn't happen to me.					
3.50.	In the past twelve months, have y	you seen someone get shot or shot at?				
	□ Yes	□ No				
a.	If YES was the person/people this	s happened to				
(Mark a	ıll that apply)					
	A family member					
	Someone you know					
	Someone you don't know					
b.	Where did this happen? (Mark ALL that apply)					
	At school					
	On the way to/from school					
	In your neighbourhood					
	At home					
	In a different public area (like a p	ark)				
	Other					
	This didn't happen to me.					
3.51.	Have you in the past twelvemont	hs seen anyone get killed as a result of violence, like				
	being shot, stabbed or beaten?					
	□ Yes	П No				
3.52.	If you were to witness a crime, w	hat would you do? (Mark ALL that apply)				
	Call the police					
	Tell an adult/teacher/counsellor					
	Tell a friend					
	Not tell the authorities					
	Other					

a.	f you said you would not call the authorities, why wouldn't you?
2.52	Harris and in the formation and a rown?
3.53.	How easy is it for you to get a gun?
	□ Very easy □ A little easy □ Hard □ Impossible
3.54.	In the past twelve months, have you carried a knife?
	□ Yes □ No
a.	If YES, did you carry it (Mark ALL that apply)
	To school?
	In your neighbourhood
	Somewhere else
3.55.	In the past twelve months, have you carried a gun?
	□ Yes □ No
a.	If YES, did you carry it (Mark ALL that apply)
	To school
	In your neighbourhood
	Somewhere else
3.56.	If you carried a knife or gun in the past twelve months, what were the main reason
	you carried a knife or gun?
	I didn't carry a knife or gun
	I felt unsafe at school
	I felt unsafe in the neighbourhood
	Friends/peers carried knives or guns
	I carried it for someone else
	Gave me power

	S	omeone th	reatened	to hurt	me							
	0	ther										
3.57	'. w	/hat perce	ntage of l	earners (do you	think ca	nrries a	weapon	at your	school?)	
		0% 10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	10	0%
	I ·	don't know	ı	1		•		•	1			
3.58		n general, l		n do you	ı trust	the poli	ce in yo	our com	munity/	neighbo	ourh	ood?
	1)	Mark only (ONE)									
		☐ A lot		ome		Only a	little		□ No	t at all		
3.59). D	uring the p	oast twelv	e month	ns, hav	e you h	ad cont	act with	the poli	ce beca	ause	they
	tŀ	nought you	or some	one you	know (did some	ething v	vrong?				
		Yes					No					
	_											
3.60). If	YES, do yo	u feel you	were tr	eated v	with res	ect by	the polic	ce during	this en	ıcoui	nter?
	1	did not hav	e contact	with th	e polic	e						
	А	lways										
	N	lost of the	time									
	S	ome of the	time									
	N	ever										
3.61		he next se	•				•	_				
		hether you	_	y disagre	ee, disa	agree, d	on't kno	ow, agre	ee or stro	ongly a	gree	with
	е	ach statem	ent:									
						Strong	y Di	sagree	Don't	Agr	ee	Strongly
						disagre	е		know			agree
	I live in	a neighbo	urhood w	here								
a.	people	know and	like									
	each of	ther										
	People	e in my neighbourhood are										

b. willing to help their neighbour

get along with each other

People in my neighbourhood generally

	People in my neighbourhood generally			
d.	share the same beliefs about what is			
	right and wrong			
e.	People in my neighbourhood can be			
	trusted			
	There are adults in my neighbourhood			
f.	that children can look up to			
	Parents in my neighbourhood			
g.	generally know one another			
	Parents in my neighbourhood know			
h.	their children's friends.			
	I can count on adults in my			
	neighbourhood to watch out that			
i.	children and teenagers are safe and			
	stay out of trouble.			

3.62. Please tell us whether the actions described in the next questions are very likely, likely, unlikely or very unlikely.

		Very	Likely	Unlikely	Very
		likely			unlikely
	If a group of children or teenagers in your				
	neighbourhood were skipping school and				
	hanging out on a street corner, how likely is				
a.	it that adults in the neighbourhood would do				
	something about it?				
	If some children or teenagers were spray-				
	painting graffiti on a local building, how likely				
b.	is it that adults in your neighbourhood would				
	do something about it?				
	If a child or teenager in your neighbourhood				
	was showing disrespect to an adult, how				
	likely is it that adults in your neighbourhood				
c.	would do something about it?				

	□ None	Some			A lot	
3.66	. How much graffiti is th	nere on buildings ar	nd walls in	ı your neig	ghbourhood	?
	None	Some			A lot	
	neighbourhood					
3.65	,	ken glass or trash	is on the	pavemer	nts and stre	ets in your
C.	Do anything else about it					
b.	Report it to the authorities					
a.	Know about it					
	Know shout it		Likely			Unlikely
			Very	Likely	Unlikely	Very
	the doctor when they o					
	child the way they sho					-
3.64	If a child or teenager i					
C.	Do anything else about it					
b.	Report it to the authorities					
a.	Know about it					
			Likely			Unlikely
			Very	Likely	Unlikely	Very
	adults in your neighbo	urhood would:				
3.63	s. If a child or teenager is	s being treated abu	sively by l	nis/her far	mily, how lik	ely is it that
	it?					
d.	neighbourhood would do so	mething about				
	how likely is it that adults in	your				
	someone was being beaten	or threatened,				

	None	□ Soi	ne	□ A lo	ot			lon't knov	W
Is the	ere a park,	playground	l or o	pen space	within \	valking di	stance of	your hon	ne?
	Yes	}		No			I don	t know	
How	often do y	ou use it							
	Ne	ver		Rar		Som	etimes		ofte
			ely						
Whe	re do you s	spend most	of yo	our time wi	th your	friends?			
In th	e neighbou	Irhood whe	re I li	ve					
In the neighbourhood where I go to school									
In an	other neig	hbourhood							
On a	n average s	school day,	abou	t how mar	ny hours	do you w	atch TV?		
Don'	t watch TV	on an aver	age s	chool day					
Less	than 1 hou	ır per schoo	ol day						
1 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
2 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
3 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
4 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
5 or	nore hour	s per schoo	l day						
On a	n average (day, about l	now r	nany hours	s do you	ı play com	puter or	video gan	nes OR
surf	the interne	et?							
Don'	t play com	puter or int	ernet	games OR	surf the	e internet	on an ave	rage scho	ool day
Less	than 1 hou	ır per schoo	l day						
1 ho	ur per scho	ool day							
2 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
3 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
4 ho	urs per sch	ool day							
5 or more hours per school day									

3.72.	On an average school day, how many hours do you talk on the phone/text message					
	with your friends?					
	Don't talk on the phone/text message on	an average school day				
	Less than 1 hour per school day					
	1 hour per school day					
	2 hours per school day					
	3 hours per school day					
	4 hours per school day					
	5 or more hours per school day					
3.73.	Do you have access to the internet?					
	□ Yes □	No				
a.	If yes, what do you use the internet MOST	「LY for?				
	Social media (facebook/twitter/snapchat/	'whatsapp etc)				
	Homework					
	Hobbies					
	Other					

ADDENDUM B

<u>Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za</u>

tel: +27 021 467 9272 Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20170109 -7109

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Mrs Fazia Parker

60 Murton Road

Rylands Estate

Athlone

7764

Dear Mrs Fazia Parker

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: THE INDIVIDUAL MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

- 1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- 2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- 3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
- 4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
- 5. The Study is to be conducted from **01 March 2017 till 30 September 2017**
- 6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
- 7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
- 8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
- Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education
 Department.

- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director:
 Research Services.
- 11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 09 January 2017

ADDEDNDUM C

University of South Africa

Date: 19 September 2017

Dear Sir/Madam

PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH PERTAINING TO "THE INDIVIDUAL

MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN

CAPE".

I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in Psychology at the University of South

Africa. As part of the requirements for the completion of this degree, a research project

is being undertaken.

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Fazia Parker. This study

will endeavour to understand the nature of violence in schools specific to the Western

Cape through research at four secondary schools situated within the Cape Flats.

Your participation will involve a questionnaire about your direct or indirect experience

of school violence.

There are no known risks associated with this research and all information gathered will

be treated confidentially. To ensure accuracy of transcriptions, you will be provided with

a written copy for your signature to confirm correctness of information.

participation in this research is completely voluntary and you may at any point withdraw

your consent to further partake in this study.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please

contact Fazia Parker at 0824474944

Kind Regards

Fazia Parker

Research Student

186

ADDENDUM D: INFORMED CONSENT

TITLE: THE INDIVIDUAL MINDSET BEHIND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE

Researcher: Fazia Parker
I, a learner at
hereby agree to participate in the abovementioned study explained to by Mrs
Fazia Parker, a student at the University of South Africa currently undertaking a
MA (SS) degree.

I understand and agree to the following:

- That my participation is voluntary
- Interviews may be recorded via electronic device
- The data collected may be used for the purpose of the research.

I acknowledge the following:

- I am free to cease all involvement in the research should I choose to.
- My identity is protected by the researcher
- There is no incentive or reimbursement for any time or information I choose to divulge during the interview.
- I will ask questions deemed necessary for my own clarity if at any time I do not understand.
- I will be provided with the original signed copy of this consent form.
- The aims and objectives of this study was discussed with me.
- As a minor (under 18) I have discussed the contents of this consent with my parents/guardian who has granted me permission to partake in this study.

SCHOOLS SPECIFIC TO THE WESTERN CAPE
lian of
partake in the abovementioned study.
Date :
Date:

ADDENDUM E PRINCIPAL/TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to initiate a discussion on the issue of school violence, I would appreciate your cooperation by answering the following questions:

Are there any	manifestations of violence	e among students in the school where
you teach? Is	f your answer is "Yes", go	to question 2. If your answer is "No"
this is the en	d of your survey.	
Yes	No	
In your opinion	on, how serious is the probl	lem
Not serious	Somewhat Serious	Very serious
What are the	most common displays of v	violence?
Do you use ar	ny strategies to address and/	or prevent violence in schools? If your
answer is YI	ES, go to question 5. If your	r answer is No, go to question 6.
Yes	No	
Please list so		
	ome strategies that you use	ed to prevent/address the displays of
violence in s		ed to prevent/address the displays of
violence in s		ed to prevent/address the displays of
violence in s		ed to prevent/address the displays of
violence in s		ed to prevent/address the displays o

-	ou think that teachers receive suitable training to introduce strategies for
conf Yes	lict resolution, and create a culture of peace in the classroom/school? No
105	110
Do y	ou know any programs and/or policies to address this problem?
Yes	No
If you	ar answer is "Yes", please explain:
Ţ	ou think that there are obstacles to the implementation of strategies for enting violence in the schools?
Yes	No
If you	ar answer is "Yes", please specify:
Are t	here any materials available in your country for teachers to prevent or treat
viole	ence in schools?
_	tion Title
	here any materials available in your country for teachers to prevent or treat nce in schools?
Yes	No