



**BUILDING MORE PEACEFUL SCHOOLS
IN HARARE**

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Philosophy in Public Administration – Peace Studies

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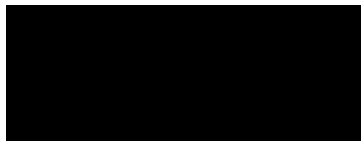
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DECLARATION

I Evernice Netsai Chiramba declare that,

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ABSTRACT

School discipline is a challenge worldwide. Traditionally, Zimbabwean teachers have used punitive measures to obtain the desired behaviour from learners within schooling environments. However, the global outcry against human rights violations associated with corporal punishment caused the country's education ministry to advocate for non-punitive approaches - without providing adequate alternatives. In the sphere of restorative justice, an action research project was conducted in six primary schools, of which three formed the control group. In the other three schools where the intervention was applied, 12 teachers were involved in establishing peace-making circles and peer mediation to 9-10-year-old students. Implementation details varied amongst the schools, but generally, the children had bi-weekly opportunities through the circles to tell their peers and teachers what they were experiencing and feeling. Interviews were conducted with four teachers; questionnaires were administered to ten pupils from each of the six schools and nine parents held focus group discussions on nonviolent ways of raising children, before and after the intervention. The parents' efforts were meant to complement teachers' efforts in laying the foundation for the desired discipline. Thematic analysis was used on the data. The findings revealed that peace-making circles and peer mediation enabled teachers to get to know their students and to respond pre-emptively to potential problems; furthermore, classroom disruptions were reduced. Parents' efforts created smooth communication channels between the community and the school. The study showed that restorative justice could be a promising avenue to pursue further for addressing school discipline issues.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my sons Kudakwashe, Tinashe and Makomborero.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APMF	Asian Pacific Mediation Forum
CARN	Collaborative Action Research Network
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CMC	Community Mediation Centres
CRE	Conflict Resolution Education
CRU	Conflict Resolution Unlimited
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DUT	Durban University of Technology
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FM	Frequency Modulation
ID	Identification Document
MADD	Mothers against Drunken Driving
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SSOCS	School Survey of Crime and Safety
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child
VOP	Victim Offender Panel

Part I Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Background of the Study

Violence in schools has become a concern in modern societies with the advent of new technology and globalisation exposing some students to human rights legislation, although many in developing countries remain ignorant of it (UNICEF 2012; UNICEF 2014). Some traditional methods of disciplining children are actually in violation of human rights codes, making it difficult for adults to deal with their children's misbehaviour in effective ways (Sigauke 2015; Shiva Kumar *et al.* 2017).

Some parents in African societies believe in the effectiveness of physical punishment, which includes corporal punishment and other punitive measures, and some cultures justify disciplining children using corporal punishment, yet, this act is now punishable under the human right laws (Leach 2003).

Violence in schools emanates from the different ecological systems theory levels such as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem (Brewer and Lindle 2014; Hong *et al.* 2014). The microsystem refers to the immediate environment of the child governed by adults who support his/her positive growth by building healthy relationships. The mesosystem strengthens these types of connections and their continuity across a child's microsystem, the connections a child establishes are highly dependent on the kind of the community that the child is in (Brewer and Lindle 2014). The exosystem consists of contexts that influence the child indirectly. These include the parents' workplace, neighbourhood in which they live, the extended family peer groups which would all affect the time adults spend with the child providing guidance and positive growth (Hong *et al.* 2014). The macrosystem depends on opportunities, resources and constraints present in the child's and family's life. Societal culture affects the parents' priorities and practice in terms of how they organize their daily routines to achieve their goals. Cultural mores that are rigid, prescriptive policies and overreliance on rules and regulations, nonetheless tend to contribute to the occurrence of school violence.

The Zimbabwean society has a history full of violence, with some of it being spread through the media (Coltart 2008). With the spreading of entrepreneurship, due to economic hardship, many parents have reduced the number of hours they spend with their children, leading to a reduction of support within the microsystem of most children. Thus, concern for the welfare of children may be neglected leading into the use of harsh punitive methods. Such use of violence often become perpetuated and exalted, especially in situations where they bring the desired results. The background of most children living in Zimbabwe is inevitably affected by the stressful conditions in the macrosystem (Coltart 2008).

The use of corporal punishment in Zimbabwe is nonetheless being moderated by the infiltration of the impact of globalisation. According to *Public Service Circular P.35 of 1999*, corporal punishment should be administered by the school head in the presence of a witness and be recorded inside a log book. This regulation is being reported to have been scrapped by the permanent secretary in the Ministry of

Education in 2013 (Staff writer 2013). Most teachers believe that corporal punishment is the only way to deal with disruptive behaviour and continue to administer corporal punishment thereby bringing their profession to disrepute (Shumba 2001). Some of them have however been incriminated and charged (Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012). The issue of discipline in government schools is a matter which needs urgent attention (Maphosa and Shumba 2010).

A staff writer in the Metro newspaper of November 30 (2013) commented in Zimbabwe there is talk of about the outlawing of corporal punishment but little is mentioned concerning alternatives to it. It thus becomes a justification for teachers to continue using corporal punishment in reaction to children's misbehaviour, despite the efforts of education to create child friendly environments which promote positive learning and addresses the issue of violence that exists in learning institutions (Maphosa and Shumba 2010).

Reilly (2014: 14) is of the view that the school based violence that is rampant in Sub-Saharan schools can be ascribed to differences between traditional culture and the colonial schooling system. Traditional African societies had their own ways of inculcating cultural norms that were different from the colonial system (Gelfand 1973). Today any act of misconduct within the context of schooling is itself seen as a form of violence that therefore may also be countered by violence (Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012). This ranges from talking out of turn, truancy, bullying, physical assault to any kind of social harassment (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2009b: 58).

Sexual harassment is also a problem in most African schools (Leach and Humphreys 2007). Such violence is often shrouded in a 'culture of silence' making it difficult to get a clear picture of its extent (Reilly 2014). Furthermore, the community sometimes blames the victims (Leach and Humphreys 2007). For example, some African girls are normally expected to dress in a dignified way, and avoid spaces that might lure men to take advantage of them, but boys inevitably harass them at schools. Bullying among boys is an issue linked to peer pressure, especially in cases when they harass girls in school, although same sex harassment is reported as well (Leach 2003: 397).

Restorative discipline offers nonviolent alternatives that can replace the prevalent punitive disciplinary system to counter existence within Zimbabwe primary schools. Teachers' pedagogy can indeed contribute to a more peaceful world (Harris 2002), hence the need to equip them with a knowledge of nonviolent means of dealing with discipline in the different learning environments. Installation of security devices such as cameras and closed circuit televisions (CCTVs) is a good preventive measure, but may still ignore the crucial aspect of understanding the nature of violence (Harris 1999). Therefore it is imperative to apply means that deal with the root causes of violence common in each school.

1.1 Context of the Research

The incidence of gender and other kinds of violence in Zimbabwean schools has been widely documented and much is also said about the importance of disciplinary measures that promote a positive

learning environment (Leach and Humphreys 2007; Saito 2013). Yet several researchers report that girls are still abused by teachers in different ways that include sexual harassment and physical punishment (Leach and Humphreys 2007). Physical force is still widely applied in many African countries as a way of punishing pupils who break the rules and portray behaviour that is contrary to the expectations of school authorities. Such behaviour include tardiness, being late, non-payment of school fees, non-compliance with school codes of dressing and many other laid down regulations. There are frequent reports in the local media of physical abuse by staff in schools that has sometimes been triggered by trivial incidents but has led to injury, or have even been fatal.

The country has a long history of violence dating from the *Chimurenga* liberation wars, *Gukurahundi* massacres, Operation Restore Order (*Murambatsvina*), pre-election violence and land grabs, and the history has been passed from one generation to the next where success was achieved by violent means (Coltart 2008). The heroic prowess achieved through physical bravery ends up being cherished by many young people. The minds of the young pupils in schools are therefore already imbued with violence due to historical heritage and daily experience. Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed (Harris 1999). Harris suggests that if teachers can create peaceful episodes that are as dramatic as violent scenes, then peace would be easier to restore within educational institutions.

Most of the public schools in Harare are located in the medium and high density suburbs where there is a high risk of overcrowding and poverty. Poverty within families forces caregivers and parents to neglect children in preference to running around for survival. Burton (2008a) states that children from environments permeated by structural forms of inequality are also more likely to perpetrate violence in schools. Classrooms are generally overcrowded yet, there are no clearly stipulated disciplinary methods offered to the already disgruntled teachers (ibid).

Other strategies used that include expulsions and exclusions as peacekeeping strategies in schools creates an opportunity for peacemaking and peacebuilding to effectively combat the violence that is occurring in schools.

1.2 Problem Statement

There seems to be hardly any systematic research on the use of peacebuilding as a means to combat school violence in Zimbabwe. Peacekeeping approaches to current school violence rely on strategies used to deter those who do not pay any attention to the measures which have been adopted to curb violence so that they will face consequences if they not obey the law. In response to the problems created by violence in schools, educators are seeking to implement prevention programs to create a safe climate within schools.

Educators in Zimbabwe have the task to devise ways that will motivate young pupils to replace the violent and aggressive images that dominate their minds with positive peace building images, so that in whatever choices that are confronting them in later life they will opt for nonviolent alternatives.

The purpose of this study is to explore possibility of the creating the concept of peaceful schools through the implementation of nonviolent strategies in six selected primary schools around Harare's Metropolitan Province and city.

1.3 Motivation for the Research

The study is based upon a heartfelt desire to foster the building of more peaceful schools by encouraging the creation of environments that allow pupils to learn without fear of violence and harsh punitive measures. The subject of school violence and discipline has become a controversial issue globally and nationally due to clashes of cultures and beliefs. However most of the literature is based on studies done in developed Western societies which are different from the African setting in which this study was done.

The importance of creating peaceful environments in schools cannot be over-emphasised because of the history of violence that society inherited from colonial times (Coltart 2008). The study focused on the stakeholders of six primary schools, that is; the parents, teachers and pupils aged nine-to-ten-years old, two of which were located in each of three areas, viz medium and high density suburb and a semi-urban settlement. By virtue of being a former teacher myself I also want to assist my former colleagues to find alternatives to disciplinary measures they are applying. The reality on the ground is that teachers are under pressure from their work load leading to them to neglect some of their duties, and with this nullifying many of their efforts.

While I am aware of some studies done around issues of discipline, (Chitiyo and Wheeler 2009; Shumba *et al.* 2010; Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012; Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014; Chitiyo *et al.* 2014; Sigauke 2015; Chingombe *et al.* 2017), I do not know of any that has used action research to explore the effectiveness of restorative justice measures in Zimbabwe schools. As a researcher I worked with teachers in shaping restorative practices to suit their own environments, exploring the nature, extent and causes of violence and then implementing active measures by using peacemaking circles with the assistance of peer mediators. The qualitative research methodology allowed pupils and teachers with the assistance of parents to become actively involved in creating an atmosphere free from violence and combining it with constructive ways of dealing with violence. The aim of the study is to make a contribution towards the implementation of restorative discipline in African school settings in a way that will benefit not only the immediate participants but also the wider educational fraternity.

1.4 Research Aims and Specific Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to build more peaceful schools in Zimbabwe that use nonviolent ways of dealing with the conflicts which commonly occur within the school context.

The specific objectives are:

1. To explore the nature, extent, trends, causes and consequences of violence in six schools.
2. To examine current methods used to deal with violence in these schools, and their apparent effectiveness.
3. Using an action research design that establishes peer mediation and peacemaking circles for conflict resolution in the selected schools, oversee their operation over twelve months and then evaluate the outcomes.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Restorative justice is a sustainable peacebuilding theory that can be applied in this study. It offers new ideas for transforming a schooling system in which traditional ways of dealing with conflict are still used in the classroom. The restorative justice approach allows all those who in some way or another have a stake in a breach or an offence, to find a solution to the conflict in an amicable way (Zehr 2015a). Restorative justice has been tried in some Western countries (Australia, United Kingdom, USA, Canada, New Zealand) by means of pilot studies done in schools, where it has proved to offer better results compared to the zero tolerance systems to disruptive behaviour that were being applied (Cremin 2014; Drewery 2014; Johnson and Johnson 2014). By putting the victim's needs first restorative justice follows a new approach to the widespread retributive systems which seek to nail the offender and give them their just deserts (Zehr 2015a).

In seeking redress for a wrong that has been done, it does not only look to satisfy the requirements of regulations or the law, but also tries to set the relationship with the individual and society, which has been ruptured by the act of violence right (Zehr 2015a). This requires the issue of truth, acknowledgment, healing, forgiveness and reconciliation to be carefully and diligently addressed, and the restoration and rehabilitation of the perpetrator is achieved (Foley 2014; Zehr 2015a). For justice to have been fully attained, restitution and reparations must take place (Johnstone 2013b; Van Ness and Strong 2013b; Johnson and Johnson 2014). For school children the presence of their peers and parents in this process will make them understand that the wrongs they did, affect those they love as well (Daly 2006; Drewery 2014). Other participants in the restorative justice process also learn how important relationships can be restored.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

Part 1 of the dissertation contains Chapter 1 which provides a summary and rationale for the study, outlining the setting in which the research took place. It also outlines the aim and objectives of the research.

Part 2 is the literature review, which is covered in Chapters 2-5. Chapter 2 evaluates restorative justice theory, comparing it to retributive justice. Other ideas that have sprung from the restorative justice approach are explored, specifically Braithwaite's reintergrative shaming, Tomkins' affect theory, Nathanson's compass of shame, and Tyler's procedural justice theory. How restorative justice functioned in traditional societies is also examined. The advantages and disadvantages of each method are highlighted. Chapter 3 looks at how restorative justice operates in schools in the way that discipline is exercised such as peer mediation, peacemaking circles, and conferences processes are explored. Practical applications of the restorative approach are highlighted. Chapter 4 discusses traditional methods of dealing with children's indiscipline. Chapter 5 discusses violence in the Zimbabwean schools and highlights existing conditions and practices found in schools selected for this study. Various causes and effects of school violence are examined.

Part 3 contains Chapter 6 which looks at research design, methodology, and what is meant by action research as it was applied in this study to the school setting. Action research in schools is explored and evaluated.

Part 4 is comprised of Chapter 7 in which pre-test results from the participants are discussed by using thematic analysis. Chapter 7 covers data obtained from teachers' interviews, children's questionnaires and focus group discussions held with parents.

Part 5 contain concluding Chapters 8-10. Chapter 8 evaluates the impact of peacemaking circles in the three experimental schools. Chapter 9 evaluates the overall impact of peer mediation in the selected schools. Chapter 10 summarises the main findings of the study and offers some recommendations.

Part II Chapter 2: The Two Paradigms

2. Introduction

The chapter begins by comparing two paradigms, viz retributive justice and restorative justice. The roots of restorative justice will be outlined with respect to traditional communities within and outside Africa. Restorative justice theories emanating from Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory will be highlighted. These are Tomkins affect theory, Nathanson's compass of shame, and Tyler's procedural justice theory. Thereafter each stakeholder's role in restorative justice practice will be explored in relation to different practices in the justice system. This chapter will lay down a theoretical framework that can serve as a lens to my thesis.

2.1 The two Paradigms

2.1.1 Retributive Justice

According to the retributive justice paradigm, crime is described as a violation of the state by breaking the law and being guilty of an offense (Zehr 2015a). Wronging somebody is an offence against the state that has set the rules and regulations to be adhered to. The state therefore protects the public from being violated in any way by prosecuting offenders under the law.

The role of justice is to determine who is at fault and to administer appropriate punishment, in a suit between the state and the offender according to systematic rules governing the process (Zehr 2015a, 2015b). The pain that the offender should feel is intended to make the person realize that the offence should not have been committed and must not be repeated again. Seeing that there are set rules to be followed, there is a challenge to apply them consistently to any particular offense. Moreover, each judge, prosecutor, and probation officer treat crime according to his/ her own understanding of what is considered appropriate, making it difficult to find uniformity in the severity of the sentence imposed.

According to criminal law, guilt must be established (Zehr 2015a, 2015b). Guilt is defined as the failure of an individual to desist from wrong doing when the person has a choice between doing what is right and doing what is wrong. Stated otherwise, guilt is a result of an inclination that an individual fails to control. The principle then is the guilty party must get his/her just deserts by suffering the pain of punishment. The establishment of guilt is paramount and determines the outcome for the offender. Legal training focuses mainly on the rules and establishment of guilt and has little to say on resolving problems caused by the criminal act.

In criminal justice, one is either guilty or not guilty, although the extent of guilt might vary. The individual who gets incarcerated will nonetheless be labelled a criminal by society and that stigma will live with him/her for a long time, affecting their day-to-day life. After establishing guilt, the justice team must ensure that the guilty party gets what they deserve. Punishment is viewed as a way offenders pay back their debt to community.

Zehr (2015a: 78) explains that in retributive justice it is assumed that when a person wrongs another a serious injustice occurs, which hence needs to be corrected. However, just deserts are decided by the state without any input from the community and the victim(s). Moreover, the community contributes in taxes towards the upkeep of the offender if he/she gets incarcerated. Treatment of the offender is up to correctional service staff, who are administering the punishment on behalf of the state. In this case punishment is viewed as vengeance from the public (Zehr 2015a), amounting to a tit-for-tat scenario.

In criminal justice, the state is considered the victim and offenders become mere bystanders to the crime, where they can be called as witnesses if needed. Moreover, the two are forced to use legal language, which may not be understood by those involved. Justice by implication is simply defined as applying the law, and crime as the act of law breaking (Zehr 2015a).

2.1.2 Restorative Justice

“Restorative justice is a process to involve to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs and obligation, to heal and put things as right as possible” (Zehr 2015b: 37).

“Restorative justice is a way of responding to criminal behaviour by balancing the needs of the community, the victim and the offenders. It is an evolving concept that has given rise to different interpretation in different countries, one around which there is not always a perfect consensus” (Vienna 2006: 6).

According to Vienna’s definition above, restorative justice takes different forms in different contexts worldwide, depending on the needs of the people involved. This indicates its wide reach which is relevant not only to justice, but also to health and education, the workplace, and rural livelihoods as well.

Restorative justice represents a paradigm shift in the judicial philosophy (Van Wormer and Walker 2013). At the macro level, restorative justice is about peace making and at the micro level it is about relationships. Offenders may come to see restorative justice as a pathway toward change and redemption, whilst victims may recognise it as a way of healing. The rediscovery of the victim in the late twentieth century led to the development of restorative justice discipline (Walgrave *et al.* 2013), alongside the established discipline of criminal justice.

Restorative justice offers an ethos with a practical problem solving approach to conflict and crime in which all affected parties can voluntarily directly or indirectly engage in a dialogue, within an environment which promotes learning and growth (Elliott and Gordon 2011; Gavrielides and Artinopoulou 2013). More specifically, restorative justice invites full participation and consensus. It aims to repair what is broken for both the victim and the offender and seeks to make the offender accountable for his/her actions by not only facing up to their offence but also by meeting those who

have suffered as a result. The aim of restorative justice is to reunite what has been separated and to strengthen the community in order to prevent further harm.

Restorative justice can be understood in three conceptions, viz the encounter, reparative and transformative conceptions. These ideas help different people involved to understand the positive role that the restorative justice system can play in bringing them together. In the encounter affected people meet together to discuss an offence, its consequences and what could be done to rectify the situation, with the assistance of a facilitator (Johnson and Johnson 2014; Van Ness 2014). Cremin (2014: 110) notes that the victim, offender and other stakeholders are brought together outside the formal and professionally dominated setting. Johnson and Johnson (2014: 161) point out that restorative justice focuses on repairing the harm caused by an offence, whilst the facilitator encourages stakeholders to engage in a meaningful dialogue that allows the community to express their emotions, especially the hurt. The encounter helps people to engage as personalities through dialogue so that they come to appreciate the effect of their behaviour on others. The victim's questions are answered and clarified, bringing restoration within the community. In educational settings the encounter takes place in peer mediation and restorative dialogues (Cremin 2014). Those involved are able to discuss what exactly happened, how it happened, how it affected them and what needs to be done about it.

The reparative conception on the other hand, seeks to repair the harm even where there is no encounter by setting in motion a just response. Victims whose offenders are not known can benefit from a healing circle process where the community has to surround, care and affirm that what happened was undeserving (Cremin 2007; Pranis 2013). Where the offender is known harm is repaired in the form of genuine apologies and reimbursements where possible, through involvement of all affected parties and an understanding of the root causes of offences committed by pupils. Apparently, understanding root causes of offences in restorative justice may reduce offences likely to be committed. Reparations promote the maintenance of harmony, solidarity and creation of interdependence within the community (Cremin 2014: 117).

The transformative conception embraces both the encounter and reparative conception by addressing both structural and individual injustice. It attempts to remedy the underlying causes of structural injustices, such as poverty, corruption, idleness, that had lead people to commit offence. It challenges people to apply restorative principles in their interactions. Van Ness (2014: 33) stresses that the transformative conception allows people to think relationally by changing the way they view themselves and others. In this way the conceptions mutually reinforce each other.

Zehr (2009) proposes certain principles for living restoratively. He stresses that an individual must cultivate connections to the web of relationships existing within their communities and its surroundings, and be aware of both the potential and possible impact of their behaviour on others. It is important to take responsibility for actions that may harm others. Respecting and not ignoring all those you associate with is also important. Those affected should be fully involved in addressing the conflict and harm

caused by their behaviour by engaging in dialogue with each other, listening intently to understand what others are saying, in order to learn from the experience. Everybody should be cautious about imposing their own views on others, and sensitively confront injustice.

Being humans is being in relationship with others and being shaped by the other by interaction with them. The fact that we are all connected causes wrongs done to others to breach relationships and distort the constitution that support the community (Nedelsky 2011). Johnstone (2013a: 55-56) advocates that when one of the members of a community has been harmed the question to be asked should be “what should we do for the victim” before asking “who did the harm?” (Doak 2011) further suggests that the victim needs reassurance that harm was not intended, and that the offender undertakes not to do it again.

The second objective would be to reinstate the offender as a member of the community. The norm of criminal justice should be that the offender is restored to the community and not only getting their just deserts. Offenders who show remorse and contrition should be honoured and cherished. Marshall (2012) states that the key emotion that a restorative criminal justice process will provide space for is that of compassion.

Restorative justice is a multifaceted transformative process operating in either a separatist paradigm or wholeness dimension (Zellerer 2013). The separatist paradigm causes the disconnection of the offender from the society by giving them just deserts. Prisons are the rightful place for offenders and thereby give rise to further separation in accordance with the nature and extent of the crime, while such punishment does not reduce the number of crimes committed or recidivism, so that they end up being repeated again. The wholeness dimension on the other hand, invites us to approach the world in a truly authentic and conscious manner. The separatist paradigm has unfortunately been dominant, but the wholeness dimension is slowly bringing about a new consciousness. It is only through the wholeness dimension that restorative justice can be truly realised.

Walgrave *et al.* (2013) cite three ways restorative justice can take precedence over retributive justice, by relying upon the principles of restorative justice, the regulation of illegal behaviour, and by normative decision making. It is realised when the crime is addressed in a manner that is more attentive to the needs of communities, the offenders and victims. Walgrave *et al.* (2013: 161) stress that normalisation of behaviours that are either good or bad is achieved by the fact that everybody is regarded as a potential criminal, due to our inherent human weaknesses and strengths. Restorative justice views everybody, victims and offenders alike as ordinary, rational, and accountable people. The other side of it is that everybody is a potential criminal, even though only a few are caught and publicly prosecuted. According to this view it is not the offender’s wish to get exposed and be humiliated, but to get away without being caught. Most crimes may go unnoticed, and it is only the guilt in the offenders’ minds that remains.

The criminology of restorative justice offers the possibility of a bottom-up decision model, in which those involved seek to improve the quality of social life. In restorative justice, individuals come to see

crime in a way that can actually change behaviour patterns. With its dynamic approach, restorative justice favours qualitative action research.

Doak (2011) emphasises the role that emotion plays in the practice of restorative justice. He argues it helps the offender to reintegrate into the community, as well as helping the victim to find closure, since emotional restoration is more important for most people than reparations. On the contrary, in retributive justice processes witnesses are used as weapons against the other party by silencing the narratives of the victim and the offender (Doak 2011). In this manner restorative justice contributes to restoration and healing processes. MacAllister (2014: 98) raises the critique that restorative justice takes people back to customary patterns of behaviour which prohibit community from moving on. Moreover, there exists linguistic ambiguities between the meaning of the 'transformative' and 'restorative' even though Johnson and Johnson (2014) proposed that there could be better terms applied to the two processes. Restorative justice however, is a process seeking to build relationships in a community in both proactive and preventive. There is nothing wrong with people going back to accustomed behaviour as long as it brings back desirable results that enables them to move forward in a positive way.

MacAllister (2014) also suggest that shaming a child is emotionally demeaning. It could on the other hand be said that the damage that offensive behaviour does is greater than the pain of public humiliation, while the latter could persuade a child not to do it again. Therefore, the goal of discipline in a community to control children's behaviour and stop them from repeating committing offences.

It is now time to examine how the two paradigms view an offence and justice.

Offence

The retributive justice paradigm describes an offence as law breaking where justice plays a role in establishing guilt, so that the punishment can be meted out by exerting pain (Zehr 2015a: 79). While the retributive justice system pays attention to the 'correctional' or 'deterrence' aspects of pain suffered by the offender, it neglects the negative effects which might harden the character of the criminal.

According to retributive justice, when a law is broken, the offender in most cases is wholly to be blamed (Witvliet *et al.* 2008). The offence inflicts injury which needs healing in four basic dimensions, namely the victim, interpersonal relationships, the offender and the community (Zehr 2015a).

Restorative justice in contrast views an offence as negatively impacting individuals, their possessions and the quality of their relations (Sharpe 2013; Foley 2014; Zehr 2015b). This provides a way for offenders to claim power and status whilst denying their victims the same. Humans are constituted in relationships (Nedelsky 2011: 19) which are damaged by the offence, thus affecting interconnectedness (Gavrielides and Artinopoulou 2013). The violation affects both the victim and the offender whose identities are soiled. Wrongdoing is viewed as conduct that is prohibited (Foley 2014: 10), is unjustifiable and an inexcusable invasion and denial of the legitimate interests of rights of another.

However, any conduct that is harmful due to its invasive nature, including instances where there is consent, is considered as an offence. But unlawful act of individuals, as well as structures of institutionalised social prejudice, are all wrongs should be addressed.

Concisely, retributive justice aims to establish guilt and deal with the offender, whereas restorative justice attempts to mend relationships broken by the crime, since it recognises the harm caused by such action.

Justice

A victim wishes that justice will prevail. Justice brings restoration, so that no further harm is done and the healing can begin (Zehr 2015a). According to Rawls's (1971) social theory of justice, justice assures fairness (Gaus 2014). The principle of justice applies equally to all people, although it is up to communities to decide what is appropriate in each situation.

The first aim of restorative justice is to address the needs of the victim. The victim should be allowed to vent their emotions as they tell the truth and are listened to. The victim further needs the empathy of others and to be assured that what happened was undeserved and not their fault. They also need to feel vindicated and know that something is being done to correct the wrong done so that it does not recur.

Justice wants offenders to acknowledge the harm they caused and to set things right as the key obligation (Zehr 2015a, 2015b). The offender and the victim must both be present for the duration of the justice session out of their own volition, and not out of coercion. As for the offender, the crime creates a debt to rectify the wrong. The basic principle is that the parties involved both be accountable for what has happened (Foley 2014).

Justice underscores the principle of human dignity, rights, respect, and concern. Foley (2014) outlines the mechanisms that help to advance the practice of justice. These include censure, remorse, accountability, responsibility, truth-telling, reparation, apology and forgiveness all of which will be discussed in greater depth in section 2.3.2.

An injustice gap occurs when the victim's expectation of justice is not satisfied. The gap is widened by additional perceived injustices such as acquittal of the offender due to technicality. The gap however, is narrowed when the offender is convicted and sentenced. Victims can further reduce the gap by accepting the outcome, forgiving the offender and moving on. As far as retributive justice is concerned, punishment makes the offender meet justice demands instantly. In other words, it immediately offers the just deserts that the offender deserves (Zehr 2015a).

An injustice gap generates negative emotions such as anger, fear, withdrawal, stress, self-pity, and the like, that can only be reduced over time through forgiveness (Witvliet *et al.* 2008). Injustice however, is more likely to lead to a desire for revenge and withdrawal rather than gratitude and empathy.

Johnstone and Van Ness (2013) point out that in the case of restorative justice, injustice does occur when a person wrongs another, but alleviating the pain suffered, combined with reparation, is both a necessary and sufficient condition for seeing that is done justice. The trauma experienced by the victims of crime causes a feeling of powerlessness and distress, especially if they had previously suffered similar abuse. It is essential that both the victim and offender meet together with the community so that restoration can begin.

From a criminological point of view an offender is punished in accordance with the nature of the crime and the circumstances around it. Retributive justice tends to place the blame on the perpetrator, neglecting the societal conditions that influence those actions (Johnstone and Ward 2010). This is the gap the restorative justice seeks to fill.

2.1.3 Restorative Justice in the Traditional Communities' Context

Restorative justice is part of ancient African practice that has its roots in early Egyptian civilisation. During the past two centuries it was however, greatly undermined by European systems of justice that acted as punitive regimes, the fundamental principle of Western justice being that crime is done to the state, which has the power to punish the offender (Nabudere and Velthuisen 2013). Colonial systems lead to a decline in the belief that crimes were committed against God and victims within the community, hence the need for reparation. In African tradition, when an offender commits a crime, a wrong is done against the whole community. The major focus is the restoration of social relations so that individuals may regain security, dignity, harmony and a feeling of justice.

For most African societies, restorative justice is part of their way of life. Restorative justice is the way most cultures dealt with wrongdoing in the past, including our European ancestors (Zehr 2015a). They saw crime as a violation of people and interpersonal relationships. It is also part of the concept of Ubuntu. In this worldview crime signifies an injury to the community and a breach of the web of relationships. Harm to the individual becomes the harm to all. The fundamental concern is to heal those affected by the crime.

Ubuntu is a recognisable African way of life, built through the process of childhood socialization (Metz 2011). It is known by different names as indicated in the discussion to follow. Ubuntu is a collective and humanistic morality which focuses on the welfare and interests of each member in a society, since it does not elevate individuals, but celebrates and promotes cohesion. Each individual has collective obligations alongside their own private life in order to promote solidarity. Ubuntu stresses the significance of consensus and prioritises the well-being of the whole community.

Mbiti (2006: 200) has this to say concerning African societies:

As in all societies in the world, social order and peace are recognized by African people as essential and sacred. Where the sense of social life is so deep, it is invertible that the solidarity of the community must be maintained, otherwise there is disintegration and destruction. This order is conceived of primarily in terms of kinship relationship which simultaneously produces many situations since everybody is related

to everybody else and deepens the sense of damage....As such it is an offense to the community and its consequences affect not only *one individual* ... but also the whole body of his relatives.

As Mbiti (2006) puts it, an individual has no privacy in the sight of other members. African societies value stability and peace as prerequisites of solidarity such that their absence would precipitate the disintegration of that society. Whatever an individual suffers also affects their families and consequently the community as a whole.

Colonization caused the breakdown of traditional African social structures and replaced them with more individualistically oriented Western social institutions (Arowolo 2010). Schoeman (2014) adds that colonization destroyed the very fabric of society, breeding a culture of violence that brought about social destruction and disintegration. A loss of identity inevitably follows.

The consequence of globalisation is a state of anomie, implying that there will be chaos due to change in society, evident of lack of consensus regarding norms judged to be legitimate, and an insecurity (Messner 2010). Divisions among a once united people and continuous decay of their value system from one generation to the next, is likely to undermine the feeling of the Africaness, which Ubuntu can restore if given a chance. Both Ubuntu and restorative justice regard dignity and respect as central values and seek to set right the wrong done to individuals by means of open dialogue until a consensus is reached, with the aim of promoting reconciliation and harmony in the community.

The spirit of Ubuntu is reflected in Rwandan *gacaca*, Ugandan *mato oput*, Mozambican *magamba* ceremonies, and by *nhimbe*, *dare* and *botso* in Zimbabwe (Mangena 2015). Benyera (2015) identifies communal solidarity, acknowledgement of wrongdoing, unity, and limitation of power as some of the characteristics that are manifested in traditional Zimbabwean communities. Ubuntu holds that a human being is not complete without others, since happiness and fulfilment can only be found through building relationships in communities, which is the reason why the restoration of relationships is so important. It is customary institutions that promote peace and stability in traditional Zimbabwean communities.

One such institution is the traditional court (*dare*) where community members gather to deliberate on community issues and resolve disputes. Such a platform encourages truth telling, with the aim of restoring relationships that are broken by some offense. Another institution is the *nhimbe*, or work party (Benyera 2015). Families that are in trouble are assisted by labour offered, whilst at the same time a solution to the problem the family is facing is negotiated. Labour is used as a means of showing solidarity and at the same time improves the food security of the affected family. A mediator facilitates discussion whilst the work is being done. If an offence has been committed, the perpetrator is questioned on the circumstances that precipitated it, in the presence of the victim and his/her family. Respected elders would be present to prevent violent altercations from erupting.

Other ceremonies promoting the restoration of relationships with both the living and the dead are performed. One such ceremony is the *botso* (Benyera 2015: 339), where an individual who wronged a biological parent before their death confesses to the community as a way of appeasing the spirit of the

dead, whilst community members offer the guilty party some grain to be used for the cleansing ceremony. Others present are allowed to probe into the circumstances and can pass whatever comment they view fit to shame the offender.

The above demonstrates that Shona culture encourages truth telling and resolution of disputes that arise during the course of their everyday lives. Encouraging each other to confess and supporting both the victim and the offender is a sign of commitment to each other. This is passed on to children during family discussions and instruction. Another example is the evening *dare* when all the family males gather and discuss issues that teach young boys manliness and other virtues. The girl child of course has the opportunity to learn from her mother in the kitchen. Both boys and girls have other opportunities with grannies and their older siblings from whom they can learn about good manners (*tsika dzechivanhu*), that is customs and good manners, which are also prerequisites of Ubuntu. Coming to adhere to *tsika* is then seen as a mark of responsibility and maturity.

Globally there are also other communities that reflect aspects of restorative justice. Kenny and Leonard (2014) report how traditional Maori people in New Zealand gather to let a victim and offender face one another, talk about what happened, and provide a form of compensation for the harm caused. They put reconciliation and restoration of dignity first, before material compensation or assistance.

The Navajo of Arizona in the USA work at restoring both the offender and the victim into a state of harmony without laying blame, but addressing the cause of (Ptacek 2014). This is done by a 'Circle' that attempts to restore peace and prevent violence from erupting. Harmony is pursued to reintegrate the offender into the community, and to rehabilitate the victim through compensation. In other words, healing is sought for both the offender and the victim. As the victim recovers from the harm suffered, the offender is rehabilitated and reconciled with the community.

Rudin (2011) highlights some of the deficiencies of traditional Canadian Indian aboriginal justice systems under the rubrics of the macho minister, elite accommodation, and the silo mentality. The macho minister signifies a government official who offers funds for setting up a justice system in a time too short for the aborigines to realistically achieve it, and then laying the blame of failure on the community and its people. Elite accommodation refers to a claim that it is too risky to leave the setting up of an aboriginal justice system to community members who have no legal expertise, since individuals involved will be at the mercy of whoever will be exercising that responsibility (Rudin 2011). The silo mentality refers to the possible misuse of funds designated for setting up the justice system, and using it for resolving other community problems which are deemed to be more important. Communities are therefore not allowed to negotiate about how the funds may best be used and are simply confronted with a take or leave what is being offered.

2.1.4 Restorative Justice and Forgiveness

Zehr (2015a) describes forgiveness as a decision of the victim not to allow the harm that he/she has suffered to dominate the mind, but to move on in a positive way instead. The hurt suffered is not ignored, but attention is focused rather on seeking a better future by making a new beginning. In this way, forgiveness becomes a way of finding empowerment and healing. Acorn (2013) argues that forgiveness is less meaningful when one forgives the forgivable, but it becomes more important when it is seen as an impossibility. Furthermore, forgiveness of the unforgivable is more powerful when seen as a breath-taking achievement (ibid p443).

Restorative justice does not necessarily imply forgiveness. When forgiveness occurs it is usually victim initiated. An unforgiving attitude bears heavily on the mind and the spirit of the victim. Forgiveness enables one to cope emotionally and be at peace with oneself and circumstances. This is also manifest in physical health and recovery patterns (Witvliet *et al.* 2008). Restorative justice thus reduces the unforgiving inclinations and emotions. Victims are encouraged to face past experiences of injustice and any bitterness that they may harbour by choosing the way of justice and forgiveness.

Experiencing justice is believed to decrease the injustice gap and makes forgiving more probable because there is less injustice to transcend. Restorative justice leads to lower unforgiving scores (Witvliet *et al.* 2008). The restorative justice also helps the victim to move on after closure (Zehr 2013). When victims forgive it is because they have chosen to forgive the offender. But this aspect is not guaranteed since it is not necessarily part of the restorative justice process. Agreeing on an issue does not mean that the victim has forgiven and forgotten about the injury suffered. However, it might still happen later.

2.2 Restorative Justice Theories

The theories outlined below all stress the need to bring healing to the victim, offender and the community when a crime has been committed.

2.2.1 Braithwaite Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Braithwaite's theory claims that societies with lower crime rates are able to shun criminal behaviour in the manner in which offenders are confronted, with their dignity restored (Kenny and Leonard 2014). Ahmed *et al.* (2001: 76) describes shaming as the violation of internalised goals which concerns degradation or loss of self-respect. Shaming is a key emotion that shapes interpersonal relationships (ibid p80). The victim's social support is restored by convening a gathering of friends in a time of trouble. Shaming makes an offender realise how the crime affects everybody around, including his/her own supporters. Morrison (2011) mentions that Braithwaite notes that embarrassment over an offense is associated with an individual's sense of belonging to a particular social group. It is the shame in the eyes of those whom the offender respect and trust that matter.

Ahmed *et al.* (2001) and Kenny & Leonard (2014) suggest that shaming can aggravate the fallout from a crime if it leads to stigmatization but may reduce its impact when it contributes to reintegration. Reintegrative shaming may contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender if he/she is treated in a respectful and empathetic manner when wrongful behaviour is censured.

Ahmed *et al.* (2001: 19) defines shame as the emotion we feel when we realise that our ethical identity is violated or threatened by our own actions. Shame is good when it brings freedom, and bad when it takes away freedom. Reintegrative shaming thwarts criminal behaviour, whilst stigmatisation as a form of defaming makes the problem worse (Kenny and Leonard 2014). Reintegrative shaming is associated with a condemnation of the act, but conveying and expressing a response that is seen to value the offender. Shaming is believed to be effective considered since it produces immediate results, but is not necessarily intentional (Ahmed *et al.* 2001).

Application of restorative justice within the Chinese culture depicts that when a child gets into trouble a key protective factor is forgiveness, the central theme in Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming (Wong and Mok 2013). Reintegrative shaming involves adults in a child's life showing open-mindedness and approval in conjunction with proper social condemnation of misbehaviour. To prevent delinquency in young people adults, love and respect for parents and between youngsters and adults needs to be cultivated.

Ahmed *et al.* (2001) applied Braithwaite's ideas to the context of bullying. They differentiated two types of shame management, namely shame displacement and shame acknowledgement. Shame displacement is related to vengeful and misplaced anger, which conveys blame. Shame acknowledgement is related to accepting the blame for an offence and making amends.

2.2.2 Sylvan Tomkins Affect Theory

Affect is the bio-physical emotion that people experience according to Tomkins (Ahmed *et al.* 2001). During the restorative justice process participants, and the offender in particular can reveal exactly how they feel. Restorative practice processes encourage free expression of emotions, which is good for maintaining healthy human relationships. When individuals share their feelings in a conference, they are better able to control their emotions depending on their cultural sensitivity.

Affect resonance refers to the shared emotional journey that participants experience during a restorative justice session, which is manifested in the empathy which they display. Affect is a product of neural stimulation of muscular and skin receptors in the body and face which reveal a particular sensation and facial expression (Ahmed *et al.* 2001: 88).

2.2.3 Nathanson's Compass of Shame (1992)

Shame may signify reduced feelings of joy and the good that individuals might expect of life (Heartspeak 2008; LearningStewarts 2012). In restorative practice people portray feelings of shame in

different ways which Nathanson graphically display as four modes of responses or systems of defence arranged as a compass that would have different names and effects on human beings. For Nathanson the compass sections represent the way people tend to react to each other in expressing shame, namely withdrawal, attacking self, avoidance, and attacking others.

The withdrawal point stands for the feelings a person has which he/she does not want others to see, and therefore cause them to stop participating in joint activities and keep to themselves. The attack-self-point is when the individuals view themselves in a reduced status of life and finds ways of living a diminished life of accepting the shame (Ahmed *et al.* 2001: 90). The avoidance point refers to ways people find of not paying attention to the shame inflicted by using drugs, alcohol or similar means. In other words, an individual shifts from disrupting focus of shame to something more positive. Lastly, individuals attack others when they realise that nothing seems to work and turns to reducing somebody else's self-esteem to mask the shame they are experiencing. A good example is that of parents of an offending child at a school who blame either the school or the police officers. In other words, the victims turn the tables and blame others.

During conferencing however, people can work through these four reactions to shame by acknowledging and expressing shame. Since restorative conferencing confirms the inherent worth of the offender and only condemns errand behaviour parents and offenders feel less anxious and willing to acknowledge their responsibility.

According to Nathanson, shame that is not handled in a healthy way can lead one to withdraw, attack self, avoid and attack others (Elliott and Gordon 2011).

2.2.4 Tyler's Procedural Justice Theory

Morrison (2011: 29) reasons that individuals show a concern about justice due to sensitivity about their status, in that justice also conveys a message about social standing. Cooperative relationships are formed within institutions when individuals are proud of being in an institution and they admire what the association stands for. US school shooters exemplify this when they use the barrel of the gun to assert their status since their psychosocial problems magnify their offender's sense of marginality.

Elliott and Gordon (2011) confirm that the theory shows how much individuals cherish their social status when they are confronted with justice. Tyler adds that more cooperative relations within institutions develop when individuals feel a high level of satisfaction as a result of being a part of an institution there is a shared admiration for what it has been achieving. Standing is important for appreciating the dynamics and results of social engagement, which are specifically connecting with the mutual respect that exists within an institution. The possible consequences of an absence of respect is again shown by American schools of whom it is reported 75% felt they did so because they felt bullied, which clearly indicates that marginality is a key explanatory factor (Morrison 2011: 31). Stated simply, they aimed to recover lost status and gain respect through the barrel of the gun.

2.3. Stakeholders

These are the people who form part of the restorative justice process, including the victim being the centre of attention, but also the offender, local community and lastly the facilitators.

2.3.1 The Victim

A victim is a person or persons who have been violated and hurt by the action of others. In retributive justice victims are represented by the state which deals with the offender according to the set criminal law procedures. In restorative justice victims are considered as powerless, weak, traumatised, and vulnerable, and need support, while retributive justice leaves them outside the process ignoring their plight.

Victims' reactions during and after a violation differs according to the character of individuals and circumstances (Zehr 2015a). Cooperation out of fear for further victimisation can be misinterpreted as willing collaboration in cases of rape and other complex crime scenes even though such cooperation emanates from terror experience. The victim loses self-confidence, self-esteem and self-control to the extent of exhibiting self-blame in cases where it seems that the situation could somehow have been avoided (Foley 2014). During the initial impact phase, the victim is overwhelmed by feelings of confusion, helplessness terror and vulnerability. These feelings continue to haunt victims for some time, with new feelings of guilt, anger, suspicion, meaninglessness, depression and regret and self-doubt arising (ibid p20).

Feelings of shame and guilt combined with regret one could have done more to avoid being violated continue to occupy the victim's mind, when he/she is still trying to readjust to the new situation after the attack. What is needed is a new self-concept, self-image and regaining self-esteem. A victim may experience secondary victimisation when supporters fail to help him/her to get over the negative feelings, and make the situation worse when they think they are helping. Passing comments that make the victim blame self for the crime make them think that the situation could have been avoided. The supporters' reactions may be unhelpful, even when they are grieving with their fellow friend. Their aim however, is not to hurt but to bring their friend back to their former state of happy moments.

If grieving carries on for too long, the victim might end up engaging in damaging compensatory behaviour such as drugs, alcohol or even avoiding people, and could even reach a point of withdrawal from crucial activities such as employment, marital and home responsibilities, and schooling. The health of the individual would end up being compromised, adding to the increased financial burden that he/she might be facing.

Restorative justice seeks to empower the victim and meet their needs at the time. The eight factors that restorative justice should restore for the victims are listed below (Braithwaite 2013; Zehr 2013).

- 1) property loss

- 2) injury (to body)
- 3) a feeling of safety
- 4) self-respect
- 5) a sense of liberation
- 6) deliberative equality
- 7) peace based on a feeling that justice has prevailed
- 8) social support.

The victim should be encouraged to recover some losses, help the offender to stay out of trouble, and providing an input to the criminal justice process (Van Ness and Strong 2013b: 90; Zehr 2013). This happens by meeting the offender, learning more about the crime and lawbreaker's condition, getting a statement of regret on the offender, see some chance of receiving some compensation and finding a sympathetic local mediator.

When the offender shows signs of remorse which might be followed by an admission of guilt and an apology, the victim feels an emotional relief (Foley 2014: 88). These are positive steps which help the victim to recover and find healing faster.

Without answers victims tend to blame self and the supreme being they believe in. This implies that an offense can destroy a victim's sense of autonomy. Victims need to change from being casualties and sufferers to survivors. They need compensation for their losses, answers and assurance that what happened will not recur. Most importantly, they need a sympathetic ear as they freely express their emotions before the other stakeholders. They should have an opportunity to be a key participant in the process that would determine whether justice will be done. When they are assured that this will happen, they begin to feel secure and part of their community they belong. Victims however, still need to find ways to protect themselves from future abuse.

2.3.2 The Offender

An offender is one who violates other people's rights. Such people are viewed as a threat, even if they are only a few who are obviously not wanted by the majority of the people and they nonetheless remain part of their communities.

Zehr (2015a) observes that the offender is usually a bystander during the retributive justice process. His fate is decided by the professional justice team (the prosecutor, judge, probation officer, and psychiatrist). The team of experts define the crime in a way that establishes that the offender committed the crime intentionally, and therefore they deserve to be punished. If the offender is convicted he/she will be imprisoned together with others in an environment that will have a lasting effect in his/her future life. Prison life exposes the offender to an environment where most inmates who were incarcerated were probably committed more serious crimes than the one that got him/her into prison. Violence in prisons is common and may be the only way that some prisoners think they can survive.

The offender might end up being a hardened criminal who will cause more harm after serving the sentence, with a greater chance of recidivism.

The restorative justice approach offers offenders to attend restorative interaction sessions, if they accept responsibility for what they have done (Van Ness and Strong 2013a). They must be accountable and accept responsibility for the crime that they will have committed and come to appreciate the impact that their behaviours had on the victims. Acknowledgement of wrongdoing is signalled by both accountability and accepting responsibility for what happened (Foley 2014: 184). Accountability is defined as acknowledgement of the part that an offender played in the crime (Zehr 2013, 2015a). Admitting what happened by telling their version of the story, helps offenders to bring out their role in the crime, which will be a positive recognisable sign to the victim that the offender accepts responsibility for what happened.

Foley (2014: 187) describes responsibility as something deeper than accountability in the sense that the offender's acceptance of the wrong is not only an admission of guilty, but an acknowledgement of committing an offense. The result of accepting responsibility signals the beginning of the offender's moral reform process and the victim's rehabilitation when they are both witnesses the offender shouldering the blame. Acknowledgement of responsibility as an acceptance of the reality of harm that has been done will increase the chance of a deterrent effect (ibid).

An offender needs to show remorse. Remorse is an essential ingredient of restorative justice which resembles a social ritual which allows the offender to admit that they no longer stand by their previous action, so that a dialogue can ensue (Foley 2014). Dialogue, again will allow the victim to express emotions of anger which can contribute to the healing and recovery process. Expressions of remorse act serves as a catalyst to drain negative emotions from victims and others involved.

Restorative practices opens up possibilities of a more open and comprehensive truth-telling, which is one of its core generative mechanisms (Foley 2014). Both the offender and the victim are obliged to tell the truth without self-justification, which is very important for the restorative justice process.

Reparation is another important justice generative mechanism for restorative practice, since it provides a tangible answer to the question about what can be done to make things right (Foley 2014: 193). There are three dimensions to reparation, namely a spiritual aspect in terms of expiation, an emotional aspect in terms of satisfaction and a material aspect in terms of restitution and compensation (Foley 2014: 192). The victim and the community need to take responsibility by thinking about what will be helpful and to turn attention away from punishment to actions that would prevent the lawbreaker from committing further offences.

An apology is described as the central moral ritual of restorative practice. Apologising means that one has accepted responsibility, and is a way of overcoming shame (Doak 2011). It is evidence that the offender has faced the reality of what he/she has done. Foley (2014: 193) explains apology as a natural

harm response that validates the trauma of the victim and starts the conversion of the offender. Its unconditionality leaves excuses behind, and is an expression of a resolve not to cause pain again. An apology may be expressed in many forms, including verbal, written, gesture, handshake and offering a meal. An apology is summarised as a core justice generating mechanism directed both at the personal and the normative harm caused. A sincere apology should reflect a visible expression of remorse signalling to the victim that the offender genuinely regrets and wishes to make amends (Doak 2011).

Forgiveness is a way forward for the victim, and a means to accepting the offender as a fellow human being after having suffered harm. Although forgiveness has some religious connotations, it is evidently also part of restorative processes (Foley 2014: 194). It conveys the victims hope and expectation that the offender can be trusted in future, and will not repeat the offense (Johnson and Johnson 2014). An apology is however, not an essential prerequisite for forgiveness, since victims can still offer forgiveness even if the offender refuses to apologise. Foley outlines direct benefits of forgiveness to both the offender and the victim. For the victim these include, the dissipation of destructive emotions of defiance such as anger, and the acceptance that the offender is responsible, which brings a sense of relief to their burden. Direct benefits to the offender include the aspect of self-forgiving and a sense of accepting that somebody has forgiven them, and this might lead to future reconciliation.

Restorative practices accommodate expression of forgiveness due to its processes that are consistent with dynamics of forgiveness. This sets the pace for putting the harm right, yet forgiveness cannot be demanded, as such it is not a restorative justice core justice promoting means. Doak (2011) defined forgiveness as a gift that a victim alone chose to give to the offender. Sometimes it is depended on an apology offered, but in some cases, it is not. I feel forgiveness is offered mostly for the victim to heal and reach a sense of closure.

Through restorative justice the offender's dignity is restored through accepting responsibility and bad consequences suffered by the victim, and apologising with sincerity. Social support from the offender's supporters is crucial for the restoration of justice process (Johnstone and Van Ness 2013). The presence of victim's supporters' structure shame into the offender whilst offender's supporters structure reintegration of the offender.

2.3.3 The Community

During the restorative justice process, the community is represented by victim's supporters, offender's supporters, interested parties and public officials. The community is equally affected by the acts of offenders who disrupt peace and unity locally, and need an opportunity to restore a sense of cohesion and joint liability. Seeing that everybody is affected in one way or another, those in a position of authority also need to support each other in order to actively create an environment that enhances the well-being of all members.

Sharpe (2013: 188-189) concurs that our identity as persons is fluid, which is to say, it creates and recreates of what a person claims about oneself and what others say about you. Mbiti (2006: 209) expresses it as 'I am because we are, and we are because I am'. In this perspective identity is balanced between self-ascription and ascription by others. People within a community are bound by a web of relationships. An offense breaks that web, which needs the effort of all members to repair it.

Van Ness and Strong (2013a: 92) posit that supporters play in different restorative justice practice at circles or conferences. They come with different missions. Public workers such as the police officers, social workers, judges and prosecutors provide a just order whilst the community provide just peace.

2.3.4 The Facilitator

The facilitator is a neutral person who plays a role of directing the process of the justice practice. It is essential for a facilitator to be well sufficiently conversant with the process in use, and to be flexible when emotions erupt during the process. In some processes, there may be professionals who have been trained in facilitation. They should be aware of their limitations and familiar with procedures and other persons are called in to carry further investigations.

Van Ness and Strong (2013a: 90) note that facilitators begin by setting up a meeting with both the victim and offender, and assist them in getting ready for the wider gathering, and then proceed to lead such a gathering. They help guide the interaction as the meeting proceeds, ideally following whatever process that would enhance communication between victim and offender, while at the same time allowing both parties to develop their own plans. They take corrective action if the process becomes physically or emotionally dangerous for anyone. Facilitators control and fast-track interaction within the gathering to create a safe environment in which both parties can make their choices. They differ from judges and arbitrators who pressure on offender to show remorse. Throughout the process they have to remain alert for potential to harm the victim from the way the proceedings are developing, or because of the victim's unpreparedness for the encounter.

The importance of the facilitator's role raises the issue of whether there should be further oversight regarding the processes and procedures followed, due to the fact that some facilitators like police officers may not be adequately fully trained for their roles.

2.4 Conclusion

The purpose of the chapter was to review the literature relevant to applying restorative justice to communities, with particular attention to schools. Zehr's (2015a) definition provided the platform to explore the concept of restorative justice firstly in traditional African communities. Restorative justice theories were then examined in relation to Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory. Shame proved to be an important aspect in restorative justice practice, especially in relation to offender reintegration. The different roles of stakeholders made it possible to see the importance of each stakeholder in the justice process. The next chapter is going to discuss restorative practices in schools.

Chapter 3: Restorative approaches in schools

3. Introduction

This chapter builds on the discussion of restorative justice in chapter 2 and applies it to the local school context. It begins with an outline of restorative justice in schools. Restorative justice implementation aims to create a conducive environment for the school community to implement restorative discipline practices. Restorative discipline refers to the climate created in a school by the successful implementation of restorative practices. A theoretical outline of three restorative practices, namely peer mediation, peacemaking circles, and conferences is elaborated (Hendry 2009; Morrison 2011). Examples of some international restorative practices from the Western world close this chapter.

3.1 Restorative Justice in School Settings

Since the inception of schooling, punitive measures have been applied in schools as a form of disciplining children. With recent studies, corporal punishment and other punitive measures were seen to be contributing less to the creation of a safer school climates (Amstutz and Mullet 2015), since punitive practices have failed to reduce disciplinary infractions or to improve school safety (Steinberg, Allensworth and Johnson 2013). Some schools are therefore shifting to restorative justice, as an evidence based alternative to the former punitive practices (Cavanagh 2009; Brownstein 2010; Kidde and Alfred 2011). Restorative justice aims to nurture respect, responsibility and empathy within the members of the school community.

Amstutz and Mullet (2015: 19) identify three movements that contributed towards the development of restorative justice in schools in the United States, namely conflict resolution education, character education, and emotional literacy. Conflict Resolution Education (CRE) introduced peer mediation programs and developed curricula that integrate conflict resolution into school life. Character education put emphasis on encouraging positive values and behaviour such as responsibility, respect, trustworthiness and friendship, and ways to look after oneself, others, and the environment. The emotional literacy program developed by Daniel Goleman provided an impetus for schools to advance learners' emotional intelligence which is crucial for learning in complex multicultural societies (Amstutz and Mullet 2015).

There are principles reflecting values and concepts for implementing restorative justice in school settings (ibid). Restorative justice appreciates that relationships are core to the cohesion within school environments thereby addressing misbehaviour and harm. Although restorative justice deals with rule breaking, it puts more emphasis on harms done. Restorative justice empowers the harmed individual, invites all with a stake in the harm done and promotes change and growth for the future. It imparts responsibilities in all individuals within that community.

Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2008: 10) describe restorative justice as a concept aimed at a shift from the traditional disciplining management practice to a model based on responsibility, accountability,

engagement and support. They define restorative justice as a concept which places relationships at the heart of the problem solving with the aim to teach pupils to be accountable and responsible for their behaviours (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008).

Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2009b: 27) highlight that all stakeholders need to be assured and feel confident within themselves that the system in place at their learning institution is safe. Stakeholders have three types of interdependent needs that must be met which are the substantive, procedural and emotional needs (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2009a). Unfair treatment leads to frustration, anger, bitterness and resentment. This is usually prevented when the teacher listens carefully to understand children's problems. For justice to prevail the teacher needs to be able to control their own classroom, monitor that learning is taking place undisturbed and feel that their own authority is not undermined, both from the pupils and their managers (Sellman 2008). I strongly feel that children need to be disciplined with respect, mutual accountability and friendship establishment within a caring community. The students should feel that the teacher supports them even though they have misbehaved, and that punishment is just a way to make things right for everybody. I concur that the curriculum needs to allow students to identify their emotions and to manage them appropriately. That teachers have to learn to affirm and initiate caring behaviour. They should practise active listening and ways to accurately and politely express their needs to prevent problems and creatively solve them.

3.2 Restorative Discipline in Schools

Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2008: 12) has this to say:

...when we are faced with a student who shows contempt for authority... we can fall quickly into the trap of wanting to retaliate. And the most familiar way to do that in the school community is to punish our wrongdoer by stigmatising, isolating and/or incapacitating him/her.

In a retributive culture, one is punished for being caught whilst breaking a rule, which is seen as having been committed against the institution, so that the consequences should be decided by those in a position of power on behalf of the institution. In this sense the rule stands as a line in the sand, for which all those caught breaking it are punished, thereby teaching children that the consequences of transgression are always negative, but that this can be avoided if they behave as expected, i.e. follow the rules (Hendry 2009). The purpose of school rules is therefore primarily to create a conducive learning climate which provide individual safety, promote pro-social behaviour and ensures a safe learning environment (Hendry 2009). Van Ness (2014: 37) building on Classen and Classen (2008) findings, outlines restorative discipline as a classroom process where four kinds of 'respect agreements' should be upheld:

- Student respecting student
- Student respecting teacher
- Teacher respecting student
- Everybody respecting equipment and facilities

In a restorative school setting, the harmful impact of a misdemeanour on those affected is recognised, since rule breaking is regarded as a social mistake (Liebmann 2010) that negatively affects the relationship of an individual with other people within the community (Hendry 2009). The aim of restorative practice is therefore, to restore relationships and reconnect individuals back into the community.

Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2008: 23) point out that discipline is needed in schools for order to prevail and enable learning to take place with minimum disruption and maximum engagement. Engagement in learning is encouraged when the learner feels safe with the teacher and other learners. Since the brain of the learners is not yet fully developed, impulsive behaviour is more common until early adulthood. Conversations with the teacher help the child to develop new pathways that will lead to new habits. Self-control and awareness of others develops over time as children grow and modify their egocentric tendencies (Liebmann 2010). Part of school behaviour policy is to assist that development by teaching young people that the breaking of rules and boundaries has consequences.

Restorative discipline provides the backbone to the development of a learning environment that encourages responsible behaviour and discourages harmful behaviour. A school without strife is characterised by educators who are models of restorative practice, resulting in learners who adopt what the adults portray. There must be a real ethos of care in the classroom that encourages learners to support one another. An emotional ethos of care shapes the classroom environment within which the restorative discipline concept can be realised.

It has been a challenge for schools to take up restorative justice, due to common assumptions in the community regarding what the best way is to raise children (Van Wormer and Walker 2013). Some families believe that children should not be seen or heard and that adults have complete authority and power over children so that the rod should not be spared. To some parents, trying to get to the root of the problem is likened to doing nothing and is a waste of time (Kohn 2006).

In a peaceful school the community ensures justice and fairness through the involvement of all its stakeholders, who contribute towards the creation of a safe environment where violence is prevented (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008; Adigüzel 2014). Victims are empowered to have their needs addressed as wrongdoers are enabled to tell their stories and given the chance to make amends. All learners are taught nonviolent ways of resolving conflicts. In a peaceful school learners feel respected and connected which are intrinsic to their self-worth, a basic need for all individuals. Feeling connected increases good behaviour and decreases antisocial behaviour. Naturally, connectedness to the school community helps learners not to engage in violent or deviant behaviour and experience emotional distress. It is the duty of a caring community to seek ways to ensure that incidents that bring distress to learners are not repeated (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Evidence of a peaceful school environment are seen in the school's tone; the language used, ceremonies conducted, teacher presentations, dialogues in newsletters and the school building and grounds which promotes safe interaction.

3.3 Restorative Practices in Schools

Restorative practices are essential to implementing the principles of restorative justice and need to be tailored to settings they are applied to. Hendry (2009: 5) defines restorative practice as the application of restorative principles in schools through a range of approaches that acknowledge the central importance of healthy relationships in schools, encompassing a range of practical responsive and proactive measures. Proactive approaches are curriculum based and are designed to build emotional intelligence, conflict resolution skills, and resilience. Responsive approaches include mediation, restorative enquiry and restorative interventions. They both focus on resolving conflict and redressing wrongdoing and harm (Hendry 2009).

What has to be restored depends on the context and approach being adopted, which could be either intrapersonal or interpersonal (Hendry 2009). Intrapersonal refers to an individual's self-concept (self-respect, self-worth, self-confidence, dignity) and interpersonal refers to relationships which enhance communication, respect and trust. Conflict is an interpersonal process where people disagree or clash over their beliefs, ideas and needs. In a school setting ideas, beliefs and needs of students would always differ to some degree, and conflict can therefore arise whenever two or more students interact (Hendry 2009). Conflict may occur whenever people are intolerant of each other when expressing their beliefs, and is therefore very common. So it is in school communities that the possibility of conflict is high, especially with learners who are still learning to socialise. The way that conflict is handled is therefore very important (Liebmann 2010), since harm becomes the personal outcome experienced by an individual when conflict remains unresolved.

Restorative approaches can be applied by any teacher at any school, to any group of children. These approaches are not a softer way of dealing with offenders as some researchers suggest (Hendry 2009), as they do intend to hold offenders accountable for their actions and help them understand the impact of their behaviour (Liebmann 2010). Restorative practice is about doing things with students not for students and are able to create a calmer school environment where students feel they have a voice. It however, takes three to five years for a school to become more restorative (McCluskey 2014: 140), and emphasis should therefore be on constantly improving children's behaviour and relationships.

Cremin (2014: 113) points out that restorative practices provide an environment for students to interact with those they harm or have harmed. The process allows learners to learn from their mistakes through encounters with their peers, while teachers on their part also gain an insight into the complexity of conflict between peers. Friendships are restored and improved by creating new relationships. Restorative language makes it possible to improve the emotional literacy of both teachers and learners. Restorative discipline, on the other hand, does not work for learners who do not care about the harm they do. Zero tolerance policies are in fact perceived as unjust by some learners and their families, especially when they result in undesirable effects such as the exclusion and expulsion of a learner

(Cowie 2014: 76). Restorative approaches therefore place the emphasis on helping learners to resolve conflict and encouraging the building of a stronger sense of community in the long term.

Drewery argues that restorative approaches offer wider opportunities for promoting historical development and change in a country by bringing in a different paradigm that alters the way adults view learner disengagement and underachievement born out of a lack of self-control, poor parenting, or the failure of teachers to control their classrooms (Cowie 2014; Drewery 2014: 44). Van Ness (2014) further comments on the contribution of restorative practices as a way of providing learning experiences designed to improve the relationship between learners and help them develop a sense of responsibility, whilst bringing people into a dialogue aimed at improving social and moral awareness in communities. Examples of restorative practices would be repayment of money stolen, replacing or repairing vandalised property, or doing community service in the case of adults. Restitution and reparation assist the harmed person to heal, recollect and move on. Cremin (2014: 117) summarises Castello, Watchtel and Watchtel's (2009) argument on the effect that restorative justice in schools can have. The practices help to:

- Fostering an understanding about what underlies problem behaviours.
- Repairing harms, a process which learners enjoy very much
- Enabling genuine apology from both learners and adults
- Attending to the needs of everyone affected by a conflict
- Actively involving everyone

As a consequence, children feel empowered to resolve their problems and improve their self-expression on conflict issues.

Morrison (2011: 38) presents restorative practices as a pyramid with three tiers, consisting of primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The primary or universal level is meant for all learners with the aim of developing a strong normative climate of respect, a sense of belongingness within the school community and procedural fairness. In other words it is a whole school prevention practice which encourages the school community to develop healthy relationships and a socio-emotional understanding of one another (Hendry 2009; Long 2015).

The programs aim to develop active listening, empathy, cooperation, negotiation and the appreciation of diversity. Practices that develop skills are curriculum based approaches and circles (Hendry 2009; Long 2015). Curriculum based approaches described as short-term curriculum inserts, provide pupils with conflict resolution skills through a number of lessons delivered via experiential learning or role plays (Hendry 2009; Liebmann 2010). Community building circles teach student how to take turns, group participation and active listening which may begin with checking-up circles which allow the class to know about any issue of concern before they start active engagement with their day's activity. In other words, circle time provides an opportunity for students to share, affirm one another and build trust (Liebmann 2010). The circle ground rules clearly state that confidentiality and taking turns are crucial

for all participants to have been heard, with no put downs. Buddying and befriending are other ways of assisting learners to develop mutual relationships within the school community thereby mentoring one another, and can be extended to sporting activities (Liebmann 2010). Learners are taught within two to four years to develop a culture of peace within their school communities by exposing them to programs that promote peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The secondary level targets 10-15% of the school who are at risk of developing a chronic behaviour problem (Morrison 2011; Long 2015). These learners have engaged in inappropriate behaviour that has earned them some disciplinary action. This is the stage where difficulties are managed with a focus of managing conflict by reconnecting relationships, thus encouraging the school community to resolve differences, build socio-emotional capacities and meet one another's needs. This stage employs five restorative practices, namely problem solving circles, restorative conversations, hallway conferences, restorative conferences and peer mediation (Morrison 2011; Long 2015).

The tertiary or intensive level targets perhaps 5-10% of the learners who have already developed severe and chronic behaviour problems (Morrison 2011; Long 2015). They have committed a more serious infraction such as assault, bullying, and possession of weapons or drugs within the school environment (Long 2015). The focus here is on repairing and rebuilding relationships and reintegration. It employs three restorative practices, namely sentencing circles, peer juries, and restorative conferences.

Restorative justice practices can be held without the presence of the offender. The offender may be absent for different reasons such as that the perpetrator is not known, is not willing to own up, or is not willing to meet the victim (Walker 2013). A restorative system should start to address victim needs regardless of whether an offender has been apprehended or not (Zehr 2015b). This is supported by Braithwaite who suggests that a partial restorative process may be beneficial to those who participate, even though it is not as ideal, but still offers important benefits (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2006). Offenders may similarly be engaged without their victims being present so that they can also benefit from counselling and other support group programs.

3.3.1 Peer Mediation in Schools

This approach is designed to address harm, resolve conflict, and establish more constructive communication amongst children (Adigüzel 2014). Conflicting parties are assisted by an impartial third person to discuss and decide on the terms and conditions of their agreement. The mediator obviously does not have the power to impose a resolution, but the aggrieved parties have at least to propose a settlement with his/her help (Baruch Bush and Folger 2013). Shuttle mediation though rare in schools, is an option in cases where the offenders are not known. In mediation, there is no need to gather background information, but the chief concern is to ensure safety, confidentiality and impartiality.

Peer mediation can be taught to learners of age 8 and above, as long as they get sufficient training, but at this stage they cannot handle serious bullying incidences (Liebmann 2010). Such serious issues should therefore be reported to school staff. Issues that involve adults, complex group dynamics, rule

breaking incidences, and a risk of potential harm to the individual, are regarded as serious enough to merit adult intervention (Hendry 2009). It is in fact, always good for peer mediators to work under the supervision of an adult, and also in pairs, for support (Liebmann 2010), incidences that involve parents against parents, education providers, teachers, neighbours, and other pupils should be mediated by an adult (Hendry 2009).

The selection of peer mediators is done on the basis of their varied backgrounds and not on their academic performance (Mason 2014). The trained mediators are free to choose a collective name which gives them an identity, and to put on identification clothing whenever they are on duty. The training of mediators is done by outsiders who train teachers to train learners, beginning from conflict resolution in general to the specific mediation of the selected individuals (Hendry 2009; Liebmann 2010; Mason *et al.* 2014). Mediation can be carried out in the playground or in a room within the school allocated for that purpose, strictly under the supervision of an adult.

The mediation process involves the victim and offender meeting together with a mediator who encourages mutual problem solving by providing a conducive environment for the engagement (Van Ness and Strong 2013b). Mediation has a unique potential for transforming people which stems from its capacity to generate two important effects, namely recognition and empowerment, and coming to an agreement, which is the goal of mediation.

Mediation is structured process. Morrison (2011) states that after clarifying the structure of the process and allowing the parties to express their feelings and thoughts, the mediator encourages the parties to talk directly, develop options, and reach a consensual settlement that will accommodate their needs. Studies have indicated that peer mediation is not an effective way of curbing hostility inside the classroom, so that a primary intervention is needed to complement its efforts (Morrison 2011).

Peer mediation has been used as an intervention for different forms of conflicts. A conflict is viewed as a fight, struggle or a clash between opposing beliefs and ideas, which could be in the form of a physical altercation, such as an exchange of blows and snatching things from another (Sellman 2008). According to previous studies, conflicts brought to peer mediators within school environments include disagreements about friendship, games and objects, name calling and bullying (Sellman 2008). All conflicts have a history and they are usually coupled with emotions that people bring into the situation. Pupils normally act in certain ways to meet their own psychological and functional goals, such as attention, self-protection, affection, power, or occasionally revenge for a previous experience.

Certain issues that teachers and other adults might treat as trivial could be critical to the parties involved, especially where they are underpinned by emotional needs and past experiences. Adults need to respond to children's conflicts in a manner that takes cognisance of children's needs. Although children can resolve some of their daily conflicts, there are some for which they need help.

Training children to act in conflict situations within their school community helps in the creation of peaceful environment within the institution. Bystanders influence conflict situations in positive and negative ways which can either escalate or de-escalate the conflict (Sellman 2008: 7). Choices that bystanders make in a conflict situation have a significant impact on how the conflict is experienced. Such choices can bring either constructive or destructive outcomes to the conflict (ibid). Training of peer mediators will help an institution to enable children to promote the creation of constructive outcomes within their school communities (Adigüzel 2014).

There is need for distinguishing mediation from arbitration since both processes involve a third party. In mediation power is disputant oriented and the mediator is impartial, while in arbitration the power is in the hands of the arbitrator who passes a judgement. Mediation is non-punitive, future oriented and aims to have a win-win agreement, whereas arbitration focuses on the past, is punitive and produces a winner-loser decision. Mediation is voluntary and confidential, unlike arbitration where participation is mandatory and confidentiality is not raised as an issue. In a school set up adults arbitrate whilst children mediate.

The whole school approach is ideal for putting effective and vibrant peer mediation programmes into place (Sellman 2008). Similarly, for peer mediation to be successful in anti-violence initiatives, it has to address concerns important to the whole school approach. These include behaviour management structures and policy, the role and communication practices of teachers, an existence of a critical mass of support, and the service profile of the school (Sellman 2008). In institutions with a supportive and conducive environment, learners will spend most of their time conflict free. When conflict arises, pupils will be able to resolve it on their own, and when the conflict gets more difficult adults must be available to arbitrate through communicating calmly and fairly. In such schools peer mediation is likely to be popular since it represents a non-punitive form of discipline. Sellman (2008) argues that peer mediation has a better chance of survival where there is horizontal power relationships. Thus, where adults listen to learners and take into consideration ideas from these youngsters.

The role and communication practices of teachers also play an important role in the establishment of effective peer mediation. Sellman (2008) outlines some teachers' behaviours that may exacerbate interpersonal conflict in schools. These include labelling and stereotyping of learners, erratic application of rules, over reacting in situations that warrant discipline, and making ordinary tasks unnecessarily difficult. This is also mentioned by John Lampen, a peer mediator trainer quoted by (Sellman 2008: 21). It is only by the efforts of a number of people that peer mediation and similar practices can be established and successfully maintained in a school. Everybody may not be co-operating, but when the majority of the teachers and other staff lend support, the practice will succeed. Moreover, teachers should recognise and complement efforts made by peer mediators. Selection of learners to train as mediators should be done in such a way that they reflect the age range within the school. Training is best done in circle set ups and should encompass the following key areas: communication, cooperation,

values, knowledge and understanding, as well as emotional literacy (Sellman 2008; Stacey and Robinson 2008). Peer mediation has proven to be effective in improving communication and interaction among students, including those with autism (Mason *et al.* 2014).

Studies in Birmingham schools have shown that peer mediation can be a success if properly instituted and that the children themselves are the best mediators within the school environment (Cremin 2007). Birmingham studies will be discussed in depth later in this chapter.

3.3.2 Peacemaking Circles

Peacemaking circles or simply circles, are an ancient practice that was used not necessarily in restorative justice, but in various cultural settings in which they were appropriate. Morrison (2011) places problem solving circles in schools under the same secondary level interventions as peer mediation. Circles are not limited to addressing particular wrongdoings, but also to foster community building by improving the learning environment in general (Varnham *et al.* 2014). An example is talking circles that are held in the morning and at the end of day. Learners sit in a physical circle without barriers between them. After identifying issues to be discussed, each participant gets a turn to make their contributions, which are all treated with respect. A talking piece, an object which symbolises peace (Pranis 2013: 119) is used as a way to give each participant an opportunity to speak without interruption, whilst the rest are listening attentively (Pranis 2005; Hendry 2009).

Besides schools, circles are used in various other settings such as families, communities, workplaces and justice systems. In other words, circles come in different categories depending on the purpose they intend to serve. Within a school setting a circle of friends can be used to support a fellow student who needs emotional and social support (Liebmann 2010). Emotions are given full attention and are expressed freely by the individuals concerned. The rule is that any member who chooses to take part should be heard. Every participant's contribution is treated with dignity and respect, while individual differences in terms of expression and contributions are accepted and appreciated. Peace circles emanate from a wholeness dimension and have the potential to unite people within their school communities through amicable resolution of conflict, and thus peaceful life is encouraged. Individuals are changed through interaction that creates awareness of the possible consequences of own behaviours as well as that of others. The circle process encourages effective group communication, comradeship in maintaining relationships, and collaborative resolution of conflict (Boyes-Watson and Pranis 2010).

The circle processes

A circle is in practice made up of the victim, offender, their supporters including the family, interested elders of the community, and representatives of the justice system, or a keeper who sees to it that the process goes in an orderly manner, and who periodically summarises the discussions for the benefit of the whole group (Van Ness and Strong 2013b: 85). The participants first introduce themselves as the talking piece for the first round which symbolises respect, is passed around clockwise. The talking piece is then passed around again for all to take a turn to speak from the heart. The talking piece gives

each one the power to take the floor. It can go around several times until everybody feels that they have sufficiently expressed themselves. Anybody may pass on the talking piece without saying anything, whenever they feel they are not ready to contribute. Healing circles focus more on the expression of emotion and uncertainty, lack of understanding and puzzlement, which are the key healing features of the process. A prayer or a reflection marks the end of a circle process followed by sharing snacks.

The purpose of a circle is to find a tactical way that leads to a beneficial outcome which is in most cases is a consensus on a plan to be followed and how it will be monitored. The circle process strengthens the school community's identity and life for its members through participation. It aims to build students' capacity to address their daily problems within the school environment in a collaborative way. A circle includes a wide range of members in its process. These are the victim, victim's supporters, offender, offender's supporters, judge, prosecutor, defence counsel, police and court workers. Pranis (2013: 118) outlines the steps that are taken prior to a sentencing circle. First, the offender has to put in a request for a circle process. This is followed by the creation of support systems for both the offender and victim. The next step is to set up healing circles, first for the victim followed by one for the offender. The sentencing circle is convened on the basis of information gathered from the two healing circles.

Healing circles

The circle process is applicable in many settings including schools. Pranis (2013: 119) describes a healing circle as a private circle with family and friends of either the victim or the offender and other community members who are active in the circle process. Like any other circle every participant's contribution is treated with confidence and respect. Every stakeholder is expected to speak openly, while at the same time listening actively. Active listening allows all to accept emotional panting reactions expressed by the harmed and other affected persons. It is necessary to go through the different emotional phases with affected persons. It is good to learn that the pain of one affects all. In a victim healing circle the community has the responsibility to validate that the harm done to the victim was undeserved. There must be assurance for the victim that the community accepts him/her regardless of what has happened, and pledge to continue supporting them.

The keeper shares the outcomes from the victim's healing circle with the offender's team of supporters, who have to come up with a way to show that they accept responsibility and are accountable for the harm caused. Their other task is to come up with a plan of how they do restitution for the offender's misbehaviour. They must further demonstrate their willingness to help the offender undergo reformation and to collaborate with the community in repairing the broken relationships. It is from this circle that people who will be part of the sentencing circle are also identified.

Victims whose offenders are not known can also benefit from a healing circle process if the community is willing to surround and care for the victim, and affirm that what has happened was undeserving (Cremin 2007; Pranis 2013). A healing circle can be held for an offender nearing release from correctional services. Cremin (2007) notes that circle time was first formalised in the US by Billard

(1982) who used to train students in the development of self-confidence, self-expression and other self-skills, together with creative problem solving. Circle time can be used to train students for peer mediation and for teaching good values.

Sentencing circle

Sentencing circles were initiated by Judge Barry Stuart in Canada (Rudin 2011). The purpose of the sentencing circle is to provide the judge with more information regarding the circumstances of the accused's life and perhaps provide an alternative to incarceration in cases where prison would be the most likely outcome. The circle also provides the judge with information about the offender's family, relations and community. It provides an opportunity to get such information in a setting that is likely to induce candour and openness. The circle platform also provides the offender the opportunity to hear from those who care about him/her, but are concerned about his/her errant behaviour, and to hear the victim's story directly.

The judge sits as an equal in the process, not wearing his attire, but other casual or formal clothes. Crown and defence counsel attend, but they all have the same opportunity to speak as everybody else in the circle. The way the circle is held may differ from judge to judge and community to community. Members of the circle may reach a consensus as to what they think is the best resolution of the matter, but the final decision rests with the judge who issues the final sentence.

The time factor has been identified as a challenge in the circle process. A case that can take 10-20 minutes in a court can take half a day in a circle (Morrison 2011). However, circles have been seen as a good example of the desire by courts to deal with aboriginal school offenders.

3.3.3 Conferencing

Morrison (2011) believes that conferencing is the most demanding level of intervention. It is a meeting targeted to address a particular issue by involving both the offender and the victim together with their supporters (Liebmann 2010; Varnham *et al.* 2014). The process deals with conflicts that have arisen, unlike circles which seek to reduce the incidents of conflict. It also includes healing circles, sentencing circles, family group conferences, small group conferences, classroom conferences, diversionary conferences and community conferences (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2009b; Morrison 2011). The face-to-face victim-offender conference is actually the one that is mostly used in schools.

Conferencing preparation

The conference process involves both the victim and the offender with their supporters which include parents, extended family members, friends, teachers and community agencies. The first and crucial step is persuading the victim and his/her family that conferencing is the best way of dealing with the offence that has occurred (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Assurance that there will not be any further victimisation and that their case will be dealt with is important at this stage. The next target group to be consulted are the offender and their family to convince them that the process has benefits for them as

well. Teachers need to attend the conference as supporters or witnesses, if they are not the wrongdoers or victims themselves (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008).

After establishing the facts, the facilitator decides who should be invited to the conference. These would usually be those who have played a part in the affair or who may be able to shed some light on the circumstances. The facilitator has to guide the school officials regarding the people who should attend the desired conference, which could be a ceremony for reintegration, establishing the reason for enrolment termination, tackling and ongoing issue, or to appeal against a decision made by the school board to expel a student (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). The timing of a conference is largely dependent on the decision of the facilitator based on the kind of the issue to be addressed.

In preparation for the conference the facilitator interviews all the parties identified in order to establish rapport and to select the key participants whom he/she prepares for the event. The principle governing the setting up a conference is that there should be “no surprises” (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Any newcomers who arrive on the appointed day must explain the reason for their attendance and have to receive orientation before being allowed to join. Offenders might benefit from coaching before the conference if there are concerns about the issue of punishment, to reduce the chances of a later backlash. The facilitator must reassure participants that they are there to manage the tough bits and assure them that the sharing of emotions and thoughts will bring empathy and insight to the whole group gathered (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008).

The most challenging part comes when the facilitator has to come up with a meeting time that will accommodate all the participants involved. The facilitator also has to cater for things like babysitting by providing some toys in a corner and arranging for an older pupil to mind the children inside an adjacent room. A typical conference with 12-15 participants can take up to two hours. Participants have to switch off their mobile phones and the venue has to be a well-ventilated room where all can be accommodated with minimum disruptions. A neutral communal room or one at the school may be most convenient. “Breaking the bread with the enemy” has a subconscious though powerful healing effect (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008).

Seating arrangement

Participants assemble in a circle to listen to others and make their own contributions, with the aim of restoring both the victim and the offender. The usual set up is that the victim and offender with their supporters sit facing each other, with the neutral parties seated between the two groups. It is important to place the victim and offender amid their supporters for the purpose of reconnection and reintegration, which is the primary purpose of the process (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Numbers or colours can be used to help the facilitator to recognise the different parties. If there is a large number facilitator can arrange an inner and outer circle – the inner circle being the most affected, and the outer circle other supporters. Everybody has to be reminded to speak clearly and control their body language, while

supporters should be warned to avoid “death stares” (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Having two facilitators could be an advantage if a large number of people or a complex set of issues are involved.

The facilitator must be ready to handle the historical dynamics that might have contributed to the issue at hand. Factors such as previous connections and background to the conflict and knowledge of violence within the community, helps the facilitator to anticipate tensions that may arise during the conference. Being aware of this also helps facilitators to make contingency plans and make the conference more likely to succeed in bringing peace between the parties involved.

In the event that there is need to use an interpreter, the facilitator has to spend some time with him/her in order to inform them about the process, especially the need for impartiality. The facilitator must also be mindful of cultural differences, particularly regarding issues that may bring further shame to families

Convening the conference

The facilitator greets and welcomes the participants on arrival. To avoid discomfort and anxieties each group must be placed in a separate room before the conference (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Any people arriving unexpectedly should be taken aside to find out why they have come and explain to them the purpose of the conference. The conference can then begin using conference scripts as a guide if the facilitator is still new to the task. Even if he/she is experienced, the scripts have to be available in case there is a hitch. The conference must start with a prayer or reflection to make everybody feel that they are respected

Dealing with emotional dynamics

Conference participants will have different negative feelings such as shame, repressed anger, fear, distress, cynicism, or simply curiosity (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Emotions are often portrayed through negative body language such as the avoidance of eye-contact, looking down, or crossing legs and arms. The aim of the conference is to transform these emotions into positive feelings. People known to be volatile are best seated next to the facilitator, whose body language may help to calm them.

As the conference progresses there should an improvement in body language as negative feelings are gradually transformed into relief, hope, understanding empathy, optimism, and even enjoyment (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). The facilitator can use silence as a transformational tactic. The emotional behaviours explained by Nathanson’s compass such as withdrawal, avoidance, self-condemnation, or attacking others discussed in Chapter 2 under theories of restorative justice of shame are exhibited (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). Shaming can be perceived as a demeaning process designed by a more powerful person to humiliate a weaker person (Hendry 2009). A shamed individual usually displays signs such as drooping shoulders and head, a lowered tone of voice, blushing, and avoidance of eye contact. Both flight reactions such as avoidance and withdrawal, and the fight reactions

of attacking self or others may result from shaming (Hendry 2009). Individual patterns of shaming will vary, but with interaction we get to know certain individual reactions better.

If a participant becomes emotionally distressed it is better to let him/her go out with a supporter, or to let the meeting adjourn for a while. This is where a prior meeting may help to clear the decks of such potential hot spots (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). There is also merit in having co-facilitator who can give honest feedback.

Participants are said to have reached a level of empowerment when they are able to bring the offender to the point of accepting responsibility and willingness to amend the wrong. Empowerment of the victim is achieved when participants are able to convince the person that the harm is undeserved, and that it was due to some sort of chance which would make it easier for him/her to control emotions. The offender signs an agreement at the conclusion of the conference based on what was decided, which may in some cases be quite an emotional moment. Some conference processes are guided by the tradition of the community. A good example is the New Zealand program adopted from the Maori *whanau* dialogue facilitated between conflicting individuals (Van Ness and Strong 2013a). The difference being that facilitator is guided by open-ended questions which guide the conference process with supporters adding their thoughts and feelings.

Conferencing outcomes

The outcomes of a conference depends on how shame is managed to bring about symbolic reparation, which happens when shame and related emotions are evoked and acknowledged by the participants (Retzinger and Scheff 2013). The offenders and their supporters will all be shamed, which has both positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects for the victim include showing remorse, accepting responsibility, and offering reparation. Negative aspects are more common and include embarrassment, humiliation, shyness, and modesty, feelings of discomfort, awkwardness, inadequacy, rejection, insecurity, and general lack of confidence.

Another way of expressing shame and anger is referred to as moral indignation which is manifested as self-righteousness and moral superiority (Retzinger and Scheff 2013). Self-righteousness is more commonly expressed by the supporters of both victim and offender, especially their parents in what and how it is said in the particular context, which shows that the indignant person is not listening to the offender. The victim may take on a stance of incredulity, whereas the offender's parents may distance themselves from the offence. Moral superiority is displayed by the police when they give the offender a lengthy lecture on the nature of conscience. Making an indirect verbal abuse to an offender is a sign of hurt even though it is denied openly during a conference. Indignation has the potential to destroy the bond that may have existed between victim and offender, which is why it is good to separate the offender from the offense.

The advantage of conferences compared to mediation is that supporters of both the victim and offender can speak for their fellow compatriot, bringing more clarity to the issue, even though a disadvantage

could be that some voices may bring up issues of the past which is not helpful (Shapland, Robinson and Sorsby 2011).

Impact Panels is another form of conferencing that has been developed (Van Ness and Strong 2013a). These are surrogate encounters for victims and offenders where meeting the other might be a challenge. The Victim Offender Panel (VOP) is made up of a group of offenders or victims who are linked by a common kind of crime although they are not each other's victims or offenders. The purpose of the VOP meetings is to help victims find a resolution and to expose offenders to the damage they caused, caused by others, caused by crime thereby producing a change in the offender's attitude and behaviour. These VOPs are varied in form. Example are the Mothers against Drunken Driving (MADD) in USA, The Sycamore Tree Projects in New Zealand, England and Wales, Colombia, etc. The meetings make people realise one another as persons, respect each other and identify with the experience of the other.

Restorative practices have been implemented in different parts of the world. Below are such cases where the practices have been successfully implemented.

3.4 Cases of Restorative Practices in Schools

Restorative practices are participatory initiatives that have been undertaken in the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Varnham *et al.* 2014). Real Justice in Australia is led by Terry O'Connell and Roger Holdsworth of the University of Melbourne, in cooperation with the Catholic Education Office and Marist Family School, to support the implementation of restorative practices in schools (Varnham *et al.* 2014). In the USA, it is the International Institute for Restorative Practices that promotes the implementation of the restorative justice practices in schools. It also has affiliated organisations in England, Scotland and Europe (Varnham *et al.* 2014). In the USA, it is the International Institute for Restorative Practices that promotes the implementation of the restorative justice practices in schools. It also has affiliated organisations in England, Scotland and Europe (Wearmouth, McKinney and Glynn 2007). The Conflict Resolution Program (CRE) in the Asian Pacific region runs different subsidiary programs. One such program is called Cool Schools, which is coordinated by the Peace Foundation based in Auckland (Barnes 2007). In Singapore, the government launched Community Mediation Centres (CMCs) of which one, Conflict Resolution Unlimited (CRU) conducts peer mediation in six schools composed mostly of a mix of Malayan Muslim pupils. The Asian Pacific Mediation Forum (APMF) held its initial international conference at the University of South Pacific in Suva, Fiji. This Forum is connected to the World Mediation Forum which held its 7th conference in February 2016.

Restorative practices can be applied inside the classroom, and even outside the school gates in the wider community to foster students' citizenship skills and empower them to participate in decision making (Varnham *et al.* 2014). It is an important way of improving relationships and discourse in schools through modelling, and staff and student meetings. A major aim of these practices is to reduce the number of suspensions and expulsions, with the added objective of improving the academic

performance of pupils by keeping them in school and improving their behaviour as well. Restorative practices empower students to play an active role in the way that a school deals with conflict and antisocial behaviour. They have been successfully implemented in schools in order to reduce bullying, classroom disruption, vandalism, truancy, assaults, fighting, stealing, and disrespectful behaviour toward teachers.

Table 3.1. Cases of restorative practices in conferencing and circles

Country, place and school	Problem	Restorative practice implemented	Reference	Outcomes
England, Sefton centre. 20 schools under Youth Offending Team (YOT)	Bullying Stealing Fighting Assaulting	Conferencing	Davey & Preston 2007	Reduction of exclusions by 70% Recidivism of bullying reduced
Australia, New South Wales, Queanbeyan South School	Bullying Truancy Violence (In Aboriginal population)	Conferencing (2002-2004)	Davey & Preston 2007	Decrease in aggression from 56% to 24% Physical abuse plummeted from 53% to 3% in 2004 Teacher verbal abuse reduced from 74% to 61%
Canada, Waterloo Region District, In schools Board (Ontario)	Violence Bullying Suspensions	Conferences (2005)	Davey & Preston (2007)	20% drop in suspensions 65% reduction in expulsions in the elementary school

England, Hertfordshire Council Stansfield, Welwyn Garden City	Student –teacher relationship was bad School used sanctions	Conference	Davey & Preston (2007)	Reduction of sanctions by 59% Calling police reduced by 40%
England and Wales, Youth Offending Team (YOT) Schools	Bullying Thefts	Conferences	Davey & Preston (2007)	Pupils behaviours improved 92% of the conferences were successful with stronger results in schools that implemented whole school's approaches.
USA, Pennsylvania, Palisades High School and Middle School	Disruptive behaviour Classroom referrals for inappropriate suspension	Circles from 2001-2002	Davey & Preston (2007)	Inappropriate behaviours reduced from 913 to 516 Fighting incidence from 23 to 16 Disruptive behaviours reduced from 273 to 173 Suspensions reduced from 105 to 65 Detentions reduced from 844 to 332
England, Oxfordshire, Bessels Leigh Abingdon (a residential school for 11-16 boys)	Antisocial behaviours Vandalism Increased staff absenteeism	End of day circles in 2005	Davey & Preston (2007)	Calm school climates were created Vandalism decreased from 10 to 3 Negative development to physical incidences

	High staff turnover Emotional and behavioural difficulties			Negative incidences dropped from 362 to 164
USA, Pennsylvania, Springfield Township High School	Disrespecting teachers Classroom disruptions Suspensions Students being street smart	Check-in-check-out circles in (2001- 2002)	Davey & Preston (2007)	Disrespect of teachers dropped from 71 to 21 Disruptions dropped from 90 to 26
USA, Michigan. Lansing Public School District	Suspensions	Peace circles	Davey & Preston (2007)	15% reduction in suspensions 90% success in conflict resolution
USA, North Dakota, Minot Public schools	Suspensions Inappropriate behaviours	Peace circles	Davey & Preston (2007)	Suspensions dropped from 30% to 15% A reduction in inappropriate behaviours
New Zealand, Midway High School	Poor quality of children's work Homework problem Poor class activity performance	Circles in the form of Class meetings	Kaveney and Drewery 2011	Quality of children's work improved Homework improved Participation in class activities improved

Apart from the above behaviours, drug abuse and alcoholism, damage to public image of schools, and bomb threats can also be addressed through restorative practices (Elliott and Gordon 2011). Various researchers have carried out restorative practice studies on bullying in the Western world. Bullying is viewed as the systematic abuse of power, and restorative justice aims to restore such power imbalances that affect relationships (Morrison 2011: 27). It is important to deal with bullies whilst they are still young because their bullying behaviour will continue to manifest later in life especially in other relationships they will engage in.

Margaret Thorsborne implemented the first school based restorative justice process to address the issues raised by serious school assault at Maroochydore High School in Australia after a school dance, and 18 Scottish schools comprising of 10 secondary schools and 7 primary schools and one special school (627 staff members, 1160 students) were used as a pilot study of restorative practices in 2004 (Kane *et al.* 2009; McCluskey *et al.* 2011). Although the initial attempts were reactive, success was noted at the end of the programme. The schools then implemented different approaches through their local authorities which they deemed appropriate for their school situations.

In most cases teachers initially complained that their timetables were already overloaded to the extent that they have no time to attend conferences that required them to change the way the whole school is run. The readiness of schools to adopt such changes therefore determined the pace at which each school implemented the restorative practices. Where the staff were eager to improve their school ethos with the belief that they are the ones who can bring about change and achieve specific goals, they were able to implement the practices and overcome most of their challenges (Kane *et al.* 2009). Throughout the implementation, staff training was highly prioritised and had the effects of providing high levels of motivation and enthusiasm (Kane *et al.* 2009). In schools where head teachers welcomed the new approach and applied it to their work with pupils, it also became easy to spread the message to the wider school community.

Between 1995 and '96 there were 119 schools in Queensland that used conferences to address issues regarding assaults, theft, truancy, drug offences and bullying (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2008). These initial trials brought positive results in compliance, participant satisfaction, and low recidivism, greater community involvement, enhancing victim safety, and changing school ethos from punitive to restorative.

Peer mediation success stories

Stenville school in Birmingham, UK shares a 7-year success story in peer mediation (Cremin 2007). The school was experiencing lunch hour disciplinary problems. From 1999 to 2005 the school implemented peer mediation for children aged 8-11 years who gathered either on the playgrounds or in a room allocated for these meetings. All the disputants for whom there was mediation were recorded and had to sign an agreement. The school administrators agreed that mediation worked but only in conjunction with classroom circle processes.

Students appreciated the task of being a mediator and took pride in the way they made their peers become friends again. They however, also condoned criticisms and non-cooperation from some students (Cremin 2007). Some parents commended the initiative and appreciated the way it touched their children's lives at such a tender age. Supervisors also applauded peer mediation for creating a calmer school environment during the lunch hour.

Handsworth Association of Schools (HAS) which is part of the Birmingham local authority serves an area that is high in social deprivation and ethnic diversity. It consists of six secondary and twenty-four primary schools. A study was carried out in 2006 in which the HAS coordinator outlines the training programme for staff and pupils, in which the latter were taught how to practice peer mediation. Training for teachers covered mediation as a dispute resolution process, and creating a better school culture and ethos. The supervisors focused on mediation role play and challenges of managing student behaviour and conflicts during break and lunch time. All the training took place off site in order to raise the status of the activities.

Three out of a total of 24 schools dropped out, but it was quite normal for the schools to move in and out of the program. It was found that peer mediation changes the way teachers and learners view playtime and makes a difference in students' self-esteem. Teachers become increasingly aware that children readily maintain friendships within their own group, but do not welcome new students and asylum seekers. Academic achievement improves due to increased self-confidence, empowerment and a peaceful school environment

It further transpired that mediation improves peer relationships as they now strive for team work and self-control because they are aware that they are always in the spotlight and realise that playground mediation is a better option than being referred to the head teacher. Another good outcome is that other children learn mediating skills and put these in practice on their own, requesting the school to train them as mediators as well.

3.4.1 Challenges of Restorative Practices

Some teachers nonetheless feel vulnerable when conferencing with learners who have committed serious offenses, or have a way of interacting that complicates the process, while students again tend to be culturally conditioned to traditional authoritarian structures. Families tend to resist restorative practices which they view as new ideas that are too soft on today's children. Inadequate funding and time are other constraints which hinder the implementation of these practices. Teachers claim that they are already burdened with large classes and overloaded timetables, and restorative practices demands more of their teaching time. The benefits of restorative practices usually take time to be noticed, requiring collective effort in order to reach consensus. Understanding the cultural context and differences between the individuals involved may assist in the development of an appropriate intervention for a particular targeted group (Van Ness 2014: 32). However, in the end there is no question that restorative justice reduces the burden placed on the criminal justice system.

Cremin (2014: 112-113) concludes that restorative practices need skilful implementation otherwise there can be serious problems whenever:

- Offenders are permitted to show both their best and worst sides, which can jeopardise the whole restorative process if they decide to scold, harass, hector, demoralise, dominate and humiliate the victim.
- Poor facilitation re-victimises the victim.
- A balance is not struck between what the victim and the offender have to say, and making sure that they are both satisfied with the opportunity they are giving since they are sometimes given very little time to air their views.

Teachers who resist restorative disciplinary approaches are hesitant to implement ways that differ from the existing punitive climate. Some teachers lack training, motivation and support in dealing restoratively with various social, emotional and behavioural problems. As a consequence, poorly executed restorative approaches may be more harmful than the punitive processes that they are intended to replace. Despite the above, restorative practices in schools have in most cases proven to improve the school environment.

3.5 Conclusion

Restorative practices are a participatory way of creating a peaceful disciplinary school climate within the community. The practices range from applying to an entire school to a specific targeted group that requires from moderate to intensive care. The severity of the offense and its effects determines the kind of intervention that is chosen. The implementation of restorative practices has been widely documented in the Western world where they continue to be a model for bringing peace within school communities. The primary focus is on empowering the victim by involving peers, family elders, the community, and the law enforcement agencies. However, they demand more time than punitive practices, even though their long-term impact outweighs their shortcomings. Lastly, restorative practices require a paradigm change which is demanding in time and effort to replace the traditional practices.

Chapter 4: Traditional Ways of Disciplining Children

4. Introduction

Discipline is the process of learning from the consequences of choices which involves teaching, guiding and socialising children so that they will eventually gain self-control. Discipline is positive respectful and allows learning from mistakes. It is not synonymous with punishment which is negative, external, humiliating, disrespectful and relying on power and fear (Belvel 2010; Cawood 2010).

This chapter looks at ways used both in the home and at school to improve children's behaviours using both discipline and punishment. Kohn (2005) categorises discipline as power based, and love based. Power based discipline includes corporal punishment, yelling, threatening and reprimanding; while love based discipline includes rewards and praises, time out and grounding. Most of these ways are still in use. The issue of corporal punishment is going to be examined from a historical perspective up to the current human rights approach which has led most nations to outlaw the practice. Love based discipline follows the more lenient course, of non-physical discipline, which includes time outs, zero tolerance, grounding, reprimanding, natural consequences and authoritative parenting, all of which will be elucidated below. The contribution of such methods to child discipline is highlighted, and their challenges noted as well. Other policies that will be discussed are zero tolerance, police presence and surveillance equipment in schools which seek to detect misbehaviour and exclusion of students persistently violate school rules (Kupchik and Catlaw 2014). Stricter surveillance measures are a reaction to problems cited after school shootings like the 1999 Columbine School incident in USA.

4.1 Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment is the use of physical punishment in response to a child's misbehaviour, so as to cause pain or severe discomfort (Durrant 2005: 49), with the intention to correct the undesirable behaviour and deter the individual from repeating it. Our forefathers practiced whipping which seem to have been replaced by spanking or smacking nowadays (Grille 2008), but may also include slapping, pinching, pulling hair, twisting ears, shaking, giving a hiding, paddling, knocking on the head, caning or hitting with an object such as a rod or a stick (Durrant 2005; Breen, Daniels and Thomlinson 2015). In other words, corporal punishment bears different labels from culture to culture, such as thumping, giving a licking, having to kneel (bend) etc. as different expressions of the way the punishment is administered (Durrant 2005). It has been recognised that corporal punishment has many deleterious effects on both children and adults.

The use of corporal punishment is pervasive around the world (Durrant 2005; Zolotor and Puzia 2010), and it tends to be particularly severe in homes and schools throughout Africa and in some other developing nations (Grille 2008). United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) explicitly spells out that its aim is the protection of children against all forms of physical and mental violence, injury and abuse (UNCRC article 19 para 1). Over the past two decades the definition of

violence against children has been broadened (Poretti *et al.* 2014), to include acts that adults feel give too much freedom to the young people who actually are in greater need of care and protection.

Children perceive corporal punishment as injurious both emotionally and physically (Breen, Daniels and Thomlinson 2015). The authors argue that the way children define spanking differs from the way adults describe it. For children spanking is a hard and painful blow yet parents call it a love smack rather than a blow. In other words, a smack appears to be not violent and is justified as a way of applying disciplining, which provides leeway to continue with the act. Parents of lower status who have large families mostly use corporal punishment (Vittrup and Holden 2010). Parents hit either with objects or bare hands depending on impulse, making it difficult to determine the type of corporal punishment that can be viewed as reasonable chastisement (Durrant 2005), while some researchers use the marks left on the body to determine the severity of corporal punishment. I believe that the administration of corporal punishment can be reduced by educating adults about its harmful effects. An example is the prevalence of corporal punishment in Sweden which is reported to be extremely low relative to other nations due to intensive parental education on corporal punishment (Durrant 2005: 56).

Predictors of corporal punishment practice are dependent on adult variables, such as socio-economic status, gender, age, education level, socialisation and disposition. If an adult believes that corporal punishment is acceptable he/she is likely to use it. Depending on the adult's interpretation of a child behaviour as wilful and defiant he/she is likely to get angry and respond with a punishment (Durrant 2005). The type of punishment applied is highly dependent on the attitude of the parent towards the child and the kind of behaviour manifested.

Despite governments' outlaw of punishments, it is still prevalent especially in poorer rural areas of Africa and elsewhere (Maphosa and Shumba 2010). It is the common and acceptable form of discipline which is believed to be quick and effective to keep children in line. My view is that there are better ways of assuring compliance, even though they may not achieve instant results, but are more positively formative in the long run. Learner-on-learner violence is common and teachers are ill-equipped for finding alternative and effective disciplinary methods to maintain a safe and secure environment that facilitate learning, which is why they resort to the ways they are accustomed (Maphosa and Shumba 2010), that is corporal punishment. They themselves are likely to have been brought up in environments where corporal punishment was rife, and having survived see nothing wrong it.

Corporal punishment is now internationally regarded as a human rights violation, where striking another person is viewed as an attack on their rights and dignity (Breen, Daniels and Thomlinson 2015). Some parents believe that corporal punishment bans are an intrusion into private family life which violates their autonomy. As parents, they feel they are entitled to control their children so that in future become responsible citizens. Such bans will not become effective until parenting practices begin to change from within the community. An example of a campaign to do this in Europe is "Raise our hand against smacking" (Gershoff, Purtell and Holas 2015a). Most states worldwide have ratified the CRC, but

teachers, administrators and parents locally have to appreciate the idea before it can be implemented successfully. (Gershoff, Purtell and Holas 2015b). Despite efforts by governments to ban corporal punishment there is evidence that some educators still practice it (Maphosa and Shumba 2010; Doucette, Harris and Jaffe 2014; Lansford *et al.* 2014; Gershoff, Purtell and Holas 2015a). Evidence of this is the fact that teachers in different countries have been prosecuted for excessively beating students (Downs 2015), since there is proof that corporal punishment affect the human body adversely (Mann 2014). The USA already effectively outlawed corporal punishment in prisons in early 1950s and they also passed legislation to prevent cruelty to animals (Phillips and Fossey 2012; Gershoff, Purtell and Holas 2015c). Nineteen, mostly southern states in the USA are nonetheless still allowing the administration of corporal punishment in schools (Phillips and Fossey 2012).

4.1.1 Forms of Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment has been used in different settings including the navy, education, prisons and in families. In the United States they adopted flogging, lashing and paddling from the European colonialists (Gershoff, Purtell and Holas 2015c). Their justification was based on the biblical belief which promotes the rod of correction (Doucette, Harris and Jaffe 2014; Geltner 2014). There is no uniformity in the application of this form of punishment and the nature of the crime is not taken into consideration to determine the number of strokes. The use of such gruesome punishment became debatable in the mid-19th century. Flogging with cat-o-nine tails of colt was common. This whip was made up of 9 small hard twisted cords, each about 45centimetres, fastened to a wooden handle (Ocobock 2012). The colt was a thread ratline or a rope with two hard whippings on each end. To intensify the pain the colt or the cat was dipped in brine or in an antibiotic in order to fight infections on the wound (Ocobock 2012). A birch was another form of whip made from a bundle of twigs.

4.1.2 Effectiveness of Corporal Punishment

Although some studies carried out have demonstrated that there is an increase in childhood moral internalization, aggression, delinquent behaviour, antisocial behaviour, and a decrease in the quality of parent-child relationship, more negative behavioural symptoms and higher rates of physical abuse (Zolotor *et al.* 2011), corporal punishment has also shown to improve immediate compliance (Ocobock 2012). Though corporal punishment is associated with adult aggression, criminal and antisocial behaviour, poorer health and abuse of one's own child and spouse, traditionally it was seen as a way which brings honour to the head of family in other societies (Grille 2008).

After the outlawing of corporal punishment most teachers feel incapacitated and find it difficult to discipline students using the alternatives available (Maphosa and Shumba 2010). Teachers justify it by claiming that corporal punishment saves time, that students are exposed to it in their homes, and that it is easily accessible when dealing with huge numbers in classes. This could be the reason why corporal punishment is still in use in many schools. Some teachers acknowledge that learners have rights which they are very much aware of. There is research that shows that children admit that spanking was the

most effective way of preventing the recurrence of misbehaviour in the short term, but also think that it does not yield long-term positive results (Vittrup and Holden 2010). The power of spanking lies in the fear factor in which the person who administers spanking is seen to possess more authority than the victim.

4.1.3 Limitations of Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment brings both bodily and mental harm. In its severe forms victims spend time nursing their wounds instead of attending classes so that they become productive citizens. After receiving corporal punishment, the individual feels deep indignation and humiliation. Although corporal punishment deters the victim from repeating wrongdoing, it fails to accomplish reformation, a major aim of discipline (Ocobock 2012). Those who administer corporal punishment get accustomed to the practice, and may become cold-hearted and beastie in their behaviour in the worst cases.

Violence has proven to be trans-generational and that people who were severely punished as children are more likely to be found among jail inmates and in juvenile delinquency correctional service institutions (Grille 2008). Children are natural imitators of role models they love and see as being successful. Some victims of severe corporal punishment who admire a harsh parent may be influenced to the extent of committing more serious crimes (ibid). Corporal punishment may serve as a model of the use of force to solve problems and make children view adults as giants who reprimand or punish, hence they misbehave during their absence but behave in their presence.

The use of corporal punishment by parents is also a predictor that their children are more likely to use it as well. Violent parental relationships thus increases the risk of child rearing violence repeating itself in the following generation (Simons and Wurtele 2010; Bussmann, Erthal and Schroth 2011). This clarifies the fact that children learn discipline strategies from their parents. Intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment is mostly evident in children of the same gender with the parent (Wang, Xing and Zhao 2014). In their studies of Chinese families, they found out that there was huge similarities in the way daughters employed corporal punishment like their mothers, and boys like their fathers. Thus, later in the children's adult life they may have a different view on the violent nature of corporal punishment which might strengthen their attitude of improving its use (Bussmann, Erthal and Schroth 2011).

The hitting of people experienced during childhood makes some people insensitive to the pain and humiliation suffered by those they smack (Grille 2008). In other words, the earlier victim of corporal punishment no longer feels the pain in a normal sense. Such people can be cruel and justify their actions as harmless and that their present victim deserves it.

Race and socio-economic status may moderate the effects of spanking due to the differences in the normative of its use in the different cultures (Vittrup and Holden 2010). An example is children from lower socio-economic classes who are brought up in an environment where spanking is common. In this case spanking does not cause children to internalise any moral message, but just brings forth

immediate compliance, which means that ‘a smack may induce children to learn ethical rules by their heads, not with their hearts’ (Grille 2008).

Corporal punishment is associated with adverse mental health outcomes such as aggression, depression, drug abuse, alcoholism, decreased self-confidence and assertiveness, low self-esteem, anxiety and suicidal tendencies later in life (Zolotor *et al.* 2011; duRivage *et al.* 2015). Children who grew up with violence become less productive and may themselves become abusive (Poretti *et al.* 2014), especially to their peers and others whom they will have future relationships with (Grille 2008). Childhood violence then becomes a threat to peace worldwide (Ma *et al.* 2012). Gandhi had this to say on world peace and childhood:

If we are to reach real peace in the world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children; and if they grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle pass fruitless resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which consciously and unconsciously the whole world is hungering. (Grille 2008: 227).

Childhood experiences do shape an individual's future life. This is evidenced by the history of former tyrants who led massacres of innocent people under their dictatorships (Grille 2008). The author outlined the childhoods of Joseph Stalin, Vladimir Lenin, Adolf Hitler and Saddam Hussein who were brought up under harsh parenting styles involving severe corporal punishment, and uncaring fathers whose interests were to be honoured as good disciplinarians. This point is stressed by de Mause saying:

Every abandonment, every betrayal, every hateful act towards children returns tenfold a few decades later upon the historical stage, while every emphatic act that helps a child become what he or she wants to become, every expression of love toward children heals society and moves in an unexpected, wondrous new direction. (Grille 2008: 100).

Most European societies condoned the abuse of women through the use of corporal punishment (Grille 2008), which is in many ways not separated from the suffering of children, under one perpetrator, the man. Such abuses have a negative impact on the future of the abused child, of which some are severe. Therefore, if we want to have a peaceful world, we must begin with positive parenting which promotes future democracy. Punishment can produce superficially good behaviour based on fear. Corporal punishment is like a drug whose dose needs to be increased as the child grows older in order for it to be effective (Cawood 2009). A reason why people continue using corporal punishment is in their belief that it did them no harm, their religious beliefs.

Prohibiting corporal punishment will lead to a decline in violence (Bussmann, Erthal and Schroth 2011). 24 countries have passed laws to ban corporal punishment in the home, 112 countries have passed laws to ban corporal punishment in schools with the exception of only USA and Somalia who remain nations that fail to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Zolotor *et al.* 2011). However, United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child fails to recognise the cultural differences of people and their different experiences such as effects of colonisation and socio-economic status (Poretti *et al.* 2014). Post-colonial states have unfortunately been influenced by their

colonial past, especially in regard to the application of corporal punishment in prison settings and at home (Ocobock 2012).

Corporal punishment has been practised over a long period of time, so that it has become culturally instinctual, legitimate and fully acceptable to many groups of people (Downs 2015). Therefore, for it to be totally outlawed globally the available alternatives have to prove to outplay corporal punishment in all its different manifestations.

4.2 Non-physical Discipline

These consist of both punitive and non-punitive ways of discipline that do not include any forms of corporal punishment. Non-physical discipline is increasingly becoming part of the parenting style of the upper and middle classes.

4.2.1 Time Outs

Time outs is one of the exclusionary methods of discipline used by teachers to terminate an unpleasant behaviour (Maag 2012). A child is isolated for misbehaving for a few minutes in order to calm down. Some teachers call it ‘graceful exit’, ‘thinking chair’, ‘safe seat’ or ‘think time’ (ibid). Time out depends on the age of a child, probably best a minute out per year of age. The temperament of the child should be taken into consideration. Time out is a version of love withdrawal, more so when it comes as a sentence which also entails ‘solitary confinement’. Unlike corporal punishment, time out induces pain through separation from the caregiver. Such love withdrawal can have a devastating emotional effect should it be seen to contain a threat of abandonment or permanent separation. Time out could also leave a child in a state of discomfort for longer periods, probably more than spanking. Children however, might end up suppressing such negative feelings regarding the possibility of love withdrawal. Time outs work well for children with minor behaviour problems, but not for those with severely challenging behaviours. In the latter case, teachers might continue to exclude students who will in turn create scenes whenever they feel they need to escape class, leading to what is termed a ‘negative reinforcement trap’ (Maag 2012).

4.2.2 Zero Tolerance

Zero tolerance policies include expulsions, exclusions, suspensions and transfers to alternative schools of children found with objects considered to be weapons and various harmful controlled substances.

Although zero tolerance has been condemned by various academics, such punitive absolutism still exists (Muschert and Madfis 2014), and the systems have been accepted almost all over the USA (Rich-Shea and Fox 2014).

Suspensions and expulsions

School polices implemented after the 1999 Columbine shooting in US were meant to prevent similar incidences by controlling access to schools, better detection, pre-emptive intervention and closer

supervision (Muschert *et al.* 2014). School environments are the safest locations for children of school going age in most parts of the world with incidents like the one at Columbine that can be catastrophic both for the learners and the community being very rare (Muschert and Madfis 2014). However, such incidences warrant serious concerns, for their results are usually fatal and detrimental (ibid p20).

Suspension disengages the child from the learning process whilst expulsion takes the child totally from the classroom. Suspensions and expulsions are likely to increase neighbourhood crime even when they protect the welfare of the other learners (Losen 2011). An advantage of suspension is the involvement of parents in disciplining their child. Parents are made aware of their child's behaviour before it gets worse and they work together with the school, if they are willing to cooperate with the school (ibid). Suspensions also serve as a deterrent for other learners from misbehaving, and promotes a more conducive teaching and learning environment

According to the Academy of American Paediatrics Committee on School Health children from a population that have little supervision at home are more likely to be suspended, children from poor backgrounds are likely to be expelled, while children with single parents are prone to both suspension and expulsion (Losen 2011). A study done in Baltimore showed that suspension relieves teachers and school bus drivers from the burden and stress of dealing with problem children (ibid). However, when zero tolerance punitive systems are applied to other offensive behaviour other than violence, then the school may unwittingly contribute to an increase in numbers of prisoners in the nation – school to prison pipeline (Muschert and Madfis 2014).

After more school shootings during 1996 – 2001, schools in US could not tolerate what they termed 'another Columbine', which was however, an exceptional case (Rich-Shea and Fox 2014). The zero tolerance system then brought its own challenges, since there was no improvement in the learning environment, academic achievement and discipline as a result of school expulsions. In fact, a higher record of misbehaviour can be expected after such expulsions, further feeding the school to prison pipeline alluded to above. Zero tolerance systems do not promote the development of caring and trusting relationships between children and adults, and do not take cognisance of the different developmental stages of the learners. It is unfortunately a one size fits all cases approach (Rich-Shea and Fox 2014). As a result, both the zero tolerance system and police presence on the school grounds produce a punitive climate which feeds the school to prison pipeline.

4.2.3 Grounding

Grounding usually works equally well with pre-teens and teenagers. The child is restricted from some activities that he/she enjoys, such as access to TV, computer, videos, cell phone or any other activity the child enjoys. Their love of these activities makes children desist from repeating their objectionable behaviour.

4.2.4 Reprimanding and Chiding

Reprimanding involves direct or indirect reproof or criticism of a child's behaviour or actions, which gives the child a negative self-image. This method is prevalent in both homes and schools. The individual being chided feels demeaned, which might make him/her withdraw and avoid the people or person rebuking them. Chiding involves abusive, rejecting and insulting statements which make the victim feel threatened, ashamed and unworthy. Let me elaborate more on the shame brought on by chiding.

Shame is a secret emotion that most adults may overlook. It is a learned self-conscious emotion which starts with the advent of language and self-image. Although we are all born with a susceptibility to shame, the propensity to feel shame in specific situations is learned (Grille 2008). That is to say, we learn to be ashamed of things that others who matter in our lives, such as parents, siblings, teachers, relatives, and friends disapprove of or condemn. Shaming messages received in childhood are difficult to erase due to their vulnerability and impressionable state vis a vis adults. Beside words a look of disdain, contempt or disgust can have great shaming power, bringing a child to self-loathing (Grille 2008).

Chiding is an anger release mechanism which makes the person who is doing the scolding feel better for a moment, and think that the chiding has worked. Chiding does indeed make a child work harder in order to please the person who is reprimanding them. Children's self-identity is shaped by the things they hear said about them. This is also true of hurtful words that were used to scold them early in life, which may have a lasting effect on their self-esteem. Children may be living in fear of their parents' or teachers' condemnation. If their feelings or reactions are trivialised they grow up feeling inadequate due to the inner voice which tells them that they are not good enough. They may end up feeling powerless to act, express themselves, and consequently inferior. Chiding hinders children's self-expression, crushes their natural exuberance, curiosity, and their desire to do things by and for themselves (Grille 2008). Having felt the sting of an adult's negative judgement the reproached child represses self to escape being branded as not good.

Chiding can hurt relationships. The shame we acquire in childhood makes us chronically afraid that our true nature might be exposed to the world's gaze. This may lead us to withdraw from others, 'retiring into our own crafted façade that protects an agonising sense of shame' (Grille 2008). Shame may however, also make us want to punish others. When angry, shame prone individuals are more likely to be malevolent, aggressive or self-destructive. The result is, what might be called shame rage or shame fury (Grille 2008). Shame rage is often what underlies bullying, delinquency and vandalism in young people. The shame we develop in childhood wounds us emotionally, and thus slows the development of emotional intelligence. Chiding in this way may block the healthy development of empathy and ability to take responsibility, which in turn may lead to a tendency of blaming others, thus straining relationships. Almost everybody suffers from one form or another of suppressed shame, which we

expertly manage to disguise. We then try to compensate for our deep feelings of shame with attitudes of contempt, superiority, domineering or bullying. An alternative is to become compulsively obedient, easily intimidated, self-deprecating and excessively perfectionistic, that is to say, become overly self-critical in order to show others how virtuous you are (Kohn 2005). Otherwise, to conceal our shame we sneer at others, criticise, moralise, judge, patronise, and we condescend. Chiding has the power to control behaviour, but it does not teach empathy and as a result children lose confidence in themselves, and be afraid of adults who chide them.

In the place of chiding (Cawood 2009) proposed the power of 'I' language to all including toddlers which makes victims understand the extent of the damage they caused in a more polite way which motivate them to show a sign of remorse. Thus, the 'I' message communicates with clarity and encourages a sound dialogue.

4.3 Non-punitive Discipline

Non-punitive discipline is also known as positive discipline due to its objective of promoting good feelings within children. Communication is important in this process, with both the child and the adult who is exercising the discipline needing to have an open mind. The golden rule is to treat others the way you want them to treat you. Several common practices may, however, have a harmful effect on a child's social and emotional development.

4.3.1 Praise and Rewards

When both positive and negative reinforcement is used, desirable behaviour is consistently rewarded, whilst the tendency to engage in undesirable behaviour is reduced by not being rewarded. This is based on BF Skinner's concept of operant conditioning (Kohn 2005; Cheng and Yeh 2009; Kelsey 2011). Praises and rewards improve children's behaviour and performance, and reduce the incentive towards anti-social behaviour. Praises and rewards can nonetheless damage our relationship with our children, since children may end up acting to impress, and get addicted to approval, thus becoming depressed when admiration fails to come (Kohn 2005). Praising a child's potential can also damage their self-esteem, since such praise may make them feel that their potential is not being realised. Praises and rewards serves as a reminder that the teacher/parent has power over the recipient. It makes children feel both elevated and judged thus getting them to conform to wishes of those who praise them (Cheng and Yeh 2009). It is demotivating for a child to miss the rewards and praises they have become used to. In other words, the more one offers rewards and praises, the more the recipient craves them (Kelsey 2011). Children who get used to bribes, end up bribing and cheating in order to get to the expected standard that is worthy of a reward. Such a reward system may further create a climate of competition, jealousy and envy, at the expense of cooperation and team work, when children begin to see classmates as a threat to their praises and rewards (Kohn 2005; Kelsey 2011).

Rewards and praises for good behaviour usually come with strings attached (Kohn 2005). When children realise that they are only lovable when they act in a way the adult likes, they may find a way to cheat in order to get the deserved prize. The system of rewards and praises shows that child discipline has a sort of economic transaction, also been infiltrated by the marketplace law of supply and demand, where even love and happiness have a price. Kohn proposes unconditional love with no strings attached as the better way.

Rewards and praise as extrinsic motivation erode intrinsic motivation so that children might become 'praise junkies' who, even as adults continue to rely on other people for validation (Kohn 2005; Cheng and Yeh 2009; Kelsey 2011). The more we offer rewards, the more children will need them. Praises and rewards are popular because they are easy to use and they motivate children to strive for things they do not naturally like to work on. Finally and importantly, praise by itself does not promote critical thinking.

4.3.2 Natural Consequences

Children learn desirable behaviour from their own mistakes. Such an assumption works well as long as they are not exposed to significant risks or danger. There are advantages is when children learn from their mistakes since, as the old adage goes, experience is the best teacher.

4.4 Preventive Discipline

Urban schools in many countries are today set apart by campus borders, surveillance networks, fences, barbed wire, school security, police, with cameras recording movement along hallways and exits (Simmons 2010; Muschert and Madfis 2014).

4.4.1 Police Officers

The presence of police officers in public schools dates back as far as 1958 in Flint, Michigan and spread more widely when the federal government allocated funds in the 1990s to make provision for this (Kupchik and Bracy 2010; Rich-Shea and Fox 2014), 60-65% of the police time is spent on law enforcement, 30-35% on counselling, and 10-15% of their time on coaching. According to Kupchik and Bracy (2010), police duties include;

- patrolling the school camps
- investigating on-campus crimes
- gathering information from students about crimes that have occurred in the community
- mentoring and advising students
- offering drug and crime prevention programs
- teaching children about what the law related entails.

By 2008 the Association for School Resource Office claimed to have 9 000 officers within schools (Kupchik and Bracy 2010) which escalated to 17 000 by the year 2014 (Rich-Shea and Fox 2014). The

federal government grant money could have made it possible for some schools to hire police officers as an attractive option at the expense of other alternatives. To add to this, unlike other security measures, human security can address a range of internal and external concerns unlike technical devices (Addington 2014).

The presence of police officers within schools provides various benefits. To administrators, the police serve as legal advisors especially in weapon classification, drug identification and their effects, and on security matters such as bomb threats. In cases where a child has been found guilty of an offense the police explain to the parents the rationale behind the school's actions. The police department also establishes a relationship with the community and get to know the students and their families' problems. This reduces fear of the police and lowers the boundaries that separate police from community (Kupchik and Bracy 2010). Students feel safe within the school environment, with the result that there may be marked decrease in crime rates within the school.

4.4.2 Surveillance Cameras and Metal Detectors

Metal detectors and surveillance cameras help to prevent children from bringing weapons to school (Hirchfield 2010), although there is a possibility of children taking advantage of camera blind spots which they can identify (Hope 2010). Schools in affluent American suburbs are now the proud owners of the most sophisticated and expensive surveillance technology, which educationists and companies promote as the inevitable way of the future (Muschert and Madfis 2014). The disadvantage is that they make the institutions look like correctional facilities and are a threat to children's dignity when placed inside toilets.

The security equipment controls the whole school environment, whether the learners, teachers, other staff or parents (Cassella 2010). School bus drivers are also under surveillance, which gives parents confidence that their children are under the care of a responsible person during school trips. Most of the technology equipment used in schools was initially developed for the military. Companies can make cameras the size of a pencil eraser, yet the large cameras are clearly visible inside buildings. It is intentional, since they provide assurance, and make people aware that they are under surveillance. Some schools buy the equipment just to get recognition and to create the impression that it is an advanced and safe facility. The use of surveillance equipment combined with architectural design which increase visibility, does reduce the incidence of crime within schools. These designs include large windows, skylights, straight hallways, single entry and exit gates, and specialised door locks (Muschert and Madfis 2014). However, these school surveillance systems are believed to be used by the military to recruit and spy on students (Wall 2010).

Deterrence through the use of security measures is costly. They are often installed in response to highly publicised, but rare, violent school incidents, but there is no evidence that improving school safety would prevent violence. They furthermore are an invasion of learners' privacy, particularly when they are installed in places such as toilets and showers (Addington 2014).

According to School Survey of Crime and Safety (SSOCS) carried out in different US school levels (elementary, middle, high) regarding the use of security cameras, security officers and metal detectors over the period 1999-2008, a remarkable increase in the use of the three methods was recorded (Addington 2014). Security camera usage increased from 19.1% to 54.7%, an almost 300% increase, whilst security guards increased by one third from 31.8% to 42.8%, while the use of metal detectors was common throughout (Addington 2014). The use of other deterrence factors such as visitors check-in and locked doors remained high everywhere, whilst the use of student identification documents (IDs) remained constantly low. The survey summary indicated that high schools are more likely to use security measures than both elementary and middle schools. Elementary schools use visible security measures mostly in high crime areas. The survey's findings also suggested that a 'security creep' is taking place since cameras are increasingly used for other purposes other than security. The use of metal detectors is a reaction to what Gottfredson and Gottfredson (1995) described as the 'importation hypothesis' namely the crime brought into the school from surrounding high crime neighbourhoods (Addington 2014).

4.4.3 Authoritative School Discipline

Disciplinary structure and support are a key to school safety, since the order and disciplinary procedures which learners have to follow, are well laid out. Most of the behaviour that we refer to as difficult, comes as a result of some emotional wound and a sense that they do not feel securely connected to the care givers and teachers (Grille 2008). People in authority can make use of 'I' statements which expresses disappointment and anger in a responsible and non-hostile manner, with the goal of commanding the child's attention. A child may then realize that adults also have their own needs and feelings, i.e. are also persons in their own right.

Tone of voice and facial expression plays an important part in communicating one's emotions. Children learn to listen through the way they are listened to with care and patience, while validating their feelings and taking them seriously. It is better to demonstrate empathy than to preach morality.

4.5 Conclusion

Our discussion has shown that corporal punishment is common worldwide despite its negative results. However, both non-physical and non-punitive ways of exercising discipline are also applied, and they continue to promote positive learning environments, despite their shortcomings. Preventive discipline is expensive and not affordable in many countries, but it offers promise of better and more sophisticated learning environments in the future. The intended purpose of zero tolerance and surveillance systems is to remove problems rather than solving them, without considering the context of the problems (Muschert and Madfis 2014).

Chapter 5: Violence in Zimbabwe Schools

5. Introduction

This chapter looks at violence within Zimbabwean schools. It gives an outline of the nature and extent of violence, its causes and effects in six Zimbabwean schools, where pseudonyms are used for confidentiality purposes. There is not much published on school violence in Zimbabwe with the exception of a few gender based violence reports (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach 2006; Leach and Humphreys 2007) and a few UNICEF and UNESCO reports which provide information on the prevalence of this phenomenon. I will use statistics and other information from these documents, though with less confidence regarding some of the data.

Global data available on sexual abuse reveals that 60 million girls and 29 million boys around the globe are sexually abused every year, whilst half the world population of children live in countries where corporal punishment is still applied as a means of chastisement (MSI 2008). Here the types, causes and effects of school violence will be discussed based on a few of the available sources as it is reflected in the current situation in schools. The situation in South African schools where school violence is more widely documented will also be discussed.

5.1 The Zimbabwean Education System

School offers children the possibility of learning and internalising values of solidarity, tolerance and respect, and they serve as important resources for the promotion of non-violence and for overcoming tension and mediating conflicts amongst pupils and staff and also beyond in the wider community. *Pias Marte Santos* (UNICEF 2012: 4)

Generally, schools are viewed as peaceful zones where children learn pro-social behaviours that prepare them for their future, yet for some students that goal is never accomplished (UNICEF 2012). The school system being alongside the family the main socializing agency in society, violence is viewed as counter productive to the ideal of socializing learners (Prinsloo and Naser 2007). While school violence is not widely documented in Zimbabwe, a pertinent question is to whether we can determine the extent to which Santos' statement quoted above holds true in Zimbabwe.

Children are sent to school for them to meet, learn, and have a common upbringing that ensures a brighter future for all of them. According to the Zimbabwe Education Act of 1980, a 9/10-year-old child should either be in grade four or five, other than in special cases where they could be in a lower or higher grade, so in this study, we shall only be considering those in grades four and five. The revised Education Act of 1990 included a section where "hot seating" or double sessions are also allowed in public schools, in order to give more children the opportunity to attend where the infrastructure is inadequate to accommodate everybody. Double sessions allow two different classes to share a classroom per day, with some of their work done outside the classroom. This also enabled some primary schools accommodate high school classes, or vice versa. However, this is now undergoing

review since the complications it causes in school administration are seen to affect the quality of education that learners receive.

It is also necessary to consider the expectations of the child and teacher in a school. Human rights principles claim that every child has the right to physical, sexual, emotional, intellectual and social safety. Oosthuizen (2010) avers that learners have the right to:

- Be respected by teachers and fellow learners,
- Be addressed by name that he or she prefers
- Be taught in a positive atmosphere
- Achieve success, but sometimes also to fail
- Ask for assistance
- Demand effective and fair education

Learners have responsibilities that include listening to teachers, reacting positively to reasonable requests, participating in class activities, and communicating any discomfort or tension directly to the teacher. Before delving into violence issues in schools, it is important to outline what is expected of a Shona child.

5.1.1 The Expected Shona Child

In the Zimbabwean context discipline is viewed as ensuring that good behaviour is portrayed in the presence of other people (Chitumba, 2013). In Shona, the word *tsika* and Ndebele *ubuntu* means the ability to demonstrate culturally acceptable social competences including having an affable disposition, being respectful and socially responsible, among other virtues (Chitumba 2013). Discipline is the way students are variously taught to behave depending on the discipline skills employed by the class teacher and school management (Ortega *et al.* 2009). Lack of *tsika* (*kalabuntu* in Ndebele) implies behaviour that interferes or has the risk of interfering with optimal learning and social engagement in interaction with peers and adults. Those who transgress behavioural norms therefore they are ill-mannered (*havana tsika*). In agreement with Western culture, behaviour which violates the rights of others by fighting, showing defiance and aggression, stealing, lying, and truancy are considered as indiscipline, and children who display such behaviours are considered as being wayward (Lochan 2012; Onderi and Makori 2013). Lochan (2012) includes other behaviours such as not respecting adults, being noisy, using obscene language, disturbing others, writing on walls, telling tales, and being disobedient or lax in carrying out assigned tasks includes other behaviours such as not respecting adults, being noisy, using obscene language, disturbing others, writing on walls, telling tales, and being disobedient or lax in carrying out assigned tasks.

All such behaviours are seen as violating the school ethos. In developed countries gender-based violence has gone unchecked and become institutionalised due to weak policy compliance, low resource allocation, and entrenched gender roles (Leach and Humphreys 2007). In my opinion there seems to be

overemphasis on childrens' rights to the detriment of the teachers' duty to exercise discipline since the governments generally have outlawed corporal punishment.

Since I could not find reputable literature on how Shona the children are brought up, I am going to give my own account of how a Shona child is brought up, based on my upbringing as a Zezuru (Shona dialect group) child. Like most parents everywhere Shona parents take pride in having a child who behaves in conformity with their customs and tradition. They strive to raise their children inculcating traits that would mould them into reputable adults. Expected behaviour for children is instilled through mythological tales and maxims told by the elders within families and the community. It is the cultural heritage which lives among the people which is believed to produce a wholesome Shona person as the product.

Both the family and the community expect a child to consistently practice good manners (*tsika*) as outlined above. Adherence to good manners means keeping to the customs and traditions of the Shona people. Let me expound the word *tsika* before I delve into the way parents instil this important value into their children. *Tsika* embraces simple etiquette, virtues, and prudent behaviour. Etiquette includes knowing how to address elders, table manners, seating position and postures, and simple greeting gestures, and is held in high regard amongst the Shona people (Gelfand 1973). In other words children should behave showing proper respect towards other people.

Virtue refers to the uprightness of behaviour and goodness within a person portrayed by obedience. A Shona child is expected to obey orders from adults without questioning and protesting, displaying decency and civility, and being consistently reliable in whatever they do.

Prudent behaviour is reflected in qualities which portray wisdom and providence toward others and include things like modesty, self-respect, and the strength of will to restrain one's own physical and emotional impulses, together with the ability to reject advances from people of the opposite sex. *Tsika* therefore fosters self-control within an individual.

A child is expected to have acquired the essential *tsika* that will enable him / her to live out the rest of their life. At this age, a child is said to have acquired *hunhu*. *Hunhu* refers to all the human qualities that are morally acceptable. For a person to have *hunhu* he/she must possess *tsika*, which is hence a prerequisite for *hunhu*. A person is regarded as possessing *hunhu* when one consistently displays commitment and dedication to the customs and traditions of the Shona people. This means that one takes on responsibility regarding marriage, children and guardianship of other minors within the community. All these traits can only be acquired through the socialisation which takes place within communities.

Shona parents rely on folklore and comments during socialisation moments to instil good behaviour patterns into their children. Folklore includes tales and sayings that teach children the traditional customs of the Shona people. This valuable legacy is preserved by the elders of the community and is expected to be transmitted to the future generations through oral narrations.

Non-compliance with set rules and standards of behaviour is met with harsh punitive measures such as corporal punishment, marginalisation and disempowerment. Acknowledging guilt, showing remorse, repenting and asking for forgiveness, paying compensation and reparation regarded as necessary conditions for reconciliation in Shona culture. However, children in this project may not perfectly fit the above description of the Shona child due to a variety of modern influences.

According to developmental theorists the 9-10 year old children who are the subject of this project are in different stages of development which assist adults in understanding the children with whom they deal with daily (Hergenhahn and Olson 2005). The stages are only constructs to chart developmental changes used by theorists as tools to identify and characterise these changes (Lourenço 2016). The children are capable of processing information in line with Piaget's theory of the development stage when abstract reasoning starts begins to supersede concrete thinking (Hergenhahn and Olson 2005). In other words, at this stage learners are expected to know better than first graders how to grasp the concepts, morals and emotions that are acceptable.

5.1.2 Teacher Expectations

Teachers have expectations to meet as they perform their duties. Teaching is an arduous profession that demands individual commitment. Bill (2009: 14) describes teaching as a peculiar job where one has multiple roles of dealing with young children's social, emotional and educational needs. In Bill's view, a teacher deals with aspects that touch many facets of a human being's life. Being a teacher requires an individual to consider the plight of generations to come. In fact, the quality of teaching that an individual goes through in their early life can determine the type of a person that the individual becomes later in life. Individual aspects of life that are touched by teachers in one's life are complex and can be detrimental if not carefully taken into consideration earlier in life

Many children hurl the baggage of a dysfunctional family straight into the classroom and unpack their pain masqueraded in the form of misbehaviour and underachievement, though every child is born with the potential to be respectable if properly nurtured into that virtuous character (Gootman 2001: 3). But, sometimes it is the life events that are experienced by that person that deter the potential to be upright. Therefore, a teacher has the duty to work with every child in order to solve the puzzle that can be causing their unexpected behaviour. Some children carry the effects of the childhood trauma they were exposed to before their school years. Such children present both learning and behavioural problems exhibited in aggression, hyperactivity, spiciness, provocativeness, passivity, hyper-vigilance and an inability to concentrate.

It is normal that in every classroom there are children who portray behaviours that disrupt the learning process, affecting everybody involved (Bill 2009). Kauffman and Landrum (2013: 9) noted that some children exhibit behaviours that are persistently irritating to authority that they require constant attention from teachers. Such behaviours are either presented as behavioural excesses or deficiencies, and

teachers are expected to react in ways that deal with the root causes of such behaviours (Belvel 2010). Delving deeper into the lives of children creates complexities in the profession of a teacher (Bill 2009).

Bill (2009: 7) states that 60-70% of children are cooperative and approximately 15-20% behave in intentional and destructive ways. Therefore, if the greater number of children is compliant with the rules then it is crucial for a teacher to react in ways that foster positive behaviour development. The few children who consistently disrupt the learning process are described as “bad apples” by Zimbardo’s Lucifer Effect (Morrison 2014). According to Morrison such children can influence the disruption of the classroom routine if they are not stopped. In essence, leaving one bad apple inside a bag can spoil the rest of the apples inside that bag.

Morrison (2014) emphasises that teachers and communities should be able to raise generations that are able to solve their own conflicts. In other words, teachers have to facilitate the process of children discovering their potential in solving their problems. Therefore, teachers must facilitate the creation of opportunities that promote conflict resolution skills within school children. According to Morrison, these generations must possess individuals who are socially and emotionally healthy, that remove the bystander concept and act on issues that affect them, and address conflict from its underlying causes. In assisting children teachers must bear in mind that they have the right to:

- Be respected by learners, colleagues, managers and parents
- Teach in an orderly climate where learners pay attention
- Be communicated with clearly and directly
- Express any need or grievance in a suitable way

Teachers have the following responsibilities to learners: to ensure teaching and learning are experienced positively, to strive always to be calm and relaxed, to be fair, predictable and consistent; to emphasise the efforts learners make towards their achievements, to be positive, but nevertheless firm if learners do not behave properly, to always be prepared for a lesson and to apologise for any undisciplined behaviour (should this occur).

The way adults react to children’s infractions is determined by their comprehension of the violation (Oosthuizen 2010). Belvel (2010: 155) asserts that when children violate agreements or norms adults have a tendency of inclining learner’s motives to being purposeful. According to Belvel misinterpreting infractions as rude, disrespectful, thoughtless and defiant, this in turn triggers emotions such as anger and frustration in the adult. The aim of a teacher when disciplining a learner is to promote the development of self-control and positive behaviour (Bill 2009).

As a part of correcting the behaviour of learners inside a classroom Belvel (2010: 62) asserts that teachers need to accommodate the missing elements of a learner which may require the alteration or omission of some parts of the task, changing the instructional strategy and providing visual aids for particular learners. Belvel suggested that encouraging collaboration amongst learners may reduce

threats of fear and promote the creation of a supportive learning environment. Candour appraisal of inappropriate behaviour and clarity in the disapproval of inappropriate behaviour helps learners to gain trust (Kauffman and Landrum 2013) in their teacher. Gootman (2001) supports that the teacher must listen skilfully, watch, and understand learners' verbal and non-verbal behaviours, and be a model of self-control, and considers cultural differences within the classroom. Thus, such a caring teacher empowers the student with responsibility and afford them a voice, teaching skills of peaceful coexistence with the goal of behaviour change.

The role of the teacher is to de-victimise the learner and not to re-victimise them (Bill 2009: 27). De-victimising learners include the creation of classroom environments that cater for individual needs. Bill discourages teacher's reliance on staffroom gossip on learners' behaviours. This might influence loss of control on learners. Moreover, teachers are not supposed to dwell on secondary behaviours that come as a result of a learner complying with an instruction (Bill 2009), otherwise the primary goal of behaviour change might be lost.

In her introductory remarks Gootman (2001: 8-11) asserts that there are three basic assumptions that allow teachers to deal with disruption within classroom. These are:

1. Teachers are intelligent professionals who have been trained to use their minds.
2. Children are not born bad.
3. Teachers can make a difference in the lives of children even when children go back home to dysfunction.

Therefore, Gootman's assumption is that a teacher should be able to stir the process of promoting positive behaviour changes in learners, regardless of the background of the learner. There is hope that every individual has the potential to be a respectable being.

Children come to school as isolationists, with a few social skills (Belvel 2010: 82) that the teacher is expected to target and develop within the few first weeks of schooling. Even though rivalry might develop between parents and the teachers over the ownership of the child it is better if the two agree on what is best for the child (Gootman 2001). Parents of disruptive children feel frustrated by the comments they get from the school and this can drive them away from the school and school events (Bill 2009: 10). Teachers feel that they possess the professional and objective knowledge on what is best for the child whilst parents feel that they brought the child into the world, hence they know what is best for their blood (Gootman 2001). Debating on who has the greater power over the child can better be focused on how best contributions from each one of them can improve the future of the child.

Different methods of disciplining children are applied in school. Gootman (2001: 39) recommended a discipline approach she termed "waist- high fences" as the most ideal types of barricades for a classroom set up. Gootman described such a classroom as an environment where expectations are well defined and are within the competence of most learners. Thus, rules match expectations, with the physical environment promoting the safety of all learners, and a public place for sharing with others, including

the teacher. From personal experience, the fewer the rules expressed in an affirmative way the better, and the more the rules contribute to the growth of children.

5.2 Nature and Extent of Violence in Schools

For many children, however the school environment represents a very different universe, where they may be exposed to violence and may be taught violence (Pias Marte Santos (SRSG 2012: 4)).

The few documents that outline school violence in Zimbabwean schools recorded data that is presented in this section of this chapter. Bullying and physical fighting were reported in study that ran from 2003-2005 (UNICEF 2006). The study recorded that 51% of the female students reported to have been bullied, whilst 60% of males reported to have been bullied. 31% of females and 45% of males had engaged in physical fights at school. Shumba and Nhundu's 2000-2001 studies were cited in an MSI report where teachers were found to be perpetrators of verbal abuse. Out of the 100 cases of sexual abuse 70% were penetrative, of which 98% were committed against girls (MSI 2008). The same report cited the study of Leach, Machakanja and Mandoga (2000) in which results indicated that 47% of the students reported sexual abuse in the form of aggressive sexual behaviours, intimidation by males, corporal punishment and verbal abuse by both male and female teachers. All the above reports were mostly aligned to gender sexual abuse.

In a comparative report on school violence amongst primary schools in Southern and Eastern African countries Zimbabwe had a higher rate in bullying (94 % against regional average of 83%) and pupil fights scored 96%, slightly above the region's average of 93% (Saito 2011); theft within schools (93%) and pupils' use of abusive language (93%). Other scores included: teachers' use of abusive language (45%) and pupil to pupil harassment (42%). Vandalism (65%) and classroom disruptions (68 points) were moderately high. Teacher harassment of pupils was moderately high (53%). All these statistics indicate that violence is rife within Zimbabwean schools, although it is not widely published like in other countries.

The most prevalent behaviour problems in schools include bullying, physical assault, victimisation, teasing and verbal abuse, truancy, sexual immorality and drugs/alcohol (Burton 2008a, 2008c; Chitiyo *et al.* 2014). Noisiness, tardiness, vandalism, smoking marijuana and insubordination are other problems that are viewed as violence in the school context (Burton 2008a). In the Zimbabwean context children are at times whipped using different objects, such as sticks, hosepipe pieces, rubber strips, ropes, electricity cables and rulers, both at school and in their homes in an attempt to reduce their ill-discipline. Most perpetrators of school violence are classmates, peers and teachers (especially in primary schools) (Chitiyo and Wheeler 2009). However, most students report that they are safe in schools regardless of the prevalence of violence, a sign that violence has been normalised in the minds of these young people (Burton 2008b).

Violence in schools is usually embedded in the broader violence in the country (Burton 2008a). In a study carried out in South African schools it was proven that some students had knowledge of students and teachers who brought drugs and weapons into the school (Burton 2008b), making it easy for them to get a supply within the school yard. In the study it was revealed that the availability of drugs hindered safety within the school community. Some of the implications noted included effects on learner engagement in school work and increase in violence, where conflicts are resolved using violent means.

Some learners fail to report violence due to lack of confidence in the police, fear of offender retribution and past experiences of not having their cases taken seriously (Burton 2008a). Failure to report incidents undermines both the efforts to measure and to solve the problem of violence. (Burton 2008b), which leads to the adoption of a culture silence which has devastating effects in life (de Wet 2007b). In my own humble opinion, I believe the culture of silence originates from individuals upbringing and socialisation. I believe that the role of the schools must be that of improving the discipline students are taught in their homes by their families.

Though there are different forms of violence in schools in this chapter I will discuss physical, sexual, and psychological and child labour. Physical violence in schools is defined as the infliction of pain on learners by a person in authority for the pure reason of gaining compliance (Russo and Pirlot 2006). From another angle physical violence involves inflicting pain to an individual, exerting force and causing pain on somebody's body, and in schools it can be done by both adults and learners. Physical violence (commonly known as corporal punishment) used to be the most ritualised form of physical violence employed by school teachers against the inattentiveness, laziness and daydreaming exhibited by pupils (de Wet 2007a).

Today, physical punishment is still used in Zimbabwe schools as a penalty for late coming, noise, under performance, trespassing, wearing improper school uniform and sports attire, not having enough writing materials and lack of respect to members of staff (Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012; Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014). Teachers use ropes, sticks, rulers and shoes to beat learners on their buttocks, legs, head, back, knuckles, back and palms, and some teachers prefer ear and hair pulling, kicking, pinching and slapping with bare hands (Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014). However, the Ministry of Education Act, *Statutory Instrument P35 of 1998* states that no girl in a government and non-government school should be subjected to corporal punishment (Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012). Most adults feel that corporal punishment should be applied as a form of "reasonable chastisement" (Makwanya, Moyo and Nyenya 2012).

Corporal punishment is regarded as a repressive part of the culture in society which constantly attributes a child's misbehaviour to himself without considering the fault of their guardian/parent (Sigauke 2015). It seems in Zimbabwe both adults and children support its use on children as an ill-discipline deterrent. Teachers fear that without corporal punishment students would be difficult to control, hence, they continue to use corporal punishment, even with the efforts that the Ministry of Education has put in

place to outlaw corporal punishment, teachers feel that alternatives need to be provided (Maphosa and Shumba 2010). Teachers cane pupils for minor offences, such as: not answering questions properly, tardiness, improper dressing, noise and not finishing work on time (Feinstein and Mwashombela 2010). This displays that teachers fail to draw a line between issues that warrant corporal punishment and those that need other means of chastisement.

Sexual abuse includes unwanted touching, rape, verbal abuse through sexually explicit language, any repetitive sexual attention through teasing about dressing or personal appearances and forcing a minor to watch pornography or listen to sexually explicit language (Leach, Dunne and Salvi 2014). Such violence is reported to be prevalent in Zimbabwe (Leach and Humphreys 2007).

Psychological abuse includes abusive language, intimidation, humiliation, bullying, isolation and name calling - with bullying being the most common form of such abuse. These forms of abuse are usually silent and difficult to construe (Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014). Fear generated from watching the physical punishments and name calling of other children enflames psychological abuse. Both boys and girls can be both victims and perpetrators of these abuses. Poor supervision of school grounds by teachers intensifies the severity of these abuses.

Cyberbullying is another form of violence inflicted on school children by other school children (Leach, Dunne and Salvi 2014). Cyberbullying refers to defamatory remarks which consist of bullying, harassment, discrimination, and disclosure of information that contains vulgar, derogatory comments sent via email, cellphone text message, personal website or any other online resource with the intention to hurt an individual (Burton and Mutongwizo 2009). There seems to be a relationship between those who are victims of cyberbullying and those who bully - most victims end up being offenders (Burton and Mutongwizo 2009). The authors stressed that cyberbullying is difficult to detect as students fear reporting such abuse to adults.

Child labour is the economic exploitation of children in work that is likely to be hazardous, interferes with the child's education or harmful to the child's health, physical, mental, spiritual moral or social growth (Chikwiri and Lemmer 2014). Children perform compulsory daily chores without remuneration. These include cleaning the yard, fetching water and firewood, cleaning toilets and watering the garden. Exploitative labour becomes more abusive on the part of the teacher when it exposes students to dangerous unhygienic substances or when tasks are beyond the child's strength. Some children do domestic work for their teachers in order to have their school fees paid in return (Leach and Humphreys 2007).

Unsafe spots within the school

Within the school yard there are hot spots where violence usually occurs. Places that are away from the teacher's view seem to be the most dangerous. Places like orchards, playgrounds and the toilets and other unsupervised places where perpetrators of violence take advantage of them are risk spots, often

feared by learners toilets (Burton 2008b). These places including the classroom and schoolgates are the most common places where violence takes place unnoticed by teachers. The presence of unkempt open places where tall grasses grow near and around schools, and abandoned buildings, create other places which are conducive child abuse. Parental support of corporal punishment from schools makes children hesitate to report abuse from school in fear of further chastisement (Burton 2008b). Siblings often extend the cycle of violence as they retaliate and/or punish the perpetrator. On the other hand, reports to teachers sometimes go unnoticed as they label boys as naturally aggressive, and encourage girls to dress in ways that do not lure men (Leach and Humphreys 2007).

At the time of this study, unemployment and poverty in Zimbabwe were acute, and there was a decline in infrastructure in urban settings, due to the dwindling economic status of the country. Migration of parents to neighbouring countries and the HIV/AIDS pandemic worsened the status of some students in urban areas like Harare (Barnes, Brynard and de Wet 2014). The violence within a school is a reflection of the community within which the school is located, and is often heightened by the presence of shabeens and taverns within close proximity of the schools (Burton 2008b). Children spent up to two thirds of their active daytime in schools, making the school an influential environment in their lives.

Most perpetrators of violence are fellow students, with teachers and other adults being aggressors as well (Barnes, Brynard and de Wet 2012). Male victims dominate assault reports, whereas female victims generally contribute towards the higher number in sexual violence cases. Violence takes place anywhere within the school, as long as the perpetrator is sure that they are out of the view of the teachers (Burton 2008c; Barnes, Brynard and de Wet 2012). According to studies carried out most violent acts are reported to teachers, who in turn report to the head for appropriate action to be taken (Burton 2008b). However, the fear of reprisal, shame, threats from the perpetrator, being labelled as a tattle-tale and the feeling that reporting will not change anything makes student fail to report cases of violence leading to the normalisation of violence (Burton 2008b).

Schools are microcosms of the societies in which they are located (Burton and Leoschut 2013). Crime and violence are widespread in communities students live in – in other words, violence in schools is embedded in the violent communal environment. The social ills that are prevalent in a community are known to permeate the school environment to various degrees. Community characteristics such as levels of social disorganisation, access to illegal substances and firearms, and the proximity of criminal persons to a child, all affect children's risk of perpetuating violence within the school environment (Burton and Leoschut 2013). This proves that children learn behaviours by imitating those around them, especially individuals in their primary socialising contexts (Newman 2010). The high level of violence in Zimbabwean schools has led to the criticism of the abolition of corporal punishment in all schools, moreover, nowadays, children have the right to open a docket against a parent, caregiver or a teacher (Chingombe *et al.* 2017). This might lead teachers to suffer in silence fearing vengeance from the community and other learners.

5.2.1 The Schools' Infrastructures and Location

The six schools that formed the subjects of this study are found in the Harare Metropolitan Province, one of the ten provinces in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. The six schools were called: Peace, Harmony, Wellbeing, Heartbeat, Praiseworthy and Chariot (not their real names). Two of the schools, Peace and Harmony, are in a medium density suburb where most of the parents are educated and have high expectations from the schools. Each grade per school has three streams which are all accommodated by the school's infrastructure per session. All staff members are qualified, with most degreed. In each school some teachers are locals and a few are from nearby suburbs, which are in walking distance. Both schools have an enrolment of approximately 1 500 students each. Most of their children come from within the suburb, with a few exceptions from the nearby suburbs, including the semi-urban township. The schools are moderately funded. Some facilities that were erected during the colonial era have been neglected and abandoned due to both lack of funds, and lack of knowledge regarding their maintenance. Both Peace and Harmony have functional swimming pools, although the changing rooms are not in a satisfactory state.

The schools Wellbeing and Heartbeat are located in a high-density suburb. In these schools "hot sitting" or double sessions are a common phenomenon. Most grades have double sessions in order to allow all the children to enjoy the privilege of schooling. Each grade exposed to double sessions enjoys the opportunity to learn in the mornings for two weeks before changing over to afternoon sessions. In other words, most of the classrooms belong to two different classes from two different grades. The schools' recruitment ranges from within the suburb to the neighbouring resettled farmlands, and new settlements around the suburb. Most of the teachers are locals with a few from the neighbouring suburbs and settlements. Majority of the parents are unemployed and they survive on self-employment, and vending. There are a number of people from other SADC countries who are now citizens of Zimbabwe, which interferes with the sound Zimbabwean cultural practices in this suburb. The majority of the people are strongly aligned to political parties, including those in resettled areas who claim that they received their residential statuses due to their political affiliations.

Many students stay with guardians because their parents are either away or deceased. Poverty is rife and many children are seen roaming the streets being enrolled in any of the schools within the suburb. School dropout and transfers are a common everyday challenge in almost all of the schools within the suburbs. Most classes have up to 60 children, with most lacking support from home in these two schools. Some working parents from this area take their children to more affluent schools where they get a better education, at the expense of their sleeping and playing time.

The last two schools (Praiseworthy and Chariot) are located in a semi-urban settlement that used to be a church farm. This location is currently overpopulated and expands daily. Praiseworthy and Chariot schools are located at the heart of the suburb where both the old and the new residence meet. Children enrolled at the two schools come from different sides of the location. Most teachers come from the

neighbouring suburbs and all over Harare, for the location serves as a reception to teachers who are moving from rural areas into urban Harare. Most parents are vendors and security guards. Many parents are from different parts of the country; poverty prevalence is very high. The area is believed to be a hide-out for criminals who take advantage of the population density and infrastructure setup. The buildings are haphazardly erected with different kinds of both cheap and genuine materials used. Political violence is a daily part of the resident's lives especially towards election time. Most of the schools in the area do not have electricity with all having double sessions including Praiseworthy and Chariot. Both schools have facilities that are inadequate for the numbers of learners present.

Generally, all six of the schools have rules and regulations set in place to limit school violence. Sharp objects like scissors, knives, sling shots and razor blades are prohibited within the school grounds (Steeves and Gary 2014). Possession of any such weapons within the school premises warrants discipline of some sort, which is most likely to be punitive. The fact that violence is minimum in most schools does not permit complacency, but should increase preventive measure (Steeves and Gary 2014). In all the schools the presence of intruders was controlled and there was constant supervision of the students, which encouraged safe environments. Teachers report students and visitors that appear to threaten the safety of the school. All visitors are requested to report to the reception office first. Students are taught drills that help them during times of disasters.

All six of the schools have adopted a dress code of their own choice, erected fences around their schools, appointed prefects with a visible dress code and have gates manned by a guard (Welch and Payne 2014). In most communities people take the school as a public entity which belongs to the government, where the community people have a lesser say; therefore they feel the government has to provide all that is needed for their children. In other words there is less interaction between the community and the schools, which might result in strained relationships and deviant behaviour (Welch and Payne 2014). Therefore, there is need to re-educate the communities on the benefits of public facilities available in their communities.

5.2.2 Disruptive Behaviour in Schools

This section analyses the issues discussed in the first section of 5.2 (above) on a larger scale. The nature and extent of violence in the schools observed (in this research) was similar to that of most schools worldwide. Therefore, my focus will be on the actual infractions that are committed by the children within a school environment and measures that can be taken by teachers to reduce these infractions.

From a sociological view misbehaviours are deviances that are culturally defined and vary from time to time; what one culture views as a deviance can be acceptable, although there are exceptions where majority of cultures accept the deviation from the norm. Understanding causes of classroom misbehaviour can assist the teacher in reducing the likelihood of such behaviours escalating. Table 5.1 below identifies some common behaviour problems, their causes and possible remedies.

Table 5.1 The “Where”, “Why” and “What” of Misbehaviour

Misbehaviour	Why might this student misbehaving?	What can a teacher do about it?
Breaks rules and interrupts	Inexperience or ignorance	Clearly, directly state expectations. Demonstrate and practice appropriate behaviour
Does not sit still, fidgets Silliness, talks out of turn, takes things	Physical immaturity Emotional immaturity	Adjust expectations. Guide to developmentally appropriate actions
Breaks things, touches, experiments	Curiosity	Allow free time to explore. Require repairing damages
Defiant, aggressive, sneaky, tattles, withdrawn, starts rumours, gossips	Need for belonging	Cooperative learning. Involvement opportunities
Clowns, tattles, loud, attention getting behaviours, helpless, psychosomatic illness	Need for recognition	Responsibility. Share expertise with class. Acknowledgement of performance
Physically/ verbally aggressive, proactive, tantrums, steals, bullies, teases	Need for power or control	Choices. Decisions. Problem solving. Responsibility.
Verbal /physical aggression, tantrums	Anger release	Expression of feelings. Anger harnessing practice. Direct confrontation.
Silly, teases, irritation behaviour	Enjoyment/ adventure and fun	Awareness. Consequences. Problem solving
Lies, teases, cheats, aggressive	Fear	Listening. Problem solving.
Cheats, clowns, withdraws, helpless	Feelings of ineptness	Listening. Responsibility. Problem solving.
Clowns, talks a lot, cheats, hyperactive, restless	Stress	Stress reduction exercises. Elimination of stressors. Listening.

Adapted from Gootman (2001: 121).

Some of the misbehaviours highlighted in table 5.1 are discussed in depth below.

Tattling

Tattling involves talking where silence is required, including reporting others for the sake of “taking the wind out of their sails” (Gootman 2001: 166). At times tattling arises as a result of being left out or just to tarnish a classmate’s image. To control this behaviour a caring teacher can ask the tattler to run some errands in order to build their personal ego. Encouraging the child to make friends with other children boosts the child’s confidence (Gootman 2001).

Clowning

Often children present their opinions and positions in a humorous manner. This could be a way of covering up inadequacies in order to gain acceptance and recognition from their peers and it could be a way of compensating for children’s short attention span, so that they are able to break down the learning process into segments they are able to retain (Gootman 2001). Confidence building in pupils can help children to desist from clowning.

Lying

Lying is an act of false representation of facts caused by various factors within children. Kauffman and Landrum (2013) explained that young children fail to differentiate between reality and fantasy, resulting in them misrepresenting reality. Thus, lying can be a result of protecting self-image, especially where a child feels ashamed or afraid of a negative consequence. For instance, a feeling of insecurity about one’s safety, and one’s deficiencies, fear of rejection can force children to cover up by lying. Children who exhibit lying need to be encouraged to be honest and show remorse whenever he /she tells a lie (Kauffman and Landrum 2013). Gootman (2001: 170) proposes that the teacher has to calmly discuss the situation with the child in order for the child to reveal their reasons for lying. Kauffman and Landrum (2013: 229) assert that lying presents a challenge in that it is only revealed after the action has already been committed and is considered a serious problem because it is associated with other antisocial behaviours such as stealing and truancy.

Stealing

Kauffman and Landrum (2013) claim that some young children do not respect the property rights of others and they often just take what they want. Other reasons for stealing include revenge over a lost argument, impulsivity and desperation. Stealing is an antisocial behaviour that should be stopped before the age of five otherwise it becomes a permanent habit (Kauffman and Landrum 2013). Theft often occurs out of the sight of any authoritative figure, the implication being that children expand their antisocial behaviours outside of their homes (ibid). Moreover, every parent is bound to protect their child whenever there is an accusation of theft. Where the teacher does not have proof it is not advisable to accuse an individual on the basis of assumptions and hearsay (Gootman 2001: 173). Dealing with such behaviour becomes easier when parents accept the behaviour and ensure that every theft has a consequence.

Cheating

Most students cheat in order to meet higher expectations, in spite of their lack of preparation and determination (Gootman 2001; Kauffman and Landrum 2013). Both authors stressed that teachers have to let the child know that they are aware of their cheating behaviour, without humiliating the child. The teacher needs to discuss the ramifications of cheating as well and adjust classwork to the level of the class to avoid further cheating (Kauffman and Landrum 2013). Where possible, (Gootman 2001) proposes that individual assessments can be administered in harmony with the abilities of each child.

Vandalism

Some children get into the habit of destroying school property which costly to repair. Vandalism could be due to a natural hatred of school activities, or a way of getting even with the demands of the institution (Gootman 2001). The author suggested that securing school facilities and educating communities on the importance of public facilities to their individual and communal benefits helps children to understand the effects of vandalising school properties (ibid).

Homework problems

Some children struggle with completing homework in compliance with the class teacher's requirements (Gootman 2001). It is important for a dedicated teacher needs to know each child's homework environment before reacting, and the school can provide aftercare for children's homework supervision, and can encourage parents to create time for homework with their children (Gootman 2001). In some instances, parents have commitments which affect their contribution towards children's homework.

Disrespect

Disrespect could be a result of misunderstanding the different cultures that are involved within a particular environment, where young children are expected to approach adults showing humility and avoiding eye contact as a sign of respect; some cultures expect children to voice their concerns the same way adults do (Gootman 2001). Similarly, some children come from homes where there are no limits to how they should behave and such children lack attributes of respect. The way the teacher and students communicate might break the boundaries of authority (Gootman 2001: 176). Therefore, teachers have to ensure that they maintain a relationship that promotes learning, at the same time protecting their dignity.

Bullying

Bullying is the exposure of a child to a negative action by another child (or person) who feels the need to possess more power than the bullied child. Bickmore (2011: 650) describes bullying as social

phenomenon that can take place in environments where it is possible to flourish. Most of the bullying cases go unreported because the bullied students fear the ramifications that follow after exposing a bully to authority (Gootman 2001: 179). Bullying often takes place with the assistance of other students who reinforce it either through supporting the bully or by mere observation of the act; (Cowie 2011, 2014) reiterates that bullying escalates further as a result of bystanders acting as outsiders.

Cowie (2011) suggests that schools can empower children by developing peer support systems which help children to assist their peers when in distress. Systems such as peer mediation, befriending schemes and active listening can assist students in issues of bullying, especially when implemented as a whole school approach (Cowie (2011: 290). Teachers need to listen to the voices of the children more often (Cowie and Oztug 2008: 3) in order to identify bullying cases before they escalate. Bullying is associated with low achievement, poor peer group functioning and unfavourable school climate condition (Swearer *et al.* 2010)

Truancy

Kauffman and Landrum (2013) describe truancy as an act of voluntarily sneaking away from school due to a lack of interest in the activities that are going on, caused by fear of shame and harassment. This could result to failure and withdrawal from the institution. Teachers have to make school activities more interesting and attractive to more students, in which case attendance to school becomes important and absenteeism regrettable (Kauffman and Landrum 2013).

Setting Fires/Arson

Kauffman and Landrum (2013) assert that children show an interest in fire and they play with it at an early age, although they do not understand the danger of fire due to their lack of knowledge in fire safety. Lack of parental supervision can allow children to experiment with fire, or misuse fire as a form of revenge or to conceal their other misbehaviour (ibid).

Jumpiness / hyperactivity

Another group of children develop what (Gootman 2001: 197) refers to as jumpiness or hyperactivity. These children never seem to sit still and seen as possessing more energy than the rest of the class, and triggered by memories of trauma (ibid). Therefore, the teacher needs to set up strict classroom routines that lower their guard. Talking to such children and reassuring them that no danger is likely, as long as they are within the school environment and elsewhere.

Daydreaming

Waves of daydreaming and dissociating self from reality are a common mental process to most children and adults as well. Gootman (2001: 199) coined the term “spiciness” to describe such behaviours in children. And the author proposed that a caring teacher must help the child to refocus by calling out

their name softly or tapping on their shoulders. Allowing children to voice any concerns before lessons commence helps children to unpack some of the excess baggage they might carry throughout the day (ibid).

5.3 Causes of Violence in Schools

There are four major causes of violence in schools, which are: community and social factors, individual attributes, familial contexts and educational factors (de Wet 2007a; Chitiyo *et al.* 2014). Community and social factors include the deterioration of living standards accompanied by poverty, unemployment, high populations, overcrowding and gangsterism. In patriarchal cultures within the developing world, males possess dominating and controlling behaviour which they exhibit through harassing others verbally, emotionally and sexually. These behavioural constructs contribute to gender based violence (Leach and Humphreys 2007). Boys who fail to conform to the behaviour deemed manly by the dominating males may suffer as victims of violence through verbal abuse (ibid). Girls who fail to live up to the expected norms suffer from abuses as well. Gender norms and rigid notions of masculinity and femininity contribute to school related gender based violence through supporting the stigma and silencing around abuse issues, hence normalising abuses (MSI 2008).

The low wages that teachers receive lead some of them to feel entitled to labour and ask for sexual favours from students as a benefit to supplement their low wages; they especially target students who have challenges accessing essential goods, school fees or extra tutoring (MSI 2008).

Nicholson (2006) concluded that most children who are able to read comply with school rules, whilst those who fail to read quickly fall behind and later engage in disruptive behaviours in order to avoid exposing themselves. This is best described using Robert Merton's (1968) phenomenon, the Matthew effect, which is commonly explained using the adage "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer." Those children who learn how to read quickly in school will always love reading and most school activities, and those who cannot cope with reading tasks avoid most tasks that involve reading, resulting in them dropping out of school and never graduating (O'mahony 2006: 168).

Children around the world are exposed to violence through political unrests, armed conflicts, gang activity and familial violence, all of which can have a powerful impact on violence in schools (Coltart 2008; de Wet 2014). Levels and patterns of school violence often reflect violence in countries, communities and families (Coltart 2008). Similarly, witnessing or being a victim of abuse teaches children behaviour that they may replicate. Kauffman and Landrum (2013) posit that temperament determine a child's activity level, adaptability to an environment, threshold of responsiveness attention span and other factors that affect activity engagement. The author defines temperament as an active or reactive quality which can be influenced by the environment that the child develops in. Laxness, over reactivity, verbosity and procrastination in dealing with misbehaviours from the side of the parents can influence the way a child controls emotions. Bowers (2006) highlights that anger is a common

childhood emotional response, especially in children with antisocial behaviours associated with depression and anxiety. According to Bowers, anger can be a result of jealousy, sadness, shame and guilt, and envy.

Family background can affect one's temperament. Some parenting styles promote the development of a bad temperament. Therefore, teachers are encouraged to use methods that do not coerce learners into the same antisocial character exhibited by some of their parents, that is of being harsh and hostile (Kauffman and Landrum 2013: 128). Punishment should be reserved for serious misbehaviours and it should be related to the misbehaviour; it should also be discontinued once it ceases to serve its purpose (ibid: 221). This indicates how important the home environment is in the education of a child.

Individual attributes incorporate biological deficiencies, personality disorders, head injuries, negative self-image, peer rejection and low frustration tolerance (de Wet 2007a). Familial contexts refer to the laxity of parents in disciplining children, erratic supervision and non-participation in their children's school activities (de Wet 2007a).

School climate and culture have a role to play in the safety of the school community. School climate refers to the feelings that the students and staff have over an extended period of time; these may be cooperative language, spirit of helping in crises and encouraging one another in school activities (Barnes, Brynard and de Wet 2012). Once the school climate has improved students will be displaying more positive attitude towards their school (Welch and Payne 2014). The better the school culture and climate the lower the levels of school violence; the lack thereof, the higher the level of violence (Barnes, Brynard and de Wet 2012). Therefore, positive school culture and climate are important dimensions that can be linked to effective violence prevention, and the promotion of teaching and learning.

Students have to be connected to the school environment in order to reduce incidences of violence and crime (Welch and Payne 2014). Connectedness is a powerful predictor of health and academic outcomes amongst students, and lack of connectedness leads to misbehaviour (Welch and Payne 2014). An ecological analysis of school violence can help us to understand why students misbehave. The mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and the microsystem are believed to influence deviant behaviour in schools (Brewer and Lindle 2014; Welch and Payne 2014). The macrosystem refers to the greater socio-cultural and political context within a country (see section 1.). The Zimbabwean nation can arguably be described as a violent nation due to its history of liberation wars, *Gukurahundi* massacres, and the operation restore order, farm invasions and on-going inter-political party violence (Coltart 2008).

As elaborated by the ecological analysis above, school violence has a direct co-relation with violence within that society. Learners who have been exposed to high rates of violence and crime are more likely to be perpetrators of school based violence than those who have not been exposed to such levels of violence (Burton and Leoschut 2013). Children's exposure to violence reinforces the aggressive actions they commit in schools, as well as in societies, and children with family members who take drugs are

likely to be drug addicts in their future lives (de Wet 2007a). Children brought up in violent communities tend to interact and spend time with delinquent, criminal and antisocial peers (Burton 2008c). This is why it is important to involve parents and the community in school violence interventions.

From my personal experience as a teacher, some parents claim that corporal punishment does no harm to children and it moulds them into respectable and dependable community people. The parents' reason for using corporal punishment is to inflict pain with the goal to correct the child immediately and for the future (Gershoff and Bitensky 2007). Children often resolve violence with violence as a mechanism that they observed in adults (Ortega *et al.* 2009).

Some individuals misbehave due to lack of motivation, low self-esteem, dysfunctional families, desire to fit in, attention seeking, poor living conditions and low cognitive development (Ortega *et al.* 2009; Lochan 2012). Teachers often react to indiscipline by using punitive measures and other devices which worsen the situation (Ortega *et al.* 2009). Teacher burnout, and high staff turnover may result in indiscipline amongst students (Onderi and Makori 2013).

Gary (2006: 72) argues that the origin of children's misbehaviour lies less in the child's emotions and more on the pressure that adults put on them regarding their futures. Therefore, it is essential to look at the systems within schools that aggravate disruptive behaviours, as well as the analysis of the handling of children with such conditions. Teachers are meant to have absolute power over pupils (Kindiki 2009), but students are reluctant to report issues of bullying to adults and this culture of not reporting abuse is difficult to break within schools (Thorsborne and Vinegrad 2009b). There is a need to reduce the student "code of silence" which makes students who are aware of an incident (before it happens) keep quiet. From several US shootings it was concluded that most of the shooters, informed certain students before their massacres (Muschert *et al.* 2014). A pre-emptive strategy for reducing school violence is to address indiscipline issues before they become a serious threat to the school (Garlinger and Wo 2014). If the other students are able to report what their friends are planning then losses and damages to lives can be prevented.

5.4 Consequences of School Violence

Consequences of school violence are felt from the individual level, institutional level, to national and global levels and the violence experienced within the school settings changes students perceptions of schools in a negative way (MSI 2008). Health and psychological effects, low academic achievement, disrupted studies and increased dropout rate, and the negative impact on the perception of women and girls in the society are some of the consequences of school violence (ibid).

Zimbabwean teachers face behaviour problems similar to other teachers around the globe (Ametepee, Chitiyo and Abu 2009). Teachers face disciplinary actions if they are found to be breaching a law. According to Zimbabwe Public Service *Instrument 1/2000*, teachers can be charged a fine or dismissed

from service. Some abuses go unreported, especially when the perpetrators are close relatives and breadwinners, and if the victim fears being associated with certain stigmas. In some instances victims are blamed for their circumstances instead of being supported. Suspensions, guidance and counselling, and manual work are used as corrective measures; and these activities decrease engagement time (Kindiki 2009). Time is wasted on discipline instead of learning.

Some negative effects manifest through high dropout rates, poor academic performance, unstructured free time and high absenteeism (Onderi and Makori 2013). Other students display uneasiness, dishonesty, and an undesirable attitude towards learning and school (Lochan 2012). Disruptive behaviour impedes meaningful learning and reduces engagement time for students (Ortega *et al.* 2009).

Violence within schools can erode young people's sense of hope, and destroy their ability to cope with any adversity and difficulties they may face growing up. Victims of school violence suffer from embarrassment, shame, fear, anxiety, self blame and anger; in severe cases they develop suicidal tendencies, injuries and death (Van der Westhuizen and Maree 2009; Burton and Leoschut 2013). All in all, school violence hampers the rights of children globally.

5.5 Conclusion

The prevalence of school violence in developing countries appears to reflect the character of the communities that house these institutions. Violence embedded within Zimbabwean culture penetrates school borders, where it manifests in different forms. With the advent of globalisation and technology in such a developing nation it is likely that school violence will escalate. Apart from this, the status and quality of teachers may continue to destroy the school climate if it is not attended to. The outlawing of corporal punishment has decreased the efforts of demoralised but committed teachers. The next chapter (chapter 6) will look at the research design and methodology.

Part III Chapter 6: Research Design and Methodology

6. Introduction

This chapter will explain the research design, data collection process and the analysis methods that were used. Action research is the design procedure under consideration and I will explain how action research guides the researcher. Action research will be defined, its principles discussed and I will further motivate why I chose to use this design for my project.

Action research emerged as an attempt to deal with real life situations in a way that fostered transformative action and change. The main thrust in action research is “doing with”, and not “doing for” the stakeholders, with the view of having the research improve their lives. Action research is grounded in the understanding that real world problems require real world solutions emanating from the affected persons themselves. Action research empowers stakeholders to recognize the higher level of independence they have achieved through the process.

Three primary data collection instruments were used. These consisted of questionnaires, interviews, and focus group discussions. The resulting qualitative and quantitative data will be analysed using appropriate methods for each data type; tables were used for quantitative data and thematic analysis was applied on qualitative data.

6.1 Research Design

There is some variation in the use of the term research design. A research design, sometimes called a “research approach”, is a plan, or blueprint, that outlines the step-by-step procedure in a project (Mouton 2001). It is a draft that specifies how the study will be carried out (Mertler 2014), and specifies exactly how data will be collected and analysed. This study utilised action research as the design that determined how all of the other processes were performed. An action research design can be described as a set of actions which incorporate collaboration, or partnership, between the researcher and the local community of interest to address a particular problem (Craig 2009; Mertler 2014). The community of interest in this study are the schools and the general surrounding population near the school. The plan for implementation is designed based on the initial inquiry. This involves identifying the problem, gathering data and analysing the data (Craig 2009).

6.1.1 Explaining Action Research

Action research is a collective systematic inquiry into a social situation, mostly by the affected participants, and aims to improve this situation for their benefit (Herr and Anderson 2015). It is research *in* action, rather than research *about* action (Coglan and Brammnick 2006; Herr and Anderson 2015).

Ideally, it involves the creation of a self-organised group from the community that assumes responsibility for its processes and outcomes (Keiny and Orland-Barak 2009). Thus, it is the affected members who take an active role in the processes.

Gray (2014) described action research as a systematic way of the researcher acting in a democratic partnership with the subjects. In this model, research is an agent of change, with the data coming from the direct experiences of the participants it strengthens the conduct of inquiry in the sense that both theory and practice are merged based on the needs of the grassroots population (Munn-Guddings 2017). In the context of this research, school teachers and student teachers worked within their classrooms to generate local knowledge, envision and theorise their practice; and interpret and debrief the theory to others (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009); whilst parents consulted, recommended and supported the school efforts. Teachers relied on their counterparts for alternative viewpoints on their work.

The process of inquiring may be repeated in cycles, with each cycle being followed by a reflection moment. Each cycle of action research increases the knowledge of both the researcher and the participant hence broadening the scope of the problem solving strategy (Herr and Anderson 2015). The time which a cycle takes depends on the nature and state of the research.

The origins of action research in education backdate to the findings of the American educational philosopher, John Dewey (Holly, Arhar and Kasten 2009), who connected theory to practice in educational settings. The works of Dewey encouraged teachers to study consequences of their actions. The American and the British researchers are believed to have influenced the development of action research (Munn-Guddings 2017: 71). Kurt Lewin's contribution to social research marked the beginning of action research in USA; and the works of John Elliot, Alderman and Lawrence Stenhouse added on to the appeal of action research in the United Kingdom (Koshy 2005). Kurt Lewin encouraged practitioners to improve their social situations through examining their own biases and he established a research centre in Massachusetts where he coined the term action research (Craig 2009). Lawrence Stenhouse encouraged teachers to study the effects of their actions inside their classrooms.

John Elliot developed an action research model with a sequential cycle of actions and reflection; he is also the founder of the Collaborative Action Research Network (CARN), (Holly, Arhar and Kasten 2009). With the funding aid from the Teacher Training Agency and Development for Education and Skills (DFES), a platform provided by CARN, action researchers were able to carry out commendable work in schools in the United Kingdom (Koshy 2005; Koshy 2010). Wilson (2009b: 21-22) cited Corey's contributions towards action research in teacher's colleges in America. From this background it is evident that action research foundations, although dominated by men initially, have the potential to benefit communities at grassroots levels as an avenue of social change (Wilson 2009a). Communities have the potential to change through action research.

6.1.2 The Planning and Intervention Phase of Action Research

Once the exploration phase has been carried out, the planning and implementing of the intervention (to bring about change) can be undertaken. For this project, peace-making circles and peer mediation were employed as interventions to decrease violence in schools.

6.1.3 Evaluating the Outcome of Intervention

Once the intervention methods have been implemented the action research team conducts an evaluation of the programme. De Vos *et al.* (2011: 450) suggested that an evaluation needs to be done when something new has been created. In this case, the intervention methods were devised by the schools involved; these schools were also part of the evaluation process. Each school had a separate evaluation based on the created model of peace circles and peer mediation. It is perceived that the assessment of the process and the results achieved will be of good use for future experiments. The evaluation of peace circles and peer mediation implementation was done in the form of set reflective questions to determine whether there was a change in the implementation team's attitudes and behaviour. Evaluation of experimental research sought to demonstrate whether the observed change in behaviour could be attributed to the intervention (Gray 2014) especially in the experimental group. Other factors that may have affected the results of the study were also taken into consideration.

6.1.4 Action Research Structure and Process

Figure 6.1 An Action Research Cycle

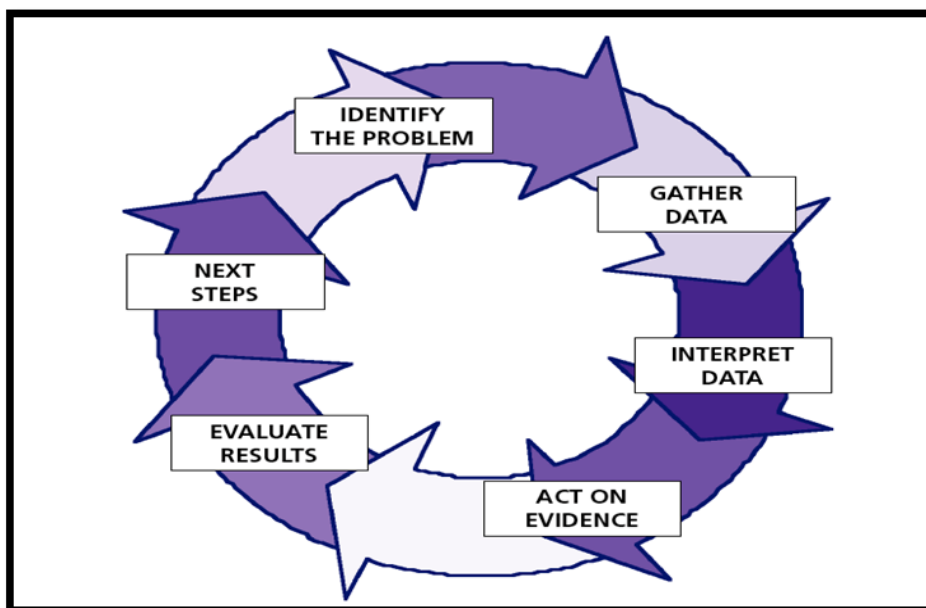


Figure 6.1 displays the various phases of action research. The cycle always begins with the identification of a problem and then moves on to exploration, planning and implementing a change, evaluating outcomes and, possibly, starting a new cycle. These cycles endure until the anticipated objectives are achieved (Munn-Guddings 2017). Therefore, each rotation includes a new action and a new form of data collection. The spirals are not rigid and they may overlap, with the initial plans becoming or not becoming absolute in the light of learning from new experiences (McAteer 2013; Mertler 2014).

Action research in school settings allow teachers to understand the children they deal with on a higher level; it also motivates them to focus on other important aspects of their profession that they may be taking for granted. Action research is able to bring parents and teachers closer if the research involves the thoughts and the actions of the parents (McAteer 2013). In this context, the process allows the teacher to be a participant and researcher at the same time; with its continuous evaluation, modifications can be made as the project progresses.

Ideally, action research is highly participatory (McAteer 2013; Mertler 2014), where the researcher and the participants are actively involved together in the process. It differs from the conventional research processes in that the ideas created on the ground can withstand the challenges that are faced by those involved, whereas academic's prescriptions could result in bringing about antagonising ideas. This confirms that action research is a process initiated from the grassroots, by the affected people, to the affected people. McAteer (2013: 23) describes the action progression as a conversational process supported by an intellectual framework. Action research is collaborative, as stakeholders plan and reflect together, and come up with their own solution. The conversational nature allows participants to share knowledge and ideas necessary for their survival.

Table 6.3 below presents a variety of school based action research programmes that proved to be successful. It lists what the initial problems were, what type of an action research design was employed and the outcomes of this project.

Table 6.1 Case Studies Where Action Research Was Successful in Schools

The problem	The action research process	Outcomes	References
Children's assessment of learning lacked details	<p>Making children aware of what they learn.</p> <p>Allowing children to give opinions on any two lessons they had.</p> <p>Children keep diaries for all activities they engage in at school</p>	<p>Children were able to articulate their learning intentions</p> <p>Children were taking note of the comments given by teachers</p>	<p>Koshy 2010: 9-12</p> <p>Christine, a teacher for ten year olds</p>
Children need reading throughout learning yet some children showed less interested in the subject.	<p>A survey was carried out on 27 sixth grade learners.</p> <p>Reading logs were developed for children to record time they spend reading.</p> <p>Children reading was observed during school times</p> <p>There was a weekly checklist on reading progress, on a group of students observed</p>	<p>Students responded positively to the reading logs at school</p> <p>Logs from home were poorly monitored at first, but later there was an improvement</p> <p>Students became responsible in their reading and kept track of their progress</p>	<p>Johnson 2012: 240- 243</p> <p>Sample A.2 Kay Dicke, Eden Prairie, Minnesota</p>
Children's lack of participation in the plenary session	<p>An analysis of the purpose of a plenary sessions were made</p> <p>Open ended questions were used to make children responses to plenary session they had</p> <p>The probing technique was used to investigate further during the evaluation process</p>	<p>After 3 months children responded to plenary sessions with greater enthusiasm</p>	<p>Koshy 2005: 16-18</p>
Checking relationship between on task and off task behaviour in a class of 3 boys and 1 girl	<p>In 17 school days students were observed individually</p> <p>Each child had an opportunity to be observed more than once</p>	<p>The fewer the children inside a classroom the better they work</p> <p>Off task behaviour often resulted in students being moody, tired or disrupting others</p> <p>When there were more students inside the classroom some children preferred to talk than to work</p>	<p>Johnson 2012: 243-247</p> <p>Sample A.3 LouAnn Strachota (a paraprofessional)</p>

<p>Children needed to speak English as an additional language</p>	<p>212 students were selected to play board games that required them to interact as they play</p> <p>Designing board games that require children to communicate</p> <p>Encouraging parents to participate by sending copies of games home</p> <p>Children to play games 4 times a week, with each session one hour long</p>	<p>Children showed considerable improvement and confidence in speaking English</p> <p>Quality of children speaking, reading and written tasks improved in the English language</p> <p>Project provided for the opportunity of involving parents in the development of their children's language</p> <p>The parents involved showed an improvement in their language use as well</p> <p>There was a marked improvement in children's reading skills</p>	<p>Koshy 2010: 70-73</p>
<p>Does handwriting contribute towards higher achievement in students?</p>	<p>1 192 students across age 11 to 14 were categorised according to their writing speed (slow, average, fast)</p> <p>A table to work on (assessment) was provided for the teachers</p> <p>Questions based on handwriting were provided</p>	<p>Handwriting was found to be a factor for achievement</p> <p>Slow writers were found to have the following problems; motor coordination, spelling, letter formation and discriminating the upper and lower cases</p> <p>Boys were found to have more handwriting problems than girls</p>	<p>Koshy 2005: 71-79</p>
<p>Bill, a gifted child was accelerated from 4th grade to 6th grade and he needed academic adjustment</p>	<p>Checklist of Bill's behaviour and academic achievement – his written assignments needed more detail and he needed more socio-emotional adjustment</p> <p>Bill's grade 6 teacher was interviewed</p>	<p>Grade acceleration was successful</p> <p>Bill's written assignments still needed attention</p> <p>Supporting Bill was still ongoing</p>	<p>Johnson 2012: 253-261</p> <p>Sample A.6 Linda Roth, St. Peter School District, Minnesota</p>
<p>Teacher wanted to find out if the interactive teaching style enhances learning of students</p>	<p>Teacher planned lessons with group discussions which were introduced gradually</p> <p>Children were encouraged to ask questions during lessons whenever they felt they have to</p>	<p>The approach increased students enthusiasm in learning</p> <p>Other staff members needed justification on why the teacher uses such a method</p>	<p>Koshy 2010: 30-33</p> <p>Action research in China</p>

	Teacher gave children 2 questions during the lesson, and the questions were discussed at the end of the lesson	The approach provided new insights into the learning process	
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6.2. The Exploration Phase of Action Research

Six primary schools in the Harare Metropolitan province were involved in this project, and they were explored in terms of the conflicts and violence they experienced. Two schools in each of the medium density, high density and semi-urban categories were selected using convenience sampling. From each pair, one school was the experimental school, where the intervention took place; and the other one served as the control group. The schools in each pair were similar, with the exception of their respective involvements of being experimental and controlled.

From each of the six schools, four teachers, ten pupils (aged nine to ten-years) and eight parents were selected using randomised selection (in collaboration with the school administrators). Some of the teachers were required to be teaching the aforementioned age group. Only parents with children at primary school going age were considered. Approximate 60 learners, 24 teachers and 24 parents made up the total study population.

In summary, the data will come from:

- 60 students before and after questionnaires.
- 24 teachers (from both control group the experimental schools), before and after in depth interviews.
- 24 parents (for the experimental schools), before and after focus group discussions.

By its nature, it is difficult to know what the action research (the interventions) will be beforehand until exploratory research has taken place. The action research phase started with an exploration stage marked by pre-testing the three research instruments, namely; questionnaires, the interview guide and the focus group discussion guide. After the pre-testing phase, the two planned interventions were implemented; the processes can be potentially modified using the results of the exploration:

- Peer mediation (for students) to assist in the resolution of conflicts.
- Peace-making circles to assist students, teachers and parents (they would meet separately) in dealing with challenges and conflicts.

As mentioned above convenience sampling was employed for the selection of schools. Convenience sampling incorporates gaining access to the most easily accessible subjects, implying that the convenience to the researcher takes precedence (Gray 2014). It is the least costly method, although it has the lowest credibility of all qualitative sampling designs. Five methods of data collection were used.

6.2.1 School Documents

Data came from existing documents and records from the schools in the form of manuscript analysis, in order to get an understanding of the nature and extent of school violence. Information from school

records on violence were accessed via the head's "blackbook", teacher's social record books and other disciplinary records. Thereafter pre-testing was conducted.

6.2.2 Researcher's Field Diary

The field diary provided data gathered from some of the observations and the reflections jotted down during the research process (Coglan and Brannick 2006; Koshy 2010). Notes were taken during engagement with the parents, teachers and the children. Observations were recorded during the interviews, focus groups and learner training sessions. Reflections and insights were noted after daily activities or in between the activities. This enabled the researcher to integrate information and experiences which when understood, assist in understanding the reasoning and the consequent behaviour (Coglan and Brannick 2006). In other words, the diary is a self-evaluative narrative of the researcher's personal experiences, thoughts and feelings which help in understanding actions taken.

6.2.3 Interviews

Interviewing is a verbal exchange in which one person attempts to acquire information from another and gain an understanding (Gray 2014). This is done using specific questions prepared in advance aimed at seeking clarifications on the research questions (Koshy 2010:77). In other words, it is a purposeful interaction in which a researcher attempts to learn what another person knows, has experienced about and the meaning they put into that experience. Interviews were conducted on teachers. An interview guide was used (see Appendix G). It was a semi structured interview (or open ended) where the researcher asked a few base questions, with the option of following up a given response with an alternative or optional question (Mertler 2014). These optional questions or probes were not used by the researcher if the respondents gave what was perceived as an adequate response at that moment. The interviewer took the interviewee through a journey in which the problem was viewed from the perspective of the interviewee; a learning process that would improve the interviewee's future understanding of the problem was also included.

There are guidelines that help researchers to conduct interviews that yield positive results. Apart from preparations for the venue's set up, the interviewer should be well acquainted with the subject of the discussion and the interview guide questions as well. The interviewer has to speak less than the interviewee, with what (Yin 2011) referred to as "speaking in modest amounts"; at the same time, they should use conversing tactics that probe for more information. It is a good idea for the interviewer to use a "grand tour" question that will allow the interviewee to follow an independent sequence. Keeping ethical considerations throughout the interview process should be taken care of by the interviewer (Kvale 2009). Some interviewees may provide information that they will regret later. Therefore, it is advisable to end an interview with a debriefing session.

During the preparation stage of the interviews, the researcher should ensure that the setting is conducive for attentive listening and proper seating arrangement and to master the technical language used by the

subjects prior to the interviews (Mears 2017). It is important to pre-brief participants before the interview and debrief them after the session (Kvale 2009). The challenges one faces when conducting an interview, is that they demand time in their preparation and in their conduct. They may lead to the exposure of unpredictable information that could be an advantage or a disadvantage to both the interviewer and the interviewee. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed at a later stage.

6.2.4 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are a type of an interview for a group of people developed by Robert Merton in the 1940s (Gray 2014). The main purpose of focus group discussions is to elicit information about group views with the advantages of researcher getting shared and unshared views, attitudes and experiences (Barbour 2009; Gibbs 2017). The participants receive a cascade effect, when one is talking the rest are triggered, hence, they feel as if their ideas and experiences are validated and supported by others.

The composition of the FGDs should range from four to twelve people (Struwig and Stead 2013) who participate voluntarily and who share a common background. In the case of this study, the parents involved (in the focus group discussions) had children in a primary school, who were nine to ten years old in age. The moderator must be skilled in managing a free and open discussion (Barbour 2009), in this case the ability to converse in the local language using concepts that will help in generating language that is easily made into a conceptual translation. The moderator should be able to handle the group discussion, observing the participants as they enter the room and seat themselves. Reassurance regarding confidentiality (and consent) is vital prior to all meetings. The length of the sessions should be agreed upon.

An FGD brings information that is both anticipated and unanticipated. It can be a means to support one another amongst vulnerable groups, yet group dynamics may also not allow others to express their feelings. After every meeting there must be a time for reflection and a short analysis of what was discussed (Barbour 2009).

Mertler (2014: 132) posits that a focus group is an interview of people made up of a relatively small group, usually no more than 10 to 12 people, and it has duration of between 1 and 2 hours. In a group discussion participants mostly interact amongst themselves with the facilitation or a moderator, which could be the researcher (Barbour 2009: 2-3). The researcher is required to make preparations beforehand regarding the composition of the group so that they have some aspects in common. The moderator must be imbued with inordinate skills such as chairing meetings, leading group talks or being an easy communicator in social situations (ibid).

FGDs were conducted with the parents using a discussion guide (see Appendix F). The discussions were conducted in Shona, the local language. Participants were debriefed at the end of the session.

The moderator has the role of inducing all the participants to express their opinions with minimum disruptions. There is a probable risk of participants who dominate the discussion at the expense of those who are reticent, so the moderator has to be tactful in the way the group process is run (Yin 2011). In other words, the moderator has to create a permissive atmosphere for the expression of personal and conflicting viewpoints on the topic of focus (Kvale 2009; Mertler 2014), at the same time steering the discussion in the direction it is intended to, in response to research question (Barbour 2009). The moderator has to be skilful in his /her approach.

Kvale (2009: 81) highlights qualities of an FGD moderator:

- Knowledgeable on the subject.
- Has an understanding of the interview structure.
- A clear voice, good expression and language.
- Gentle and tolerant –allow participants express themselves freely.
- Sensitive to people’s emotions.
- Openness in pursuing interviewees’ interests.
- Steering- be aware of what to find out and where to apply controls.
- Critical- ask questions critically and test contributions through consistency.
- Remembering – be able to relate what has been said, or ask for elaborations.
- Interpreting – be able to clarify and extend the meanings of contributions.

FGDs harness participants’ creativity, although there is a risk in the potential of overemphasising a consensus and ignoring individual opinions (Barbour 2009). Group dynamics may play in favour of a few who override the discussion if moderation is not effective. The composition of the group in relation to the topics under discussion may affect the way participants express their views. An example could be including people who have a different background than the one required by the topic at hand.

6.2.5 Questionnaires

Questionnaires (see Appendix E) were administered to the pupils. The questionnaire was translated into Shona, their local language. A questionnaire is a quantitative data technique that involves a set of questions or statements, usually in a written form, administered to a group of selected people where the result will be numerical (Mertler 2014). The responses from the questionnaire are then analysed, which may involve quantifying them, and finding relationships between them. The questionnaire, in this instance, contained close ended options where children could select responses from a list of those provided, and an open-ended section where children could provide their own responses (Gray 2014). The section with open ended questions was meant to provide children with an opportunity to give other thoughts that they may have had pertaining to school violence.

The advantage of having a close ended section is that respondents provide an accurate response to each statement, and it is easy to summarise their thoughts. Open ended questions bring in varied thoughts that could cause confusion when grouping the responses into categories (Johnson 2012). Below are advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires listed by Gray (2014: 353):

- They are lower in costs in terms of both time and cost.
- They can be administered to thousands and hundreds.
- The data inflow is quick and from many people.
- Respondents can respond to some questionnaires at any time and place unlike other instruments (interviews and focus group discussion) that need special arrangement for venues and facilitation.
- Data analysis of questionnaires is relatively simpler than that of qualitative research instruments.
- Respondent anonymity can be obscured.

Disadvantages of questionnaires include

- Lower responses where the instrument is too long and if the language is not clear respondents require a certain level of literacy.
- The design of the questionnaire limits the participant responses as compared to focus group discussions.
- In cases where the respondent gives misleading responses the researcher has no control over it and cannot detect it, yet in an interview body language can report such.

6.3 Mixed Methods Data Analysis

Mixed methods data analysis occurs when a researcher combines statistical trends of quantitative data with stories and personal experiences from qualitative data (Cresswell 2015). It is a collection of the analysis of both data sets (from quantitative and qualitative methods) in a single study which the data is collected for (Gray 2014). The researcher has to be skilled in the analysis of both methods. Below is a table of comparison between qualitative and quantitative research designs.

Table 6.2 Comparison between qualitative and quantitative research

Qualitative research	
Advantages	Disadvantages
1. Provides detailed perspectives of a few people	1. Has limited generalisability

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Captures the voices of participants 3. Allows participants experiences to be understood in context 4. Is based on views of the participants 5. Appeals to people’s enjoyment 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Provides only soft data –not hard data such as figures 3. Studies fewer people 4. Is highly subjective 5. Minimises use of researcher’s expertise due to reliance on participants
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Quantitative data

Advantages

1. **Draws conclusions from large numbers of participants**
2. **Analyses data efficiently**
3. **Investigates relationship within data controls bias**
4. **Appeals to people preference for numbers**

Disadvantages

1. Is impersonal, dry
2. Does not record the words of participants
3. Provides limited understanding of the context of participants
4. Is largely researcher driven

Adapted from Creswell 2015:5

The mixed method approach answers both the questions “what” and “why” particular events happened (Baumfield, Hall and Wall 2013). Mixed methods improve the validity and reliability of the instruments used to collect data. This implies that both quantitative and qualitative data were concurrently and subsequently collected and analysed, with the process involving integration of the data (Gray 2014). These methods (quantitative and qualitative) complement each other and they also measure overlapping, but different, phenomenon.

The advantages of mixed methods are for the purposes of triangulation, complementary, developmental, initiation and expansion. Triangulation is the process of applying different research instruments in data collection in the view that the weakness of the one is masked by the strengths of another method (Gray 2014; Biesta 2017). In the case of this study, triangulation was evident through the usage of data from questionnaires (quantitative research), interviews and focus group discussions (qualitative research). The three data sets complemented one another as they were combined to measure overlapping data. The collection of data at different stages of the research process enhanced the accuracy and credibility of the data collected (Koshy 2010).

The results from the pre-test led to the development of the intervention programmes. Information from the focus groups broadened the range of the study. Below is a table summarising the importance of mixed methods.

Table 6.3 Purpose of mixed methods evaluation design

Purpose	Rationale
Triangulation seeks to converge corroboration, correspondence of results from different methods	To increase validity of the constructs by countering or maximizing the heterogeneity of relevant sources of variance to inherent method bias or biases in inquiry content
Complementarity seeks to the elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of results of one method with the results from the other method	To increase the meaningfulness and validity of the constructs by capitalising on inherent methods, strengths and counteracting inherent methods
Development seeks to use the results of one method to help or inform the other method	To increase validity of the constructs to inquire results by capitalising in inherent methods and strengths
Initiation seeks the discovery of paradox and contradiction, new perspectives, the recasting of questions, or the results from one method	To increase the breadth and depth of inquiry results and interpretations by analysing them from the different perspective of different methods and paradigms
Expansion seeks to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods from different inquiry components	To increase the scope of inquiry by selecting the methods most appropriate for multiple inquiry components

Adapted from Creswell 2015:198

The advantage of the mixed methods approach is that it allows you to gain a full understanding of the problem. In this study, there was a need for a deeper understanding of the problem from a personal perspective of the adults (teachers and parents), and a need for exploration from the perspective of the children. In other words, the research merged data from close ended questionnaires and open ended personal data sets (interview and focus group). As a result the research obtained a comprehensive view about the issue of violence in schools (which would not have been obtained if using just one method). The analysis reflects an integrated relationship between the qualitative and quantitative data components (Yin 2011). The data sets were collected concurrently, starting with the pre-testing phase, followed by the intervention and lastly the post-testing phase. The analysis of each data set followed immediately after collection.

6.3.1 Validity and Reliability

Validity is an important aspect in quantitative data. The researcher has to ensure that the instrument used to collect the data has collected the appropriate information intended for the purpose of answering the research question. Pertaining to quantitative data, validity takes into consideration test (or instrument) content, response processes, internal structure, relations to other variables, and consequences of testing (Mertler 2014: 149). That is to say, the questions should allow students to answer in relation to school violence or discipline.

Reliability in the case of quantitative data refers to the consistency of the collected data (Mertler 2014: 150). Internal consistence is useful for classroom teachers. The Kuder-Richardson (KR-21) formula can be used to determine the reliability of a research instrument. (Mertler 2014) avers that reliability is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for validity and that validity assures the reliability of a test.

Data triangulation increases validity, and pre-testing guarantees the reliability of the instruments used. Hesse-Biber (2010: 3) posits that the triangulation of the data methods enriches the study's findings. The convergence of data from the focus group discussion, questionnaires and interviews provided greater confidence in the information required being accurately captured (De Vos *et al.* 2011: 436).

Validity is the ability of the instrument to measure what it is intended to measure (Gray 2014). Validity refers to the correctness, truth and strength of the instruments that are used to collect data (Kvale 2009). This pertains to whether the method investigates what it purported to investigate. Face validity is the assumption that an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure, based on appearance alone, though research experts say it holds low validity (Gray 2014). Validity may be threatened when participants realise that they are being observed. It can be improved by long term observations in instances where participants and the researchers know one another.

Reliability refers to the consistency of an instrument to produce similar results if/and when used repetitively (De Vos *et al.* 2011; Gray 2014). It is often treated in relation to the issue of whether the findings of a study are "reproducible" by other researchers (Kvale 2009; Gray and Drewery 2011). This questions the ability of a research instrument to bring about same results in different research contexts, and this does not exclude the aspects of data transcription and analysis. Below are the sources of data that were gathered for this research project.

6.4 Data Analysis

Quantitative data from the children's questionnaires was displayed in tables.

6.4.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

Boeiji (2010: 76) defines qualitative data analysis as:

The segmenting of data into relevant categories and the naming of these categories with codes, whilst simultaneously generating the categories from the data. In the reassembling phase the categories are related to one another to generate theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon under study in terms of the research question.

Boeiji's definition explains data analysis as involving breaking down data into units that can be understood by people who will read completed research project. Thus, the data is put into groups that make it easy to manage and interpret. Connections are easily identified during the process of data analysis (Boeiji 2010) and the connections are useful for the interpretation process.

Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011: 205) stated the following regarding qualitative data analysis:

Qualitative data analysis involves managing and making sense of people's multiple and contrasting perspectives. It involves developing a story from the data but not in the fictitious or imaginary sense, rather a coherent presentation of people's experiences that reflect the grit, complexity and seemingly irrational nature of human behaviour.

The definition above further explains qualitative data analysis as a process that manages the information gathered, making it easier to analyse participants and their actions, backed by the related literature gathered. After coding and categorising the qualitative data (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011), it was analysed using the thematic approach (Struwig and Stead 2013). The data was coded into themes (Braun and Clarke 2013; Stringer 2014). The large amount of data collected had to be sifted and sorted in order to ensure that only relevant remained, this was done by carefully reading and understanding the data set (Lichtman2006).

Coding refers to the segmenting, grouping, labelling and re-assembling of data into more manageable portions in order to provide the answers to a research question (Boeiji 2010; Grbich 2013). It is a way of indexing or categorising data in order to establish a framework of a thematic idea (Gibbs 2013). Data coding involves splitting the data into segments which could be named using words, phrases, sentences, lines or even paragraphs (Boeiji 2010). Reassembling the data involves synthesising, integrating, re-combining and modelling that data in a creative way that makes it easy to analyse and understand (Boeiji 2010). Codes or labels of data help the researcher to access similar data parts (Bezeley 2013) that will help later in finding new connections as the process develops further. (Bezeley 2013: 126) clarifies that codes are our own creations; they are tools that we use to think with and therefore they are prone to change as our ideas evolve through repeated interaction with the data. Coding also allows the researcher to look for descriptions and statements that go beyond the concrete observations in the specific data sample, and codes summarise the meaning of fragments or a piece of texts (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). This process can only be possible after gaining familiarity with the completed database and comparing aspects within it.

The first phase of coding is referred to as open coding, where all relevant data is assigned a label after intensive reading, after which a list of codes are written inside a codebook (Bezeley 2013). The origin of codes could be from words within the text, theoretical concepts, professional language or contextual understanding of the text (Boeiji 2010; Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011).

The second phase of data coding involves the grouping of all of the codes into new relationship groups; this is done after a thorough check of repetition and redundancy amongst the codes (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). This generates new ideas regarding the data and the connections made within it (Boeiji 2010). A decision needs to be established on whether the codes developed cover all the data sufficiently (Bezeley 2013). The advantage of the coding system is that the codes have to be meaningful

to you the researcher, be they descriptive or analytic (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). In summary, codes assist the researcher to manage the data, build ideas from it and to question it.

The development of a theme is the collective outcome of coding, an analytical reflection which shows the relationship of code categories (Bezeley 2013). The identified segments are then matched with relevant (like) segments, which are later put into groups developed into themes. Themes are formed out of repetitions, indigenous typologies, metaphors and contextual explanations that the researcher selects as appropriate (Grbich 2013).

6.5 My Action Research Process

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the research design and methodology processes chosen for this study. This section explores own personal action research story. Before exploring my journey, I would like to profess my limited knowledge (prior to this study) regarding action research. The steps that I adopted were as a result of the knowledge acquired through interactions with my supervisor and through reading academic literature about action research in schools. After considering the significance and practicality of action research around my topic, I decided to use it because it would actively involve relevant role players in schools (teachers, students and parents); and because it had the potential to achieve all of my research objectives.

6.5.1 The Participants

This study followed all of the university's Durban University of Technology (DUT) ethical considerations. All of the research participants were issued with letters of information (see Appendices A, B and C) before signing letters of consent and assent (Mertler 2014: 109-110). I was constantly mindful of not pressuring anyone to take part in this study without fully understanding the conditions indicated inside the letters of information. Before engaging in any activity with participants, ethical considerations were repeated and reemphasised in discussions. This briefing exercise served as a moment of setting the pace for the activities to follow. Since participation in this research was voluntary, most activities depended heavily on the cooperation of the participants and their interest in the topic at hand.

The action team was composed of three teachers, each coming from an experimental school (Harmony, Wellbeing and Praiseworthy) and acting as the link person to other teachers and children involved in this research. Action research is collaborative, participative, practical and relevant to the classroom (Mertler 2014), therefore, classroom teachers were the ones to determine the pace that action process would take. Accessing the schools was easier by my earlier visits to six institutions (Harmony, Peace, Wellbeing, Heartbeat, Praiseworthy and Chariot) in mid-2015 for introductions and explanation of the

research target and purpose (after acquiring letters from the gatekeeper, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education).

The head's and the deputy head's offices in each of the six schools were my entry and exit points for each school visit, to avoid any confusion and to show my commitment, as well as respect, for their positions. The selection of the teachers (for this study) in the six schools was dependent on the age group of the children that they were teaching; whether they were in the bracket of nine to ten year olds or based on the responsibilities they took as disciplinary committee members in that school. Experimental schools (Harmony, Wellbeing and Praiseworthy) consisted of six grade four teachers, one grade five teacher, two non-teaching deputy heads and three teachers in different grades dealt with disciplinary issues at their schools. All deputy heads dealt with disciplinary issues as one of their core responsibilities. The identification of all teachers, both in experimental and control groups was done by the heads and deputy heads who identified leaders amongst the selected teachers. A similar selection process was applied to the control groups.

Teachers in each school agreed on how they were going to identify children who would be involved as peer mediators and questionnaire respondents. In one school teachers selected students from three different grade four classes, five boys and five girls. In the other two schools, all the ten children came from one grade five class where five boys and five girls were selected. Children were issued with letters of consent (see Appendix A) for their parents to sign as a way of granting permission to their child, allowing a child to take part in the research project process. Parents signed children's letters of consent after meeting with their children's class teachers who explained the research process to them. In other words, a parent's signature on the letter of consent for children indicated the participation of that child in the research process. After receipt of the signed children's consent forms, teachers assisted students to sign letters of assent (see Appendix A). The same process was repeated with the control groups' selection of students. In the two control group schools and one experimental group, parents denied their children a chance to take part in the study, hence a second selection led to the final list having more girls than boys- six girls and four boys in each of the schools.

Of the sixty students selected, between six and nine of their parents (representatives from each school) were requested to sign up for a focus group discussion (Barbour 2009; Struwig and Stead 2013). Contacting the parents was done through classroom teachers who sent out letters of information. Regrettably, most parents declined the offer, reasoning that the period of engagement was incompatible with their other programmes; they had more pertinent issues affecting their livelihoods. Only one school (from the experimental group) managed to convince a group of parents, whom they considered to be very supportive and willing to assist in educational matters, to be a part of the focus group discussions. I finally settled for that one group of nine parents who have 9/10 year grade four children in Praiseworthy and Wellbeing schools. The nine parents consisted of five women and four men with

varied life experiences (see Chapter 9). Once the parents accepted the proposal they signed the consent form (see Appendix C) signalling their commitment.

After every stage of signing consent forms for adult participants (teachers and parents) and letters of assent for school children, pre-testing activities were scheduled. Each school, both control group and experimental commenced with teachers' interviews, followed by the administration of the children's questionnaires and lastly, the parents' focus group discussion. Results of each pre-testing activity are discussed in Chapter 7. Whilst looking at a list of the research participants that I had acquired, I was compelled to reflect on how I had arrived at this stage of this process. Reflecting on the process of participant recruitment I realised that it was worth examining a term by Coglán and Brannick (2006: 25) called "meta learning", a learning process that a researcher goes through. My reflection was:

Different people view research in different ways. The research participants who accepted my proposal relieved some pressure on my part. Those who declined, for whatever reason - I respect their positions and appreciate their contributions to the process. I strongly believe that selecting research participants needs careful considerations, after all this is a voluntary process. Apart from declining the offer, it is on record that some participants can withdraw their commitment anytime. With the number that I have so far, I am ready to kick off (Research diary, 05/03/16).

The recruitment of the participants in a qualitative study depends on the information that the researcher expects to collect (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011: 88). Based on the initial number (97) of participants that I worked with, data collection was possible. The gatekeepers facilitated the recruitment process in the best way they could. At this juncture, let me elaborate on the pilot testing and pre-testing activities.

6.5.2 Pilot Testing

Prior to pre-testing, the research instruments (questionnaire, interview guide and focus group guide) were pilot tested at a different school in order to facilitate the process of making any necessary adjustments appropriate to the environment where they were going to be employed. With the help of a research assistant, a student from a local Zimbabwe university, the necessary adjustments were effected. The pilot test revealed that some of the local language statements on the children's questionnaire required some elaboration in order for the respondents to fully understand the statements. The common medium of instruction in some of the schools was English. Teachers were reminded to elaborate all questions before administering the questionnaires.

6.5.3 Pre-testing Phase

Interviews

All interviews were audio taped and conducted using the English language. The interviews commenced with a briefing for all of the teachers that were to be interviewed, with the aim of establishing rapport (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011: 124). The audio recording equipment was revealed to the teachers

during the briefing sessions, in order to avoid loss of focus during the interview process. Ethical considerations were reemphasised, and read from the section highlighted in the letter of information. Before and during each interview, issues of confidentiality were stressed. All teachers were afforded adequate interview time at a venue that was pre-arranged for the session, within the school, both in the experimental and control group. Interviews from each school followed one another to avoid perplexity.

Where a teacher was not available, arrangements were made to ensure that movement to the next school did not take place before the completion of interviews at the current school. Experimental schools were all interviewed before the control groups; each interview session was followed by a moment of reflection; notes on personal reflections were recorded in the researcher's diary. The experience of interviewing an in-depth interview increased as the interview numbers increased. Towards the end of the pre-testing interview process, the interview guide merely served as a tool, and was not as necessary as it was during the first few interviews. After each interview, teachers were debriefed (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011) – this allowed them to have a moment to relax and reflect on the experience of having been interviewed on such a contentious topic. After teacher interviews at the respective schools, the children's questionnaires were handed over to the team leader. The interviews were transcribed to handwritten texts before typing. Analysis of the interviews is detailed in Chapter 7.

Questionnaire

Teachers administered questionnaires, in the children's local language, to the children after a briefing on how they were supposed to participate in the activity. All schools administered the questionnaires at a time which they found suitable, with all the children involved being available. All of the teachers' reports on the administration of the pre-tests were positive. The following time when I met with some of the children from the experimental group, they were expecting feedback on how they performed on what they presumed was an academic test. The collection of the questionnaires and letters of consent was done by teachers, who handed them over to the researcher. Analysis of the questionnaire data is detailed in Chapter 7

Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions (FGDS) were held in the local language, for clarity and understanding of issues. Organising parents for the first meeting was a major of a challenge. Connecting with one of the parents assisted in getting the group organised. My first encounter with all the parents was meant to be an informal socialising event, as per some parents' request. These parents had indicated a fear in engaging themselves in political issues; hence they needed the assurance of their safety. It is common for people to express such feelings in an environment where structural violence is rife. I appreciated their concerns, and took advantage of the opportunity by explaining my research process to them. After an hour of discussing different issues and sharing other life experiences, whilst enjoying a light snack, parents signed their letters of consent and a date for the first formal meeting was proposed. The group

agreed to meet for a maximum of two hours, including the refreshment break. After a week, the first meeting was convened at a venue selected by the parents, outside the school. Each parent was given time to make a contribution freely. After the meeting parents were accorded time to reflect on the discussions that they had had. The focus group discussion was audio recorded and later transcribed into handwritten text before it was typed. It was later translated into the English language. For the analysis of the focus group interview, see Chapter 7.

After the pre-testing phase I had a deep moment of reflection regarding the whole process; its successes, challenges, learning process and strategies to be implemented in the next phase (Coglan and Brammnick 2006; McAteer 2013). Personal reflections on the process were as follows:

Action research is quite involving. I was able to extend my knowledge to communities that I never thought of reaching out in my life. Moreover, I just discovered that every individual is a knowledge base that can only be revealed through interacting with other human beings. I am sure a combination of knowledge bases creates a web of knowledge sharing that results in community development. The only challenge is in finding opportunities for the knowledge bases to combine in an environment where other socio-economic factors are dictating the pace (Researcher's diary, 31/03/16).

Despite varying workloads and the dynamic challenges that the participants faced in life, teachers and parents dedicated their time towards the requirements of this project. They were hoping for a positive change that would be inclined in their favour. During this phase, parents and teachers were showing a great interest in this topic. Every contribution that they made indicated their commitment to the research process.

Feedback on the results of each school was discussed between the researcher and the action team (see section 10.1). The full implementation in schools was scheduled for the second week of the school term; this allowed teachers two weeks to settle in before we commenced with action process. After a pre-analysis of the data collected using thematic coding, a training programme was made; one for teachers and another one for the children.

6.6 Training of Participants

In-service training was conducted for the teachers. Teachers were notified of the implementation stage immediately after the feedback from the children's questionnaire was made available (Wilson 2009b).

6.6.1 Training Teachers

The feedback on the preliminary results of the pre-tests served as a point of initiation for the peace circle implementation. Immediately after receiving the feedback, teachers were introduced to the process of using circles as a method of preventive discipline. A practical demonstration of the circle process helped the teachers to understand it better. Emphasis was placed on the importance of a "talking piece" which

gives individuals the freedom to talk (see section 4.3.2). The types of circles to be used in each school depended on the teacher's choices of circle, after all of the different types were discussed with them. All teachers selected morning circles. For the teachers training manual, see Appendix H.

6.6.2 Training Children

Teachers attended children's training sessions as well. They assisted with explanations and guidance, where necessary. The training for peer and peace mediation was a hands-on experience (Sellman 2008; Stacey and Robinson 2008). A company that specialises in training school prefects offered to do the training of 30 students in 6 afternoons, 2 afternoons per school (see Appendix I).

After the training phase, I reflected on my observations. I made a realisation that people always have an idea of what they are taught, but their experience with that idea is in a different context with the next person. For some, the idea lies in the knowledge that they have acquired through interacting with others and the literature that they have been exposed to. Therefore, the trainer had the added task of clarifying the differences between the new idea and the already known concept. My reflection stated:

People have knowledge that is lying dormant within their brains. All they need is a trigger that tickles and awakens the knowledge they once possessed. For some people, the knowledge is still developing and they are still discovering and building up their knowledge bases. These are children who depend on adults they interact with. Children are quick to grasp concepts and apply them as per instruction. The major difference between adults and children is that adults put a lot of reasoning into whatever they do, but children seem to explore more and more with whatever idea they possess (Researcher's diary, 14/06/16).

At this point I was not confident about the training programmes that I was offering to the participants; in one of the schools we had to rush through the peer mediation sessions because of time. Some children were picked up earlier by their parents, before the end of sessions and some stay further away from their schools and an early dismissal was the only option if the program was to succeed.

6.7 Monitoring the Interventions

With the circles and the peer mediation commencing in the three experimental schools, teachers needed constant reminders and check-ins on how the interventions were going on; random calls to the institutions, and meetings with teachers were organised; school based meetings for teachers to discuss progress were scheduled; monthly reports from team leaders provided feedback on the progress being made by the teachers regarding the interventions. All reflections and notes were jotted down in the researcher's diary.

6.7.1 Monitoring Morning Peacemaking Circles

Each school adopted its own style of implementing the morning circles. One teacher practised circles in groups of 10 children per day. There were provisions made for special cases - those children she

identified as demanding her attention daily. Another teacher alternated boys and girls on different days. The teacher in the third school would sacrifice 15 minutes; two to three days a week, to practice circles with the whole class in one go. All school teachers involved in the intervention programme were allowed to phone the researcher at any time that they required clarification, or if there was a new change that they wanted to implement.

6.7.2 Monitoring Peer Mediation

Peer mediation was an outside class behaviour monitoring activity in which a selected group of children took on the roles of prefects, with the added benefit of peer mediating that helped people resolve issues in instant dialogues. Peer mediators were monitored by teachers' during break time duty. Not many incidences were reported.

6.7.3 Monitoring the Focus Group

The researcher attended all of the focus group discussion sessions. Parents in the focus group were free to call the researcher at any time; and the researcher could call any one of them for all matters that concerned the focus group discussions. This created a bond between the parents and the researcher. The facilitator always sent reminders of the meeting day to the group members three days before the meeting took place, to allow programme adjustments and to solve potential issues. After the second meeting, parents assigned each other the task to get into the community and try to talk to other parents – this was a platform that allowed them to share information. Reports from their different areas of engagement created a platform for the third, fourth and fifth meetings. Their community conversations revolved around: the importance of not exposing children to bad language, negative feedback on bad behaviours, and finding out how institutions like the church and the schools were willing to support nonviolent child rearing. These engagements increased the confidence that the parents had in themselves; and they came to the realisation that united they could bring about a positive change into their community.

6.8 Post Intervention Activities

The beginning of third term brought about some challenges to the research process. The period of early October to mid-October is the time of the grade 7 final examinations, an event which brings most of the other school activities to a halt. Closely after the grade 7 examinations, the rest of the school grades prepare and sit for their examinations as well. Apart from the issue of examinations, schools also had to prepare for speech and prize giving days. These three school activities required the cooperation of almost all the teachers and students. Therefore, I had to plan all of my activities carefully. After examinations some children do not come back to school.

6.8.1 Post Intervention Teachers Interviews

Soon after the grade 7 examinations, in mid-October, the post-test interviews commenced. In most of the schools there was a likelihood of decreased interaction between teachers and their classes during

the examination period. Teachers were asked to indicate their availability in Mid-October and early November. See appendix G to view the questions on the interview guide used.

6.8.2 Post Intervention Children's Questionnaires

The children (from the previous selection) were used once again to answer the questionnaire (see Appendix E). Most of the post-test questionnaires were administered during the grade seven exams. All of the children (within the required group) were available for the questionnaire, because the time coincided with their revision and examination preparation period. The post-test questionnaires were better conducted than the pre-tests. I ensured that I was present in all the schools for this stage.

6.8.3 Post Focus Group Discussion

The same questions asked in the pre-test focus groups were asked in the post-test phase (see Appendix F), in the local language. The focus group discussion was conducted before schools closed, as parents admitted to travelling to different areas for their Christmas holidays. The focus group discussions created a stronger bond between the parents. The focus group discussions were audio recorded and later transcribed into handwritten text before being typed. It was later translated into the English language.

Having done all of that, I understood a greater deal about action research in schools. I made sure that I exited all the schools the way I had entered them. I informed the heads and their deputies that the process that I was most interested in was (at that stage) over, but the action process in the experimental schools was to continue. I shared my experiences in their schools pertaining to discipline. Here is my reflection on the entire process of action research:

Looking back on my steps, I have discovered that the whole action process is just an interactive progression of ideas that were being generated into actions. These actions built confidence within the individuals involved such that they were able to declare that they are part of the development of those actions. The sustainability of the actions that individuals acquired is highly dependent on the participant's appreciation of the action process (Researcher's diary, 31/12/16).

It was a wonderful, but cumbersome, experience that brought some results through a learning process. Maintaining an up to date diary and monitoring the project in each of the schools was not easy. But through the dedication and interest shown by most of the participants, there was a story to tell.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter described the research design, data collection process, data analysis procedure and the action research process. Chapter 7 is going to look at the data analysis of the pre-testing phase.

Part IV Chapter 7: Exploration: Teacher Interviews, Student Questionnaires, School Records and Parent Focus Group Discussion

7. Introduction

This chapter presents analysis and discussion of data sifted from in-depth interviews held with 24 teachers, focussing on methods they could use to discipline learners in school; on the answers to a questionnaire on violence in schools completed by 60 learners; from data found in the discipline records of six primary schools; and on the opinions about bringing up good children from nine parents who met in a focus group discussion. Detail on the research methods were reported in chapter 6.

7.1 The Teacher Interviews

The 24 teachers came from six primary schools, four teachers from each school. Half of the teachers were from the experimental group and the other 12 were from the control group. The teachers were teaching children either aged 9-10 years old or dealing with disciplinary matters in their respective schools. Amongst the interviewed teachers were two deputy heads responsible for discipline in their schools.

The interview schedule is included as Appendix G. The main themes were dealing with disruptive behaviours in the home and at school, discipline methods specific to the home, discipline methods specific to the school and teachers' reactions to the corporal punishment outlaw. The data was collected prior to implementing the restorative justice practices in the three experimental schools and assisted in the formulation of restorative justice practices in the schools

7.1.1 Dealing with Misbehaviour at Home and at School

Results from teachers' interviews indicated that parents reacted to their children's infractions in various ways, using both physical and non-physical methods of discipline. Teachers reacted to the question concerning the differences between how parents and teachers discipline children. The responses reflected an acknowledgement of how, owing to the fact that the children come from different homes, they would have different rules and expectations from their teachers. Belvel (2010: 155) asserts that when children violate agreements or norms, adults tend to think that they are misbehaving on purpose and adults then react according to the emotions that they experience (see section 5.2). Attributing infractions to malicious inclinations is faulty reasoning and often results in failure to deal with the infraction in a reasonable manner. The fear of community members' negative comments on the behaviour of a child pushes the parent to react in ways that he/she believes reduces the chances of the infraction recurring. Teacher R made an observation:

From my observation and from the way the pupils play I think parents normally use the corporal punishment. Because you can see that in this area most of our children they are so violent. They fight, they use all other physical violence even amongst themselves. They think if I do a physical, physical retaliation I think I will have done better. So I think at home they use, normally in this area, use corporal punishment ... the whip (Teacher R interview, Peace school).

All teachers mentioned corporal punishment as a method used in homes and in schools. It can be administered using different instruments, which include the hands and other equipment that a parent can reach at that particular moment. Breen, Daniels and Thomlinson (2015) focused on some of the equipment that parents use to strike their children (see section 4.1). The use of such instruments can suggest an element of emotional imbalance on the part of the parent, triggering impulse reactions that can bring regrettable and devastating results. Teacher S referred to how some parents react in the following way:

Most cases it's by slapping, using their open hands or using some sort of canes and sticks, and in some reports you hear about parents using very drastic measures, using even very big sticks ... Or some kind of ... weapons; sometimes in some cases steel rods (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

The types of instruments used by some parents indicate that there is often anger or frustration as a result of the child's behaviour. Adults often regret the actions they take under the influence of such emotions. The use of dangerous objects in administering corporal punishment is common amongst parents in surrounding communities, as reported by most teachers and highlighted by teacher S:

Recently I heard about a parent who used the tip of a lady shoe to hit a child; and the most unfortunate thing is that the kid died. Another child was locked outside for half the night; some are denied food the whole day, some use electrical cables and garden hose pipe pieces to hit their children. Sometimes the objects leave scars on the kids (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

This indicates that a parent's reaction to their child's misbehaviours can be, at times, grievous. The parent's desire to stop the transgression triggers emotions that over-ride normal reasoning. Belvel (2010) avers that parents often misinterpret children's transgressions as rude, disrespectful, thoughtlessness and defiant (see section 5.2), and can triggers reactions that are harsh and unreasonable. Other disadvantages of corporal punishment were briefly highlighted by teacher G:

If the kid is beaten at home and the kid is beaten at school as well, that kid I don't think will be, what can I say ... a kid who can be made acceptable, who can be acceptable in the society. The kid will tend to be aggressive because the kid will know that, "at home I have a beating, and at school I have a beating, so everything is not good around me". But I think the method is not good at all (Teacher G interview, Wellbeing school).

A number of teachers responded that most adults are aware that corporal punishment has negative consequences on children, but they continue using it. The teachers attributed the continued use of

corporal punishment to the failure of adults to conceive of other forms of discipline. In own words, teacher E said:

The naughty ones, they beat them at home. They still continue at home because they can't discipline them. They just beat them and children continue to do badly. *Aha*, maybe that child will just be a problem child because there are other factors which contribute to that bad behaviour (Teacher E interview, Wellbeing school).

The statement above indicates that adults find it hard to comprehend “naughty” childhood behaviour and therefore use corporal punishment in all circumstances to try and eliminate such behaviour. Adults believe in the efficiency of corporal punishment from personally experiencing it as children, and the belief in its effectiveness is passed down through generations (Wong and Mok 2013) (see section 4.1.4). The benefit of the ‘quick fix’ provided by corporal punishment was constantly referred to. Despite there now being a policy which outlaws the use of corporal punishment in schools, some teachers bluntly indicated that schools still use corporal punishment because ‘... it works better with the quality of child they are dealing with’ (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

This came up as a type of confession, when the teachers were asked how the school manages to maintain order in oversized classrooms. The use of less physical punishment seems to be relatively acceptable to most teachers and the following are representative comments on the issue:

Maybe giving lighter corporal punishment like have a child sit on the floor so that next time he won't do it, because no one likes to sit on the floor. That's another one. The other one maybe (*giggles*) that is the only one (Teacher T interview, Praiseworthy school).

Yes, like in my class, I tell the child to stand up on one leg for some time and it is, it is painful. Yah, but it is painful because just tell the child not to put the leg down for some time. Yes, so at the end of the day, he will not do it again, it is painful (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

Although minimal physical punishment does not exclude the child from the learning environment, it is equally humiliating and painful. The humiliation of a child is contrary to the expectations of the education system which urges teachers to respect the dignity of students (Oosthuizen 2010) (see section 5.2).

7.1.2 Productive /Manual Labour

Some teachers indicated that they ask children to carry out manual labour, which some termed “productive labour”. In one school, a teacher confessed that the children water their school garden as a punishment. These tasks assigned to children, he said are beneficial to both the school community and the child, and lead to the cleanliness of the surroundings and the child learning or perfecting that particular skill. On the other hand, such tasks needed to be supervised, meaning that ordinary class work might suffer and providing additional work for the teacher. Teachers P and H summarised the tasks, and P further elaborates one disadvantage of using the method:

Ah, of course ways like picking papers, giving some tasks out there, perhaps like digging pits, but it is as if I will also be wasting time supervising that child (*giggles*), at the same time the class will be waiting for me (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

The deterrent effect of such discipline, argued one teacher, comes in the separation of one child from the rest of the class. Kindiki (2009) argues that such methods of discipline decrease engagement time in learning.

The advantages are that because the children do not miss their break and they do not want to miss their lunch. They do not want to sweep alone, so they will make sure they are disciplined because if they know if they make a mistake he or she know at the end of the day I am the one who is going to end up sweeping this classroom which is a bit tiresome and boring to them. Because the time she will be sweeping, everyone will be gone. So they won't enjoy it, so it will help them to be disciplined because they don't enjoy doing this alone. They like to do things with others (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

Most children make an effort to avoid activities that expose them to criticism from their peers. They prefer activities that bring them closer to their peers and adults around them. Children always want to impress people around them (Gootman 2001).

7.1.3 Talking to Children

Sometimes parents and teachers talk to children as a way of directing their path in life. In some instances, talking is a form of reprimand especially after an infraction. One teacher noted that at times, adults talk to children under emotional stress. Children adopt the language used by parents to express their disapproval of peers' actions and teachers take such reactions as a reflection of what is happening in the home and community (Grille 2008) (see section 3.). In most instances, children get such words through socialisation with peers and adults or through the media. Teacher P made the following contribution in that regard:

In addition, I think they also use verbal. You can depict from the way... the language *they* (children) use. We have a problem of (children) using vulgar words even within the school yard (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

Children's immaturity and lack of knowledge on the effects of words on others make them use words that they get from the environment without considering how they affect the recipient. In fact, children imitate words they have observed working in their socialisation. Teachers noted with concern that the emotions that build up after an infraction may cause a parent to use harsh punitive words on a child. Modelling of proper behaviours by adults demonstrates to children the right words especially in environments where vulgar language is common. Teacher H outlined both advantages and disadvantages of talking to children in dealing with misbehaviours.

Ah, maybe the strengths are that when you talk to them they will understand that this is wrong. And when a child is a disciplined child or what can I say A child who pays attention, next

time that child want to repeat, the child won't repeat that same mistake. But in a case whereby a child is a bit stubborn maybe because that child is not really attentive you might think ... maybe not do it again next time. He will do it again and if you keep on talking it might not make sense to him. So maybe I think that is the disadvantage (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

Responses to the talking method indicate that it might not be a very effective method with most children, though it works with some. Teachers acknowledge that adults have to teach discipline repeatedly. This helps the child to understand misbehaviour consequences, but might not bring instant results in some children who are exposed to harsher methods. Some teachers indicated their compliance to the government policy by abandoning corporal punishment and adopting the talking method of discipline. One teacher indicated that reasoning with the child assists in making them understand the mistake, its effects and consequences.

At school to tell you the truth, long ago, we used to beat children and that controlled them. But we.... With today's policies, we are no longer beating. We just talk to the child. But you are talking to this child who is naughty so it now depends *kuti* is this child listening or sometimes not, or not listening to you and continues to doing bad things (Teacher E interview, Wellbeing school).

Teacher E attributes the success of the talking method to the child who decides either to comply or not. Her teacher's view is that the method brings a teacher to a level where children have to opt for either compliance or otherwise after the teacher's talk. Therefore, the talking has to convince children to select compliance as an option. In other words, failure to convey the message clearly to children results in their selection of an undesirable option.

Some infractions within the school environment require the intervention of the parents or guardians of the child. Parents must assist in the discipline of their children where that is possible. Sharing children's problems between home and school may push children to comply. Teacher P suggested:

(Giggles) I think it would be better if schools were to hold meetings with parents here and there and they discuss measures that can be used you would find that two or three children in a classroom will be naughty and they will disturb the flow of the lesson. Even if they are 2 they will disturb the flow of the learning process. So you, in other words the teacher now will have a lot of hardships trying to discipline that pupil or the few ones so that the rest can learn. In addition, at times I personally feel that it is better to leave those children, if it were possible they should be expelled from school, eh (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

A handful of children are capable of causing problems inside a classroom, and that can detract the learning process. Bill (2009) highlighted that it is a few children (15-20%) who fail to comply with the classroom rules (see section 5.2). Teacher P (above) suggested that expulsion could be a better solution but every child has the right to education. The most effective way should be dealing with the problem, minimising its chances of recurring.

7.2 Discipline Methods at Home

Teachers observed that parents use other methods that are only possible in the home environment and not applicable to the school environment. According to some teachers, these methods indicate meanness, cold-heartedness and insensitivity on the part of the parent and may involve sending children away, denying them food and grounding them. Teachers reasoned that the parents' goal could be to achieve compliance at the same time avoiding taking more nasty measures. As a way of calming down before taking action, or just to avoid getting over-reactive parents opt for such drastic measures.

7.2.1 Send Children Away

In some cases noted by teachers, parents send children away to avoid further frustrations and taking drastic measures. One teacher observed that after a parent sent away some children, the children either go to a parent's friend or a relative who stays close by until the parent calms down. In some cases, the child just loiter about in the streets until the parent calls him/her back and perhaps apply some other method of discipline. Sometimes it is a form of anger management, parents may need time to calm down and construct their responses. Sending children away for a while can be a better way to avoid administering corporal punishment.

The child may avoid harsh punishment from home but according to some teachers there is a risk of exposing the child to a more serious harm from street gangs and other children who loiter in the streets as well. There is no adult supervision on the streets and there is no guarantee that the child will not engage in other behaviours that are worse than the one that sends them away from home. This method does not help much in terms of achieving immediate compliance. It might work by instilling a fear of desertion by a parent and it may reflect negligence on the part of the parent.

7.2.2 Denying Children Food and Other Goodies

Young children enjoy taking part in most activities which involve other people, including meals. According to most teachers denying a child a meal reflects negligence and has a nutritional effect on the part of the child denied food and may be interpreted as lack of caring on the part of a parent. While hunger might force a child to comply, several teachers reiterated that children at a younger age feel embarrassed when they miss privileges that other children are enjoying; 'being left out is not good to most children'.

The response indicate that any denial of goodies prompts a child to comply in order to control the likelihood of further denial. The only challenge could be a could be a child's impulsive action that might result in them stealing the desired item (Kauffman and Landrum 2013) or lying in order to compensate for the loss (see section 5.3). Denial of any sort brings humiliation to anybody, and it has other negative effects. Oosthuizen (2010) stressed on the need for adults to respect children and not to victimise them.

This method is similar to the rewards and punishments that teachers offer inside their classrooms. Rewards and punishment work mostly as a preventive measure. Rewarding children for their good deeds works where the classroom economies are able to sustain the demand of the incentives that rises in most situations. Most classroom economies fail to sustain its high demand leading to the use of the method inconsistently and as a short-term method.

7.2.3 Grounding

Teachers reported that parents were using grounding as a disciplinary method. Such a control measure can be effective because children enjoy having their space and autonomy. With their bodies full on energy, they want to explore and experiment.

During the grounding period, a child feels left out and that they need to be involved in what they always do with those who are free. Teachers commented that children do not want to miss watching TV and going out to play and are the ones parents target when grounding children.

7.3 Discipline Methods Specific to the School

Schools react to children's disruptive behaviours in different ways including those mentioned above (see sections 7.1-7.1.3). According to Onderi and Makori (2013) children who are undisciplined disrupt the flow of the learning process and teachers have to take action (see section 5.3). Teachers treat every learner as a potential risk (Steeves and Gary 2014) and react to misbehaviours in a manner they feel will deter would-be deviants from exhibiting their mischief (see section 5.). Most teachers in the schools involved in this project have degrees in various fields including counselling. A number of them indicated that they are implementing or planning to implement counselling as a way of disciplining learners. Almost every teacher interviewed mentioned counselling as an option his or her school is considering.

7.3.1 Counselling

Counselling as a technique that teachers who are knowledgeable in that practice can implement. According to teachers' responses, there are some teachers with counselling degrees, who will take a lead role in the implementation of this technique in schools. Though some of the teachers who suggested the technique were unable to explain how the process will help the learners, they seemed willing to embrace it whenever it will be ready.

Most teachers' responses' indicated that the implementation of counselling in schools might take some time and would have males counselling males and females counselling females. Teacher M highlighted an advantage of counselling schoolchildren – which learners would appreciate that teacher cared for them and wanted to promote their positive behaviour. Teacher M stated that ‘...the child [being

counselled] will know that they are being respected and they are being valued, and they can say what they think about the issue and the teacher then guides them to do the right thing’.

The role of the teacher is not easy in counselling; it takes one’s time and energy and may have some disadvantages. Teacher C, for example, noted that in cases involving conflicts ‘... the offended [party] does not know what you have done to the offender, and may think you have done nothing’.

To learners who are accustomed to physical discipline, non-physical disciplinary methods might make learners feel as if the methods are of limited effect because they involve mere talk; it may seem like nothing happened. If so cases of indiscipline cases may increase.

7.3.2 Exclusion

Teachers mentioned that sometimes they are forced to exclude some learners from particular activities as a way of disciplining them. However, teachers discovered that some learners like being sent out of the class, even though it is intended as a punishment. Once a punishment fails to bring desired results then it has to be discontinued immediately, otherwise some learners can use it as a scapegoat (Gootman 2001). Moreover, the child’s learning process is interrupted whenever she/he is excluded. Sometimes, exclusion is used to save a learner from a harsher punishment. However, excluding a learner from the classroom is not acceptable by the current Ministry of Education regulations.

7.2.3 Grouping Children

In some schools, teachers’ group learners that display unacceptable behaviours together and try to bring them closer to adults within the school environment so that they appreciate their importance within the institution. The belief is that the learners will be able to see that it is their behaviour that adults are against, not their person. Teacher N reported a discussion she had heard on an FM radio morning programme which she summarised as follows:

They were saying at their school, a girls’ high school, they group these children. They know they are naughty, they are dull. Some *students* we think they are dull yet they are naughty. So they group them in a class. One thing that I heard them saying was that they love them more than the rest. “We bring them close to us. We talk to them.” It is another way of showing love and bringing them close to you. Explaining to them that what they are doing is not good. They are supposed to do this. *Therefore*, she was saying it is another way (Teacher N interview, Peace school).

The idea of encouraging acceptable behaviour from adults can encourage positive behaviours in learners. Most learners do not want to disappoint those whom trust them. Once teachers show love to learners there is a likelihood of compliance to what they say.

7.3.4 Writing and Detention as Punishment

One teacher proposed that the writing a hundred lines keeps the child mindful of the consequences of misbehaviour. Apart from improving penmanship and dexterity, the method is painful and humiliating to a child. Teacher E explained as follows:

If he does not want to do his work, maybe he is just scribbling whilst some are writing neatly; you can tell that child to write say, twice. Re-write, that's the punishment that we give. Sometimes the second time he will write neatly because you just move around with your red pen, and you just write "rewrite". Then it's painful to that child. The second time now you see some change (Teacher E interview, Wellbeing school).

Most teachers supported such discipline but some avoided it because of the additional work it involved in supervision the work done by the child.

Another method non-physical method highlighted by teachers was detention, especially during break time, although they recognised again that this did involve supervision by the teacher. Teacher G commented:

Yaa, giving them a lot of work to do. Just to say you are not going to eat today for break because kids like their food. Yaa, detention. If you say no break for you today, they feel they have been disadvantaged, because they bring some eats, good eats, to show off to their friends and they want to eat them. It's a form of punishment, and you can just say you are sweeping, the others go. Then those who are under discipline they can sweep the classrooms (Teacher G interview, Wellbeing school).

7.3.5 Referring Children to Higher Authority

Most teachers indicated that they refer naughty children to the deputy school head and to the head. Commenting on overwhelming numbers inside classrooms teacher G highlighted that:

If you are looking at a class of 50, we want them to be ... be teachable. It is quite a hard task. Sometimes we refer them to the office..... the deputy will spend the whole day..... 'Come in, go out, come in, and go out'. Too many children are naughty (Teacher G interview, Wellbeing school).

It was suggested that learners will regard teachers as being weak if they cannot handle learners on their own. Every teacher is entitled to be respected by learners (Oosthuizen 2010) and to discipline learners (see section 5.2). Teachers may lose the respect of learners as a result.

7.4 Teachers Reactions to Corporal Punishment Outlaw

Teachers had mixed reactions on the outlawing of corporal punishment. To start with, many teachers made the point that the use of corporal punishment is rooted in teacher's own experiences and their perception that it had a positive impact on them. The majority of teachers disapproved on the law, especially given the deteriorating levels of behaviour associated with large class sizes. As one

remarked, “I have 60 pupils. The teacher- pupil ratio is not practical. Now in England and Europe, [class size] will be 10,20. It will be possible for the teacher to discipline in other ways” (Teacher O, in-depth interview).

Weak policy compliance with such laws in other developing countries have allowed it to continue in any case (Leach and Humphreys 2007) and most of the sample are continuing to use it. Teacher N expressed an opinion:

In this case it wasn't a good thing (outlawing corporal punishment) because the calibre of these children nowadays is totally different from what it used to be. Those children who used to be given [corporal punishment] ... It seems as if children are so What can I say ... naughty (*giggles*). *Yeah*, naughty, I can say that. They always say we are not supposed to be beaten. They know their rights. For example when you want to beat them they will say, 'I will go and tell my parents', [You might think] that some of the parents in this community, don't know their rights. [In fact] they know and might end up taking you to the courts (Teacher N interview, Peace school).

There is a concern among some teachers that their continued use of corporal punishment will be found out by the authorities. Learners report most of the daily happenings at school to their parents who may report any cases of abuse to the police. Some see that the law will take a long time to change behaviour:

Ah, (*clears voice*) they have outlawed corporal punishment but it is nothing. It is still nothing in the schools, in the classrooms it is still there, but I think gradually, I think it will be ceased. They are continuing because we grew up with our parents hitting us, hitting us up. When we got into this field, we were using this corporal punishment, so to gradually know that this is not the form of punishment, it takes time (Teacher C interview, Praiseworthy school).

Most teachers are trying to conceal inside their classrooms and believe that its application in moderation is unlikely to result in prosecution. Most argue that people need more time to understand that it is possible to discipline learners using other means other than corporal punishment and to implement such methods.

Several teachers argued that the absence of corporal punishment will result in worse behaviour by learners, an increase in absenteeism and other infractions. Teachers that learners believe, respect and fear corporal punishment but not non-physical forms of discipline:

I think the government should not restrict schools on using corporal punishment because most children of these days misbehave to the extent that they play truancy say for one month. When he comes you just say, “Where were you? You should come to school”. They just do that again because there is no corporal punishment. But if they are given corporal punishment they would think twice (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

Teacher T brought in another idea that teachers use corporal punishment indiscriminately. Learners can be beaten for being absent from school, wearing the wrong uniform, for poor punctuality, for non-

payment of school fees and many other infractions that might seem not to be the learners' fault. It is used for example, to inform the parents that school fees is not yet paid.

One teacher looked at the outlaw of corporal punishment from an African perspective. The explanation given indicated that the outlaw did not take into consideration the context of large numbers in households and classrooms:

It is a challenge on that one because the ministry is not looking at the environment we are living. It is just implementing things that are not suitable for our children. Ah, Africa, we are a third world country so our people they want a stick. [We deal with large numbers of children] At the same time at home we are still living with the extended family at school there are many inside the classroom, .. so what can work in Europe is not our own way [of discipline] (Teacher O interview, Wellbeing school).

In support of the outlaw, other teachers voiced their approval of the move basing on compliance with their professional ethics. As public servants, teachers have to comply with the demand of enacted policies within the Public service sector, their employer. Teacher K commented that “This law is good because the constitution stipulates that nobody should be beaten. It’s not allowed. Nobody should inflict harm on another person so it should start from school, and then it goes into the community”.

More pragmatically, teacher M spoke against the use of fear and pain to bring about compliance:

I think corporal punishment is not good. I don't think it's good because you cannot change a person by beating, by inflicting pain to a person, physical pain that cannot change a person, yes. To me it's a bad way of disciplining children. You can employ other methods rather than inflicting pain (Teacher M interview, Praiseworthy school).

Supporters of the law then saw a bigger picture – that society and not just school classrooms – need to find better ways of encouraging better ways of behaviour and discouraging the bad. It is better to allow learners to get used to the talking method so that any respect they feel for corporal punishment can be replaced by talking.

7.5 Children's Questionnaire Responses

This part of the chapter is going to look at results from the questionnaire (see appendix E) administered to learners before the intervention was implemented. Three sets of schools were involved –from medium density, high density and semi-urban areas respectively (see section 6.2) School teachers administered the questionnaires after parents had signed a consent form and the learner had signed an assent form (see appendix A). In schools where learners were selected from different classes teachers had to liaise and administer the questionnaire at the same time. In schools where learners were in one class it was on the prerogative of the teacher to administer the questionnaire at a time that did not inconvenience learners from the learning process. Sixty 9-10 year olds from three sets of schools completed the questionnaire, 10 from each school (see Table 7.1)

Table 7.1 Learner respondents by schools, gender and age

School name	Gender		Age	
	Male	Female	9 year	10 year
Medium density:				
Peace	5	5	1	9
Harmony	5	5	4	6
High density:				
Wellbeing	4	6	7	3
Heartbeat	4	6	1	9
Semi-urban:				
Praiseworthy	5	5	8	2
Chariot	4	6	5	5

According to table 7.1, the schools were represented by almost an equal number of both boys and girls. All the learners fall within the 9-10 year age bracket. Therefore, each experimental school seems not very different from its control group match, apart from their location and enrolments (see section 6.2) so it is possible to roughly compare results in each pair of schools. Table 7.2 contains a summary of the responses to the children’s questionnaire (Appendix E).

Table 7.2 Pre-test questionnaire results in six schools

Variables	Medium density		High density		Semi-urban	
	Peace	Harmony	Wellbeing	Heartbeat	Praiseworthy	Chariot
Safety in schools						
Safe	9	9	10	10	9	10
Not safe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not sure	1	1	0	0	1	0
Types of violence						
Fighting	10	10	9	10	8	10

Swearing	3	2	4	5	10	4
Teasing	7	7	6	8	10	5
Stealing	7	6	8	7	7	7
Bullying	2	1	2	4	8	1
Threatening	0	6	5	8	4	0
Sexual abuse	3	1	2	5	10	6
Writing on walls	8	9	6	9	8	6
Causes of violence						
Peer pressure	7	10	10	9	10	10
Drugs	1	0	1	0	2	0
Family background	4	4	4	4	3	9
Teacher absence	6	4	8	6	4	4
Poverty	1	0	2	3	3	3
Lack of knowledge	4	5	4	5	1	3
Community set up	2	1	1	3	3	0
Any other	1	1	0	3	4	1
Methods of discipline						
Isolation	3	7	3	5	2	4
Shouting	9	9	9	9	7	0
Beating	9	10	7	9	10	9
Calling police	0	0	3	1	2	0
Punishment- manual labour	1	7	1	8	3	8
Expulsion	6	0	7	7	6	1
Calling parents	9	6	10	8	6	4
Referred to head	9	9	7	9	10	8
Detention	0	1	0	3	2	1
Nothing is done	3	1	0	4	3	1
Feelings after disciplining						
Happy	3	3	7	4	8	2
Proud	0	0	0	2	3	1
Shy	4	8	10	7	7	6
Angry	2	1	1	1	1	0
Crying	0	0	1	7	4	0
Fear	5	6	5	5	8	9

Encouraged	0	0	3	3	5	1
Nothing	2	2	0	1	1	1
Frequency of discipline						
Daily	0	6	0	0	6	2
Weekly	0	0	0	2	3	1
Monthly	0	0	0	0	1	0
Instantly	10	5	10	7	9	9

7.5.1 Medium Density Schools: Peace and Harmony

Nine learners from each of the two medium density housing area schools (see section 6.2) reported that they feel safe within their school environments. All 20 learners indicated that some learners fight for different reasons whilst they are in school and in both schools there are incidences of stealing and teasing amongst the learners. In the control school, Harmony, six learners indicated that learners threaten each other verbally, which suggests the need for modelling non-violent language when expressing concerns and feelings.

Causes of violence within school premises were attributed mostly to peer pressure and teacher absence. Teacher absences from the classroom suggest that the learning process is disrupted and perhaps learners are left unoccupied, encouraging a restless atmosphere in which students influence one another to misbehave.

From the learners perspective, and this was true for both schools, the common methods used by teachers in dealing with student misbehaviour were shouting, beating, referring to the head and summoning parents. In Harmony, six students noted punishment and seven noted isolation, while six learners in Peace school indicated expulsion.

The feelings of learners after being disciplined mostly indicted fear and shame. Shame could come from the feeling that their peers are made aware of a learner's weaknesses or failures. Of interest are learners who indicated happiness after a chastisement, which may reflect a cultural teaching that a learner has to express gratitude when an adult corrects them.

7.5.2 High Density Schools: Wellbeing and Heartbeat

All 20 learners from each of the two schools indicated that they feel safe at their schools. Fighting was the most selected form of violence followed by stealing, writing on the walls, teasing, threatening and swearing. The scores in each of the schools are similar. Again, peer pressure and teacher absence were suggested as the major causes of misbehaviour.

Learners reported that teachers respond to their misbehaviour by shouting, invoking parents, beating and referring to the head. In their short essays (see section C of the questionnaire), learners indicated that those who steal and play truancy receive such punishment. In addition, expulsion and isolation were commonly mentioned by learners in both schools. In the section C responses, some learners indicated that those who use violence in school should be expelled.

On feelings displayed after discipline, learners indicated that shame, happiness, fear and crying are the most common emotions shown. Feelings of being encouraged as a result of being disciplined were indicated by some learners.

7.5.3 Semi-urban Schools: Praiseworthy and Chariot

Broadly similar results were found from students in these schools but there were some big differences between Praiseworthy and Chariot schools. In particular, students in the former report much higher levels of a range of violent behaviour.

From the learners' responses, all the six schools were safe zones (see section 5.3). The most common forms of violence indicated in the six schools were fighting, stealing, and verbal teasing and these findings are supported by the schools' disciplinary records. The violence in all schools was attributed to peer pressure. Learners seek approval from peers and they want to please people around them (see section 5.1.1). Teacher absence from the class was frequently suggested as another cause of violence.

The main reported methods of disciplining were beating, shouting, referring to the head and invoking parents. The use of all methods within any school suggests wide-ranging attempts by teachers to control the situations inside their classrooms (Gootman 2001) (see section 5.1.2). On the feelings experienced after disciplining, most learners indicated that they feel shy, fearful and happy when a teacher disciplines them; receiving attention from an adult, even when it involves disciplinary measures, seems to be regarded as positive.

7.6 Data from School Records

Information gathered from the head's 'black book' and teachers' misconduct books round out the data from teachers and learners. They indicated that learners exhibit a variety of misbehaviours and teachers react to these in different ways. The entries made reflect the attitudes of the relevant principal or teacher and the detail which they include in their reports is variable in length and intensity of language. As a result, they are not readily comparable between individuals or schools. For in-depth discussion on disruptive behaviours in schools, see section 5.2.2

7.6.1 Secretive Behaviours

School records indicate that some behaviours are engaged in secretly, although they are sometimes discovered. Such behaviours include; stealing, cheating, truancy, prying, and insincerity.

Stealing can be linked to socioeconomic backgrounds which determine if a child gets what they desire to have in life. In instances where a learner lacks what he/she desires and where there is lack of control, then a child is liable to steal from peers (Gary 2006) (see section 5.3). In this study, school reports mostly cited incidences of learners stealing money from home to buy snacks at schools and stealing money and stationery items from their peers. Some of the cases recorded were repeat offences. There were few incidences reported on learners stealing from teachers.

Teachers' records mentioned that parents often revealed that loose coins were often picked up and in most cases they fail to detect how much was taken. Some learners fail to realise the value of money they have and they order whatever they desire; this can lead to them being referred to school authority for investigation. For instance, a child ordering sweets for \$5 makes both vendors and the school tuckshop keeper become suspicious and, depending on their level of faithfulness, they may refer the learner to school authority for investigation. In fact, most schools do not support parents who give learners money on a daily basis. Teachers encourage parents to prepare enough food for the child, given that money is not easy to account for at that age.

Insincerity includes cheating and lying, although most of such cases go unrecorded in the books of misconduct because teachers lack evidence. Teachers can only deal with cheating, for instance, at the moment they notice it happening.

Truancy is an act of sneaking away from school. While teachers' records rarely reflect on motive, this could be due to 'push' factors like a lack of interest in school activities and/or 'pull' factors, where learners want to have fun with friends during school times.

Prying is an act of going beyond the stated boundaries out of curiosity (what lies behind that gate?) or hunger, in order to get a particular kind of snack to eat.

7.6.2 Reluctance

Some learners exhibit behaviours that portray unwillingness and lack of care in activities they are expected to engage in. Stubbornness is reported when a child fails to realise authority and refuses to comply with instructions. Tardiness refers to a lack of progress concerning the task at hand. Most learners are not able to divide their attention between two events occurring at the same time and may need to be encouraged to focus on one. Untidiness involves failing to dress properly and look after their property in the right manner. They leave items lying around and sometimes can be quick to accuse others of stealing their items.

7.6.3 Inappropriate Language

Many children speak at high volumes when communicating with peers at school, resulting in excessive noise. The use of vulgar and obscene words often results from a lack of knowledge of their meaning.

The use of insolent and aggressive words is a habit that children adopt as a result of hearing them used by adults and other learners.

7.6.4 Violence

Fighting is a common way of resolving conflict amongst learners. They fight over anything, including their personal status and mistakes made in class. Such fights get reported only if someone gets injured or when children they seek adult intervention. Bullying means the physical or verbal abuse of peers. Reports of learners who control others and intimidate them if they fail to comply were often recorded in the school records.

Teachers' interview responses indicated that the use of corporal punishment is common both in homes and in schools despite its outlawing in schools. Most teachers supported the use of corporal punishment because of their belief that learners infringe laws on purpose and need to be deterred by a punishment regime they fear and respect. They resort to methods they are familiar with and which they believe worked in their own upbringing and work with the learners in their classrooms. Teachers believe that if they do not use corporal punishment that it will be seen as a sign of weakness.

Results from the learners' questionnaires indicate that there is not much difference between the six schools as regards violence and discipline i.e. between the pairs of schools and between the types of schools. The next section will discuss data gathered from focus group discussions with parents.

7.7 The Parents' Focus Group Discussion

This chapter presents analysis and discussion of data gleaned from focus group discussions held with nine parents on topics concerning nonviolent ways of child rearing. Parents met at a house belonging to one FGD member. The group consisted of five females and four males, all with children who attended one school. All have other children apart from the nine to ten-year-old and they sometimes referred to experiences with such children during the discussion. A former teacher from the group steered the discussions and I took notes to assist in later interpreting a tape recording which was made with the members' permission. None of the parents had employment at the time of this research, but they had various projects they were managing for their livelihoods. They had backgrounds in law, technology, business management, teaching, pastoring, transport, and vending. The focus group discussion was based on questions in the focus group guide (see appendix F). For a discussion of FGD methods and analysis of the focus group discussion, see sections 6.2 and 6.2.4.

The analysis and discussion is approached using three main themes: different types of disruptive behaviours; causes of disruptive behaviours; and dealing with disruptive behaviours.

7.7.1 Different Types of Disruptive Behaviour

Starting from the Shona position that children must obey their parents, parents in the group agreed that not all disruptive behaviours are mischief in the traditional sense. Some of the behaviours are a result of the children's age and inquisitiveness. According to Piaget's psychological development stages, nine to ten year old children are in the concrete operational stage, in which the child has the ability to conserve information that is necessary later in their adulthood (Hergenhahn and Olson 2005). Maltreatment at this stage results in children giving up or withdrawing from social interaction (see section 5.1.1). Morally, these children are willing to embrace rules as a way of pleasing those around them. These developments can only take place depending on the intellectual development of the child and his/her ability to explore the environment (Hergenhahn and Olson 2005). Towards the end of the meeting, one parent (P8) had an insight:

Can you imagine we were thinking that their inquisitive minds that motivate them to play around with electrical gadgets is mischief yet it was just that they do not understand certain things the way we do? I am sure if we show them and talk to them they will understand and stop such behaviours. There seem to be a gap between us and our children. And I think we need help in that area (Parent 8).

The parents came to a consensus that their children seem to understand them (the parents) yet they as parents underestimated their children's capabilities. As a result of technological advances, parents view their children as shrewder than they were during their own childhood years. 'They can outfox us', said one parent (P3), and can manipulate situations to their advantage. Realising this shrewdness can come as a shock to parents. One highlighted that it never gets into the mind of a parent that their child can lie to them until this happens. Such unpredictable behaviours can shock parents and result in them losing trust in that child. P3 commented that children can cross the boundaries of home values by bringing home unexpected behaviours. The anger that adults feel towards a disruptive behaviour very often leads to the use of force by parents. P8 remarked that 'Your child will tell you something that will get you worked up and make you think of beating up the child but on second thoughts you realise the child is smarter than you in some things [and does not deserve punishment for this]'.

Inquisitiveness was regarded as being much more common among boys. Boys were viewed as much more interested in knowing how gadgets in the home operate, how they are made and why they are the way they are. Some boys have dismantled household gadgets which they later reassembled. This behaviour was linked, in the minds of some parents, to an unwillingness to do their assigned chores and was, at times, regarded as a form of indiscipline. With particular respect to cell phones, P3 articulated some implications for parents' own behaviour:

... They are just a totally different generation from us. As for these mobile phones, just ensure that if you are a parent, you are a good role model. A parent's phone must be different from a boy's phone. It shouldn't contain all sorts of thing because before you know it they would have figured out the pattern. You walk in and you find the kids scrolling down your phone, looking at pictures and playing the music on your phone (Parent 3).

A classic misbehaviour discussed was truancy which was often linked to coming home late from school. Some children misused money meant for bus fares e.g. by spending it on snacks, resulting in them having to walk and so getting home late. This kind of behaviour, said the parents, exposes children to risks of abuse and the development of ‘hardened characters’ and must be stopped.

Finally, the group was in general agreement that some children take a longer time than do others time to mature and become organised. For example, some children take time to become tidy and orderly. Parents raised the concern that because some children take a longer time to mature, they need more parental understanding and guidance.

7.7.2 Causes of Disruptive Behaviours in Children

Most parents identified two main factors that influence children to have bad behaviours - peer pressure and parental negligence, with some interesting sub-themes. The effect of peer pressure is not surprising. Children learn faster than adults and the Bandura’s social learning theory explains that humans imitate behaviours they observe from the environment. Children pay attention to behaviours of their friends which they absorb and may later reproduce when opportunities arise (Bandura 1977; Hergenbahn and Olson 2005; Bathards 2014). It was perhaps surprising that peer pressure was almost always expressed as negative except, by implication, when children were directed to play with some children rather than others.

The role played by peer pressure in influencing disruptive behaviour was noted by all of the parents and condemned by most of them. In the words of P5:

In their bringing up, our children grow up aware of the do’s and don’ts from their respective homes but as they mix and mingle with other children and make friends, be it in their neighbourhood or at school, they fall victim to peer pressure and they end up listening more to their friends than to the ground rules set by the parents at home (Parent 5).

There is a conflict of interests between the households’ set of rules and the habits children pick up from outside the home from peers but also ‘TV and the internet’, although the latter was linked to parental negligence, discussed below. At times these behaviours are so out of line with household rules and principles that parents are mystified as to their origins. In response, parents can forbid interaction of their children with certain individuals in their neighbourhood and encourage interaction with others from households with more compatible values.

Parents can contribute towards the bad behaviours through negligence. P1 viewed children’s behaviour as a facsimile of the home environment. In particular, parents often failed to control negative aspects inside their homes. Most discussion centred on inappropriate behaviours observed on TV and from the internet. P5 provided a summary of the group’s viewpoint:

[Nowadays] a child has a TV set inside her own bedroom, a cellular phone and free Wi-Fi which is not bad. ... The internet can also provide us with information and teach us a lot ... but at the end of the day there are extremities in terms of some of the material sent which is obscene. We need to put time into controlling it (Parent 5).

An interesting sub-theme was that a number of parents did not want their children to follow their footsteps and repeat their mistakes. In the discussion, genetic inheritance was mentioned as another source of misbehaviour. P7 explained:

As parents there are certain behaviours that we do not wish our children to know about. And I don't want and do not wish my child to do such acts, they cannot follow my footsteps that way, it is bad behaviour that I engaged in and it is contrary to what you teach them. When you witness such behaviours you know it's a pointer to what you also did and that is genetics at play (Parent 7).

At least part of this came from the circumstances under which a number of the parents grew up. P1 represented perhaps the most extreme example but she was not the only one:

In our home there were 12 children, 11 from the same mother. I was the odd one, with a different mother. My mother is sister to the mother of my other siblings ... my siblings would cane me, telling me that my biological mother wanted to steal her husband [But] the only mother that I knew was her, not my biological mother ...

This is something I experienced so I ended up being a hardened person, a difficult character, even stealing ... because I had no other choice but for survival purposes After being reprimanded I would [go] for days without proper food just for not being able to find all the livestock yet my elder brothers were there seated comfortably at home. The result is that I ended up being hardened ... I had no intention to be deviant but the circumstances were beyond my control (Parent 1)

This testimony reveals the childhood trauma that some adults have experienced as children and explains why they want their own children to experience a different life and follow a different path. This, as we shall see, does not mean a particular commitment to corporal punishment as opposed to nonviolent discipline.

Another aspect of parental responsibility concerned carelessness about money which can result in a learner stealing from home.

These days with the advent of the vending of sweets and other junk food if you make the mistake of leaving coins lying about ... you will find it gone. ... I am both a parent and a teacher and there are a lot of parents who come into the school complaining that their child has taken money from home e.g. \$5 then we start going through a child's satchel. A lot of the children, because there are a lot of goodies on sale at school and because they see their school mates buying, they feel left out and so the moment they see money lying about in the home, they take it (Parent 4).

7.7.3 Dealing with Disruptive Behaviour

Zehr (2015) stresses that justice must be done to every wrong committed (see section 2.1.1 and parents agreed that they must take action to deal with many disruptive behaviours. They raised concerns over the way teachers react to their children's disruptions, commenting that teachers should take the age of children into consideration when dealing with mischief. Their emphasis was on the point that that

discipline should be motivated by love, not hate, anger or punishment. Whatever method is used, it has to show that the child is still appreciated as a human being.

a) Initial Child Discipline

One female parent highlighted that talking to children starts right from the moment a child is delivered and through experience the child learns more from the mother. This was strongly supported, especially by mothers in the FGD. This was an area where gender differences appeared. Not that men disapproved but they were less strong in supporting the ideas on initial discipline. P7 spoke for many about the initial connection between mother and child:

The moment a mother sets sight of a new born baby there is what the hospital officials call mother to child relationship, where the child looks at the mother and feels her presence. The baby looks at the mother's lips and tries to imitate the movements- that is, as the baby grows, and learns through signs. Even the use of the eyes can teach a child, and the hand- a finger can communicate with a child. All these teach our children the good and the bad.

We also let them experiment the pain part of a thing like fire especially when it is not dangerous - I let my child touch the flame so next time she won't get closer to it. So that is where we start (Parent 7).

The FGD discussed the idea that some behaviours pass by age, though there are some overlaps. P3 stressed developmental milestones and that understanding these will help a parent decide what discipline to apply. One parent gave a personal testimony:

And with the help of the parent, wetting pants and blankets can be reduced. My wife and I always woke our children up for toilet training until they got used to it. Instead of beating the child, try training first. And give them time. I for one stopped wetting blankets in high school (Parent 3)
(*Most giggle*).

This contribution led to the idea raised earlier that parents should give each child time to get over unacceptable behaviour without comparing or competing with other children.

b) Corporal Punishment in Households

Moves to ban corporal punishment seem to be falling on deaf ears as it is still prevalent in almost households. Corporal punishment is likened to an instant pill - it yields results fast – but the FGD was concerned that it might require higher doses in order to maintain effectiveness. P6 spoke for the group in saying that “What I have witnessed in our community is that when a child misbehaves and it warrants disciplining with a *shamhu*, we beat. If it is a minor mischief we talk or warn the child, but if warning does not work, we beat”. In the words of P1, it is “real medicine”.

It was not clear to all the parents when the outlawing was effected, but they heard about it from different media and social networking. Outlawing corporal punishment, in the eyes of the parents, may provide a platform for children to disregard authority and cause children not to comply as quickly as they used

to. “Our children are impossible and are used to corporal punishment and any other softer methods they cannot respond to it”, stated P6, who summed up the majority view as follows: “The outlaw[ing] of corporal punishment is slowly being embraced because people have little understanding of its justification. Human rights and compliance to the global call were stated but that was very little explanation to us as ordinary citizens ...”.

Parents raised the concern that they must have a say in crucial decisions like banning corporal punishment, yet they were left out. Some felt that the law should be revised after widespread consultations. P1 commented:

That decision was taken after little consultation and there are no alternatives suggested, unless teachers were told to suggest the alternatives. As stakeholders, parents are also supposed to have a say. I remember there was controversy when a certain parent chained his son to a pole by his gate and he told anybody who dared to arrest him to come forth. It ended up in a situation whereby the parent had to protect his rights - to protect that child and to provide education, which the child was denying. I think such decisions require time and understanding from the stakeholders. It is difficult for a parent to administer corporal punishment to a child. This outlaw diminishes our plight for communal responsibility of our children’s behaviours (Parent 1).

Parents echoed that culture does not allow a minor to report a senior on issues that concern discipline, so their continued use of corporal punishment is almost entirely unreported but some parents are being held to account by teachers over excessive corporal punishment. P1 reported as follows:

I beat my child and the belt left marks on him. The following day I was summoned to his school for cautioning and the teachers stressed that it was illegal to beat my own child to such an extent. I tried to defend myself but they insisted that the law of the country does not allow any form of corporal punishment to be administered on any child. Even though he is my child the teachers stressed that I was not allowed to use *shamhu* on him (Parent 1).

P1 had the sympathy of the FGD. Yet they also recognised that parents can use corporal punishment in anger. Stress and fatigue can lead to violent reactions to children’s behaviours that are regretted later. All parents agreed that they often get home worked out and irritable and, as a result, they can overreact.

Notably absent from the discussion was mention of nonviolent ways available to parents to help them to discipline their children. There was virtually no mention of anything in between talking (warning them to stop) and corporal punishment.

c) Corporal Punishment at School

Parents in the FGD agreed that corporal punishment of their children at school would sometimes be appropriate but they stressed three points - that it should not be excessive, that it should not be used to punish incompetence and that they (the parents) should be informed. P2 summed up the group feelings as follows:

I agree that ... teachers should use caning but in a limited way ... I would expect teachers to use a stick, not an open palm to beat a child ... and that punishment be administered according to age. At primary school you [make] the child pick litter around the school yard. At primary

school we expect the teacher to use corporal punishment for serious misconduct, not poor performance. ... Failure to complete written work is misconduct when one has been instructed to do so. But [not] giving the wrong answer... Caning a child for poor performance I wouldn't encourage that unless the child commits other offences.

Teachers are supposed to inform me about my child's behaviour at school, and the disciplinary measures to be taken. But just for my child to come home swollen - I wouldn't appreciate (Parent 2)

The discussion recognised that incapability in school work was beyond the child's control and was quite different to mischief. The group was clear that teachers must be capable of discriminating between these and making appropriate disciplinary responses. Serious cases require the collaboration of both the school and the home. Parental involvement and participation in school discipline would lessen the burden on teachers and would mean consistency in discipline between home and school, so that 'if they are canned at school, they will also be canned at home - the teacher and I are one' (P3).

The FGD agreed that some cases of ill-discipline required both home and school to work together. P7 highlighted '... smoking, children engaging in drug abuse, ... having girlfriends and boyfriends, issues of rape, ... where there is need for a concerted effort to bring the child back in track'. A few parents expressed concern at being frequently summoned to the school which wastes time in some cases. In the view of this minority, the teacher has the right to deal with any misconduct that happen within the school premises.

Apart from practical discipline in the classroom, the FGD saw teachers are very important role models to both the children and the community they work in. P2 summed up this view as follows:

Yaa, I just want to add that teachers have a great impact on children, probably greater than what they think they have. I remember some of the behaviours and mannerisms from my teachers. The ways to dress and to talk formally are demonstrated to us by our teachers. They are models to most of the children especially those in rural areas. Teachers set our paces in life. ... I agree with P8 that teaching is a calling not a profession (Parent 2).

d) 'Referring' Children

This discussion began by recognising that whereas previously, the whole community was responsible for a child and could discipline her/him, this approach had largely broken down. Child discipline is now much more a matter for the family and is not for public knowledge or involvement. Some parents clearly regretted that community involvement in child upbringing was no longer the case although most had two or three adults who they would trust with the care (and discipline) of their children.

Parents noted two major channels that they refer their children through for disciplinary purposes - to their spouse and to the police. Mothers refer children to their spouse when they return from work, which may be as common as each evening but may involve very long gaps if the husband is working far away.

Referring a naughty child to a spouse was seen to be generally helpful. Children often obey male parents more than they obey the females and P7 witnessed changes in behaviour after referring her son to her

spouse. In cases where there is a strong bond between the mother and the child, there may be a reluctance to refer bad behaviour which then remains a secret and may come back to haunt later.

In cases where parents feel that the misbehaviour is beyond their control they seek help from police, although this would be 'a sign of failure, conceding defeat' on the part of the parents (P1).

7.8 Conclusion

The most striking thing to emerge from this exploration is the teacher's lack of confidence in disciplinary measures other than corporal punishment and the parent's lack of awareness of measures in between telling a learner to stop a negative behaviour and the use of corporal punishment. Although it did not specifically emerge in the FGD, I sensed a strong longing among parents to be better role models in the face of their personal and structural challenges. They want their learners to have it 'better than they [the parents] had it' and they see the benefit of a consistent approach to discipline between home and school.

This chapter has explored the attitudes and opinions of teachers, learners and parents and has enabled an understanding of how they view the various aspects of disciplining children. Understanding on its own, however, will not bring about change. Change comes about as a result of well-considered actions, and we turn to this theme in the next chapter.

Part V Chapter 8: Implementing and Evaluating the Intervention: Peacemaking Circles

8. Introduction

In this chapter, teachers' interviews are used to evaluate the impact of peacemaking circles. During the post-test phase teachers from the experimental schools (Peace, Wellbeing and Praiseworthy) commented on the impact of peacemaking circles in their schools. Teachers contributed through interviews and indicated their appreciation of the intervention mostly as an alternative to the methods they already had in place. They embraced the intervention with enthusiasm and implemented it in the best way they could, despite their other professional commitments. Throughout this chapter, peacemaking circles will also be referred to as "morning circles" or simply "circles".

The data will be discussed under the following themes: teachers' assessments of circle processes, teachers' professional development, using the peacemaking circle process elsewhere and limitations of the circle process. This was a learning process; every party involved: the researcher, teachers, and learners.

The circles process became a way of welcoming a new day and increased the likelihood of meaningful learning (see section 4.3.2). Teachers played the role of "keepers", maintaining a collective space for learners to speak freely (Pranis 2005) within the peacemaking circle process. As "keepers", teachers devised ways of opening their circle times in an inclusive way and ended with a cordial assignment developed from a topic discussed. Ideally, a peacemaking circle introduction must arouse the interest of learners and help individuals transition into an atmosphere conducive to a circle process (Pranis 2013) (see section 3.3.2). According to teachers, a circle's opening sets the tone of the process, whereas the closing reminds learners of their commitment to the circle process. Teachers planned the circle scheduling and set up.

In two of the intervention schools, some circles were held outside the classrooms, especially when the timetable for the class was in the second session of the "hot sitting" schedule (see section 5.2.1). Morning circles were introduced daily and students sat or stood in circle formation with no barriers between them. That is to say, everybody was visible from all angles. The connection of these learners fostered by the closeness and eye contact within these formations encouraged every participant to make a contribution to the discussion (see section 3.3.2). Morning circles allowed students to express their feelings towards their classes and home situations. Teacher M elaborated on the circle process:

We make a circle; children will make a circle and tell others how they feel for that day. In the morning, yes. Yes, morning circles. They talk what they feel, how they feel about it that day or what happened in their homes or anything. They are free to share anything (Teacher M interview, Praiseworthy school).

8.1 Teacher's Assessment of Circle Processes

Most teachers reported that the circle process emboldened learners to talk about their feelings in relation to their immediate past or current situations. In their practice, circles teach students to take turns, participate in groups and engage in active listening with each other (Pranis 2005: 12). In some instances, morning circles were complemented by check-in circles, which allowed the classes to know any matters of concern before starting active engagement with their day's activities. In other words, circle time provided an opportunity for students to share, affirm one another and build trust (Liebmann 2010). The circles ground rules clearly state that confidentiality and turn-taking are crucial. All of the participants were to be heard without others putting them down.

There is power in the talking piece

The shape of the circle allowed learners to pass to one another an object, representing the right to talk, in full view of everyone, building self-confidence in self-expression. Traditionally, the object being passed from one individual to another, clockwise, is a symbol of honour, or power, within the cultural context (Hendry 2009; Pranis 2013). In this project, the classes used any object they had access to, including fancy pens, teddies, balls, and other toys as talking pieces.

The talking piece (object) gives power to its bearer and promotes active listening to those whose turn would be next. Ideally, a talking object allows individuals to relax and reflect on what others are saying before it is their turn (Boyes-Watson 2005). Therefore, the most integral part of the circle process is promotion of listening. On the other hand, the talking artefact does not require every holder to speak (Boyes-Watson 2005; Pranis 2005). Participants have the right to pass it on if they are not ready to contribute at that moment. Some of the objects used as talking artefacts encouraged discussion among the children due to their novelty within the classroom environments. During a training session on peer mediation in one school, a colourful "stress ball" from the research kit stirred up all of the children to take part. The way the ball could be pressed and handled encouraged everyone to listen and wait for their turns to speak.

Besides the newness of the talking artefact, just the idea of having an unusual object inside their classroom inspired most children. In this project, the talking artefact created an environment where every individual paid attention to the person who was talking; hence, these objects promoted active listening (Pranis 2013). The idea of active listening was generalised to most of the classroom situations. The talking artefact was a new phenomenon that most children embraced with interest and enthusiasm.

The children get to know one another

Teachers came to a consensus that during the circle process learners had to interact and understand one another better, leading to changes in behaviour. According to two teachers, the learners told them it was

fun having the circles. The teachers noted that the learners seemed motivated to alter their conduct in order to avoid their names being mentioned during a circle process for their bad behaviour. Teacher P noted:

Discipline circles made most children behave because they want to avoid being labelled as the worst and unfriendly. They make students understand why some behaviour comes to be. They learn during the process that circle time gives each and everyone a chance to express themselves. Even the one you think is very quiet has got something to say (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

We may infer from Teacher P's remarks that the circle method was an advantage in that it led to the learners opening up, creating bonds and relationships within the classroom. This enabled the class to have sound social connections. Giving every child the opportunity to express themselves allowed individuals to accept their class mates the way they are. The investment of teachers in the circle process resulted in their creativity in the administration of the practice. Teacher H elaborated on the process:

Normally when we do these, we give a chance, group by group per day, we don't do all of them. It's like we say today is group 2 and because they are ten, because of time, then the next day if there is time we have the other, the next time we do until we finish. Yah, I have seen it working and some children they are very comfortable to express their feelings and some of them they shy initially but as time goes on they tried to open up (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

Every school agreed on a plan to administer the circle process. Adjustments were made where gaps and oversights were noted during the process. Teacher K appreciated the effectiveness of the circle method, while also expressing doubt about its sustainability', and she commented 'The circle process allowed learners to know events happening in their class mates' lives'.

Circles provide another discipline option

Teacher G revealed that morning circles provided another discipline option to teachers, allowing a reduction in the monotony of commonly practiced methods. With learners discussing their thoughts before daily lessons began, teachers were able to plan seating arrangements, when necessary, and break time monitoring activities in order to suit most of the learners. Morning circles created a climate of peace within the classroom and predicted successful conceptual learning throughout the day (Boyes-Watson and Pranis 2010). Thus, the circles helped foster a school environment that had a consistent schedule and a routine. This confirms findings from previous research, which discovered that circles promote community building by improving the learning environment (Varnham *et al.* 2014).

The rule of the circle process is that any member who chooses to take part should be heard. Therefore, every participant had the chance to comment on any peer's concerns. Bearing in mind that every participant's contribution should be treated with dignity and respect, teachers (acting as "keepers") often paused the circle process whenever they felt that further discussion or peer responses were appropriate.

The individual differences of the learners, in terms of the way they expressed themselves or contributed, were accepted and appreciated. Consequently, learners got to know each other better and this improved their interactions within the classroom environment.

Teachers introduced affirming vocabulary that spoke to the situations presented by different learners. They employed a vocabulary of support which discouraged debasing and chastening amongst classmates or other learners within the school. Learners practised using communication to uplift one another's spirits in different situations. Subsequently, learners developed caring attitudes and voluntarily watched over one another's spaces during times of play. The circle process minimised incidences of misbehaviour and promoted compliance to rules, according to teachers.

Despite the availability of other methods, such as corporal punishment, counselling, and reprimanding, circles gained popularity within the classrooms that they were practised in. The circle process encouraged group cooperation and companionship (Boyes-Watson 2005), contributing to the development of bonds between children. The process also developed learners' social skills, such as turn-taking, waiting, calming down, and expressing empathy towards others. Similarly, circles empowered learners to solve their own problems and make age-appropriate, informed decisions. Circles could be used anywhere within the school premises, on the way home, or within homes (Varnham *et al.* 2014).

Teachers get to know children's feelings

Most teachers agreed that learners authentically expressed their thoughts and that teachers were able to deduce the meanings of most things that were shared. In other words, peacemaking circles served as a platform for self-expression and for the deeper understanding of each other's feelings. For children, it was a time for expressing their concerns for the day. Concurrently, it was a time for teachers to gather information, although this can be raised as an ethical issue where learners' confidentiality was breached. Teachers were prepared each day to apply traditional discipline in the event of learners' infringement upon the rules. Therefore, teachers also benefitted from the circle process as a preventive method of discipline. In trying to understand the way circles operate, teachers rediscovered their roles as *loco parentis* and caring educators (Gootman 2001).

The ban on corporal punishment seemed to have contributed negatively to the way teachers responded to learners' behaviours, but the circle process assisted teachers in considering other professional ethics that they were overlooking. Teacher P observed:

We were able to help children go through their sorrows and happy moments. I remember *Ashy* [not real name] sharing that her parents favour the baby more than her. I was able to let her understand that all babies need extra care than those who are grown up. The older you grow the lesser the care from parents. Fortunately, we have a lesson on caring for a baby which reminded the whole class about the issue.

In fact, children help each other in resolving the issues (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

Teachers agreed that circles helped learners explore their emotions. Due to the age of the learners, sometimes their line of thinking reflected the egocentric stage where they became selfish and inconsiderate. The circle process assisted in identifying such learners and facilitated their healing through attentive listening, both from their peers and the teacher. At times, learners displayed a lack of knowledge as to why certain behaviours (that is: restrictions, emphasises on rules) were emphasized by adults. Therefore, it was the duty of the teacher and other classroom members to clear away any misconceptions that the learners might have.

Circles help explain why learners behave the way they do

Most circles processes provoked learners to talk about their backgrounds, which contribute to illicit behaviours, and other characteristics that teachers failed to comprehend before. One teacher confessed that the learners' behaviours were easier to understand after the peacemaking circle processes. Teacher H confessed:

Yah, those practices [circles] they are very helpful and if the child is quite open enough you hear a lot of sad things, like this other day I wished I had not done it, we were discussing and we were talking about what we want to ask from our parents. Then this other child was saying I wish my parents especially my dad, would accept me as I am. He says I am not good in class but I always try my best so every time he says he doesn't want to give me money, he doesn't want to do this for me just because I am dull. The child said it and I felt so bad, I didn't like it, I wish I could meet the parent, yes (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

The different narratives of the learners' backgrounds were revealed through the morning circles. For that reason, teachers had to edit their social record books whenever they gathered new information. Thus, circles exposed the weaknesses in the methods previously used by teachers to collect children's backgrounds. Instead of pressing the children for information, it is better to acquire the data in a relaxed atmosphere, such as a peacemaking circle process.

Teachers were able to identify behaviours that emanated from peer pressure and those that were a result of other influences. Some "bad company" influences were noted during the process, and this confirmed that learners at this age (9/10 year olds) can easily be influenced by those around them. It became evident that learners generally like to absorb new practices and skills. The behaviours of outside peers, such as mimicking adults, combined with the tendency to reproduce what they saw in their environments, contributed to the illicit behaviours of the learners (Hergenhahn and Olson 2005).

Since the morning peacemaking circles contributed to the discovery of new information about learners that could not be collected otherwise, it supports the conclusion that these practices are viable and should be adopted. Teacher E said the following about the advantages of the circles:

Ok, the advantages that I've seen is that most of the children enjoy those circles, and they open up. Now you know that this child is sick, so that's why he is not performing well and hence he is sleeping in class or some will tell you that I was watching a film, I slept late and now this child is not concentrating and all that. They tell you exactly some of the incidences which have happened at home, but there are some who are caged and do not want to open up, some are, some do not. But just a few, most of them were enjoying them. Yes, if that child really opens up and he speaks about the problem at home, now at least you now understand that child, such and such a thing has happened that's why this child is, is behaving in such a manner. So that way it helps the teacher now, you know ... the details about that child who was involved (Teacher E interview, Wellbeing school).

The ability of the learners to open up also improved teachers' understanding of parental involvement. For instance, they learned how parents were sometimes part of the reason that homework was not being turned in. Teachers confessed to regretting some actions they took, in response to learners' behaviours before the peacemaking circle process was introduced. Actions they took against punctuality, dress code and the payment of school fees were regretted most.

Offenders came to understand the effect of their behaviour

In most classes, teachers considered every learner as a potential offender. Issues raised in the circles concerning class time activities assisted learners who normally broke the rules to understand the damage they inflicted on others. Some learners expressed displeasure with the behaviour of their peers, prompting a dialogue on the way forward. Teacher C made the following observation:

They reformed, they, they feared the embarrassment they got from peers, yes, being the topic for discussion for that day. Most importantly, children realised their mistakes and the effect that it has on other students. For example, on another day one child pointed out that noise gives her headaches and reminds her of the abuse from home. The rest of the children, I mean those in the group, they were feeling sorry for the ... expressing that they were not aware of such effects (Teacher C interview, Praiseworthy school).

According to teachers, talking about rule infringements evoked discussion among learners on the importance of adhering to established classroom policies. The realisation was that school rules prohibit violent and mean behaviours that lead to hurting others. These discussions created an opportunity for new relationships to be created. The new vocabulary that was encouraged by teachers helped learners in expressing remorse, apologies, as well as encouraging positive behaviours. The practising of communication skills enabled learners to influence their environment and avoid bystander apathy. Teacher S observed the following about offenders coming to change:

Ah, the most important thing that happens in this case is the ... the offender gets to know where he or she is wrong and then is encouraged to try and change his behaviour, so I think that's the most important thing rather than just beating and then he goes away, and he is given a chance to see where he is wrong, and why he should not repeat such an offense (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

Allowing offenders to discover where they had gone wrong is a restorative process, which made them realise that they are still part of the class, regardless of their misdeeds. Punitive measures generally lack explanations or any demonstration of unity when resolving issues (Zehr 2015a). Although both processes may humiliate the individuals, one of them is superior to the other. That is: the peacemaking circle process, a restorative discipline approach.

8.2 Teachers' Professional Development

Interactions with teachers during the project facilitated a form of in-service training. Teachers disclosed that they revisited their professional studies and applied these new concepts to skills they were already using. Teacher P noted:

Children's contributions make the teacher realise the level of the class you are teaching. Some children always provide mature solutions which makes it easy to identify potential future leaders (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

Teachers agreed that, since every class is different, the ideal teacher knows how to interpret every learner's contribution and encourages the creation of a positive learning environment. The background of the learners generally determines the level of contribution they make.

All twelve of the teachers agreed that they benefited from the opportunity to improve their vocabulary in conflict prevention and resolution. The vocabulary was used to guide and teach learners on how they could express emotions in a restorative manner. Apart from emotional expression, one teacher observed how the circles helped teachers identify learners' talents. Teacher S elaborated:

So that circle method helped a lot just because you will be able to identify the talent of the children and also to know each and every child's background because the children will even have time to say out or to call out to them or to say out their life experiences for the teacher to be able to know (Teacher S interview, Praiseworthy school).

When the learners spoke during the circle processes, they sometimes referred to skills that they were good at, allowing teachers to take note. This information was vital, especially where the demonstration of individual talents was a required component of the learning process. Some learners were good at storytelling, some were poets, some were masters of physical education, and so on; some talents were yet to be discovered.

8.3 Using the Circles Process Elsewhere

Two teachers indicated that they applied the circles in other settings apart from their classrooms. One teacher tried using the circles at home, experiencing positive results. Teacher N reported:

Talking circles and discipline circles, I tried them even at home. We are enjoying I tell you everybody is aware of development in the home and they have a say in it (Teacher N interview, Peace school).

In homes, circles serve as a way of involving every member in family decisions and of valuing what everyone has to say. In most families, learners' thoughts are not taken into consideration. With circles, however, everyone with a stake in the matter gets to contribute, so no one is surprised by the decisions that are made. In my opinion, circles also provide a platform for learning how ideas can be presented in culturally sensitive and well-reasoned manners. In addition, young people learn to practice self-expression and confidence through the approach taken by their elders during circle time.

The learners seemed to view the circles as being both fun and educating at the same time. For this reason, teachers were often willing to use circles in other learning activities, when requested by learners. Teacher K had this to say:

They also enjoy taking part in decisions in matters that affect them. That brings a sense of maturity and knowledge in crime and how to resolve is acquired as well. They often ask for circles even as a game during their lessons. Just that the numbers are too many (Teacher K interview, Peace school).

The fact that learners asked for circles during lessons is an indication that learning, coupled with a bit of fun, can be very effective at their age level. Fun helps learners to recall concepts they have learned and, in sense, is a memory aide. This is consistent with Teacher K's comment that, lessons where circles were applied seemed to have a greater chance of being retained than concepts conveyed in a traditional way. In other words, circles provide an alternative format for delivering lessons that is often beneficial.

8.4 Limitations of the Circle Process

The most commonly shared challenge for running circles was the large class sizes. Teachers tried their best to apply the intervention. The result was that some learners were exposed to the intervention more than others. Teacher C lamented that:

The challenges are numbers. One teacher was doing it in groups per day. Another one boys on one day, girls on the other, but it worked somehow. *Ha*, it worked. But the challenge I feel. I thought one group would be most ideal. The challenge still are our numbers, we have more than 2 000 children. This might not work properly and, and our enrolment almost with new pupils almost every term. So basically I am saying the methods can work but need teachers support. Teachers are busy these days. They have a lot to do. But with dedication we can try, yes (Teacher C interview, Praiseworthy school).

Teachers do not have enough time to run the circles every day. Maybe this will result in circles being run once or twice a week. Circles require too much supervision and teachers require proper training on how to conduct a circle process.

8.5 Conclusion

Morning circles fostered the participation of all learners in class dialogues. These dialogues enhanced the collection of information about learners that proved important for monitoring behaviour and fostered self-control through learners reflecting together on the impact of their behaviours. It appears that the circles, by adding an alternative to discipline, led to a decrease in the use of previously existing methods. Although there is no evidence that violence diminished in the schools due to the circles, the assumption is that, in time, it could. The next chapter deals with the impact of peer mediation in the three experimental schools.

Chapter 9 Implementing and Evaluating the Intervention: Peer Mediation

9. Introduction

This chapter is going to look at how learners and teachers were trained in peer mediation. After the pretesting phase described in Chapters 7 and 8, peer mediators and their teachers received training (see Appendix I). The training focused on the roles of mediators and how they would handle different conflict situations at their grade level. The training was held over the course of two days and was a hands-on experience for the learners involved. Games and fun exercises were integrated into the training programme.

The support of teachers in student training predicted the success of practices. The trainers encouraged teachers to recognise and affirm efforts made by peer mediators during training. Pupils were selected for training by teachers based on the agreement of parents (see section 10.1), indicated by signing the consent forms. Selected learners were to mediate among peers of the same age group, nine to ten year olds. The training was done in circle set ups. The peer mediators were trained in the following basic skills: communication, cooperation, values, knowledge and understanding, and emotional literacy (Sellman 2008; Stacey and Robinson 2008). The final lessons were focused on practical issues in peer mediation, guiding students in situations they were likely to encounter in their interventions. All training activities took place on the premises of the experimental schools.

The analysis that follows will be discussed in connection with the following themes: the scope of peer mediation, teachers' perspectives of peer mediation, and peer mediators perspectives on peer mediation and challenges facing peer mediation in schools. The recorded number of instances requiring peer mediation was not high in all schools because the tasks of peer mediators are similar to those assigned to prefects.

9.1 The Scope of Peer Mediation

Teachers explained that peer mediators were taught how to identify conflict and respond to various situations throughout their training. In this project, peer mediators worked in pairs for support in their encouragement of dialogue between conflicting partners. From the way most authors describe mediation, it is a non-punitive process where dialogue is central (Stacey and Robinson 2008; Sellman 2011). Clearly, the mediators have no power to impose a resolution, but the aggrieved parties must use their help in order to propose a settlement (Baruch Bush and Folger 2013). All teachers confirmed that peer mediation facilitated the use of dialogue as a way of settling disputes, with a focus on safety, confidentiality, and impartiality. Investigating the less personal, background issues was never the intention of the dialogues.

Previous research found that peer mediation can be taught to learners eight years and above, as long as they get training, but that they should not handle cases of severe bullying (Liebmann 2010). At such an age, mediators are expected to decide whether a matter might be better handled by teachers. According to teachers, issues that involved adults, complex group dynamics, rule breaking incidences, and where there was a risk of potential harm to individuals were regarded as serious incidences which merited teacher intervention (Hendry 2009) (see section 3.3.1). Recommendations from researchers encourage peer mediators to work under the supervision of an adult (Liebmann 2010), in this case class teachers.

The selection of peer mediators was based on the parental support of the programme, and not on academic performance (Liebmann 2010; Mason 2014). The trained mediators were free to wear identification badges and to put on identifiable clothing whenever they were on duty. However, financial restrictions were generally an obstacle to obtaining uniforms. Outside instructors trained teachers in peer mediation. The teachers, in turn, trained the peer mediators, beginning from conflict resolution in general to specific skills in addressing various scenarios (Hendry 2009; Liebmann 2010; Mason *et al.* 2014). Mediation was carried out in the playground under the strict supervision of teachers. Cases of bullying and other instances they regarded as requiring higher level attention were referred out to teachers.

9.2 Teachers' Perspectives on Peer Mediation

Teachers noted that some learners admired the selected pupils. Teacher G made this observation:

Almost all kids like to be peer mediators. They like to lead. Some will feel jealous that someone was chosen instead of me so they will try and show good behaviour so that they can be the mediator next time. You can have more peer mediators and also change them at intervals, not having just one kid throughout the term. Give them leadership qualities so that everybody can have a chance (Teacher G interview, Wellbeing school).

The teachers were in agreement that any learners that could be trained to become peer mediators would inherently obtain leadership qualities. Teachers reiterated that, at such an age, every learner wants to be viewed as doing something important and conflict mediators were being seen as having prominence. Teacher G's response reflected on the need for schools to take interventions to a higher level, a school-wide approach in which every learner gets training in peer mediation. According to Teacher G, peer mediation is a skill that could benefit everyone because the ability to mediate a dispute would be helpful whenever one might spontaneously arise. There are advantages to the mediation process. Teacher H reasoned:

Ah, the advantages there will be discipline, because if the mediator like what you see (*pointing at the chalkboard where names were listed*) they have written [names supplied] and they know that when their names are written down they know they are in for a punishment so they don't want to be involved in punishment like I said

I will just make them sweep and they don't want to sweep, that is one thing they don't like. So I will tell them to sweep, clean the windows. I know that tomorrow they won't do it (Teacher H interview, Wellbeing school).

All twelve teachers agreed that getting learners to comply with the rules was the ultimate goal in peer mediation. Some teachers commented that they observed orderliness and compliance with rules by peer mediators, even during their break time. Another teacher observed that outside learners learned the skills and would practice them on their own without the mediators, an indication that more learners wanted to be trained to become mediators.

The noted changes could be explained as heightened teacher awareness or learners gaining a greater understanding of school expectations. Alternatively, the intervention could have had an effect on the way learners responded to conflict, a result anticipated by both the researcher and the research team. Another observation was that teachers continued to administer physical punishment, such as the productive labour mentioned above by Teacher H.

Peer mediation has a record of improving the entire social climate of schools where there have been problems outside the classrooms (Cremin 2007). Some schools were experiencing lunch hour problems (see section 4.4). In the case of the schools included in this project, teachers reported experiencing problems that ranged from high numbers of learners per class to widespread misbehaviour during the break times. Teachers revealed their hopes that teaching learners' mediation skills would relieve them from some of their stress. They also hoped that the success of peer mediation in schools would facilitate the spread of the practice in the homes of these learners. Some homes are child-headed, being left by their parents to care for their siblings.

Teachers observed that learners appreciated the task of being mediators and took their responsibility towards the treatment of their peers seriously. However, learners permitted criticisms and non-cooperation from certain learners (Cremin 2007) (see section 3.4). Some teachers at these schools, who did not participate in the research, commended the initiative. One teacher, R noted that some teachers expressed their appreciation of how the system touched children's social lives at such a tender age. Prefects applauded peer mediation for creating a calmer school environment during break time.

Peer mediation changed the way teachers and learners viewed playtime and made a difference in students' self-esteem. Teachers became increasingly aware that learners were able to maintain friendships within their own groups of friends. One teacher noted that the academic achievement of mediators improved, which can perhaps be attributed to their increased self-confidence, a sense of empowerment, and a peaceful learning environment.

Some other advantages of peer mediation that teachers mentioned include improving peer relationships, as they now strive for team work, and greater self-control, facilitated by an awareness that they are always in the spotlight. Learners stated their belief that, for misbehaviour on the playground, peer mediation was a better option than being referred to the head teacher.

9.2.1 Bonding of Peer Mediators

Teachers indicated that, through undergoing the training programme and working in collaboration during peer mediation practice, children developed relationships and bonded with their groups. Some teachers were able to identify that strategic pairing could bring better mediation results as well as mentorship to mediators who were still struggling. In some instances, children were permitted to identify a partner they were comfortable pairing with in mediation. Some children became popular, probably indicating the individual's dedication or ability in the mediation process. One teacher commented that a child, who was not outspoken before mediation, could express herself better in matters concerning classroom interactions. Teachers correlated the development of self-confidence in peer mediators on matters of conflict resolution with the bonds that had developed among them.

9.2.2 Self-Confidence of Peer Mediators

Teachers who had peer mediators inside their classrooms reported that every peer mediator in their classrooms displayed a willingness to approach situations of conflict within their classes. Peer mediators expressed their confidence in the methods they learned. In general, teachers reported that they had to counsel learners on concentrating on the issues of greatest importance and to avoid being obsessive with the mediation process. Teacher K made an observation as well:

Generally their confidence in school work improved and they were looking forward to their weekly meetings. They made an effort to come to school on Wednesdays in order not to miss the meeting mainly. They ended up being friends as a group, and they also created a group of admirers (*giggles*) who were wishing to be in that group. Those children were willing to take up mediators roles once they mentioned that they are tired. Mediators feel they are doing the right thing and they are the best so far because they possess a skill that nobody else has in the whole school. They were introduced to the group of their grade level and that gave them more power. I am taking advantage of that to motivate them in their class work. I always tell them to keep up the standard otherwise people will get to know their weaknesses (Teacher K interview, Peace school).

From what teacher K noted, confidence levels spread to learners' general approach to school work. The confession that learners have a greater desire to attend school on the day of their meeting reflects how the mediation process was bringing them together. It also suggests the learner's appreciation of their unique role in conflict resolution. On the one hand, the motivation of other learners to take up roles as mediators could just be a sign of them being "power hungry." On the other hand, it could represent an appreciation of the role being taken by their peers. The observation of Teacher K, that other students realised that peer mediators possess authority, implies that influencing dialogue between disputants is not an easy task that just anybody can do. It is a skill acquired through training and it was still new to most learners. From teachers' comments, it is as if every learner wanted to learn these skills.

Teacher P made another important observation:

Peer mediation gives children the skills to help one another, it gives them a chance to display their side of community work. If it is well practiced even parents can appreciate its value because it can be applied there as well. You know these methods become so easy when brought in by others. This shows how we as teachers are relaxed and think that all shall be provided on a silver platter. Thanks to you, it is a wake-up call my dear. But methods might take us time to implement. We are too busy with work. Our work is more of too much writing, and secretarial these days (Teacher P interview, Peace school).

The teacher reflected on the potential of peer mediation for the community at large, if the intervention is properly administered. The depth of this vision is an indication that teachers were taking time to evaluate the research process they were involved in. As adults, teachers are responsible for safeguarding the welfare of the younger generation. It is an indication of dedication to their profession and adherence to their individual ethics. Every teacher in the experimental schools said that the project motivated them to reflect on other professional areas where they were lacking, and with the same level of enthusiasm to come up with workable solutions. In other words, teacher involvement in this project led to an enhanced sense of their other professional duties and what could be accomplished. Teachers admitted that they were used to top-down procedures, unlike this bottom-up process.

9.2.3 Practising the Peer Mediation Skills Outside School

As indicated by teacher K above, peer mediation can be taken into the community. Teacher K commented on how the process can be applied in the home when parents or other adults are absent. By its nature, conflict can be reversed and needs adequate attention when noticed, preferably using nonviolent approaches to resolve it. From my personal experience, the majority of learners at this age are sometimes asked by their parents to take care of their younger siblings, a circumstance where conflict can arise. A disagreement about toys can make a play environment chaotic. With peer mediation skills, learners can mediate conflict in their own homes. From the teachers' report of, the mediation process is structured in such a way that an untrained individual can mistake it with other intervention methods that are similar, so learning the skills through training is essential. Morrison (2011) describes how, after the mediator clarifies the structure of the process and allows the parties to express their thoughts and feelings, the parties are encouraged to talk directly about options so as to reach a consensual settlement that will accommodate their needs.

Studies have indicated that peer mediation is not an effective way of curbing hostility inside the classroom and, therefore, a primary intervention is needed to complement it (Morrison 2011). Although teachers are expected to take charge inside the classroom, there was an attempt by some teachers to recommend peer mediation for other indoor peer conflicts.

9.3 Peer Mediators Perspectives on Peer Mediation

The table below lists the perceptions of 30 students who were peer mediators in the three experimental schools. The learners' perceptions are grouped on the chart according to pre-test and post-test results.

Table 9.1 Comparing pre-test and post-test results in experimental schools

Variables	Peace school		Wellbeing school		Praiseworthy school	
	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Safety in schools						
Safe	9	10	10	10	9	10
Not safe	0	1	0	0	0	0
Not sure	1	0	0	0	1	0
Types of violence						
Fighting	10	10	9	10	8	10
Swearing	3	8	4	6	10	8
Teasing	7	9	6	8	10	10
Stealing	7	9	8	9	7	7
Bullying	2	10	2	2	8	8
Threatening	0	4	5	6	4	9
Sexual abuse	3	3	2	3	10	8
Writing on walls	8	10	6	9	8	10
Causes of violence						
Peer pressure	7	10	10	10	10	10
Drugs	1	1	1	2	2	10
Family background	4	8	4	4	3	5
Teacher absence	6	10	8	6	4	6
Poverty	1	8	2	3	3	6
Lack of knowledge	4	9	4	4	1	7
Community set up	2	4	1	1	3	5
Any other	1	1	0	0	4	1
Methods of discipline						
Isolation	3	7	3	5	2	7
Shouting	9	10	9	10	7	6
Beating	9	9	7	9	10	9
Calling police	0	0	3	4	2	10
Punishment	1	10	1	7	3	4
Expulsion	6	8	7	3	6	9

Calling parents	9	9	10	9	6	10
Referred to head	9	9	7	10	10	10
Detention	0	1	0	0	2	3
Nothing is done	3	0	0	0	3	3

Feelings after disciplining						
Happy	3	4	7	8	8	8
Proud	0	0	0	2	3	4
Shy	4	8	10	10	7	9
Angry	2	4	1	1	1	1
Crying	0	2	1	2	4	6
Fear	5	7	5	7	8	9
Encouraged	0	3	3	3	5	7
Nothing	2	1	0	0	1	1

Frequency of discipline						
Daily	0	1	0	1	6	7
Weekly	0	2	0	2	3	3
Monthly	0	0	0	0	1	1
Instantly	10	10	10	10	9	10

The learners did not report a significant change in how safe they felt at school, in any of the schools. Learners were consistent in considering their school climate as safe ($n=30$). Collectively, learners identified fighting as the most common form of violence ($n=30$), peer pressure being the most popular cause of violence ($n=30$), and immediate discipline for misbehaviours being the most popular response time for discipline ($n=30$). The identification of fighting as a form of violence indicates that learners believe that physical force can resolve issues, despite its disadvantages and adult criticism. It is tempting to attribute peer pressure to the cause of fighting, given the age of the learners.

Other variables that remained constantly high were stealing as a form of violence ($n=25$), teacher absence as a cause of violence ($n=22$), as well as beating as a form of discipline ($n=27$), referral to the head ($n=29$), and summoning parents ($n=28$). The charting of these variables in the open ended section, section C of the questionnaire (see table 11.2 below), documents their existence in experimental and control group schools.

Table 9.2 Questionnaire Results for Open Ended Section

	Harmony		Peace		Heartbeat		Wellbeing		Chariot		Praiseworthy	
Item	Control group		Experimental group		Control group		Experimental group		Control group		Experimental group	
Why children are disciplined	pre-test	Post-test	pre-test	Post-test	pre-test	Post-test	pre-test	Post-test	pre-test	Post-test	pre-test	Post-test
Stealing	-	-	7	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	-
Fighting	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Lying	-	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Truancy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Bullying	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Late coming	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How teachers react to learners' infractions												
Beating	13	14	18	6	18	16	14	15	17	13	18	18
Refer to head	7	7	11	4	9	2	13	15	5	7	7	5
Teacher reacts	3	3	6	6	4	-	3	-	3	5	7	2
Refer to police	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1
Reprimand	5	2	8	1	8	7	13	6	5	3	9	4
Call parents	2	3	9	9	4	3	3	4	-	-	4	5
Manual labour	1	6	12	15	9	5	15	10	5	-	7	6
Expulsion	4	1	8	1	5	5	-	5	6	5	2	3
Exclusion	2	-	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Detention	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Public reprimand	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teaching children	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	--

Children's understanding of the word nonviolence

Peaceful	-	-	-	-	9	3	-	6	3	4	-	7
Dialogue	-	2	-	4	3	-	-	-	1	8	13	3
Stop violence	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forgiveness	6	4	6	-	1	5	3	8	4	6	10	2
Listening to others	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agreement	5	-	8	-	1	4	1	4	3	4	3	-

As indicated by table 9.2, Peace school post-intervention results showed an increase in swearing ($n=8$) and bullying ($n=10$) as forms of violence. There was an increase in the number of learner who reported poverty ($n=8$) or a lack of knowledge ($n=9$) as a cause for violence. Another surprise was how many learners also acknowledged productive labour/punishment ($n=10$) and isolation ($n=7$) being used as methods to discipline learners. There was a notable increase in the feeling of being shy ($n=8$), feeling anger ($n=4$), and feeling fear ($n=7$) after learners' discipline sessions. The understanding of the word "nonviolent" that learners demonstrated in section C of the questionnaire (see table 9.2) indicates that their initial thoughts of it being "an agreement" and "forgiveness" changed slightly to accommodate ideas like "dialogue" and "stopping violence".

Wellbeing school showed an increase in agreement that writing on walls ($n=9$), teasing ($n=8$), and swearing ($n=6$) are forms of violence, as well as the use of labour as a form of punishment ($n=7$) used by teachers. 3 out of 10 learners indicated that expulsion was a way of dealing with learners' behaviour, compared to 7 out of 10 who concurred during the pre-test phase. There was slight increase in two positive feelings after discipline: happy and proud (7 to 8, 0 to 2). In section C of the questionnaire (see table 11.2), learners noted that nonviolence embraced terms such as "peaceful", "forgiveness", and "agreement".

Praiseworthy school had an increase in the number of learners who viewed threatening ($n=9$) and writing on the walls ($n=10$) as forms of violence within their school. The number of learners who perceived sexual abuse as violence dropped from 8 to 10. Drugs ($n=10$) were noted as a cause of violence in the schools as well as lack of knowledge ($n=7$) and family background ($n=5$). There was a notable rise in isolation ($n=7$), referral to police ($n=10$), and expulsion ($n=9$) as reactions of teachers to learners misbehaviours. In section C of the questionnaire (see table 9.2), learners associated nonviolence with terms such as "peaceful", "dialogue", and "forgiveness". Of interest was the richness of the way in which Chariot school learners (control group) defined the word "nonviolent" with similar terms, also including "agreement". This could have been due to the campaign on human and women's rights in that part of the suburb.

Results from the three experimental schools indicated a significant general increase in a number of variables as indicated in the discussion above. The changes in learners' responses to questions could be attributed to the impact of peer mediation in a variety of ways. The intervention could have generated an awareness of conflict resolution issues as developed over the course of the practice. The intervention could have inspired teachers to incorporate conflict resolution into the curriculum, resulting in children being able to identify the concepts during the post-test intervention. There could have been an overlap with the circle processes that were running concurrently with the peer mediation processes in each school. Another potential cause could be the community campaigns run by local NGOs and regular police routines that alert the public on issues that affect their communities. The expanded awareness of the learners represented the kind of positive change that can be anticipated in any action research design.

9.4 Challenges Facing Peer Mediation in Schools

To most teachers, the practice of peer mediation was similar to that of prefects and class monitors. For this reason, there was always a temptation to use peer mediators inside the classroom when teachers were absent. This tendency could be seen even from the selection process where fast learners and talented learners were selected for special tasks. All of the teachers expressed their appreciation of the level of training the learners went through, although they admitted difficulties within the process. Teacher K commented on some of the complexities noted:

Their working strategy, in pairs, is wonderful; it strengthens their bond. Otherwise the experience brought something positive to the class. Brilliant idea, but there was an issue of time and challenges in training. I was suggesting if those guys could move round the schools training and guiding the students. I was really impressed by the way they handled the students. I do not think that us as teachers we can out play them, I salute them. Generally the methods are good and they are nonviolent as they were stressing. Maybe the young teachers we have, or if we can organise and have those guys to come and train us (Teacher K interview, Peace school).

Funding and time were the other constraints which hindered the implementation of the practices, as highlighted by teacher K. Most teachers claimed that they were already overburdened with large classes and overloaded schedules, which made attending to peer mediation a luxury. For these reasons, the benefits of the practice took time to be noticed.

The issue of how teachers could ensure that mediators received adequate training to acquired expertise was also raised as a matter of concern. One idea was that incorporating the interventions into the curriculum could assist willing teachers in this pursuit. Alternatively, some authors suggested that a whole school approach could be ideal for an effective and vibrant peer mediation programme (Sellman 2008). Similarly, for peer mediation to be a successful anti-violence initiative, it has to address the concerns of the whole school approach (see section 3.4).

It came as a revelation to teachers that students were culturally conditioned to traditional, authoritarian structures. Hence, considering cultural differences improves the effectiveness of any restorative justice approach (Van Ness 2014: 32). Initial introductions to restorative justice practices tend to be met with resistance by adults. They see these approaches as foreign ideas that might be too soft on today's learners. Sometimes learners equate an adult's non-physical punitive measures with weakness, leaving adults feeling compelled to apply physical force.

Cremin (2014: 112-113) concluded that restorative practices need skilful implementation, otherwise they can be disastrous. Despite possible negative outcomes that can occur when bringing restorative practices into schools, they have been demonstrated to improve school environments in most cases.

9.5 Conclusion

Peer mediation encourages the use of dialogue as a way of resolving conflict. Peer mediators in schools mediate among learners of their own age and work under the supervision of an adult. Peer mediation is strictly for outside the classrooms where teacher supervision might not be very comprehensive. It is a non-punitive way of practicing restorative justice by promoting relationships within communities, schools included. Peer mediation can be extended to other situations, such as learners' homes and other public gathering places. The training of peer mediators requires skill and time, although its results are seen to improve the school climate. Most learners cherished being peer mediators and helping to resolve peer conflicts. The next chapter looks at the overall project analysis for the research.

Chapter 10: Summary, Reflections and Recommendations

10. Introduction

This chapter summarises the research project, including personal reflections on the action process and recommend steps that can assist the communities that were involved. A brief summary of each chapter included in this research will be presented. My conclusions on the research process will be integrated with personal reflections. Lastly, I will present my recommendations.

10.1 A Summary of Main Findings

There is a worldwide problem concerning the way children are being disciplined, both in homes and in schools. In Zimbabwe's primary schools, teachers mostly use physical force in the form of corporal punishment and manual labour to correct the behaviour of children. In their desire to control learners, teachers are inclined to adult-centred approaches to promote desired learning environments. However, the country's Ministry of Education officials advocate for disciplinary measures that are non-physical and supportive of child friendly environments; these measures are intended to promote the recognition of learners' rights, feelings and needs. The supposed banning of corporal punishment created a dilemma for teachers, being that they were left with options they believed were less effective in deterring classroom disruptions. Teachers need methods that comply with the Ministry of Education's expectations. It is against this background that my research was conducted.

The overall aim was to come up with nonviolent alternative ways of correcting children's behaviours that can be viable substitutes for the physical measures already in use. The specific objectives were:

- I. To explore the nature, extent, trends, and the causes as well as consequences of conflict and violence in six schools.
- II. To examine current methods used to deal with violence in these schools and their apparent effectiveness.
- III. To use an action research design in the establishment, oversight, and evaluation of peer mediation and peace circles for conflict resolution in three of the schools over a twelve month period.

What follows are the main findings from each chapter.

Chapter 2 examined the two paradigms of retributive justice and restorative justice with the intention of establishing the later as a theoretical framework. Howard Zehr emphasises that restorative justice promotes satisfying the victim's needs and relationship building within communities. Proponents of the restorative justice paradigm discussed in the chapter include Braithwaite, Nathanson, and Tyler, who further developed the processes of shaming in a restorative practice process. Moreover, restorative justice was explored at length in its use in community justice systems. All subsequent chapters are built on these foundational considerations.

Chapter 3 partially satisfied objective number III, in that it introduced possible restorative justice practices currently in schools and evidence of their effectiveness on record. The mechanics of peace circles, peer mediation, and conferencing were explored with the aim of adopting any methods found suitable for an action process. Chapter 4 fulfilled objective number II. It looked at physical and non-physical methods of discipline that are used in schools to deal with violence. Their advantages and disadvantages were explored.

Chapter 5 fulfilled objective I by exploring the nature of the Zimbabwean schools that were being studied and their disciplinary actions prior to the intervention.

Chapter 6 explained the research design and methodology, satisfying objective III. The chapter delved deeper into the action research process, rooted in personal reflection. The research design followed a definition, by Mouton (Mouton 2001), who describes it as a roadmap that research takes. Action research was adopted in this qualitative study. Action research facilitated a practical process of engagement, using a small sample of schools, where teachers designed nonviolent interventions to reduce the use of physical force on children. For this purpose, they used peace-making circles and peer mediation. Active involvement of parents, teachers, and learners were the hallmarks of this action research. The three groups of participants were engaged before, during, and after the intervention. Ethical procedures were followed in that all participants signed letters of consent as well as assent after being appropriately informed by written materials.

Chapters 7 explored the pre-intervention situations, mainly to determine the nature of the interventions, and establishing a baseline for measuring change in the process. The three instruments used for collecting data revealed that violence was common in schools and that typical interventions involved physical force, which most adults regarded as normal. In fact, all the participants normalised physical force and their beliefs were possibly obscured by their backgrounds which proved it as a viable means of correcting the behaviours of learners. In the same vein, learners viewed non-physical responses as ineffective, a perception concealed by their belief that they responded defiantly to physical punishment. Violence was reported as occurring both inside and outside the classrooms.

Chapters 8 and 9 discussed the post-intervention stages. Notable positive changes were recorded in all three schools. There was an increase in the number of learners who were able to identify occurrences and forms of violence, suggesting that the interventions resulted in greater awareness of conflict and violence. Teachers and parents acknowledged the importance of working as a team in dealing with community problems. Over all, the evidence suggests that the intervention brought about some positive changes. In my opinion, the most significant impact of the project was to increase awareness among teachers, learners, and parents. As a result, all parties realised that it was possible, given the right opportunity, to approach problems in their communities with nonviolent initiatives. These findings are consistent with the ultimate goal of action research, enabling affected people to come up with sustainable solutions to their problems.

10.2 Personal Reflections on the Research Process

Action research emphasises the importance of reflection on the part of the researcher for each step of the process. This method assisted me in making a clear roadmap for the process without unnecessary messiness or complications. My experience as a former teacher gave me familiarity with school environments and protocols. However, the process of action research was still new to me. Every time I made slight progress, I celebrated. My confidence was slowly built as the research process progressed.

Every step that I took was based on a detailed plan, but I needed flexibility to deal with unforeseen challenges. One example was the initial refusal by some parents to take part in the research, although they did later show interest in the project.

Morning peace-making circles seemed to have been more warmly received than the peer mediation. The circle process gave quick feedback to teachers. Peer mediation could have been affected by the presence of similar disciplinary practices already existing within the school system and the complexities of training the learners. The entirety of the research endeavour was a learning process for both myself and the participants. The single cycle that was completed by most participants provided a platform for the action process to move along and teachers were taking the lead.

I was at the mercy of the teachers' and parents' convenience, since I was not contributing anything for their participation, except for water for everyone and a light snack at the end of focus group meetings (see section 6.2 to 6.2.5). Ultimately, however, the research process was a gift for the parents, teachers, and learners involved because they came to realise their potential in handling conflict issues in their communities. Teachers and parents appreciated the bottom-up approaches they had learned in matters that concern their lives.

10.3 Reflections on the Potential Restorative Justice Has in Schools

Restorative justice approaches to school discipline could be a viable alternative to corporal punishment if given adequate time to be implemented. The use of peace-making circles indicated that restorative justice can be a positive influence on school environments. The idea of starting the morning in a different way than the normal school routine seemed to motivate learners into these circle processes. That the use of circles enhances learning in various subject areas came as a surprise during these interventions. Teachers opted for the circles due to their facilitation of all learners' participation and confidence building.

Using peer mediation exposed learners to structured conflict resolution skills appropriate to their age level. These skills equipped learners with positive and affirming vocabulary and can be extended to situations where adult supervision is minimum (see section 11.2.4). These methods can lessen teachers' burden in supervising oversized classes outside the classroom.

Although time consuming in their training and set up, restorative practices seem to be in line with African culture in that they allow talking in a pattern that is supportive of building relationships.

10.4 Recommendations

I have three main recommendations for NGOs, schools, and the government ministries. Community-based dialogues on child discipline should be initiated, either facilitated by the community members or relevant NGOs. These dialogues should have the aim of empowering communities to solve problems through their own initiatives.

School teachers should take their profession more seriously and consider the professional ethics they were taught during their training. In-service teacher training should be intensified in order for teachers to keep abreast with new research, including restorative justice approaches to discipline. Violent means of dealing with children must be replaced by nonviolent means.

The government, through its various ministries, should consider all stakeholders in the implementation of laws. For example, teachers and parents need to be educated in nonviolent forms of discipline. The example of Sweden, which educated its population on the theory and practice of nonviolent discipline over the course of several decades, is worth bearing in mind.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear Student

Thank you for taking an interest in my research. My name is Evernice Netsai Chiramba. I am currently registered for a Doctorate in Peace-building at the Durban University of Technology. I wish to provide information of my research study so that you have a clear understanding of what it is about.

The title of my study is **'Building more peaceful schools in Harare'**.

School based violence is of major concern internationally and to a certain extent in Zimbabwean primary schools. I want to find out the nature, extent, and causes of school violence and the measures that are being taken to reduce the violence in primary schools.

If you choose to be part of this study you will:

1. Be required to answer a questionnaire twice.
2. You may be part of a group of who will form peer mediation or peace circles.

Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. There will be no negative consequences should you choose to withdraw from the study. You will not be paid for participating in the study and you will not be asked to pay anything to take part in the study. You will not provide your name in the interviews and your answers will be kept confidential. Your name will not appear on any report emanating from this study.

Should you have any problems or queries then please contact me (0773 522 348). My supervisor Professor Geoffrey Harris +277 31 373 5609 or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on +277 31 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on +277 31 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

Sincerely

Evernice N Chiramba



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear parent

My name is **Evernice Netsai Chiramba**. I am a doctoral student at Durban University of Technology doing Peacebuilding. I wish to seek consent for your child/ward to participate in my research

School based violence is of major concern internationally and to a certain extent in Zimbabwean primary schools. I want to find out the nature, extent, and causes of school violence and the measures that are being taken to reduce the violence in primary schools.

If you give consent your child/ ward:

1. Will complete a questionnaire
2. May be part of a group of pupils who will be in peer mediation or peace circles.
3. Will complete another questionnaire.

Your child's participation is voluntary and they can withdraw at any time. There will be no negative consequences should they choose to withdraw from the study. They will not be paid for participating in the study and they will not be asked to pay anything to take part in the study. The questionnaire will be administered at the time convenient to the class teacher and will take about 20 minutes to fill in. Peer mediation and peace circles practices will be done for one hour so as not to disrupt the academic activities.

They will not provide their name in the questionnaires and I will not use their name when reporting on the questionnaires. Their answers will only be seen by me and I will be kept confidential. Their name will not appear on any report emanating from this study.

Should you have any problems or queries then please contact me (0773 522 348). My supervisor Professor Geoffrey Harris +277 31 373 5609 .or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on +277 31 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on +277 31 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

Sincerely

Evernice N Chiramba



ASSENT FORM FOR STUDENTS

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that the researcher, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba**, has informed me about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: _____,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my gender, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

_____	_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Participant Thumbprint	Date	Time	Signature / Right

I, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba** herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)

Date

Signature

Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable) Date

Signature

Appendix B



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear Teacher

Thank you for taking an interest in my research. My name is Evernice Netsai Chiramba. I am currently registered for a Doctorate in Peace-building at the Durban University of Technology.

The title of my study is '**Building more peaceful schools in Harare**'.

School based violence is of major concern internationally and to a certain extent in Zimbabwean primary schools. I want to find out the nature, extent, and causes of school violence and the measures that are being taken to reduce the violence in primary schools.

The research will require you to be interviewed and to take part in the implementation of the peace clubs, peer mediation and peace circles for pupils. Teachers will also have their own peace circles.

Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. There will be no negative consequences should you choose to withdraw from the study. You will not be paid for participating in the study and you will not be asked to pay anything to take part in the study. You will not provide your name in the interviews and your answers will be kept confidential. Your name will not appear on any report emanating from this study.

Should you have any problems or queries then please contact me (0773 522 348). My supervisor Professor Geoffrey Harris +277 31 373 5609 .or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on +277 31 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on +277 31 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

Sincerely

Evernice N Chiramba



TEACHER'S CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba**, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: _____,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

Full Name of Participant Thumbprint	Date	Time	Signature / Right

I, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba** herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)	Date	Signature

Appendix C



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear parent

Thank you for taking an interest in my research. My name is Evernice Netsai Chiramba. I am currently registered for a Doctorate in Peace-building at the Durban University of Technology.

The title of my study is 'Building more peaceful schools in Harare'.

School based violence is of major concern internationally and to a certain extent in Zimbabwean primary schools. I want to find out the nature, extent, and causes of school violence and the measures that are being taken to reduce the violence in primary schools.

The research will require you to be interviewed in focus group discussion and to take part in peace circles where nonviolent ways of bringing up children will be discussed. Peace circles will be held once every month.

Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. There will be no negative consequences should you choose to withdraw from the study. You will not be paid for participating in the study and you will not be asked to pay anything to take part in the study. You will not provide your name in the interviews and your answers will be kept confidential. Your name will not appear on any report emanating from this study.

Should you have any problems or queries then please contact me (0773 522 348). My supervisor Professor Geoffrey Harris +277 31 373 5609 .or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on +277 31 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on +277 31 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

Sincerely

Evernice N Chiramba



PARENT CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba**, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: _____,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

Full Name of Participant Thumbprint	Date	Time	Signature / Right

I, **Evernice Netsai Chiramba** herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)

Date

Signature

Appendix D



Faculty of Management Sciences

Department of Public Management & Economics

29 May 2015

The head

_____ Primary School

Harare

RE: Permission to undertake research at primary schools in Harare metropolitan Province in 2016.

Dear Sir / Madam

I am a doctoral student at Durban University of Technology. I am carrying out a research project in peace-building as part of my studies towards a Doctoral degree. My topic is 'Building more peaceful school in Harare'. I wish to be granted permission to undertake my study at your school in 2016.

The research aims first to explore the nature, extent and causes of school violence. Secondly the research aims to develop, implement and evaluate peace clubs, peace circles and peer mediation as strategies to reduce the violence levels within the school settings. The data collection will be done in the following way:

1. 10 pupils (9 and 10) year olds will be asked to complete questionnaires.
2. 4 teachers will be interviewed.
3. 6 parents will have focus group discussions.
4. Grades 4 and 5 will have peace clubs, peer mediation and peace circles.
5. Teachers will be monitoring the activities of the strategies mentioned above.
6. Parents and teachers will engage in peace circles once every month.

Your permission to undertake the research will be greatly appreciated.

Should you like to discuss the study further feel free to contact me or my supervisor.

Yours faithfully

Evernice N. Chiramba

Doctoral student Peace-building

Email mevernicensai@yahoo.com or mevernicensai@gmail.com

Contact number 0773 522 348 +277 84 381 5376

Prof Geoff Harris

Supervisor

Email geoffreyh@dut.ac.za

Contact number +277 31 373 5609

Appendix E

Questionnaire for students
Building more peaceful schools in Harare

This questionnaire is being administered to understand violence and disciplinary measures being taken to reduce violence incidences in primary schools.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and you are assured of anonymity. You may withdraw from the study at any stage with no negative consequences for yourself.

Section A

Place a tick (√)

I am a -----

Boy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Girl	<input type="checkbox"/>

I am ----- years old.

9	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section A

Place a tick (✓) against the response that suits you. There could be more than one response

1. Do you feel safe at your school?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

2. Which types of violence are at your school?

Fighting	
Swearing	
Teasing	
Stealing	
Bullying	
Threatening	
Sexual	
Writing on the walls	

3. What do you think causes violence at your school?

Peer pressure	
Drugs	
Family problems	
Teachers absence	
Poverty	
Lack of knowledge	
Community pressure	
Any other	

4. What is done to a violent person at school?

Isolated	
Shouted at	
Bitten up	
Taken to police	
Punished	
Expelled	
Parents are called	
Referred to head	
Stays after school	
Nothing is done	

5. How do you feel after being punished?

Happy	
Proud	
Shy	
Angry	
Crying	
Fear	
Encouraged	
Nothing	

6. How often are children disciplined at this school?

Every month	
-------------	--

Every week	
Everyday	
Every time they err	

Section C

Please respond to the following questions in writing or drawing.

1. What have you witnessed being done to somebody who was violent at your school?

2. What can be done to pupils who break the school rules?

3. If somebody is violent against you what do you think could be done?

4. What do you understand by the term nonviolence?

Thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix F

Focus group discussion guide for parents

Building more peaceful schools in Harare

Date: _____

Time: _____

Venue: _____

Participants: male number _____ female number _____

I introduce myself and the purpose of the interview. I welcome participants and thank them for attending. I outline the ethical considerations and ask for permission to tape record the session. I will state that the tapes will only be listened to by the researcher (myself) and that the tapes will be stored in a secure place.

1. From your understanding how do parents in your community discipline their children when they do something wrong?
2. What could be the advantages or disadvantages of such methods?
3. In your opinion, how do you think schools should discipline children from this community?
4. What could be the advantages or disadvantages of such methods that you elaborated?
5. What is your take on the outlaw of corporal punishment by the Ministry of education?
6. Have teachers been able to device alternative ways of disciplining children, different from corporal punishment?

Thank you.

Appendix G

Interview guide for teachers

Building more peaceful schools in Harare

Date: _____

Time: _____

Venue: _____

Participants: male number _____ female number _____

I introduce myself and the purpose of the interview. I welcome participants and thank them for attending. I outline the ethical considerations and ask for permission to tape record the session. I will state that the tapes will only be listened to by the researcher (myself) and that the tapes will be stored in a secure place.

1. From your understanding how do parents in your community discipline their children when they do something wrong?
2. What could be the advantages or disadvantages of such methods?
3. In your opinion, how do you think schools should discipline children from this community?
4. What could be the advantages or disadvantages of such methods that you elaborated?
5. What is your take on the outlaw of corporal punishment by the Ministry of education?
6. Have teachers been able to device alternative ways of disciplining children, different from corporal punishment?

Thank you.

Appendix H



Peer mediation training manual 2016

Day 1

Session	Aims	Welcome	Opening game	Activity	Closing
1	To develop team work within the group To introduce the aims of the program	Ask the group to sit in a circle and ask everyone to share their name.	Listing good words that start with the initial letters of their names. Selecting a name that will describe their character in the group	Facilitator lists aims of the program. To encourage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaking and listening • Co-operation • Emotional literacy • Affirmation 	Children complete the line: Today I have enjoyed learning...
2	To identify choices that will help the group to work together well	Children sit in a circle	Children show emotional faces and their peers attempt to describe their feelings	Children identify characteristics of a group that makes it work effectively and agree on them in order to sign a contract	Pass the emotion game. Passing on faces
3	To develop teamwork and emotional vocabulary	Recap on previous lessons. Children sit in a circle	Fruit salad game: children get a fruit name of three different fruits. Everyone	Children list words that describe their emotions that are positive (smile, laugh, play, talk to others, share, etc)	Pass a rattle from beginning to end without it

			<p>who is that fruit swaps places as the person who is in the middle tries to get a seat. When the person shouts “fruit salad” everybody swaps place</p>		<p>making a sound</p>
4	<p>Aim to develop skills that involve active listening</p>	<p>Children sit in a circle.</p>	<p>Children play the 'keepers of the key game'. One is the keeper who but is blindfolded, sits in the middle of the circle. One ties to steal the keys under the chair without making any noises</p>	<p>In concentric circles children tell each other stories. Later they retell the stories to one another. Group discusses the importance of active listening and communicating with the other person</p>	<p>Children complete the sentence:</p> <p>Something that makes me happy.....</p>

Day 2

5	To explore feelings associated with conflicts	Children sit in a circle and aim is introduced	Play Waves: Put three empty chairs at different places in the circle and give the instruction that when there is a spare place on your left you have to move into it. Somebody stands in the middle and has to find a seat whilst the rest of the group are moving in one direction	Group discusses pictures of people in conflict. They act it out and decide how to mediate.	Pass on the emotion game
6	To continue to explore feelings associated with conflict. To explore choices available in a conflict resolution	Children describe a game a sporting game they have watched before.	A conflict scenario in a soccer match is presented for children to solve. A boy failed to score a goal after the coach had instructed him to shoot. But there was another boy who was at a much better position he could have Passed the ball to. This boy is angry and	Children describe or act out the scene. They later decide how to mediate such a scenario. NB: the coach has the right to instruct a player to shoot. Remember the	Close eyes and tell what is making the sound (keys, bell, chain, plastic, paper money, bottle top)

			blames the one who failed to score	rule of sportsmanship	
7	To explore ways of ending conflict without anyone getting hurt	Introducing aims and agenda of the session	Using either feet, head, fingers, elbows only	Group discuss the scenarios they have observed from their play field. They act out how they can mediate in such situations.	Playing bounce in a circle. Whenever they catch the ball they must say something positive
8	To review learning from previous sessions and to affirm each other	Introduce aims and agenda	Vote for and play the group's favourite game	Children complete the sentence: Something I have learnt during training is....	Children write something positive about themselves on a piece of paper and they move around, writing positive things on their peers' papers.

Stages of peer mediation

Introduce themselves

Agree to the ground rules

Define the problem in turns and in their own words

Explore each other's wants, needs and feelings

Generate potential solutions

Agree a solution

Adapted from Sellman 2008: 50

Problem scenarios for peer mediation

Disputant- keep changing your story

Mediator – takes sides with one of the disputants

Disputant – keeps interrupting the other disputant

Mediator starts telling the disputant what to do

Disputants - makes personal remarks about the other disputant

Disputant – starts arguing with the other disputant

Disputants – you haven't really got a dispute and you are just here to waste the mediators' time

Mediator – pretend you have seen the dispute and start telling them what you saw

Disputant – mention something that is too serious for mediation

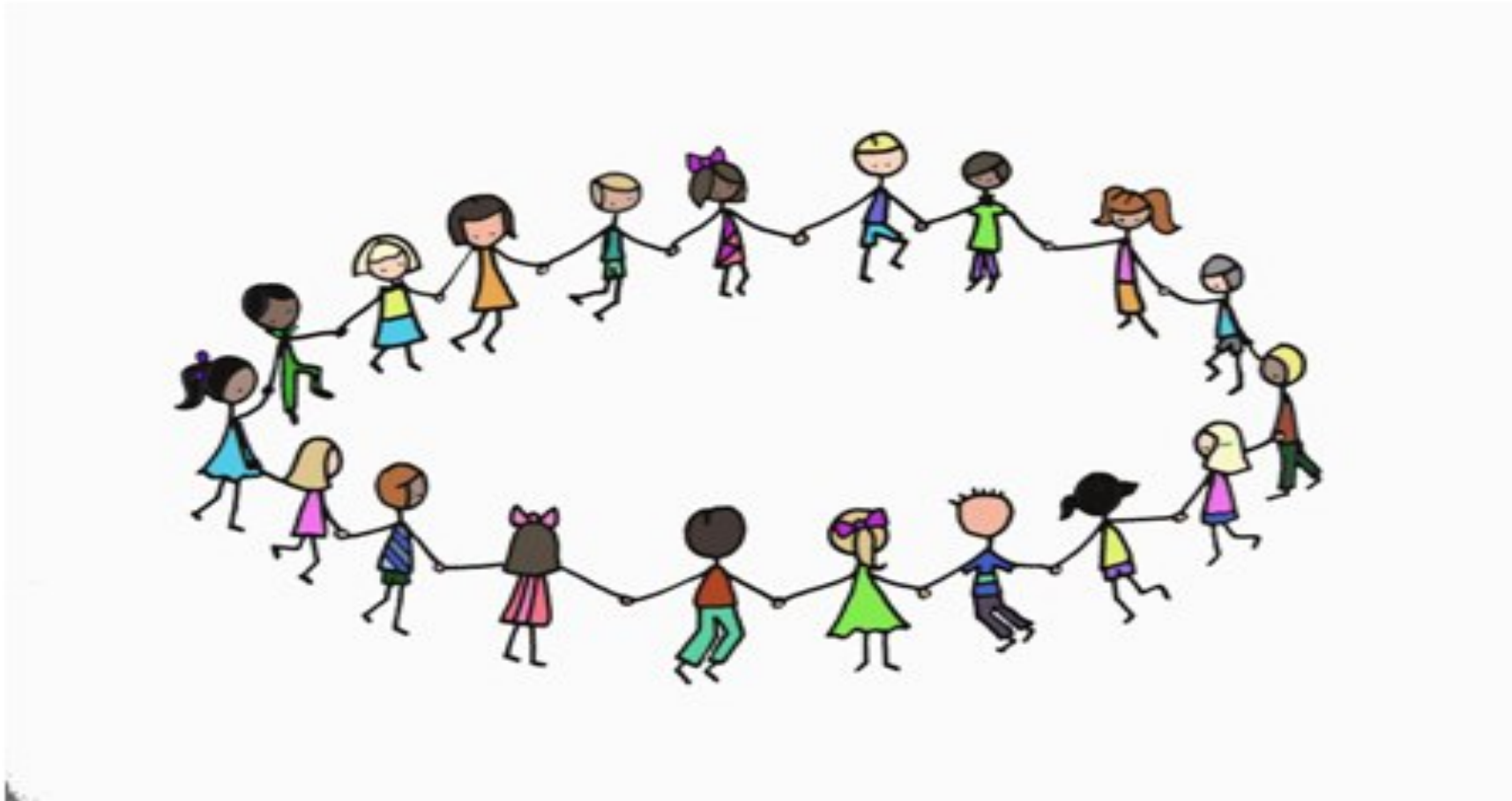
Disputant – neither of you can think of any ideas for an agreement

Adapted from Sellman 2008: 51

Appendix I

One day teachers training manual for peer mediation

2016



Session	Aims	Welcome	Introduction	Activity	Closing
1	To discuss types of circles	Sitting in a circle. Introducing self in a circle with a talking piece	Discussing the impact of the talking piece to the group welcome activity	Types of circles are discussed 1. Talking circle 2. Healing circle 3. Sentencing circle Advantages of using circles	Personal comments on circles discussed
2	To decide on the time of circles with children	Introducing a teacher seated next to you to the group	Discussing where circles can apply in real life	Discussing times when circles can be used during learning. 1. Mornings – children talk about what happened to them day before and how they are feeling that particular moment 2. End of day circle- children talk about what has happened during the day NB in both circle types children can suggest solutions to issues raised	Question and answer session