

Punishment or Treatment in Managing Learner Violence in South African Public Township Schools

J. S. Maseko

*Department of Further Teacher Education, University of South Africa, 1 Prelier Street,
Pretoria, South Africa
E-mail: masekjs@unisa.ac.za*

KEYWORDS Learner Violence. Sub-culture. Punishment. Delinquency

ABSTRACT The study was conducted on the assumption that the banning of corporal punishment in schools has resulted into an increased level of learner violence and disruption of school management. For that reason, the study explores the effects of *treatment* principle as an alternative to corporal punishment) as a deterrent to learner violence and the recommendations of literature and research findings. Five selected secondary schools in Tshwane North, in the Gauteng Province, South Africa were purposively selected for the study. Two schools utilized the *treatment* principle and three employed *punishment* (with agreement from stakeholders – school governing bodies, teachers, parents, learners and education administration in regards to managing learner violence offences). The main question was: Is the treatment principle as alternative to corporal punishment a deterrent to learner violent in your school? In exploring this issue, a qualitative research method was used backed up by purposive focus group interviews, questionnaires and observation. Findings show that the treatment principle is less effective than punishment by school management supported by community social structures with an interest in education.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa had a long history of a separate and unequal education system for various ethnic groups. The introduction of the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 was welcomed and celebrated because its major purpose was to create a single education system in the country (Republic of South Africa 1996). It should be noted that the previous education system with its western style, embraced some traditional principles practice by other ethnic groups in managing learner violence and not the extant. Religious education, scripture reading in morning convocation, physical exercise, choral music, soccer and netball were widely used by teachers to inculcate values in education and that of school culture.

Since the introduction of the SASA, learner violence, specifically in township secondary schools has increased (Makonyane 2011: 8). The Premier of Gauteng Province, lamented the carrying of “dangerous weapons (guns, knives, etc.) by learners to school” warning that such behavior has the “high potential of endangering the lives of other learners and educators”. The provincial government manages scores of issues on learner violence with a backlog of 17 lawsuits still pending and suspects supported by the Act are still attending classes (Monama 2011). According to the secretary of the of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU),

allowing offenders back in class unpunished impacts on school management and exposes educators and learners into further violence (Monama 2011). The number of learners dropping out from schools and those taking transfers to schools in former White areas have been observed with surprise (Kgosana 2006). Owing to the “reduction in learner numbers the government had merged five township secondary schools into three with an enrolment of just over 600 learners even though each school can accommodate 1 000” (Kgosana 2006).

In 2011, the Secretary of SADTU reported that 67 000 teachers had resigned citing learners violence and challenges school management challenges (Matlala 2011). Furthermore, the report revealed that since the banning of corporal punishment in 1996, learner violence had escalated and effective school management at best affected (SMT) had received less support from the provincial education department (Matlala 2011).

Trends in Learner Violence Internationally and in South Africa

Learner violence is not just a South African problem but appears to be a trend around the world. Data obtained from global statistics reflects that learner violence worldwide is relatively high in the First World nations. In the USA, for example, 23 000 homicides occur in

schools each year; 10% and the perpetrators are under 18 years of age (Fisher and Kettle 2003). Furthermore, violent crimes, estimated at 16 000, occur daily within schools, with one crime being committed every six seconds (Fisher and Kettle 2003). Latest data in the United States reveals that 57 out of per 1 000 learners are victims of violence occurring at the schools (Burton 2008). These statistics are provided by the courts, implying that learner violent crime is punished by the justice system (Burton 2008c).

In 2007, the United Kingdom teachers trade union, the National Association of Schoolmaster/Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), revealed that 16% of 6 000 teachers interviewed claimed to have been physically assaulted by learners in 2007. Additionally, in 2009 alone the Department of Education in England suspended 39 510 primary school children and 307 840 secondary school learners for verbally abusing, threatening or attacking teachers and other learners (Kershaw 2010).

Linking the American and the South African statistics, Burton (2008c) explains that "South African learners are victimized at a rate of 160 learners per 1000, significantly higher than, for example, the United States" where the latest data yields. Research suggests that the erosion of social capital is a particularly powerful driver of violent behaviour amongst youth (Markward et al. 2002).

These findings are supported by Merton's strain theory as being a factor in youth violent behaviour. Of concerns to school managers, parents and communities is the SASA's unintended goal of SASA of learner *anomic*/lawlessness behaviour where, for example, "alleged consent Grade 8 female learner had sex with three boys in front of other learners" (Van Wyk 2010). The *lawlessness* of learner behaviour (Maree 2003) is associated with dysfunctional school systems: weak infrastructure such as poor or non-existent facilities and under-qualified teachers, while Maseko (2002) unearths poor primary socialization of children by homes as a major contributory factor of learner violence in secondary schools.

Teachers are afraid to discipline learners because "they carry pangas while others bring drugs on school premises and rape female pupils in the toilets" (Matlala 2011: 1). The media, educators and the community raised concerns of poor safety and security in schools, for

example, Van Wyk (2010), reported that an unexpected educator was stabbed by a learner on the stomach for ordering the learner not to use a mobile phone in class".

In contrast, however government and some researchers disagree with the findings of recent studies and maintain that learner violence is average and that there has been no major increase in learner crime (Burton 2008).

In conclusion, comments about auscultative violence in South Africa among learners are diverse and complex (van Wyk 2010). While some observers praise the new education policy in education as the ideal social mirror of a new South Africa, others criticise it as a pervasive foreign tool. Consistent with this debate, the present article examines whether *treatment* or *punishment* is a deterrent to learner violent behaviour in schools? Typically, it is argued that strain theory (Merton 1968) and self-discipline by Durkheim (1980) provides a strong theoretical basis to assume that causal factors of learner violence evolve around educational and economic strain.

Theoretical Explanation

Owing to the complexity of the phenomenon of learner violence in South Africa, the researcher shall draw from Robert Merton's exposition on strain theory and that of Durkheim's anomic version. Merton (1968) argues that learners from low socio-economic structures are more likely to face educational and economic strain in schools. He avers that there exists in the world a need for educational qualification which is not free and demands self-discipline. During the French Revolution, Durkheim (1961) advised students to register for a minimum manageable load and apply self-discipline to avoid strain. The thrust of both arguments are that learner *anomic* behaviour is of the results of economic and social strain. This is evidenced in the number of resignation of 67 000 teachers (Matlala 2011). Robert Merton contends that the dominant theme of American culture "emphasis that an educational qualification provides an economic success goal without providing means to achieve it, this alone exert economic pressure, mainly learners located within the low SES economic structure.

Durkheim (1961) posits that anomie or *lawlessness* occurs when there is an acute disjunc-

ture between the cultural norms and goals. This disjuncture explains exactly what Merton (1968: 216) observed behaviour of low SES structure learners who are often “socially structured in capacity of the members of a society to act in handling societal strain”.

Merton (1968) posits the existence of typologies open to learners in their bid to attain academic success goals. These typologies are: 1. Conformity, 2. Innovation, 3. Ritualism, 4. Retreatism and 5. Rebellion. Those favoured to attain success goals using the culturally approved means tend to conform whereas those illegitimate means. The result is a deviation from the culturally approved means of attaining success goals. These are the deviants also applicable to schools means of attaining such cultural goals in this instance a good education – or requisite skills tend to innovate by displaying violent behaviour.

METHODOLOGY

This paper was conducted mainly from the Interpretive Paradigm. Interpretive inquiry relies heavily on naturalistic methods with emphasis on: the self-understanding of the individual as a basis for all social interpretation and transparent human consciousness (Waghid 2003). In this view, Nieuwenhuis (2007: 51) argues that “interpretivism focuses on people’s subjective experiences on people construct of the social world by sharing meanings and how they interact with or relate to each other”. Unequivocally, both Waghid and Nieuwenhuis address participants’ understanding of their own world to eventually be able to communicate their understandings to other people. This research involves an understanding of actions of learners and other players with regard to school violence as means of understanding *treatment* policy as a means to understand how schools implement the new education policy on learner violent behaviour in schools. Pring (2000: 96) posits that “understanding the interpretations which they give of why they are acting in a violent manner”. It is imperative for the researcher to capture not only the actions, but also the intentions as they may be influenced by the context of the participant.

A qualitative research design was used in order to establish how participants make mean-

ing of applying *treatment* theory as a deterrent to learner violent behaviour (Nieuwenhuis 2007). This was achieved by analysing the participant’s perceptions, attitudes understanding knowledge, values, feelings and experiences regarding learner violence in schools situated in low SES.

Data collection was by means of in-depth interviews with township secondary schools. A total of three schools was purposively selected with three principals, 15 educators with experience in learner violence, Grade 8 learners 6 victims of violence and 9 not but witness it, 3 parents, and 6 educators involved with learner discipline were interviewed. The sample is disaggregated thus: -

Principals = 03, educators = 06, learners = 06 and parents = 02.

Participants were interviewed using a qualitative instrument containing open - ended questions. In addition, one Focus Group Discussion was held with 5 learners who accepted punishment and 4 who preferred treatment: these were also purposively selected.

This was done in order to gain additional insight into the phenomenon of learner violence.

RESULTS

Content analysis was used and the following variables were identified and isolated as being responsible for violent behaviour of learner in South African township schools: education, world economies, poverty, and subculture of violence, poverty, funding and family anomie.

Education and Family Structure

The changes in family structure that occurred during the apartheid era undoubtedly had negative effects on learner’s outcomes. The high rates of non-marital births and of parental absence as a result of migrant labour led to a greater proportion of school-aged learners living in households with one parent or no parents and in households containing more distant relatives who have great influence on the investment these learners receive. Although national statistics on the rate of single parents and fostering are not available, Anderson and Lam (2003) report for a sample in Cape Town that at age 10, 19.9% of Blacks live with neither parent, compared with 10.7% of coloureds and 2.7% of

whites. These changes in household structure have been correlated with negative consequences for children's health and survival (Burman 1986; Jones 1993).

This buttresses the assertion of one of the respondents.

According to (LF: 06):

My mother stays with another man and my father was working in mines and disappeared when I was four years old. I stay with my uncle, you know the wife of my uncle is cruel she wake me up at 4 clock in the morning to make fire wash three children give them food before going to school. They bit me for nothing just hearing that one child says I wash your dish. I have told myself, school forget I need a job.

Family Structure and At-risk Learners' Outcomes

The relationship between family structure and at-risk learners has not been extensively examined in South Africa. The existing studies on learner violence correlate with studies on educational outcomes that have been done focused on small, regional, or non-representative samples. Cherian (1994), studying Xhosa children from the Transkei found that children from two-parent homes have higher standardized test scores than children from single-parent families. Mboya and Nesengani (1999), using a sample of high school students in the Northern Province, report lower standardized test scores among father-absent students than father-present students. Fuller and Liang (1999) note that Zulu, Xhosa and North Sotho girls from father-absent households are less likely to drop out of school than girls from father-present homes. Anderson and Lam (2003), using a sample of young adults living in Cape Town, find significant independent effects of the presence of mothers and fathers on grades passed per year and on the probability of passing a grade. In the focus group interviews it was interesting to note that 85% learners who participated in violent crime are from single parents.

Speaking in broken English (LM.06), said

Learning the whole day listen to her waistes my time, maar I must stay because dad sometime works sometimes not, you see itsit's tough. He like it when I pass and I please him he stand with if he was not there I will be like other boys in my class who don't have dads to please.

Learners in the Function of Agents of Social Change

During school time, they announced meetings and acted as a network for the distribution of pamphlets, organized boycotts, provided advance warning of attacks or raids by the security forces and reconnected services cut off by the government. Schools became centres of community organization against repression. Sometimes the whole schools were taken into custody. At times the detention of learners as young as seven was fairly common. Thus, learners became agents of social change. Despite experiencing violence and risking their lives, participation in the struggle also gave learners new learners new skills, such as the capacity to analyze, develop strategies, organize and mobilize. During the interviews we discovered that some learners support the call of free education for all as, (LM.03) said:

Our primary goal is get free education up to tertiary; we are fighting for democracy where everybody will get Education. In our marches we destroy public property because government will not listen to us when we are not militant and violent.

Socio-economic and Learner Violence

South Africa today continues to be plagued by high unemployment, widespread poverty, radicalized inequality, low quality education and poor opportunities. Family life has fragmented, the ties of kingship have eroded, and social cohesion has weakened at the neighbourhood level. All these socioeconomic ills negatively affect the educational goals of at-risk learners.

According to (LF: 04): *many people, youth, don't like school because many people are sitting in the township enjoying. You see some have degrees and are not working, so why wasting time in school when I will never get a job. Where are the jobs? Graduates cannot get good jobs how much less those of us with lower qualifications. With such qualifications one can only get low paying jobs where the employer can wake up and fire you for no reason.*

Family Background to School Violence

Little research has been done examining the relationships between family background (in-

cluding family structure) and school violence, expenditures on school fees, or other forms of direct investment in learners. Case and Deaton (1999) found no relationship between the education of the household head and student behaviour ratios for both Blacks and Whites in 1993. Anderson et al. (1999a), using a Black school-based sample in Cape Town, report that resident genetic fathers spend more money on children's schooling than both resident step-fathers and non-resident genetic fathers.

We grew up at time of poverty. My parents were getting low pay when you go town you see them whites drinking tea and you are outside hungry. We never go to the shop and steal even if we were hungry. You come late to school you are punished and no complain to parents, so poverty cannot make people to steal or commit violence

DISCUSSION

Evidence from the in-depth interviews show spatial inequalities and a confirmation of the disparities between rural and urban areas, and also between geographically advantaged and disadvantaged areas. Spatial disadvantage makes it physically difficult for the new arrivals in the social structure to participate in the broader socio-economic processes. Or it may operate through the segregation of urban environments and the "subcultures" of violence, criminality, drug dependence and squalor which can often characterize urban slums and excluded neighbourhoods. In some cases, ghettos of marginalized religious or ethnic groups can form as the direct result of communal violence. In many countries, these disparities are increasing, partly as a consequence of the uneven impact on school culture and the production of a learner subculture of violence. These disparities are particularly worrying where they overlap with educational culture or ethnic divisions.

Extrapolating on the strength of the above evidence, the researcher agrees with Merton that learners having internalized academic success goals as shown on western media, and being unable to actualize their desire to be successful, they resort to illicit means of acquire success often provide through typified by Merton's fifth typology of rebellion.

This is well articulated by a parent in her own English (PF.03):

This democracy of Mandela has given us the country and took our children by law and gave them to Satan in the name of democracy. Look! Today small children smoke dagga free you can smell when passing toilets teachers and parents must keep quiet. In the last government these drunkards were punished in the schools.

The spatial dimension of exclusion cannot be entirely separated from its resource and identity dimensions, since it is usually culturally and economically marginalized groups of learners in the physically deprived spaces. Activities of financial aid and educational resources are often concentrated on schools situated in middle SES group. These schools benefits from government and parent financial support, whilst schools from low SES depends from the inflow of financial aid and human resources from government. Government policies can also be biased against low SES areas owing to unutilized resources and the lack of accountability of school managers. As a result of this, and the constant leakage of resources to properly managed schools, peripheral areas often have difficulty in self-sustaining economic development.

Clarity on this discussion came during the interviews as clarity was given (by LM: 07):

Last year (2009) we boycotted classes when Grade 12 were left with few weeks to write the exam, why? We wanted all schools in South Africa to close and all learners must to stop going to schools. Government support white schools, not black one. Look! White schools are schools, nice with library doors and windows not windows not broken township schools are filthy, how can you learn in such place. Government must not give these schools money.

The principle of punishing violent learners rather than treatment as deterrence has changed over the last centuries, with punitive prevention being the oldest form, while emperors and popes attempted to prevent the people from violating their laws by threats of terrible punishments and "deterrence was the main function of penal law for the classical school in penal theory" (De Beccaria 1774 in Walgrave 1998). This punishment concept, regards all kind of human behaviour, including criminal behaviour, as a matter of rational choice (Mortimer 2002). Thus, people will avoid violent crime if doing so is made "sufficiently unpleasant and does not 'pay off'", by increasing the dose of punishment, breaking the law becomes an unappealing choice" (Mortimer 2002: 102).

In the traditions of emperors and popes, so the education system in South Africa has been using punitive action against learners who employ violence in school as deterrence, and making the breaking of school laws is an "unappealing choice" (Mortimer 2002).

With the industrialization and the development of the medical and psychological sciences, the belief of the "controllability and the treatment of social and behavioral problems" developed (Walgrave and Melhlbye 1998). The idea of the delinquent learner as a "rational person but an ill person" gained influence (Walgrave et al. 1998). Therefore, the threat of punitive sanctions would not stop these people from committing crimes. They had to be identified and treated at an early stage (Walgrave et al. 1998). Thus, the study raises the question whether treatment theory is a deterrent to misconduct by violent learners or suitable learners for the school milieu? This approach recommends that violent learners should not be punished but rather referred to parents, psychologists and medical practitioners, as well as being rehabilitated and educated.

At the beginning of the 20th century, separate jurisdictions and penal laws for children were established in the US and in West European countries (Mortimer 2002). "This rehabilitation or welfare approach, aimed at improving offenders and their lives. Rehabilitation programmes, rather than the delivery of pain or the incarceration of youths, were seen as adequate to change the wayward adolescents for the better and thereby make society safer" (Mortimer 2002: 91-92). With the growing economies in Western societies, the welfare states were established and with the idea of the welfare model in juvenile justice developed, leading to broad interventionist systems (Walgrave et al. 1998). They respected the legal rights of the young people rather inaccurately, but this was supposed to be compensated by the greater opportunities for preventive interventions (Walgrave et al. 1998). Minors were regarded as not yet fully responsible and still subject to socialising, while deterrence was regarded as inadequate for children causing negative effects on their socialising and therefore only educative measures are adequate (Walgrave et al. 1998).

In the 1960s, these interventionist models were criticized by children's rights and eman-

cipating. Movements introduced their concept of the "4Ds" (diversion, de-judicialisation, deinstitutionalisation, due process) (Walgrave et al. 1998). After this period of criticism, societal and economic changes led in the early 80s to a change in public and political opinion in favour of an increased punitive approach to delinquency criticizing the pure rehabilitative model as naïve. Increasing crime levels led to a debate on the effectiveness of the rehabilitative approach, concluding that "nothing works" in the area of correctional treatment (Edwards 1995: 1560). As a consequence, in many Western countries, more attention is paid to the "justice" element in dealing with juvenile offenders, including a stricter punishment orientation (Walgrave 1998).

In view of the fact that virtually all violent learners in South African schools come from the lower class and having no education and skills in self discipline, it becomes absolutely impossible for them to achieve academic success goals through the legitimate means. Their lack of education and skills means that they cannot access well-paying jobs could translate into better well-being for them and their families. In addition, the shift from a traditional society to an industrial society has resulted in individualism and the absence of kinship networks to cushion the frustrations and loneliness of city life.

CONCLUSION

If indeed the intended goal of the new education school system in South Africa is to merge the former education systems and unite ethnic groups, then it must ensure that the parental culture of the majority group in respective regions is reflected in the school curriculum, especially that of Africans. A question may be asked here: Why does learner violence occur more in township schools than in white schools? Most researchers identify funding and under qualified educators and a few mention the exclusion of the parent culture in the curriculum.

African children are taught to respect at early age to respect elders and never to speak unless spoken to do so and the Zulu nation still holds to the teaching. Also, among the Zulus, "boys are allowed to carry a fighting stick of 700 mm and it can lend a painful blow.... at the age of fifteen a boy can receive a spear from the father as the next step of passage of a warrior."

This study highlighted the deficiencies of, as well as problems regarding the implementation of new education policy. Policy and practice should be reconsidered in the quest of inclusion some community culture for effective learner managing aggressive behaviour in schools. This has, as far as possible, to be included in a joint venture by all stakeholders.

During interviews, 80% of interviewed learners come from single mothers or grandmothers. The findings show economic gulf exist in schools situated in low SES structure apparently of the results of parents who migrate rural areas to urban area seeking job opportunities resulting into culture shock and highlighting learner subculture.

This present skew results than in middle SES schools. The researcher believes that it is important to conduct a study for a long time period in order to determine changes in learners' aggressive behaviour in school. Disillusioned parents blame socialization of at schools and school managers blame socialization at homes. For example, the education system must introduce a marshal plan for parents and social structures to help revitalize the educational culture of South African culture. This will ensure that the young people understand the concepts of humility and *ubuntu* (humility) and respect for fellow citizens. After all, in the 1970s when the learner political violence was at its height, learner violence was directed to the government system and has not changed its focus.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study on punishment or treatment in managing learner violent behaviour recommend the following five levels at which violence – prevention programs can act at the level at risk learners.

- *Society – level prevention strategies* aim to change social and cultural conditions in order to reduce violence regardless of where the violence occurs. For example, reshaping social norms and restructuring educational system not to contradict family values.
- School wide strategies are designed to modify the school characteristics that are associated with violence. For example, promote cooperative learning and close learner supervision. At the elementary level introduce Good Behavioural Game which

helps to reduce classroom disruption and promotes prosocial and promotes prosocial classroom interactions.

- The implementation of *school-wide early –warning systems*. Violence –prevention efforts can also be usefully directed at developing and bullying programs, helping teachers with classroom – management strategies, applying behavioural strategies such as Good Behaviour Game, implementing curricular innovations such as the Second step syllabus, developing programs to strengthen families and implementing programs aimed at enhancing the social and academic skills of at –risk learners.
- Some intervention programs are aimed at *improving family relationships*. There is evidence from interviewee that intervention strategies have modest effects on the behaviour learners in the short and long term.
- Intervention programs focus on *individual –level strategies*. These programs are aimed at learners who exhibit aggression and violent behaviour or at risk for engaging in such programs.

REFERENCES

- Alexander K, Alexander M D 2011. *American Public School Law*. 8th Edition. Wadsworth/Cengage Learning.
- Anderson K, Lam D 2003. Causes and consequences of schooling outcomes in South Africa: Evidence from survey data. *Social Dynamics*, 27(1): 37-59.
- Ayers W 2009. *City Kids, City Schools: More Reports From the Front Row*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Barter C 2012. *Children Behaving Badly? Peer Violence between Children and Young People*. NY: Wiley.
- Benbenishty R 2011. *School Violence in Context: Culture, Neighbourhood, Family, School, and Gender*. NY: Diana Publishing Company.
- Bryman A 2001. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buhrmann MV 1986. Witchcraft, witchcraft beliefs and the Black people of South Africa. *South African Medical Journal*, 68: 668-671.
- Burton P 2008. Merchants, Skollies and Stones: Experience of School v Violence in South Africa. *Monograph Series No. 4*. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Bynum JE 2010. *Juvenile Delinquency: A Sociological Approach*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Case A, Deaton A 1999. School inputs and educational outcomes in South Africa. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 114(3): 1047-1084.
- Crawage M 2005. How Resilient Adolescent Learners in a Township School Cope with Violence: A Case Study. PhD: [On-line]: Thesis: University of Johannesburg. From <<http://www.ujdig.space.uj.co.za: 8080/dspace/>

- bitstream/10210/864/1/margaret.pdf.> (Retrieved 14 June, 2008).
- Durkheim E 1961. *Moral Education*. New York: The Free Press.
- Edward F 1995. Increasing consensus in the evaluation of offender rehabilitation: Lessons from research synthesis. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 2: 19-39.
- Fisher K, Kettle P 2003. Teachers' perception of school violence. *Pediatric Health Care*, 17(2): 79-83.
- Fuller AJ, Liang H 1999. Mental and physical health of out of school children in a South African township. *European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 11: 257-260.
- Heitmeyer W 2011. *The Control of Violence in Modern Society: Multidisciplinary Perspectives, From School Shootings to Ethnic Violence*. NY: Springer.
- Jones S 1993. *Assaulting Childhood: Children's Experiences of Migrancy and Hostel Life in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Kgosana C 2006. Schools Merged in Gauteng as Pupil Numbers Dwindle. *City Press*, January 29, 2006, P. 8.
- Krug EG, Dahlberg LL, Mercy JA, Zwi AB, Lozano R 2002. *World Report on Violence and Health Organisation*: Geneva Lilly.
- Lane KL 2011. *Managing Challenging Behaviors in Schools: Research-based Strategies that Work*. NY: Guilford Publications.
- Maree A 2003. Criminogenic risk factors for youth offenders. In: C Bezuidenhout, S Joubert (Eds.): *child and Youth Misbehaviour in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Maree JG, Cherian L 1994. Hitting the headlines.....Lifting the veil on corporal punishment in South Africa. *Acta Criminological*, 17(3): 72-85.
- Markward M J, Cline SS, Markward NJ 2002. Group socialization, the internet and school shooting. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 10: 1-2, 135-146.
- Maseko JS 2008. Strategies of managing adolescent violent behaviour in public schools. *Journal of Educational Studies*, 7: 11-22.
- Matlala A 2011. Teachers Quit Over Lack of Discipline . *Sowetan Newspaper*, December 10, P. 3.
- Mboya MM, Nesengani RI 1999. Migrant labour in South Africa: A comparative analysis of the academic achievement of father-present and father-absent adolescents. *Adolescence*, 34: 763-767.
- Merton R 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Monama T 2011. *Sowetan Newspaper*, March 11, P. 2.
- Mokonyane N 2011. *Keynote address by Gauteng Premier Nomvula Mokonyane on the Occasion of the Soweto Education Summit at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus on April 9, 2011*.
- Mortimer JJ 2002. *Societal Trends and the Transition of Adulthood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Niewenhuys J 2007. *Growing Human Rights and Values in Education*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Niewenhuys S 2007. *Psychophysiology*. Oxford University Press.
- Pring R 2000. *Philosophy of Educational Research*. Continuum International Publishing.
- Schoeman K 1985. *Die huis van die armes: die Berlynese Sendinggenootskap in die 1833-1869*. Cape Town: Huisman and Resseau.
- Shariff S 2004. Keeping Schools Out of Court: Legally Defensible Models of Leadership. The Educational Forum, 68: 222-233. [on-line]: Australia: From <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDOCS/data/ericdocsq1/contentstorage_01/0000019b/180/29/3a/d6.pdf> (Retrieved on 11 March, 2007). *Societal Trends and the Transition to Adulthood*, UP, Cambridge Prince C
2008. Teenager in Teacher Assault Suspended After Stabbing. *Daily Dispatch*, February 4, P.3.
- Van Wyk A 2010. Perceptions and practices of discipline in urban Black South Africa. *South African Journal Education*, 21: 195-201.
- Walgate L 1998. Investigating the potentials of restorative justice practice. *Journal of Laws and Policy*, 36: 91.
- Walgrave Lode, Melhlbye Jill (Ed.) August, 1998. *Confronting Youth in Europe: Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice* [online], AKF. From <<http://www.akf.dk/eng98/juvenile.htm>> (Retrieved August 13, 2003).