NARRATIVES OF TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND ETHICS OF CARE

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The ethics of care perspective is based on the notion that we form relationships and that we are naturally responsive to the needs of others. In schools, caring relationships between teachers and learners suggests that teachers will act caringly, and attend to learners' academic, social and emotional needs. This study aimed to extend our understanding of how high school teachers' experiences of school violence may or will influence the enactment of care practices in teaching from an ethics of care perspective. I employed a qualitative, narrative research design within an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm. As a narrative study of limited scope, this research focused on the personal experiences of four teachers, who taught at three secondary schools in Cape Town where school violence was prevalent. Teachers' stories of their experiences of school violence, known as experience-centred narratives, were collected by means of in-depth, semi-structured interviews according to themes, including what it means to be teacher, to care for learners as a teacher and about the nature and effect of school violence. Data analysis occurred by means of thematic experienced-centred narrative analysis and representative constructions of teachers' narratives.

The research findings suggest that teachers can enact an ethics of care in circumstances where they are exposed to school violence, but that this ability is largely dependent on the strength of the ethical self. While teachers maintain caring relationships with some learners, they can deliberately refuse to care for others. When the ethical self is maintained, teachers will behave caringly, establish trusting relationships with learners and step into caring roles. When experiences of school violence, however, lead to the erosion of the ethical self, teachers' professional identities change, and their ways of teaching and engaging with learners in their classrooms become negative. The erosion of the ethical self can generate feelings of guilt that will impact teachers' efficacy beliefs about themselves as teachers. The

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result of resilience in teachers is a strengthening of the ethical self. When this happens, an ethics of justice which is the response to school violence, can be balanced with an ethics of care response. Teachers who are more resilient will find a purpose and meaning when they have to teach learners in schools where violence occurs. This enables them to continue their teaching career in these challenging contexts.

Key words: school violence, ethics of care, relationships, teaching, care practices, self-efficacy, justice, resilience

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OPSOMMING

Die etiek van sorg is gegrond op die idee dat dit vir ons natuurlik is om verhoudings met ander te hê en dat ons binne daardie verhoudings sal reageer op die behoeftes van ander. In skole waar daar sorgsame, deernisvolle verhoudings tussen onderwysers en leerders is, sal onderwysers met sorg optree en omsien na die akademiese, sosiale en emosionele behoeftes van leerders. Hierdie studie het dit dus ten doel gehad om uit te vind hoe onderwysers se ondervindings van skoolgeweld hul sorgpraktyke in skole mag of sal beïnvloed. Ek het ’n kwalitatiewe, narratiewe navorsingsontwerp binne ’n interpretivistiese / konstruktivistiese paradigma gebruik. Weens die beperkte omvang van hierdie studie, het ek gefokus op die ervaringe van vier onderwysers, wat by drie skole in Kaapstad skoolhou. Hierdie onderwysers het almal ondervinding van skoolgeweld gehad. Ek het in-diepte, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude gebruik om die onderwysers se stories oor skoolgeweld, bekend as ondervindinggesentreerde narratiewe, in te samel. Die data-ontleding het geskied aan die hand van tematiese ondervindinggesentreerde narratiewe analise en die konstruksie van verteenwoordigende narratiewe van onderwysers se ondervindings van skoolgeweld.

Die bevindings dui daarop dat onderwysers wel met ’n etiek van omgee kan optree in omstandighede waar hulle aan skoolgeweld blootgestel word, maar dat hierdie vermoë grootliks afhang van die standhoudendheid van die etiese self. Terwyl onderwysers deernisvolle verhoudings met sommige leerders het, kan hulle bewustelik hul sorg en aandag van ander leerders weerhou. Wanneer die etiese self egter onderhou word, sal onderwysers in vertrouensverhoudings met leerders staan en versorgingsrolle vervul. Ondervindings van skoolgeweld kan egter tot ’n verwering van die etiese self lei, waar onderwysers se professionele identiteit verander, en die manier waarop hulle met leerders omgaan, toenemend negatief raak. Die verwering van die etiese self kan skuldgevoelens in onderwysers ontlok, wat hul sienings oor hoe doeltreffend hulle hul werk as onderwysers

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verrig, nadelig sal beïnvloed. As onderwysers veerkragtig is, word die etiese self egter versterk, en kan onderwysers daadwerklik optree om die geregtigheid wat in reaksie op skoolgeweld volg, te versag met die etiek van sorg. Veerkragtige onderwysers sal ook bly skoolhou op plekke waar hulle skoolgeweld ervaar het, omdat hulle dit as hul lewensdoel beskou.

Sleutelwoorde: skoolgeweld, etiek van sorg, verhoudings, onderrig, omgeepraktyke, self-doeltreffendheid, geregtigheid, veerkragtigheid

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

The idea for this study originated with a curiosity about the cognitive, affective, psycho-social and behavioural effects of school-based violence, particularly on teachers who had experienced or witnessed a serious incident of violence at school, such as a beating, shooting or stabbing. I was interested in their levels of psychological distress, as well as their ability to work and foster caring relationships in their schools. As I began to read reports on the extent and incidence of violence in South African schools (Burton, 2008; SACE, 2011; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Mncube & Harber, 2013), I found that it is a serious and pervasive problem that affects both learners and teachers. South African schools have become sites of violence where violence is not just perpetrated between learners, but also between learners and teachers, and between rival schools and rival gangs (Jefthas & Artz, 2007; Burton, 2008; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013).

More than 18% of the nearly 14 million learners who attended schools in 2012 experienced violence, corporal punishment or verbal abuse at school (Department of Basic Education, 2012). Burton and Leoschut (2013) found that 22.2% of secondary school learners (an estimated 1,020,597 learners) had experienced a form of physical violence at school in the past year. In a survey of all nine provinces, they also reported that the Western Cape had the highest rate of learners being threatened with violence (18.5%). Schools are also one of the places where the sexual assault of learners most commonly occur (21.1%) (Leoschut & Burton, 2006).

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Mncube and Harber (2013) found evidence of direct forms of violence that originate within the school itself, including how teachers sometimes engage in verbal, physical and psychological abuse. The researchers reported that 59% of learners reported being injured after corporal punishment. Teachers also fail to protect and ensure the safety of learners in their care; this failure to protect learners takes place through unprofessional conduct such as frequent absenteeism, lateness or failing to intervene in incidents of bullying (Mncube & Harber, 2013). However, research indicates that teachers are also being victimised or bullied by learners, including being mocked, humiliated or threatened (De Wet, 2010). Burton and Leoschut (2013) found that 41% of teachers had been verbally abused by a learner, and 7.9% had been physically victimised.

There is a very small but growing number of studies (Du Plessis, 2008; Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014, Shields, Nadasen & Hanneke, 2015, Davids & Waghid, 2016) that investigated the effects of violence in schools on teachers in South Africa. These studies indicate that teachers are affected on both an emotional/personal as well as a professional level. On a personal level, experiences with school-based violence resulted in stress (as manifested by increased anxiety and headaches), depression, low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, frustration, shame, guilt (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014; Shields et al., 2015), exhaustion and disillusionment (Davids & Waghid, 2016). In addition to feeling socially isolated, violence had a negative impact on teachers' relationships with family members and peers (Shields et al., 2015). Many teachers experience symptoms of trauma and/or psychological distress, including headaches, sleep deprivation, burnout, eating disorders (De Wet, 2010) and stress-related illnesses such as high blood pressure (15.6%) and stomach ulcers (9.1%) (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2010). Shields et al. (2015) reported that 47% of participants (n=17) in their study met the criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

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On a professional level, the effects of violence on teaching and learning include an overwhelming negativity towards learners who are perceived as bullies or perpetrators (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010), an unwillingness to assist with learning in the classroom, leaving the profession (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010), mediocrity in teaching, a lack of enthusiasm, being unable to control their temper, disciplinary problems in the classroom, the disintegration of teaching and learning, and a diminished reputation in the eyes of their learners, colleagues and the principal (De Wet, 2010). In response to these overwhelming feelings of frustration and anger, teachers contemplate violence (Davids & Waghid, 2016), aggression and the use of corporal punishment (Shields et al., 2015).

There are many national policy and legislation frameworks in South Africa that are intended to protect the rights of both learners and teachers. However, despite the regulation of violence in schools by policies, acts and law-enforcement, the responses to school-based violence have been largely inadequate (Davids & Waghid, 2016) with continued reports of serious acts of violence (De Wet, 2016).

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The motivation for this study stems from differing but interweaving threads of ideas, awakenings and experiences, which include my own teaching experiences as well as the integration of values and attitudes which stem from my current training as an educational psychologist. Long before I knew anything about the care ethics field, I had an interest in care. Thinking back on my own life history, I had always noticed people who needed care, even if their needs were unexpressed and unacknowledged. These observations first propelled me into teaching and then into training as an educational psychologist.

In 1997 I became a novice teacher in my first teaching post in a multicultural, diverse but challenging girls' school, at the time a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood in

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Johannesburg. Most of the girls used public transport to travel to school by taxi or bus from surroundings townships, and from run-down inner-city neighbourhoods. Many girls came from disadvantaged backgrounds.

As a very young, inexperienced female teacher who had to teach Afrikaans First Additional Language to high school learners, many of whom actively resisted and resented the subject, I faced many challenges. My classes were characterised by periods of relative calm, where teaching, learning and caring practices prevailed, but also by scenes of terrible chaos and bullying; I was the person being bullied, up to the point where I left the school two years later. I felt uncared for and unsupported. Reading De Wet's (2010) article on educator-targeted bullying, I realised that I identified with her research participants. Through the convergence of the care and teaching threads, against the backdrop of my own experiences and the current reports about violence in schools, I started to wonder how teachers still manage to care and form relationships with their learners if they are confronted by aspects of violence in their schools.

It is evident from a review of the literature on violence in schools that the experience and psychological impact on learners in South Africa, and their communities, have been well documented (Simpson, 1993; Barbarin & Richter, 2001; Dawes, Tredoux & Feinstein, 1989; Neser, 2006; Shields, Nadasen & Pierce, 2008; Ngqela & Lewis, 2012; Mathews & Benvenuti, 2014). However, there are only a small number of studies (Du Plessis, 2008; Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014, Shields et al., 2015) on the psychological impact that violence in schools has on teachers in South Africa.

In my role as researcher, I realised that the studies which explore the effects of school-based violence on teachers fail to adequately capture the multi-layered context of a teacher's experiences of violence at school. The small number of South African studies on the effects

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of school-based violence on teachers points to a clear deficit in the literature, and presents an opportunity for exploring teachers' experiences of teaching in a context of violence. As I contemplated how working in a school environment with differing levels of violence affects teachers, I realised that a detailed, complex understanding of teachers' experiences of being bullied or exposed to violence requires more than just a superficial discussion of these categories or themes. Aside from Du Plessis's (2008) case study research of a secondary school teacher's experiences, what is missing from most studies is the teacher's voice. In terms of research methodology, none of these studies had employed narrative methodology, a structure which could do more to represent the teacher's voice. More importantly, none of these studies explored the ethical response of fostering caring relationships between teacher and learner against a context of school violence. In addition, the notion of an ethic of care is largely absent from existing South African literature (Higgs, 2011 in Swart & Oswald, 2012; Waghid & Smeyers, 2012) and, excluding studies by Weeks (2008) and Davids and Waghid (2016), from research conducted on school violence.

In conclusion, the rationale for this study stemmed from the fact that school violence is still a current and relevant problem of significance, which is being addressed with varying levels of success (Davids & Waghid, 2016). Furthermore, gaining an understanding of teachers' experiences and their responses, on a complex and detailed level that is connected to the historical, social and political contexts, could help to identify support and intervention strategies for schools.

1.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

It is evident that the notion of "care" has always played a traditional role in education, for example, Shacklock (1998) found in teacher statements about professionalism that they defined themselves in terms of care, and Cortazzi (1991) analysed teachers' narratives which

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showed that they 'care'. Owens and Evans (2005) declare that "the ability to enact an ethic of care in teaching should be an expectation of effective teachers" (p. 392), and the caring extends to themselves, the learners and the school community. The DBE (2010) obligates teachers to create a caring environment by responding "*appropriately* to the welfare needs of vulnerable children" (p. 9) (my emphasis). However, with learning and teaching disintegrating in some classrooms, and teachers responding with mediocrity, a lack of enthusiasm, or with violence and aggression to incidents of school violence, it is clear that school violence is a phenomenon that has significantly impacted on teachers' ability to enact an ethic of care in their classrooms.

Noddings (2003, 2012) holds that in all human relationships, but especially in teaching relations, there exists the ethical foundation of caring. In this caring relation, the teacher as the one-caring sees to the needs of the learners, the cared-for, by being attentive, listening, reflecting on the expressed and inferred needs of learners before acting, as well as by being competent in teaching. This caring relation is one of responsiveness and reciprocity (Noddings, 2003; Gilligan, 2011). However, the experience of and exposure to repeated incidences of school-based violence may affect teachers' abilities to establish an ethical relationship of care with their learners in the classroom, where their teaching might become mediocre and ineffective.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aimed to extend the understanding of high school teachers' experiences of school violence, and explored how it influences the enactment of caring practices, such as the forming of relationships and attending to students' academic, social and emotional needs in the classroom, from an ethic of care perspective. Ethics of care will thus theoretically frame

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the above-mentioned experiences of school violence which will be explored in this study. Following from this purpose statement, the main research question that guided this study is:

How do teachers' experiences of violence in schools impact on their ability to enact an ethics of care in teaching?

The sub-questions that were explored include:

- What are teachers' experiences of violence in schools?
- How do these experiences of violence form and shape their relationships with learners?
- What are their perceptions of their own care practices as a teacher in the context of violence?

1.5 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

1.5.1 Research design

I conducted this study as a qualitative study within a narrative research design. The paradigm, or the "basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990, p. 17) which underpins this study, is the interpretivist / constructivist paradigm. This paradigm supports the idea that reality is socially constructed with multiple realities or interpretations of events (Merriam, 2009). This was a suitable paradigm to align my research topic with as I was concerned with how teachers construct their worlds in which they live and work through narrative, as well as what meaning they assign to their experiences of school violence. As a qualitative approach, an inductive style of inquiry was used to accumulate rich, descriptive data (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

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Using this approach to understand how teachers make sense of their lives and worlds, I focused specifically on narratives as stories of experience, known as experience-centred narrative research (Squire, 2008). Patterson (2008) defines experience-centred narratives as "texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience" (p. 37). It can include non-oral media, such as visual texts (Squire, 2008). The experience-centred approach to narrative inquiry assumes that personal narratives include all sequential and meaningful stories of experience that people produce; they are stories about human "sense-making"; they "re-present" experience, in that it is reconstituted and expressed; and they could be stories about transformation and human agency (Squire, 2008). Experience-centred stories could be about a general experience such as living through a trauma and its consequences (Patterson, 2008).

One of the assumptions of social constructionism is that language constitutes reality. The implication of this assumption is that a person's reality is maintained and organised through the narratives that the person tells. From this perspective, the words which participants use to tell their stories, are not seen as having meaning in themselves, but instead the meaning is produced, or created, in the contexts in which they are being used (Monk & Gehart, 2003). The motivation for choosing a narrative research design thus stems from the fact that people, like teachers, use stories to work through and explain how a particular event, such as an experience of school violence, turned out, why it happened that way, what their sense of self was, how they understand themselves presently in relation to events, and why they behaved in certain ways (Stephens, 2011).

1.5.2 Selection of participants

As a narrative study of limited scope, this research focused on the personal experiences of four teachers who teach at three different secondary schools in Cape Town where violence

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was prevalent. Through purposeful sampling I identified and selected an information-rich sample who could purposefully inform me about their experiences in line with the study purpose (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). I followed up on word of mouth recommendation to find suitable schools. Possible research participants had to have experienced school violence during their teaching careers and at their current school to be included in this study. Adhering to the ethical principle of non-maleficence (Patton, 2009), potential participants who presented with signs and symptoms of having been traumatised or who were at risk of being retraumatised, would have been excluded. All potential participants completed the PTSD Checklist (PCL-5) (Weathers, Litz, Keane, Palmieri, Marx, & Schnurr, 2013), a standardised self-report rating scale to screen for PTSD, but which is not used as a diagnostic tool. This checklist is not only used for military experiences, but for any traumatic event, and is available in the public domain. After potential participants have volunteered to participate in the study, I explained the exclusion criteria to them and obtained informed consent, including consent to administer the screening questionnaire before making my final selection. All participants screened negatively for being at risk for developing PTSD.

1.5.3 Generation of field texts

The primary sources of data, or "field texts" as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe them, were teachers' stories about their experiences of school violence. I used in-depth, semi-structured interviews which were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim and turned into written field texts. I believe that narratives are co-constructed, therefore I asked participants for particular narratives according to specific themes so that they could choose which stories to tell, and through these narratives they could construct meaning of their specific experiences of violence in schools (Creswell, 2007).

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I also made use of visual methodology. De Lange (2012) describes the value of using visual methodology "as a mode of inquiry, a mode of representation and a mode of dissemination, while also engaging critically with the conceptual, methodological, interpretive and ethical issues peculiar to visual methodologies" (p. 1). I used teachers' photographs as a mode of representation to contextualise and enlighten participants' narratives in Chapter 4 (Mitchell, 2008). After having obtained permission from the principals, I arranged a meeting with each participant at their schools, at a time that was convenient for them, without risk of intruding on their privacy.

1.5.4 Data analysis

Narratives that focus on the experiences of people are often analysed by describing the interviews thematically (Squire, 2008). I used thematic experience-centred narrative analysis to identify themes within the narratives (Riessman, 2008; Bold, 2012). I did not, however, use a "narrative analysis", which focuses on the linguistic structure or performative aspects of the stories (Creswell, 2007; Riessman, 2008). I followed the following steps in the analysis process: After transcription, I immersed and familiarised myself with the data. I then applied in vivo coding (Saldana, 2009), and through a process of reflection and immersion, identified underlying patterns, ideas and themes. As part of the analytical process, I then reconstructed the analysed data into narratives. The stories were constructed to represent sets of events and experiences across times and places. I present the analysed data as representative constructions/narratives in Chapter 4. A representative construction is "information that is reconstructed or represented in a form different from the original information while aiming to maintain the reality" (Bold, 2012, p. 145). With these representations I resisted fragmenting the data into themes, but rather attempted to make diverse and fragmented pieces of data into a "coherent, readable and understandable whole" (Bold, 2012, p. 162).

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1.5.5 My position as researcher

In qualitative research, the main research tool for data collection and analysis is the researcher herself (Merriam, 2009). I am aware that I bring my own worldviews, sets of beliefs and experiences to this study, which will inform the way that the study will be conducted, because all research is subject to the influence of the researcher (Crang & Cook, 2007, cited in Bold, 2012). Creswell (2007) states that in qualitative research "the researchers' interpretations cannot be separated from their own background, history, context, and prior understandings" (p. 39).

When being actively reflexive about the research process, and examining my own biases, attitudes, values and assumptions that I have brought to the inquiry, I thought critically about the process and motivation for my actions as researcher. I confronted and challenged my own assumptions and recognised the extent to which my thoughts about care, violence, and the school environment influenced my research. I examined my understanding of what it means to be a teacher and a psychologist respectively. I have remained aware of my position as a lecturer and psychologist in training, and how this perspective has influenced what I choose to see and played a role in the way I heard the respective stories of the participants. Merriam (2009) advises that rather than to try and eliminate any biases, the researcher needs to identify and monitor them in terms of how they are impacting the collection and analysis of data. My hope was that I would not be afraid to confront my assumptions, and that I would be motivated enough to think and solve problems in the research process creatively and ethically.

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1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It was important to me to conduct the research in an ethical manner. Lee and Renzetti (1990 cited in Fontes, 2004) describe four criteria that they believe make some studies on sensitive topics more threatening than others:

> (a) Where research intrudes into the private sphere or delves into some deeply personal experience; (b) where the study is concerned with deviance and social control; (c) where it impinges on the vested interests of powerful persons or the exercise of coercion and domination; and (d) where it deals with things sacred to those being studied which they do not wish profaned (p. 512).

This study could be seen to meet the first two criteria, and possibly the third, especially in cases where learners coerce or dominate teachers. It was, therefore, imperative that this study would be guided by ethical principles such as respect for people, privacy and confidentiality, justice, fairness, beneficence and non-maleficence (Allan, 2009). I deeply reflected on questions of ethics and how my actions and decisions would contribute to me being an ethical researcher. However, making good, ethical decisions did not merely entail applying principles without first appreciating the context of the situation and using principled reasoning to guide me (King & Churchill, 2000 cited in Fontes, 2004).

In preparation of a request for ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University, I applied for permission from the Western Cape Department of Education (Appendix A) to conduct research in schools in the Western Cape. Permission was sought from the principal of the selected school (Appendix C). I subsequently received ethical clearance from Stellenbosch University (Appendix B). In respecting the rights and adhering to the justice principle, I obtained informed consent from all participants. I fully disclosed the specific nature and purpose of the study and participants' role in it. I also emphasised that their participation was completely voluntary. Respect for persons also meant that I would not act in any way that would violate teachers' trust or the conditions of

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informed consent (Appendix D). I endeavoured to maintain confidentiality and the privacy of all participants by removing all identifying markers from the narratives and by storing transcripts on a password protected computer. Hard copies and audio recordings were stored in a personal lock-up cabinet at my supervisor's practice/office, and made available to myself and my supervisor only. The non-maleficence principle "requires the researcher to ensure that no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research" (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

Because the sensitive nature of the topic might trigger painful or uncomfortable memories, I protected participants from psychological harm by being self-aware about how I conducted the interviews, and being particularly heedful of re-traumatising participants. I made arrangements for counselling services to be available should it have been deemed necessary by the participants or by myself.

The production process of visual field texts, such as photographs, raised ethical concerns not only about permission and access (Daniels, 2008) but also about confidentiality and anonymity (De Lange, 2011). I had to obtain permission and the collaboration from participants in order to use the photographs they took. I transferred their photos to my computer where they were kept securely. I only used photographs that participants had given me permission to use as stipulated on the informed consent form (De Lange, 2011). The second, and more challenging aspect of using a visual methodology, is that I had to provide "visual ethics training" (De Lange, 2011 p. 48; Mitchell, 2011) to the participants who took pictures in their school. To ensure anonymity, I trained the participants on a "no face" approach, or what they could photograph besides faces. However, I emphasised that not all pictures without faces guarantee anonymity, and that care should be taken that a detail that could reveal someone's identity was not part of the image.

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Another ethical concern was the issue of the ownership of the stories, and how they were being reconstituted: as a truthful representation, as one of many interpretations or as a co-construction between researcher and participant (Squire, 2008). I regarded the narratives as co-constructions, and in order to adhere to the principles of respect for participants, justice and fairness, I presented the representative constructions to participants to validate that each narrative had indeed presented their position, and to amend content or contextual aspects if necessary (Bold, 2012). In this way I minimised harm, so that participants did not feel threatened after publication of the research results by reading an anonymised narrative about themselves which they had no opportunity to provide feedback on.

1.7 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1.7.1 Care

In the literature "care" is a contested concept. Gordon, Benner and Noddings (1996, p. xiii) define caring as a set of relational practices that foster mutual recognition and realization, growth, development, protection, empowerment, and human community, culture, and possibility. This definition emphasises that caring happens within relationships. Fisher and Tronto (1990) points to caring as labour, defining the concept as a "species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible" (p. 40). Both definitions were applicable to the care ethics perspective of violence in schools.

1.7.2 School violence

Since school violence is a multifaceted phenomenon, the definition thereof should take into account not only psychological or physical actions, but also the context. In this thesis, I referred to school-based violence according to the following definition: school violence is

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any verbal or physical act which causes the intended victim pain while this individual is under the supervision of the school (MacNeil & Steward, 2000). This definition includes the components of school violence identified by UNESCO since physical violence, sexual violence, psychological violence and bullying are acts that cause the victim pain. However, for the purpose of this limited study I have not included or focused on cyberbullying which is a form of bullying. My definition of school violence also includes the exercising of power by individuals or social processes in the school (Hagan & Foster, 2000). To account for the context, I have also added the DBE's National School Safety Framework (2015) definition of school-based violence, where it is stipulated that school violence is not only acts of violence that occur on the school premises, but also when learners travel to and from school, or at a school-related event. This definition recognises how acts of violence affect the school climate and culture "and severely disrupt(s) the normal functioning of the schooling system" (p. 5).

1.7.3 Teacher

I used the term "teacher" in this thesis because the term "educator", as used by the Department of Education in terms of the Employment of Educators Act, 1998 (Act 76 of 1998) refers to "any person who teaches, educates or trains persons or who provides professional educational services, including therapy and psychological services, at any public school [or] departmental office … and who is appointed in a post on any educator establishment under this Act" (DBE, 2010, p. 42). I made this distinction because this study excluded all educators who do not teach in a school. A teacher is a "school-based educator whose core responsibility is that of classroom teaching at a school" (DBE, 2010, p. 115).

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1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 includes the background and rationale for the study, research questions, a brief discussion about the research design and methods, ethical considerations and clarification of concepts.

Chapter 2 provides a critical overview of literature pertaining to school violence and care. This is done through an integrated theoretical framework focusing primarily on the theory of an ethics of care as well as referring to bioecological theory, resilience theory and teacher-self-efficacy. Firstly, I focus on school violence by describing the incidence, causes and impact of school-based violence on teachers from a national and international perspective, followed by a discussion on the definition and characteristics of trauma and resilience. After contextualising school violence, I discuss the theory of an ethics of care. I provide an overview of the characteristics of care, including caring behaviours, caring practices and caring schools from an ethics of care perspective.

Chapter 3 provides a synopsis of the research design and the methodology which was used in this study, focusing on the features of qualitative research, the interpretivist / constructivist paradigm, using a narrative design with experience-centred narratives, and research procedures including participant selection, thematic experience-centred narrative data analysis, representative constrictions and ethical concerns.

In Chapter 4 I elaborate on and present the main research findings, and I include the representative construction / narrative of each participant.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I present a full discussion on the findings as well as my reflections of my research journey. In my reflection I make recommendations, point out possible limitations, suggest areas for further research and give my final concluding remarks.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this research study is to address the question "How do teachers' experiences of violence in schools impact on their ability to enact an ethics of care in teaching?" In order to report on the current thinking of my research topic, I conducted a literature review in relation to the concepts of school violence, ethics of care, and caring in teaching and schools. An overview of the literature to date on these constructs, both locally and internationally, indicates that the impact of school violence on teachers' ethics of care in schools received very limited attention. One of the possible reasons for the lack of studies that have linked school violence to teachers' caring practices, is that both school violence and care are tremendously complex, wide-ranging phenomena that affect and are linked to various domains of behaviour, emotion and cognition linked to the professional identity of teachers. Firstly, I would argue that school violence and care in schools are often examined indirectly by researching concepts that hint at caring practices, but are not overtly recognised as such by researchers. For example, research has focused on how teachers' unprofessional behaviour and attitudes imply a lack of caring practices, which can actually perpetuate school violence and affect teachers' morale (Taole & Ramorola, 2014). Research has also looked at how effective teachers can be within a community of violence and what their support needs will be in these contexts (Maring & Koblinsky, 2012), and how teachers need to practice empathy to stay connected and caring when faced by aggressive behaviour (Warshof & Rappaport, 2013). In addition to these indirect studies of teachers and violence, there is a plethora of education literature that examines the importance of social relationships among students, teachers, and the management which may directly or indirectly refer to caring (Murphy & Torres, 2014), but almost none of these deals with the issue of caring *and* school violence.

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As a result of the complexity of the constructs, my approach in this study was to draw on multiple theoretical perspectives and employ an integrated theoretical approach. I combined and used the concepts and central propositions from a few existing theories as frameworks for observation and understanding, which guided me as to how I saw the phenomena I was investigating, and assisted me in reaching conclusions to answer my research questions (Neuman, 2006; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In line with the main research question of this study I did not draw on social theories to explain school violence as a phenomenon, as the experience of school violence was a given in the lives of the participants, being a criterium for selection as participant. Within an integrated theoretical framework I relied primarily on the theory of the ethics of care (see section 2.3.1) to understand how teachers build caring relationships with their learners in the face of school violence, while also drawing on some of the basic tenets of bio-ecological theory, resilience theory and social learning theory (teacher self-efficacy) to explain how teachers respond relationally to school violence.

There have been a few studies (Bhana, 2015; O'Connor Duffy & Mooney, 2014; Weeks, 2008) that have addressed the impact of school violence on teachers' caring. Firstly, Bhana's (2015) in-depth study of how sexual violence amongst primary school girls in KwaZulu-Natal compel primary school teachers to respond with an ethic of care, is the only research study found that has directly linked the impact of violence on teachers' ability to enact an ethics of care in schools. O'Connor Duffy and Mooney (2014) address the effects that witnessing school shootings on American campuses have had on the careers of teachers, and the responsibility of school authorities to not only act with an ethics of care to protect teachers, but also to create a positive school climate. Weeks (2008) investigates how caring schools can be a solution for the challenging behaviour of learners in South African schools.

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Bhana (2015) argues that teachers often feel compelled to act in accordance with an ethics of care if they become aware of cases of sexual violence, and are driven to perform care work (Bhana, 2015). She found that primary school teachers enact an ethics of care in order to protect primary school girls from sexual abuse in conditions of chronic poverty, unstable living conditions and structural and gendered inequalities, by reporting cases of abuse and trying to gain parents' support. Acting according to an ethics of care in schools is also vital for the well-being of the school community (Weeks, 2008; O'Conner Duffy & Mooney, 2014) specifically as a solution for challenging behaviour that has become increasingly violent (Weeks, 2008) and to provide emotional support to teachers who have been on the receiving end of school violence (O'Conner Duffy & Mooney, 2014).

These studies also demonstrate that in conditions of pre-existing school violence, enacting an ethics of care can exact a high price from teachers. The teachers in Bhana's (2015) study fear for their safety if they were to report cases of sexual abuse, which leads to silence and renders the care response inadequate. O'Connor Duffy and Mooney (2014) show that if the school system fails to respond with an ethics of care to the psychological trauma of teachers who have witnessed school shootings, the long-term consequences will be negative for both learners and teachers. Teachers will be less effective in their teaching, have a reduced ability to actively engage students, suffer the consequences of trauma, possibly develop post-traumatic stress disorder, burn out and leave the teaching profession.

Even though schools have long been identified as places where acts of violence are being committed (Burton, 2008; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; O'Conner Duffy & Mooney, 2014), they can also become places of care and protection (Bhana, 2015). Weeks (2008) also describes many schools as violent, and emphasises the importance of the whole school community enacting an ethics of care towards one another in order to transform South

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African schools. The rest of this literature review will thus consider the dual nature of schools as both places of violence but also places of care. I will examine the concept of school violence and discuss how it functions in context.

2.2 SCHOOL VIOLENCE

2.2.1 Definitions and scope of school violence

In the literature on violence in schools, there is little consensus on the definition of school violence, and it differs depending on the author, context or purpose of the document. It is evident that "school violence" is a broad concept without clearly-defined boundaries, and includes elements such as harassment, bullying, verbal abuse, hazing/initiation, intimidation, theft, gangsterism and drug-related crimes (Jefthas & Artz, 2007; Burton 2008). These concepts are not usually associated with the term "violence", which would mostly be associated with incidents such as shootings, beatings, stabbings and assault, however, they are included in the umbrella term "school violence". What is clear is that in order to demarcate and arrive at an in-depth understanding of the concept school violence, it is necessary to adequately define this concept and to demarcate the scope thereof.

The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002) defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation". This definition of violence generally cannot be applied unaltered to school violence because it does not take the context of the school into account. In one definition, derived from experiences of violence in a first world country, school violence is defined as "various aggressive and antisocial behaviours among students, ranging from serious physical acts involving the use of lethal weapons" (Cantor & Wright, 2002, p. 425) to "less serious physical behaviours such as shoving and pushing"

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(Juvonen, 2001). This particular definition is problematic in that it does not account for acts of violence against teachers, the impact of violence in the community on schools, or the occurrence of sexual violence in schools. Burton (2008) defines school violence as "intentional harm or discomfort inflicted on learners, including incidents such as schoolyard fights, bullying and drug abuse" (p. 19). Again, this definition is inadequate in that it does not take gender violence, contextual factors (SACE, 2011) or the teacher's perspective of what school violence is into account.

According to UNESCO (2017, p. 8-9) the scope of school violence worldwide comprises aspects of the following:

- School violence refers to the following forms of violence: physical violence (including corporal punishment), psychological violence (including verbal abuse), sexual violence (including rape) and bullying (including cyberbullying). "Cyberbullying involves posting or sending electronic messages, including text, pictures or videos, aimed at harassing, threatening or targeting another person via a variety of media and social platforms such as online social networks, chat rooms, blogs, instant messaging and text messaging" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 15).
- Bullying is a form of school violence which is a pattern of behaviour, rather than an isolated event of violence, which has a detrimental effect on the victim, the bully and the onlookers. Bullying is unwanted aggressive or hurtful behaviour between the different role-players in a school that involves a real or perceived imbalance of power or strength. This behaviour is repeated over time or it has the potential to be repeated over time (Olweus, 2010).
- Acts of school violence are perpetrated by all role-players, including teachers, learners and other school staff. School violence can occur anywhere on the premises of the school, outside the gates of the school, on the way to and from schools within

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neighbourhoods, or on transport systems like buses and taxis which transport learners. Community members, including parents and gang members, can also commit acts of school violence.

- Worldwide, girls are more likely to experience incidents of sexual abuse than boys. Even though boys are more likely to experience corporal punishment or more severe forms thereof, it does not mean that girls are exempt from this form of punishment.
- There are many different causes of school violence and bullying, but some of these include chronic poverty, gender and social norms, as well as wider contextual and structural factors.
- Learners who are living with disabilities, who are members of cultural or linguistic minorities, who are migrants or who live in poverty are especially vulnerable and at a higher risk of being victims of school violence. Worldwide, it is found that adolescents who are sexual and gender minorities, or who do not conform to traditional social or gender norms, are also disproportionately targeted.
- Many victims of school violence and bullying keep silent about their experiences because of a lack of trust in adults, including teachers. They also remain silent due to fear of repercussions or reprisals, feelings of guilt, shame or confusion, concerns that they will not be taken seriously, and due to not knowing where to seek help.
- Parents and teachers are often unaware of or ignore acts of school violence. The UNESCO report (2017) claims that in some contexts, adults view corporal punishment, fighting and bullying as a normal part of discipline or growing up and are not aware of the negative impact it has on the education, health and well-being of children and adolescents.

Because of the wide-ranging scope of school violence, I have not confined the study to a single definition of school violence, but rather compiled a description which contains

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different components of school violence. In this study, school violence is defined as any verbal or physical act which causes the intended victim physical or emotional pain while this individual (teacher or learner) is under the supervision of the school (MacNeil & Steward, 2000). I also broadened this definition to include the exercising of power by individuals or social processes in the school (Hagan & Foster, 2000). I will also incorporate aspects highlighted in the DBE's National School Safety Framework (2015) where school violence not only includes acts of violence that occur on the school premise, but also when learners travel to and from school, or at a school-related event. This definition also focuses on the form of the interactions, and includes teacher-on-teacher violence. The definition recognises how acts of violence affect the school climate and culture "and severely [disrupts] the normal functioning of the schooling system" (p. 5).

2.2.2 The nature and extent of school violence

A 2017 UNESCO report clearly states that school violence occurs in all countries in the world. It is estimated that worldwide, 246 million children and adolescents are exposed to some form of school violence every year (Greene, Robles, Stout & Suvilaakso, 2013; UNESCO, 2017). In the United States, 63 students out of every 1000 students are the victims of school violence (Dinkes, Lemp, Baum, 2008 in Johnson, 2009). When learners are exposed to chronic violence in the communities where they live, they are also likely to demonstrate high risk behaviours at school such as fighting, bullying and carrying weapons (Jagers, Sydnor, Mouttapa & Flay, 2007). A survey among grade 9 to 12 learners in the USA in 2015, exploring school violence, found that 7,8% of learners reported being in a schoolyard fight in the previous 12 months, 4,1% reported bringing a weapon to school (gun, club or knife) on one or more days in the prior 30 days, and 6% reported being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property one or more times in the 12 months leading up to

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the survey (Centre for Disease Control, 2016). However, physical acts of violence at schools are less common in industrialised, first world countries, and bullying is more of a problem. Internationally cyberbullying especially is a growing problem. In Europe, this type of school violence increased from 8% of learners being victims in 2008 to 12% in 2014 (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Olafsson, & Haddon, 2014) while in Canada 18% of girls are victims in comparison to 8% of boys (Cappadocia, Craig & Pepler, 2013).

Already in 2002, Vally, Dolombisa and Porteus (2002) argued that school violence in South Africa is more pervasive than school violence in American schools, even though the school violence in the United States has received more international attention. Between 2010 and 2017 a number of reports on school violence in South Africa (SACE, 2011; Timms SA, 2011; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; The Health of Educators in Public Schools in South Africa 2015-2016) presented a bleak picture regarding the prospects of having violence-free, safe schools. The state of school violence in South African schools has not improved in the last 15 years, and in one of the most recent reports, *The Health of Educators in Public Schools in South Africa 2016* (2016), 20% of the 20 000 teachers surveyed at 1380 schools feel that schools are violent and unsafe places.

An informal overview of newspaper articles across 2016 and 2017, focusing only on incidents in Cape Town, revealed at least 30 attacks on teachers reported to the Department of Education in the region (www.iol.co.za). In 23 of the 29 matters reported between January and May 2016, pupils were the perpetrators, with 14 assault cases, six cases of verbal abuse, two sexual abuse cases and one in which a weapon was used to threaten a teacher. Over the same period, there were three cases where parents were accused of verbally abusing teachers, one case of a resident verbally abusing a teacher and, in two cases, teachers were robbed by residents. In the 30th incident in May 2016, a teacher was beaten up and robbed in his

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classroom after a disagreement with a Grade 8 pupil. In October 2016 the deputy-principal of a school was killed in a hijacking when he drove a sick pupil home. In the same month, a Grade 12 pupil was stabbed to death in a gang related attack at school, and in November 2016 (www.news24.com), an 18-year-old pupil, a suspected gang member, was shot five times when he was on his way to write his matric examination (www.news24.com). In June 2017, a principal in Lavender Hill was stabbed by a parent (www.heraldlive.co.za). In April 2017 and June 2017, learners were stabbed to death at two separate schools in Cape Town (www.ewn.co.za).

Teachers have a duty to care for and protect the learners who are entrusted in their care (Unicef, 2012; DBE, 2010). In South Africa, however, violence at some schools has become an everyday event that results in the erosion of a culture of learning and teaching at schools (Zulu, Urbani, Van Der Merwe & Van Der Walt, 2004). Children are more likely to experience a form of violence at school rather than at home (Burton, 2008). A national study on school violence conducted in 2008 found that 15% of learners (approximately 1.8 million children) had experienced some form of violence while at school (Burton, 2008). The results of the 2012 National School Violence Study by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) found that 22,2% of high school learners (1,020,597 learners) have experienced a threat of violence or have been the victims of an assault, a robbery and/or an incident of sexual assault (including rape) (Leoschut & Burton, 2013). The study found that female learners are the most affected by school violence. The key findings of this report include that out of the 5393 learners surveyed, 12,2% had been threatened with violence by someone at school, 6,3% had been assaulted, 4,7% had been assaulted or raped, and 4,5% had been robbed at school. Most rapes of female learners in South Africa are perpetrated by someone known to the victim, including male teachers (Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw, 2002; Bhana, 2015). It also found that one in five high school learners had experienced some form

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of cyberbullying within the last year; online fighting was the most common form and sexual cyberbullying was the least common (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). The extent to which teachers perceived violence to have occurred in their schools in the prior 12 months included persons being assaulted (19.8%), and fights involving weapons (16%). One in five teachers (20.3%) recalled situations where a person had been found in possession of weapons (The Health of Educators in Public Schools in South Africa, 2016). The study also reported on the perspectives of teachers on school violence, and found that 17% of teachers reported fights involving a weapon and 13% thought that gangs were operating at their schools.

School violence reports indicate that in South Africa, acts of school violence can occur in a variety of configurations, namely between learners, as well as teacher-on-learner, learner-on-teacher, teacher-on-teacher and parent-on-teacher forms of violence. Therefore, it is not only learners that have been affected, but teachers have also been the targets of school violence, both in South Africa and abroad. In the USA, in a survey conducted in 2003-2004, 7% of the teaching force (253 100 teachers) indicated that they were threatened and/or assaulted by learners (Dinkes, et al., 2007 in Espelage, Anderman, Brown, Jones, Lane, McMahon, Reddy & Reynols, 2013). Burton and Leoschut (2013) found that 41% of teachers in South Africa had been verbally abused by a learner, and 7.9% had been physically victimised. Other studies have corroborated the findings that teachers are also the victims of school violence, including bullying and gang violence (Robbertzee, 2002; Reckson & Becker, 2005; De Wet, 2010; Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014). Educator-targeted bullying is a form of school violence directed against teachers. It is characterised by aggression against those who should be the sources of learners' social, cognitive and emotional well-being, and who should ensure their safety (De Wet, 2010).

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2.2.3 Causes of school violence

Because school violence is a complex, multisystemic problem, theories that give simplistic and one-dimensional views on the causes of school violence are necessarily inadequate. Recently, more comprehensive and integrative theories, such as the bio-ecological systems theory and interactional perspectives, have been used to explore the causes of violence in schools (Espelage et al., 2013).

According to UNESCO (2017) the root causes of school violence include gender and social norms and wider structural and contextual factors such as income inequality, deprivation, marginalisation and conflict. In the 2016 UNICEF U-Report/SRSG-VAC opinion poll on bullying, to which 100,000 young people in 18 African countries responded, 25% reported that they had been bullied because of their physical appearance, 25% because of their gender or sexual orientation and 25% because of their ethnicity (United Nations, 2016).

In accordance with a systemic view of the causes of school violence, Burton (2008) argues that the causes of school violence do not originate at the micro systemic level. Taking a broader view "will minimise the possibility of this problem being reduced to the level of the individual in which the particular parties involved in violence are viewed as the sole problem" (SACE, 2011, p. 23). In a macrosystemic perspective, some of the causal influences on school violence in South Africa can be attributed to chronic and extreme poverty, gendered inequalities and patriarchal, normative notions of masculinity, as well as social and economic inequalities resulting in unemployment. School violence could also be linked to contextual factors like vulnerable and unstable family systems and an exposure to violence in childhood, the influence of peer groups, permanent exclusion of learners as a result of bad behaviour, the inability of schools to enforce policies that deal with discipline and violence, widespread access to firearms, alcohol and drug misuse, high crime-rates in some

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neighbourhoods and the failure to uphold safety as a basic right of teachers and learners (Burton, 2008; Brown & Winterton, 2010; Kaminer & Eagle, 2010; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Netshitangani, 2014; Bhana, 2015). Gender also seems to be a strong predictor of violence, which leads to girls being more likely to be victims of violence at school (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010; UNESCO, 2017).

Espelage et al. (2013) indicate that several studies have found that the effectiveness of teachers' classroom management skills is a strong indicator of the extent to which learner violence is directed towards a teacher. If teacher-learner relationships are marked by conflict, this can also be a predictor of aggressive behaviour (Stipek & Miles, 2008 in Espelage et al., 2013). Taole and Ramorola (2014) found that teachers also contribute to the ongoing violence in South African schools by using derogatory comments, bullying and verbal abuse. This kind of behaviour from teachers amounts to a lack of professionalism and ethics that perpetuates school violence. In addition, many teachers in South African schools still use corporal punishment, even though the DBE banned it officially in 1996 (Morrell, 2001). Globally, more than half of all learners are not legally protected from corporal punishment. By December 2014, only 122 countries have prohibited corporal punishment in their schools, but in 76 countries there are no such protection for children (www.endcorporalpunish ment.org; UNESCO, 2017). Corporal punishment contributes to school violence because schools have failed in creating alternative effective disciplinary measures. The use of corporal punishment is compounded by parents' support for this disciplinary measure. However, despite this support, evidence suggests that the use of corporal punishment and verbal abuse increases misbehaviour of learners (Hyman & Perone, 1998).

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2.2.4 The effects of school violence on teachers

It is important to recognise that teachers can be the victims of, witnesses to, or perpetrators of violence in schools, which will all have some effect on the teacher her- or himself (Espelage et al., 2013; Laugaa, Rascle, & Bruchon-Schweitzer, 2008; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007). Generally, school violence has a negative effect on the well-being of teachers, with a lowered personal life satisfaction (Dzuka & Dalbert, 2007 in Türküm, 2011). Teachers are generally at high risk for burnout and professional disengagement. Howard and Johnson (2004) note that this is an international phenomenon, as indicated by the extensive research literature comprising studies from a wide range of developed countries.

A number of studies (Du Plessis, 2008; Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014, Shields et al., 2015, Davids & Waghid, 2016) have demonstrated that school violence can potentially have a negative effect on South African teachers on both an emotional/personal as well as a professional level. Reckson and Becker (2005) have argued that the emotional component of teachers' work, such as being appropriately responsive to the affective and educational needs of learners, contributes to the stress they experience. When a teacher is working in a school with a high incidence of school violence, and specifically gang violence, they have to deal with additional stressors (Benjamin, 2000; Heavside et al., 1998; Robertzee, 2002; Wilson, 2000 all cited in Reckon & Becker; 2005). Reckson and Becker (2005) provide a comprehensive overview of the literature on the stressors experienced by teachers.

When teachers encounter some of these stressors, such as incidents of shooting, stabbings, suffering attacks from learners or hearing and/or seeing the traumatic experiences of colleagues and learners, many teachers may experience normal symptoms of trauma and/or psychological distress (Isaacs, 2001 & Spiers, 2001 in Reckson & Becker, 2005). According

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to Hamber and Lewis (1997, p. 1) trauma "is an event that overwhelms the individual's coping resources." These events are usually unanticipated, dangerous, and make individuals feel as if they have no power or control over events. Trauma thus generally includes events involving death or injury, or the possibility of death or injury. Because these experiences are unusual and not part of the normal course of life, they may disrupt many aspects of an individual's psychological functioning (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). Normal reactions of trauma, when people try to adapt to what has happened to them, may include feelings of anxiety and mild depression, having distressing thoughts and memories of the traumatic event, difficulty sleeping, and feeling hyper-alert to any signs of danger (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). In order to manage these negative feelings and experiences, many individuals will avoid talking about their experiences. They may socially withdraw and don't feel anything when they think about the trauma. Shields et al. (2015) report that many teachers feel socially isolated after an experience of school violence, and that it has a negative impact on relationships with family members and peers. However, eventually these reactions, which may last from a few days to weeks or months, may gradually fade without impacting severely on the individuals' ability to function. Many people go through a period of disequilibrium but do not have lasting difficulties and do not develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Research has indicated that traumatic stress (as manifested by increased anxiety and headaches), depression, low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, frustration, shame, guilt (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014; Shields et al., 2015), and exhaustion and disillusionment (Davids & Waghid, 2016) can be experienced by teachers who have been exposed to school violence. De Wet (2010) reported that some teachers have experienced headaches, sleep deprivation, burnout, and eating disorders in response to trauma. Others experience stress-related illnesses such as high blood pressure (15.6%) and stomach ulcers (9.1%) (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2010).

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A small minority of teachers, however, may experience ongoing and severe symptoms of trauma that may affect their functioning (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). When meeting the criteria in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* 5 (2013), they will be formally diagnosed with PTSD. Their symptoms usually cause substantial impairment in their professional and personal roles. Shields et al. (2015) reported that 47% of participants (n=17) in their study met the DSM-5 criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder.

In addition to symptoms affecting teachers' personal lives, on a professional level the effects of violence can bring about a change in teachers' attitudes towards teaching and learning as well as in their behaviour towards learners. School violence seems to have a negative effect on teachers' morale, and together with a sense of helplessness that many teachers feel, it may further damage the learning environment (Zuze, Reddy, Juan, Hannan, Visser & Winnaar, 2016). Some teachers react with overwhelming negativity towards learners who are perceived as bullies or perpetrators (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010), an unwillingness to assist with learning in the classroom, leaving the profession (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010), mediocrity in teaching, a lack of enthusiasm, being unable to control their temper, disciplinary problems in the classroom, the disintegration of teaching and learning and a diminished reputation in the eyes of their learners, colleagues and the principal (De Wet, 2010). In response to these overwhelming feelings of frustration and anger, teachers contemplate violent responses (Davids & Waghid, 2016), aggressive behaviour and the use of corporal punishment (Shields et al., 2015).

2.2.5 Resilience as a factor in mitigating the effects of school violence

When teachers adopt a deficit approach to the challenges they face, focusing on what is wrong, in contexts where they are exposed to school violence, some teachers fail to cope, leading to stress and burnout (Howard & Johnson, 2004). However, some teachers function very well under highly stressful circumstances, a fact which reflects their resilience.

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Resilience is generally understood as the process of adapting well after a traumatic or adverse event. Masten, Best and Garmezy (1990) define resilience as "the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances" (p. 425). Rauch, Zautra and Hall (2010) and Schoon (2006) define the concept as "an outcome of successful adaptation to adversity". Rauch et al. (2010) also state that when looking at resilience theory, people's ability to recover and to sustain that recovery need to be taken into account. Recovery refers to how well people bounce back from adversity and return to a former, more balanced state. Sustainability is related to human agency and the capacity to move forward despite adversity, and to access the capacity to appraise, plan and take intentional action. Individual resilience may then be defined by "the amount of stress a person can endure without a fundamental change in capacity to pursue aims that give life meaning" (Rauch et al. 2010, p. 6).

Teachers who have experienced significant or multiple incidents of school violence, are resilient when they can recover enough to still find purpose and meaning in their teaching careers. Therefore, the more a person is still able to pursue a satisfactory life, the greater their resilience. Resilience is an ordinary ongoing process that involves an individual's behaviours, thoughts and actions (Schoon, 2006). In order to strengthen resilience, an individual can learn to make more adaptive choices, and to change their underlying thought patterns and attitudes.

Ungar (2012) views resilience as a contextual and culturally embedded construct defined as "a set of behaviours over time that depends on the opportunities that are available and accessible to individuals, their families and communities" (p. 3). He explains that in initial resilience research, the individual was the focus of change. The individual responded to environmental stressors, and the individual was expected to exercise personal agency to get support in their context and to increase their psychological functioning. However, within an ecological understanding of resilience, which recognises the complexity in reciprocal person-

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environment interactions, a "goodness of fit" between elements of the mesosystem (school, learners, community) can lead to growth in adverse circumstances. Resilience should always be contextual because risk is always present. Viewing the effects of school violence on teachers from an ecological risk and resilience perspective demonstrates how risk and protective factors at various levels may influence outcomes for teachers, either by increasing the probability that teachers will suffer adverse consequences resulting from school violence (such as developing PTSD) or by mitigating the effects of risk factors to promote resilience (Maring & Koblinksy, 2012).

According to Howard and Johnson (2004), teachers who are resilient demonstrate some of the following behaviours:

- they have effective strategies to deal with difficult, challenging learners,
- they respond appropriately to violent behaviour of learners,
- they respond to critical incidents and learners' personal problems and needs authentically, while protecting themselves emotionally,
- they manage time and workloads effectively,
- and they are capable of handling change flexibly and creatively.

On the other hand, teachers who are at risk of burn-out:

- have difficulty working with unmotivated, non-compliant and challenging learners,
- need to call on others to help them in dealing with disciplinary problems,
- appear to be incapacitated by critical incidents,
- seem overwhelmed by learners' personal problems and needs,
- blame management, colleagues and learners for their perceived inability to cope, and
- need to take leave to deal with work-related stress.

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According to Howard and Johnson (2004) resilient teachers draw on protective factors such as significant relationships with loved ones and friends and a sense of connectedness, personal agency or efficacy, social and problem-solving skills, a sense of competence, a future orientation and a sense of achievement (Masten et al., 1990; Werner & Smith, 1990; Gore & Eckenrode, 1994; Howard & Johnson, 1999, 2000a, b, 2002 in Howard & Johnson, 2004). When teachers have high self-efficacy and belief that they can attain their goals, these factors will promote resilience (Gibbs & Miller, 2014). Teachers employ a number of strategies associated with resilience to mitigate the effects of school violence, including strategies such as prayer and seeking support from family and colleagues, but they also engaged in some avoidant strategies, such as emotional withdrawal, avoiding difficult learners, separating work and personal life, and seeking professional counselling (Maring & Koblinsky, 2012).

2.2.6 The response to school violence in South Africa

Makota and Leoschut (2016) ask the important question of whose responsibility school violence is. According to the authors, there is an ill-informed perception that reducing violence in schools is the responsibility of the police or the Department of Education. The programmes of the Department of Education to combat school violence have been described as “disjointed and piecemeal at best” (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). In South Africa, the government has certainly implemented many policy and legislation frameworks that are intended to protect the rights of both learners and teachers. Policies and acts that impact on violence in schools nationally include the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) which contains the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2). The Bill of Rights ensures the right to life, the right to bodily and psychological integrity, and the right of children to access basic healthcare and social services (South African Constitution, 1996), also outlined in the Children’s Act

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(No. 38 of 2005). Education policies and acts include the South African Schools Act (No.84 of 1996), the National Education Policy Act (No. 27 of 1996), the Employment of Educators Act (No. 76 of 1998), the Regulations for Safety Measures at all Public Schools (2001), Regulations to Prohibit Initiation Practices in Schools (Government Gazette 24165, 2002, p. 68) the Norms and Standards for Educators (Government Gazette 20844, 2000, p. 48) and the Policy Framework for the Management of Drug Abuse by Learners in Schools and in Public Further Education and Training Institutions (2002). Policies that protect learners with barriers to learning from exclusion and from violence are the White Paper 6: Special Needs Education (2001) and the Policy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (2014).

However, despite the regulation of violence in schools by the above-mentioned policies and acts, the responses to school-based violence have been largely inadequate (Davids & Waghid, 2016) and unsuccessful, with continued reports of serious acts of violence (De Wet, 2016). In response to the growing incidence of violence and crime, the DBE and the South African Police Service signed an Implementation Protocol on the prevention of violence in all schools and the promotion of safe schools in 2011. Makota and Leoschut (2016) argue that while the police have a crucial role to play in the reduction of school violence, their presence in schools and in the surrounding neighbourhoods cannot be a replacement for whole-school violence-reduction measures.

In a more recent policy framework, the *Conceptual Framework for Care and Support for Teaching and Learning* (CSTL), the DBE identified "priority interventions" for the initiation and extension of care and support programmes (DBE, 2010, p. 10). One of these priority mandates is having schools that are free from all forms of abuse, violence and bullying, and the creation of safe and protective environments for teachers and learners (DBE, 2010). The CSTL is committed to providing "safe, supportive gender-sensitive spaces" and to "institute

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zero tolerance for violence, sexual abuse, substance abuse, psychological abuse, stigma, discrimination and vandalism" (DBE, 2010, p. 12).

In an attempt to bridge the gap between policy and practice, and in response to continued incidents of violence in schools, the DBE in 2015 decided to expand the CSTL framework with the implementation in all schools of the *National School Safety Framework* (NSSF) (2015) for safer schools. The NSSF is a comprehensive guide for all schools and districts to make schools a safer place (DBE, 2015). An example of a priority intervention is the Safe Schools Programme, an initiative of the Western Cape Department of Education, which aims to create safer schools and to provide support via a 'safe schools' call centre.

Despite the NSSF factors that remain concerning, over and above the levels of violence, is the fact that the classroom is the place where most of the acts of violence happen; corporal punishment, even though prohibited, is still experienced by one half of learners; more than one in 10 learners experience bullying; most acts of violence are committed by learners from the school rather than from outside the school; sexual violence remains common, and teachers give learners mixed messages with regards to what is acceptable when it comes to violence (DBE, 2015).

This leads to the question: What can be done about school violence in South Africa? The *National School Safety Framework* (2015) advocates a holistic "whole-school or whole-of-society" (p. 22) approach to reducing violence in schools which requires schools to have safety policies, codes of conduct and disciplinary measures, interventions against bullying, psycho-social interventions to modify the behaviour of learners, adequate support measures, and the fostering of a school climate that does not tolerate violence and is responsive to incidents of violence. Both learners and teachers should also be deterred from carrying weapons at schools (The Health of Educators in Public Schools in South Africa, 2016).

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The various studies and policy frameworks in the first part of this literature review have detailed how schools are places where violence occurs, explaining the nature, extent, causes, effects and responses to school violence. While there is a wealth of educational literature on the role of caring in teacher-learner relationships, none of these studies give any direction on how teachers will enact caring practices within a context of school violence. In addition, Seashore Louis, Murphy and Smylie (2016) have noted that some researchers do discuss caring practices and behaviours of teachers, but that it is not informed by a systematic conceptualisation of the construct 'care', since "its meaning in schools is vague, ambiguous, unsettled, and weakly explicated" (Thompson, 1998 in Seashore Louis et al., 2016, p. 312). Therefore, by exploring what caring is and recognising caring in a teacher's narrative about violence, the next section of the literature review will outline the characteristics of care informed by the theory of the ethics of care. I will attempt to answer the following questions: How is care defined? What constitutes caring behaviour in schools? Which organisational conditions in a school will enable a teacher to be caring, and what constitutes a caring school?

2.3 CARE PRACTICES

2.3.1 Characteristics of care

The literature on care ethics offers us insight into the characteristics of care which can then be applied in an educational context. According to Ruddick (1998), the theory of an ethics of care has described three discrete, but overlapping characteristics of care which I will discuss below. Care is an ethic defined in opposition to an ethics of justice (Gilligan, 1982, 2011), a particular relationship (Noddings, 1984; 1992) and a practice or a labour (Fisher & Tronto, 1990; Gordon et al., 1996; Held, 2006; Sander-Staubt, 2011).

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2.3.1.1 Care as an ethic

Firstly, according to Gilligan (1984) care is an ethic or a moral obligation which is the opposite of an ethics of justice. The underlying premise of the theory of an ethics of care is that we, as human beings, form relationships, since we are naturally responsive beings and as such we are connected and interdependent (Gilligan, 2011). An ethics of care "directs our attention to the need for responsiveness in relationships (paying attention, listening, responding) and to the costs of losing connection with oneself or with others" (Gilligan, 2011). The ethics of care sees the importance of ethics everywhere, not just in events where a decision needs to be made, but the need for ethical caring is pervasive and ongoing (Bowden, 2000).

Both Gilligan and Noddings pointed out that traditional approaches to morality are laden with male bias. These two care ethicists affirmed the "voice of care" as a legitimate different approach to the "justice perspective" of liberal human rights theory which focused on autonomy and independence (Sander-Staudt, 2011):

> One might say that ethics has been discussed largely in the language of the father: in principles and propositions, in terms such as justification, fairness, justice. The mother's voice has been silent. Human caring and the memory of caring and being cared for, which I shall argue form the foundation of ethical response, have not received attention except as outcomes of ethical behavior (Noddings, 1984, p. 1)

From the care ethics point of view, morality is less a rational issue based on universal principles of justice, and more about taking responsibility for people in need in specific contexts (Held, 2014). In contrast to an ethics of justice which values schematic reasoning, the abstract formulation of moral problems, universal rules and the weighing of interests for the better good, there is within the ethics of care a sensitivity for the context as well as an emotional component to dealing with ethics. Ethics of care is contextualised or situation-bound, and therefore variable, idiosyncratic, and dynamic (Tronto, 2010). In particular,

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learners often experience caring in a variety of contexts that are related to the development of their own interests about which they are enthusiastic, rather than those identified by the school (Schmidt, Shernoff, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014).

2.3.1.2 Care as a particular relationship

Secondly, Noddings (1984) states that "caring describes a certain kind of relationship with others" (p. 91) and describes the nature of care as follows: "When we see the other's reality as a possibility for us, we must act to eliminate the intolerable, to reduce the pain, to fill the need, to actualize the dream. When I am in this sort relationship with another, when the other's reality becomes a real possibility for me, I care" (p. 14).

Within caring relationships, Noddings (1984) distinguishes between caring about and caring for. She points out that in "caring for", the relationship needs to be reciprocal. The quality of reciprocity implies that while we can care about those we do not know well, we can care for only those with whom we have built particular relationships. Noddings's aforementioned description of caring as a relationship draws in the idea of "engrossment" which she explains as follows: "care is a state of mental suffering or/of engrossment: to care is to be in a burdened mental state, one of anxiety, fear, or solicitude about something or someone" (Noddings, 1984, p. 9). Just like a mother will be attentive and responsive to the cries of her child, engrossment entails emotional investment by the one-caring, meaning that the one-caring will be open and receptive to the received situation of the cared-for as if it were their own – the key words are "receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness" (Noddings, 1984, p. xx). This engrossment will lead to emotional displacement, meaning the one-caring will displace selfish motives to be able to act on behalf of the cared-for. She describes this state as a "receptive intuitive mode", "which allows us to receive the object, to put ourselves quietly into its presence" (p. 34).

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However, caring is never one-sided. Whenever the one-caring becomes aware of the needs of the cared-for, leading to engrossment and motivational displacement, there must be, according to Noddings (1984), a reciprocal reception of the care by the intended cared-for. This could be a simple acknowledgement or awareness that an act of caring has taken place. The act of caring often happens in asymmetrical relationships, especially when the cared-for does not have the emotional, intellectual or physical resources, skills or knowledge to meet his or her own needs. When the caring is completed in the cared-for, the caring relationship is established, enhanced or maintained.

Bergman (2004) points out that for Noddings, it is not just the needs of the cared-for being addressed that is at stake, but the sense of self of both the cared-for and the one-caring. If the cared-for receives and accepts the care, the cared-for will believe that the world is a safe, stable place and that he or she is worthy of receiving care. On the other hand, the one-caring has a sense of him- or herself as a caring person. This sense of self can be called the caring self, the ethical self or the ethical ideal, which is also established, enhanced and maintained with performing acts of care. "In the single act of giving and receiving care, the self of each person is confirmed. One's caring is worthy, one is worthy of care" (Bergman, 2004, p. 152). Noddings also explains that the ethical self or ethical ideal is always in construction, never quite completed (Noddings, 2002a). She describes the process of developing the caring response in a subject and how this contributes to the establishment of the ideal self. She therefore argues that it is only through receiving care that one learns *how* to care, but also that one *must* care if the caring self or ethical self is to be confirmed – in this way, through accepting care and caring ourselves, we are all morally interdependent: "Learning to be cared for is the first step in moral education" (Noddings, 2002a, p. 24).

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The question arises of what one should do with regards to the moral obligation to care if the caring is not received, and if it is rejected, resisted or does not come naturally or spontaneously? What happens if one is unmotivated to care because of one's personal circumstances or feelings? Noddings notes that usually if we feel a moral duty, we use the expression "I must", but Noddings's answer to this dilemma is that if we cannot spontaneously participate in natural caring, we must summon up ethical caring. This means that we must always act to enhance, establish or maintain caring relations (Noddings, 1995).

> Why… do we recognize an obligation to care?…In the ethic of care we accept our obligation because we value the relatedness of natural caring…When we care, we must employ reasoning to decide what to do and how best to do it …But reason is not what motivates us. It is feeling with and for the other that motivates us in natural caring. In ethical caring, this feeling is subdued, and so it must be augmented by a feeling for our own ethical selves (Noddings, 2002b, p. 14).

Noddings (1995) also argues that sometimes we fulfil moral duties to stay faithful to "an ideal picture of ourselves" (p. 187), while being aware that because we are in relationships with others, they are contributing to the construction of the ideal self – the ethical self. Noddings (2002a) suggests that we should think of our ideal, ethical self as a sort of a script which directs and interprets all encounters we have with others. Thus, rather than responding to the "I must" in each of us, we should rather ask "What are you going through?", and attend with openness, receptivity and empathy, which will lead to appropriate reasoning to find the most appropriate response.

From the discussion above it is evident that within the relational aspect of care, the following are the core elements applicable to caring in schools: attentiveness, responsiveness, motivational displacement and authenticity. Learners in schools may be very attuned to whether teachers pay attention to them and see them as individuals. Alder (2000 in Seashore Louis et al., 2016) sees attentiveness as an essential element of teacher care. Power and Makogon (1996, p. 13) summarised this aspect as "a sensitive

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responsiveness to the other that is based on an engaged attentiveness and openness to the other's experience." Caring in schools also needs to be authentic. Noddings (1991) relates authenticity to openness, transparency and genuineness. Learners are quick to notice when so-called caring actions are just a set of meaningless practices or routinised and not genuine (Gordon et al., 1996). The other core element of caring in teaching is motivational displacement. Kruse, Louis, and Bryk (1995) have argued that in education this is a core aspect of professionalism, where the needs of learners come before teachers' personal career needs.

2.3.1.3 Care as a practice and a labour

Lastly, caring is described as a set of practices, behaviours or labours. According to Sander-Staudt (2011) the definition of care by Fisher and Tronto (1990) which points to caring as both a labour and as a practice, is one of the most popular in care ethics literature. According to this definition, care is "a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment" (p. 40*)*. If we apply this definition to education, we can ask how teachers and management should act in a caring way to teachers who have experienced violence, what caring behaviours will maintain a caring learning environment, and how caring can repair some of the damage being done by school violence to the world of the school and school community. Gordon et al. (1996, p. xiii) defined caring as a set of relational practices that foster mutual recognition and realisation, growth, development, protection, empowerment, and human community, culture, and possibility.

Within the literature on care ethics, care is often defined as a practice, value, disposition, or virtue (Fisher & Tronto, 1990; Gordon et al., 1996; Held, 2006; Sander-Staubt, 2011).

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Held (2006, p. 36, 40), who regards care as "clusters" of practices and values, describes a caring person as someone who is appropriately motivated to care for others and who participates proficiently in effective caring practices. Her definition includes care as labour as well as practice and action. Goldstein (2002) emphasises the practice aspect of caring within schools, and rejects the affective component that some care ethicists emphasise. A caring teacher is not just someone who is warm and friendly, but someone who acts decisively to meet the psycho-emotional and pedagogical needs of the learner within a specific context, and in doing so enacts an ethic of care.

This discussion of care as an ethic, a particular relationship and a set of practices or labours can translate into the following construct for applying to an educational context: Caring can be conceived of as a quality of the social relationships between teachers and learners. It includes the following essential elements: contextuality or situationality, attentiveness, responsiveness, motivational displacement and authentic knowledge of one's learners (Seashore Louis et al., 2016). Additionally, caring includes the practices to maintain the psychological well-being of both learners and teachers ("bodies and ourselves"), and the well-being of the school "world"; furthermore, it includes practices to repair psychological and physical harm to educators, learners and to the broader school community ("environment") (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40).

2.3.2 Caring behaviours

For learners, schools are often the most important environment outside of their families, and therefore a primary domain for the promotion of caring (Chaskin & Rauner, 1995). Caring is something that is present in schools all the time. Every action and interaction, every act of a teacher, can have qualities of caring or not caring. The presence or absence of caring qualities has consequences for both the one-caring and the cared-for, as well as for any observers. A

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caring teacher who displays many of the caring behaviours identified in the literature on caring in schools, has many opportunities to play a significant role in the learners' social and personal development, and is often the person best positioned to help learners with emotional or interpersonal problems (Woolfolk, 2010). Through the attempts of caring, responsive teachers recognise, understand, and respect their learners, trust is established, and caring interpersonal relationships are built in classrooms.

Weeks (2008) records teachers' reflections on what it means to be a caring teacher. The teachers mentioned attitudinal factors and behaviours such as that they should know each learner well, be concerned about each learner and respect the dignity of each learner. They noted that they should appreciate that each learner is unique, and refrain from labelling learners, as well as praising and recognising the good behaviour and academic performance of each learner. Teachers also added that they should be approachable and available to each learner, be fair and constructive in their comments on learners' performance, check that all learners understand the content, have fun with learners, laugh with them and make jokes. The teachers in Weeks's study explained that caring involved being prepared to spend extra time with a learner and the parents if necessary, being a good role-model for learners, showing caring to very young learners by hugging them, building trusting relationships with learners so that they will want to share their fears and concerns, and never giving up on a learner with challenging behaviour. Finally, the teachers noted that to be caring, they should also really listen to learners, identify and actualise the potential of each learner, and involve role-players such as parents in the school-community.

Learners themselves have distinguished between academic caring and personal caring (Cothran & Ennis, 2000; Woolfolk, Hoy & Weinstein, 2006 all cited in Woolfolk, 2010). Academic caring constitutes the setting of high, but reasonable scholastic expectations and

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helping learners to reach these goals. Personal caring can be seen when teachers are patient, respectful, humorous, willing to listen and interested in their learners' issues and personal problems. When dealing with learners who have been alienated from school or who are at high-risk, personal caring is essential (Cothran & Ennis, 2000 & Woolfolk et al., 2006 cited in Woolfolk, 2010).

Many of the factors that teachers themselves regard as important in the attitude and behaviour of a caring teachers are reflected in the literature (Clark, 1995; Terry, 1999; Noddings, 1992; Alder, 2002; Kottler, 2000; Vogt, 2002). Russell, Purkey and Siegel (1982) identified specific behaviours that indicate caring from a teacher to a learner. This involves making eye contact, active listening and the recognition of a learner's ideas and activities, as well as that which makes each learner unique (i.e., special interests, birthdays). The study found that these behaviours led to an increase in learners' positive self-image, sense of self-worth and teachers' overall ability to connect with learners. In later research Bulach, Brown and Potter (1998) identified five categories for a teacher's caring behaviour to establish a "caring learning community", including the ability to reduce anxiety, willingness to listen, rewarding of appropriate behaviour, being a friend, and the appropriate use of positive and negative criticism. Murdock and Miller (2003) found that teacher caring includes behaviours that demonstrate a commitment to learners' learning, such as high academic expectations and coming to class prepared to teach. Teachers also display caring behaviours when they foster a sense of belonging among their learners, get to know their learners personally, support their learners' academic success by being prepared and competent to teach, and attending to learners' physiological needs (Garza, Alejandro, Blythe & Fite, 2014). In primary schools, caring behaviours also include assuming the role of being a parent and specifically a mother. Vogt (2002) describes caring behaviours as commitment, relatedness, physical care, expressing affection and "caring as parenting and caring as mothering" (p. 251). Caring

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teachers are empathetic, praise and reward learners' good behaviour, and comfort, reassure and encourage learners. Caring teachers also help learners to control their own behaviour (Marlowe, Disney & Wilson, 2004). Bernard (1992 in Furlong, 2004) has identified school-related factors that can promote learner resilience: firstly, when teachers have high expectations for learners' behaviour and abilities, and secondly, the establishment of a positive, caring relationship of the learner with an adult.

The strength and meaningfulness of relationships between learners and teachers mediate learners' academic performance (Seashore Louis et al., 2016), and if these relationships are caring, they can have a significant impact on the academic success of learners and their sense of connection to school (Noblit, Rogers & McCadden, 1995). Hattie (2009) argues that positive interpersonal relationships are "critical for learning to occur" (p. 118) and Woolfolk (2010) noted that caring teacher-learner relationships are consistently associated with better scholastic achievement, especially for learners who are facing serious challenges. Rogers, Lyon and Tausch, (2014) refer to person-centred education, where relationships between learners and teachers are based on specific ways of relating, i.e. empathy, unconditional positive regard and congruence. Interpersonal learning forms the foundation of academic learning, and interpersonal learning can only occur where a teacher has managed to create interpersonal relationships with learners based on trust and responsiveness to their needs (Chaskin & Rauner, 1995). However, Noblit et al. (1995) warn that caring should not be equated with an activity or a schedule, or be used purely as a tool to achieve outcomes in the classroom. On a moral and cultural level, caring is a value that is grounded in the relationships between teachers and learners. In this way, caring is essential to education and may guide the ways we instruct and discipline learners, set policy, and organise the school day. It frames and gives meaning to what happens in classrooms and schools. According to many researchers (Farrell, 1990; Fine, 1991; Murdock, 1999; Wehlage & Rutter, 1986;

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Wentzel, 1997, 1998b all cited in Miller, 2008), the two elements of caring that can predict learners' school engagement are learners' perceptions of a teacher's demonstrated commitment to learners' learning (related to authenticity and motivational displacement), and teachers' general respect and courtesy for learners. These factors point to teachers' caring practices and behaviour.

Caring teachers with a high sense of self-efficacy can perform the role of teaching with the necessary knowledge, skills and values. According to Colllier (2005), the enactment of an ethics of care can have a positive effect on teachers' self-efficacy beliefs. Based on the two poles of Rotter's locus of control attributional-based theory (1966) and Bandura's (1977) social cognitive theory, teacher self-efficacy is based on an individual teacher's sense of "how well they are able to exercise control over actions that affect their lives" (Zee & Koomen, 2016). Teacher self-efficacy has commonly been referred to as teachers' beliefs in their ability to influence valued outcomes achieved by learners (e.g., Soodak & Podell, 1993; Wheatley, 2005 in Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2007).

Caring increases teacher-efficacy by creating stable, capable and committed teachers who are in the classroom to teach. Collier (2005) argues that within caring classrooms, both teachers and learners can experience success which will lead to an increase in self-efficacy in teaching skills and attaining positive educational outcomes (learning). A comprehensive overview of the literature on teacher self-efficacy by Zee and Komen (2016) has suggested that teacher-self-efficacy shows positive links with learners' academic adjustment, patterns of teacher behaviour and practices related to classroom quality, and factors underlying teachers' psychological well-being, including personal accomplishment, job satisfaction, and commitment. Thus, "[t]he act of caring and being cared for forms a loop which provides needed support to enhance student growth, development and performance while refuelling

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teachers with experiences of gratification and appreciation, increasing satisfaction with teaching and commitment to teaching as a profession" (Collier, 2005, p. 358).

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy also persist longer to reach learners, even if their behaviour is challenging or violent, because these teachers believe in themselves and in their learners. Teachers with a high sense of efficacy are also less likely to suffer from burn-out (Fives, Hamman & Olivarez, 2005 in Woolfolk, 2010).

2.3.3 Caring schools

Caring in schools is essential to create environments in which learners thrive and may develop their full potential (Noddings, 1992, 1995, 2013; Weeks, 2008; Seashore Louis et al., 2016; DBE, 2010). We know from the literature on caring in education that it is a powerful tool to create deep and lasting relationships with others (Noddings, 1992), as well as to address the emotional and educational needs of learners, teachers, families and school communities. It also promotes learning environments that are conducive to academic success (Hattie, 2009) as well changing challenging behaviour in violent contexts (Weeks, 2008). Caring in schools can be a protective factor for learners who come from adverse circumstances at home such as poverty, illness and unstable family backgrounds. Through caring behaviour such as empathy for and nurturance of learners, learners can be helped to develop prosocial behaviour, become resourceful and more resilient, and experience opportunities of mastery and success (Chaskin & Rauner, 1995). Theron and Engelbrecht (2012) summarise the role that caring plays in caring schools when stating that "responsive adults are synonymous with protective resources that buffer risk and enable prosocial development, provided that youth and adults engage in reciprocal, resilience-promoting transactions" (p. 265).

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Through her writing, Noddings (1992, 1995, 2013) has given a great deal of direction on the goals of caring schools. She has regarded the teaching of the ethical ideal of caring in schools as one of the goals of moral education. She emphasises the central role that care should play in education, and highlights that the relational approach should form the basis of moral education. From a care perspective, teachers should teach learners to care for themselves, each other, ideas and the world. Teachers also ought to recognise the demands of caring for learners and how to meet their academic and social needs (Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2012).

According to Noddings (1984, 1992, 1995, 2002) an education based on care should contribute to the moral life of its learners by nurturing the ethical ideal in them. She identified four means by which this can be achieved: modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation. Modelling means that teachers need to show through their own behaviour what it means to care. Noddings (1992) argues that dialogue is the way teachers can model the ethical ideal of caring when they speak to their learners. The third means of nurturing the ethical ideal is practice. Learners get the opportunity to practice caring behaviour when they see their teachers model caring communication in dialogue. However, according to Noddings (1984), learners should also be involved in caring apprenticeships by helping in the school or performing community service: "Children need to participate in caring with adult models who show them how to care, talk with them about the difficulties and rewards of such work, and demonstrate in their own work that [the ethical ideal of] caring is important" (Noddings, 1995, p. 191). Lastly, the confirmation of a teacher plays an important role in teaching the ethical ideal to learners: "What we reveal to a student about himself as an ethical and intellectual being has the power to nurture the ethical ideal or to destroy it … When we attribute the best possible motive consonant with reality to the cared-for, we confirm him" (Noddings, 1984, p. 193). A teacher validates the motives, efforts, strengths and weaknesses of her learners, and reveals this in a caring way.

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Noddings has explicated one way of creating caring schools by teaching learners to act ethically and showing care towards each other. When asked what constitutes a caring school, teachers reflected on the following characteristics (Weeks, 2008) supported by the literature on some of the features of caring schools:

- The management team (which consists of the principal, vice principals, heads of departments and the governing body) upholds the school's ethical code that recognises and treats everybody as being equally important. Seashore Louis et al. (2016) argue that caring should be evident at all levels of the school: by the principal (management), by teachers working together and in their classrooms, and at the level of learners working with their classmates. They stress the importance of caring school leadership for the success and well-being of both teachers and learners in schools. Smit and Scherman (2016) advocate that relational leadership (the quality of relationships between the principal, staff, learners and parents) and an ethics of care are complementary approaches that can combat and mitigate bullying at schools in South Africa. Principals need to create a caring landscape within the school as a complex system with various activities, systems and processes. The authors found significant positive relationships among caring principal leadership, learner academic support, and teachers' sense of collective responsibility.
- There should be mutual respect between the teachers and learners. Schaps (2005) mentioned that in caring schools there are "close, respectful relationships" between learners themselves and between learners and teachers.
- Teachers are worthwhile role-models for learners. According to Clark (1995) the teacher in a caring school takes responsibility for the nature and quality of the relationship with learners so that learners can trust the teacher as a valuable, trustworthy role-model who treats learners with integrity (Bach & Torbet, 1982).

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- Teachers get backing and moral support.
- Disciplinary policy is fixed and implemented.
- Every learner, parent or teacher's interests and emotional and physical needs are taken into consideration by the school.
- Learners feel emotionally and physically safe at the school. If learners feel a sense of belonging at a caring school, and experience what it feels like to be accepted as a person, this will enhance their emotional security and make them more likely to care for their peers (Terry, 1999). On a physical level, a type of support that teachers should provide is a safe and secure environment for learning (Christle, Jolivette, & Nelson, 2005). Meeting learners' security needs is needed for learners to develop emotionally, socially and academically. This includes the creation of physical spaces where learners can engage with and enjoy school (Seashore Louis et al., 2016).
- Teachers and learners operate according to a fixed set of moral values, of which caring is one of the most important. Caring learning experiences will help learners to grow emotionally and to actualise their potential (Blum, 2005).
- Opportunities are created for learners to practise caring. The school should be involved in the community, and learners should be involved in "caring" projects to experience caring as a "way of life" (Weeks, 2008). Teachers should allow opportunities for learning cooperation and tolerance (Woolfolk, 2010)
- The school sees the learner holistically, especially in the context of a learner's challenging behaviour.
- The school ought to offer a wide variety of extra-curricular activities in which all learners may take part, even if he or she does not perform well academically.
- In a caring school, parents should be involved in all activities. According to Alder (2002) both learners and teachers see the involvement of parents as a sign of care.

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There are specific conditions that will enable teachers and schools to become caring (Seasore Louis et al., 2016). Noddings (1991, 2013) declared that if a teacher is aware of others' needs and becomes attentive to it, this will result in longer and deeper relationships, but there also needs to be a sense of continuity to these relationships. Relationships which engender trust are conducive to caring. Trust is about dependability and integrity. Learners in long-term relationships with their peers and teachers need to know that they can depend on that relationship. Trust creates the expectation that "others will be honest, open, benevolent, and competent and will make good-faith efforts to enact commitments" (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000 in Seashore Louis et al., 2016) and "caring skills imply trustworthiness, a sense of fair play and sharing" (Bach & Torbet, 1982, p. 8). The last enabling condition is membership and a sense of belonging in schools (Smerdon, 2002; Riley, Ellis, Weinstock, Tarrant, & Hallmond, 2006 in Seashore Louis, et al., 2016).

In caring schools, caring is sometimes expressed in providing academic, social and emotional support to learners. Teachers are supporting learners when they provide support, while learners understand that they can count on their teachers to help them – teachers effectively become a secure base for the provision of support (Ancess, 2003; Antrop-Gonzalez & De Jesus, 2006; Louis & Marks, 1998 all cited in Seashore Louis et al., 2016). According to Seashore Louis et al. (2016) these types of support are expressions of caring because they point to "the strength and meaningfulness of relationships with students' and teachers' understanding of the importance of caring as a quality of these relationships" (p. 316).

As set out in policies of the Department of Education, teachers have a responsibility to enact an ethics of care and to support learners through various means in South African schools. To this end they initially included this expectation in the *Norms and Standards for Educators* (NSE) (2000) policy and later in the *Care and Support for Teaching and Learning*

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Conceptual Framework (CSTL) (2010). The CSTL provides the overarching framework for care and support activities in South African schools. The NSE defined seven roles that a teacher must be able to perform, and describes in detail the knowledge, skills and values that are necessary to perform the roles successfully. The seven roles are: learning mediator; interpreter and designer of learning programmes; leader, administrator and manager; scholar, researcher and lifelong learner; assessor; a community, citizenship and pastoral role; and, a learning area/subject/discipline/phase specialist role. Together these roles paint a picture of the knowledge, skills and values by which a competent and professional teacher is being judged (Parker, 2002). Particularly fulfilling the pastoral and learning mediator role is closely aligned to the enactment of an ethics of care. According to the DBE (2010) the care and support activities are "at the heart of education" (p. 11) and towards this end the DBE aims to create schools that employ appropriately trained teachers who are committed to excellent education, capable and well respected. Apart from being knowledgeable subject specialists and producing good scholastic results, schools also need teachers who are capable of enacting caring behaviours.

However, Perold, Oswald and Swart (2012) found that the pressure on teachers to perform in schools hides the caring aspects of teachers' work and makes it seem insignificant. Hebson, Earnshaw and Marchington (2007) also note that in the United Kingdom, a culture of performance in education led to a move away from the caring aspects of teaching. The culture of performance can have a detrimental effect on the creation and maintenance of caring schools and by implication on the quality of relationships between teachers and learners.

2.4 CONCLUSION

School violence and care are both complex, multidimensional constructs that have rarely been directly linked in research. In this literature review I have given a broad overview of

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school violence, including a definition, prevalence, causes and responses to the phenomenon, to create the context in which I will explore teachers' capacity to build caring relationships with learners. Then, in order to understand the dynamics of caring in the face of school violence, I discussed the theory of an ethics of care.

From Bhana's (2015) study we can conclude that in certain contexts of violence, teachers may be compelled to enact an ethics of care, but the effects thereof can be negative and detrimental to their own safety. From the literature review so far, and with the lack of studies specifically addressing the research questions, I cannot conclude that teachers who teach in schools that are labelled as violent, are not caring or are not demonstrating some of the caring behaviours found in caring schools. It seems that many schools who are dealing with milder challenging behaviour, such as bullying, are looking to teacher's caring behaviours and attitudes as means to modify these types of behaviour and to teach learners ethical conduct and prosocial behaviour. I can also conclude that it is the process of resilience that enables some teachers, if they value care as an ethic, to adapt to recurrent incidents of school violence and to function well, without running the risk of burning out. This is not to say that they will not feel and react the effects of a traumatic experience, but they will recover and be able to sustain that recovery (Schoon, 2006; Rauch et al., 2010). While the interrelatedness of different systems is a core feature of system theories, Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological theory increasingly emphasised the active person in development who is "shaping environments, evoking responses from them, and reacting to them" (Darling, 2007, p. 104). Within this context, teachers are active when they enact caring practices in a violent environment. What is thus evident from the literature review, is that caring practices will influence a teacher's sense of efficacy as a teacher and their professional identity.

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CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

> "Experience happens narratively. Narrative inquiry is a form of narrative experience. Therefore, educational experiences should be studied narratively." (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.19)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1, I described how my research aim is to do a "systematic inquiry" (Merriam, 2009) into teachers' perspectives on their ability to establish caring relationships with their learners, particularly if they have been exposed to forms of violence in schools during their teaching career. However, any systematic investigation is always informed and underpinned by the researcher's worldview, also known as the paradigm, which encapsulates philosophical assumptions that guide the researcher as to what exists, how it should be understood and how to study it (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). As "all-encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their inquiry" (Terre Blanche et al., 2006, p. 5) as well as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990, p. 17), the paradigm defines the nature of the "world", how an individual should understand his or her place in the world, and the relationship between the world and its parts (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). When I considered the nature of this research project, I critically examined the philosophical assumptions that resonate with me as the researcher and that would best inform my study, because these basic beliefs will ultimately inform all my decisions about my intent with this research, my research design and methodology, and what my expectations are (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).

During the conceptualisation of this research project, my philosophical beliefs and worldview led me to recognise myself as a qualitative researcher. I am deeply interested in gaining insight into and understanding human experience. It is therefore most appropriate that I employ a qualitative methodology because I will "study things in their natural settings,

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attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). As such, positioning myself as a qualitative researcher suggests that I have specific philosophical assumptions or ideas that inform my paradigm, and which in turn inform the dimensions of the ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, 2005, 2011; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Merriam, 2009, Scotland, 2012). Ontology specifies the nature of reality and what can be known about that reality (Scotland, 2012). The ontological dimension determines whether reality is external and stable, whether it is socially constructed or whether it is an internal place of subjective experience (Terre Blance, 2006). Epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowledge, in other words, how knowledge is derived and how one can know if certain knowledge is true or false. Epistemology also specifies the relationship between the researcher and that which can be known, for example from an interpretive/constructionist paradigm, the researcher takes on a subjective stance when doing research because they do not assume that there is empirical, objective knowledge out there to discover (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Terre Blanche et al., 2006; Merriam, 2009; Scotland, 2012). Methodology specifies how researchers can practically study what they believe can be known, and includes the what, from where, when and how data is collected and analysed (Terre Blanche et al., 2006; Scotland, 2012).

In this chapter I will continue to demonstrate how my choice of methodology and research design exemplifies my worldview, skills and personality, and how my choices are most appropriate to answer my research questions. I will therefore start out with a discussion of the interpretive/constructivist paradigm as the most appropriate philosophical foundation for my research goals. Building upon the underlying philosophy that informs this study, I will describe the features of a narrative research design and how they were implemented, the

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qualitative methods used to generate and analyse field texts (data), and the ethical considerations pertaining to this study.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

Different ontological and epistemological assumptions will underpin different research paradigms. The paradigm or belief system in which I chose to locate this study in is the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, which predominantly uses a qualitative methodology. In contrast to the positivist paradigm, which assumes that reality can be observed and measured empirically, the interpretivist orientation supports the notion that there is no single, observable reality (Merriam, 2009, p. 8). The ontological position of the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm is relativist, which assumes that reality is a subjective "mental construction" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 110), constructed socially through individuals' experiences of an event. Therefore, multiple realities or interpretations of events exist (Merriam, 2009). These social constructions are sometimes conflicting, but they can be altered as individuals become more informed and sophisticated (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The epistemological position is transactional and subjective, which implies that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). The researcher and participant are linked together so that the findings or knowledge claims are created as the research process unfolds. The reality cannot be separated from our knowledge of it, and in this paradigm the conventional dividing line between ontology and epistemology fades (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In this paradigm, the researcher relies heavily on the "participants' views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2003, p. 8). If there are conflicting interpretations of experiences or events, knowledge claims are negotiated in order to reach a relative consensus (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). This implies that as the researcher, I was not in the position to discover or assign the "meaning" that teachers attached to their experiences of caring or school violence, but that these meanings or interpretations were

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constructed in and out of the interactions between us through dialogue, i.e. our interviews and conversations.

Therefore, given its ontological and epistemological assumptions, the interpretivist / constructivist paradigm was the most suitable paradigm with which to align my research topic, as I was deeply interested in teachers' experiences and specifically concerned with how they subjectively constructed their worlds in which they live and work through narrative. Because I assumed that varied and multiple meanings would emerge from different participants' views on their world, I was looking for a complexity of viewpoints which would sufficiently represent the participating teachers' understanding of their school contexts.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The current study was conducted as a qualitative study within a narrative research design. As Squire (2008) points out, employing a narrative research design is complicated because the researcher is confronted with several questions such as what a story is, whether participants should pertinently be asked to tell stories, and what to do with the narratives once they have been gathered. Additionally, the literature on narrative research holds opposing and differing views on the nature of narrative research (Riessman, 1993, 2005; Squire, 2008; Bold, 2012). There is also no single process for the analysis and representation of narrative data (Bold, 2012). It is an interdisciplinary approach that has many forms and a variety of analytical practices (Creswell, 2013). Capturing the challenge and diversity of narrative research, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have noted that each narrative inquiry "has its own rhythms and sequences, and each narrative researcher needs to work them out for her or his own inquiry" (p. 97).

Using narratives in a narrative research design refers to the methodology of using stories and story-telling activities as instruments for scientific investigation (Czarniawska, 2004; Bold, 2012; Creswell, 2013). The narrative research design is therefore a specific type of qualitative

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design in which "narrative is understood as a spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or a series of events/actions chronologically connected" (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 17). The phases of a narrative research design process, as described by Creswell (2013), begin with studying a few individuals and collecting data through recording their stories. The next step is reporting on their experiences, and the final step is to order the meaning of those experiences chronologically.

Creswell (2013) identifies the following defining features of narrative studies (even though not all narrative research studies contain all of the below):

- Researchers *collect stories* from individuals and documents about their lived and told experience. These stories may emerge during a qualitative interview with a participant, or they may be the result of a collaborative co-construction between the researcher and participant (Riessman, 1993; 2008). This feature corresponds to Riessman's (1993) first two levels of the representation of experience, namely attending and telling; the participant becomes aware and attends to a specific aspect of experience before engaging in the performative aspect of narration when they tell their story.
- Narratives, especially personal narratives, *recount an individual's experience,* and often explains how individuals construct their identity and how they perceive themselves.
- A researcher can collect narratives through *different forms of data* which are not just limited to qualitative interviews, but also extends to observations, documents, visual texts such as photographs and drawings, as well as other sources of qualitative data.
- In representing the stories of participants, researchers often *reconstruct them chronologically*, even though they may not have been told in that way.

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- Narratives can be *analysed* in different ways. According to Riessman (2008) a story can be analysed according to theme, structure or the performance/dialogical aspects. One of the analytical strategies is a thematic narrative experience-centred analysis, during which the narrative researcher identifies common themes. This feature, as well as the chronological reconstruction of stories, corresponds to level 3 and 4 of Riessman's (1993) levels of the representation of experience, i.e. transcribing and analysing experience. Riessman (1993) argues that the analyst creates a metastory "by telling what the interview narratives signify, editing and reshaping what was told, and turning it into a hybrid story, a 'false document'" (p. 13).
- Narratives often have *turning points,* which are specific tensions or interruptions which researchers will emphasise (Denzin, 1989a in Creswell, 2013).
- Stories are *set within specific places or situations,* which provide context for the researcher when they reconstruct the story.
- Lastly, researchers focus on *different types of narratives*.

The type of narrative that is suitable for my research aim is located partially in the personal experience story, also known as experience-centred narratives (discussed below in 3.3.1) and partially in the personal reflections of teachers on specific events, known as an oral history.

A narrative research design is not only about seeking out and hearing a story (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), but this design provides me with an entry point to explore the role that teachers' experiences of school violence have on their caring practices. With narratives, the participants can construct and understand their social world and realities, as "[p]eople narrativize their experience of the world and of their own role in it" (Bruner, 1990, p.115). Through the stories teachers tell, it is possible to understand their views and how experiences have shaped those views. In line with the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, social constructionism holds that language creates reality. This also implies that a person brings

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order to experience through narratives. From this perspective, the words which participants use to tell their stories are not seen as having meaning in themselves, but rather that meaning is produced or created in the contexts in which they are being used (Monk & Gehart, 2003).

Because there are multiple versions of ourselves and multiple stories about ourselves (Zimmerman & Dickerson, 2001 in Murdock, 2009), participants' stories do not only reveal their subjective understandings of their worlds, but they are also dependent on their historical and social contexts. Selecting and choosing among the many stories of their lives, and telling different stories depending on the context and the audience, leads to participants constructing not only a single identity, but many different identities. The motivation for choosing a narrative research design thus stems from the fact that, like the teachers in this study, people use stories to work through and explain how a particular event, such as an experience of school violence, unfolded, why it occurred in that particular way, what their sense of self was, and what it is now in relation to the events, as well as why they behaved in certain ways (Stephens, 2011).

3.3.1 Experience-centred narratives

Using a narrative research design to understand how teachers make sense of their lives and worlds, I focused specifically on narratives as stories of experience, known as experience-centred narrative research (Squire, 2008). Patterson (2008) defines experience-centred narratives as "texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience" (p. 37). This definition is not just limited to talk, but can include non-oral media, such as visual texts and other qualitative data such as documents. Experience-centred narratives are recognised in that they are sequential and meaningful. They present a way in which we as humans make sense of our experiences and assign meaning to them, they "re-present", reconstitute and express

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experience, and they are evidence of our ability for transformation and human agency (Squire, 2008).

3.3.1.1 Narratives are sequential and meaningful

Experience-centred narratives include all personal narratives about a person's experiences that are sequential in time and meaningful. This gives rise to the question: What is a narrative? According to Riessman (1993) there is "considerable disagreement" about the exact definition – some definitions are overly broad and include everything, others are quite restrictive. She mentions that Labov (1972) assumed that all narratives are stories about specific past events which follow a chronological order. Some of the experience-centred narratives may be about specific events, but others may be more flexible about time and personal experience, and therefore be defined by theme rather than structure, which is called thematic sequencing. An episodic narrative is composed by theme rather than time, but usually the sequence and time of the narrative is closely related. Sequence refers to the order of events in a narrative text that occurs over time – therefore a narrative usually has a beginning, middle and end (Jefferson, 1979 in Riessman, 1993). During interviews, not all narratives told are stories with protagonists, exposition, a story climax and resolution.

Experience-centred narratives may include stories about a general experience such as experiencing trauma and its consequences (Patterson, 2008), or it could be about a turning point in an individual's life, for example changing careers or getting a divorce (Denzin, 1989 in Squire, 2008). An individual's experiences may be detailed in single or multiple episodes (Denzin, 1989a in Creswell, 2007). The narration need not always be in the first person past tense, but may include stories about the present and future, and about others as well as oneself (Squire, 2008). These narratives pull us into the viewpoint of the teller. In summary, these personal narratives may be stories about generalised states, about events that happened, or even about imaginary events.

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From the experience-centred perspective, a personal narrative can also be the whole "narrative" that the participant tells a researcher (Riessman, 2002). The "sequence" is located in dialogue and not just in what the research participant says. Meaning is not just created by what the participant says, but also in the interaction between the interviewer and participant. Meaning is thus not always limited to the participant's words but can also include the researcher's written or oral reflections on the interview, taking into account contradictions and gaps in the narrative, as well as incorporating non-oral related materials such as photographs or documents which signify larger cultural or political narratives. Such material is understood within the experience-centred narrative's broader tradition of sequence and meaningfulness (Squire, 2008).

3.3.1.2 Narratives make sense of human experience

According to the experience-centred approach, humans use narratives to make sense of their world, and to construct meaning of an event or an experience; furthermore, "sequential temporal orderings of human experience into narrative are not just characteristic of humans, but *make* us human" (Squire, 2008, p. 43). For an individual, to contemplate his or her life consisting of the various contributions, disappointments, dreams, ideals, successes and accomplishments, it has to be put into narrative, it needs to be recounted (Ricoeur, 1984 in Squire, 2008). However, some stories about, for example, rape or violence, are so painful and traumatic, that it defies being put into narrative. Re-storying the experience could assist with bringing order to the experience and healing.

3.3.1.3 Narratives represent and reconstruct experience

The experience-centred approach assumes that written or told stories invariably need to be reconstructed across time and place, and represent experience. Reconstruction is linked to the fact that a story cannot be repeated in exactly the same way because words may mean different things across time and cultures, and stories are also performed differently in

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different social contexts (Squire, 2008). Since we as researchers cannot directly experience what a participant has experienced, what we record are therefore "ambiguous representations" of it, which includes talk, text, and other forms of interaction between investigator and participant, as well as the interpretation of these interactions (Riessman, 1993, p. 8). When an experience is represented in narrative, it can lead to multiple and changeable storylines.

3.3.1.4 Narratives show transformation

In experience-centred research, it is assumed that narratives are transformational, they represent personal changes and an attempt at restoration through human agency.

3.4 RESEARCH METHODS

Research methods "are the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyse data" (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain that the researcher cannot just use any methodology or methods, but the choice of methods is constrained by ontological and epistemological assumptions. As I have been working within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, I have employed qualitative data collection and analysis methods.

3.4.1 Selection of participants

Qualitative studies often employ non-probability sampling to select research participants (Babbie, 2007; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Purposive sampling is one such non-probability sampling technique in which the participants are selected based on the researcher's judgement about which participant will be the most useful or representative (Babbie, 2007). Maxwell (2002) states the goal of purposive sampling is to make sure that the researcher has "adequately understood the variation in the phenomenon of interest in the setting" (p. 53).

Based on my knowledge about the population to be researched, its elements and the purpose of this study, I have used purposeful sampling to identify and select an information-rich

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sample which could purposefully inform me on their experiences of school violence and care practices in their classrooms (Creswell, 2007, Merriam, 2009; Babbie, 2007). Rich data suggests the collection of "a wide and diverse range of information" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, cited in Babbie, 2007, p. 186). To obtain such information-rich data from experience-centred narratives requires that the sample size should be several people who are interviewed about the same phenomena (Squire, 2008). Therefore, as a narrative study of limited scope, I focused on the personal experiences of four teachers who teach at three different secondary schools in different geographical locations in Cape Town, where forms of school violence have occurred. The criteria for inclusion into the sample were:

- exposure to different incidents of school violence either at school or in the vicinity of the school during their teaching career,
- teaching at a school where forms of school violence have occurred,
- an absence of signs indicating post-traumatic stress disorder, and
- volunteering to participate in the study.

The process of selecting individuals who indicated a willingness to voluntarily participate, unfolded as follows: I followed up on word of mouth recommendations of schools where known incidents of school violence had occurred. One of the schools where I interviewed a participant is in an area that has been linked to gang violence in the press (De Wet, 2016). Of the nine principals I approached, three granted me permission to conduct research in their schools. Two principals recommended specific staff members as possible participants to me. In the third school, the participant was recommended to me by a colleague. I contacted her and arranged a meeting with her after having obtained permission from the principal. For the other participants, I arranged to speak to them at a time convenient to them (during break and after school) to give them information regarding the topic, purpose and research process. During this meeting I also informed them that participation was completely voluntary. After

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possible research participants volunteered to participate in the study, I explained the exclusion criteria to them and obtained informed consent.

Adhering to the ethical principle of non-maleficence (Patton, 2009), I explained to potential participants that those who presented with signs and symptoms of having been traumatised, or who were at risk of being retraumatised, would be excluded from the study. Possible participants would have to complete the PTSD Checklist (PCL-5) (Weathers et al., 2013), a standardised self-report rating scale in the public domain that is used to screen for PTSD, but which is not used as a diagnostic tool. The PCL-5 is a general checklist that is not used exclusively for military experiences but for any traumatic event. None of the participants screened positively for being at risk for developing PTSD. Five participants, four females and one male, were selected, but the male participant withdrew before the interview stage due to work commitments. I provide demographical information for the participants in Chapter 4.

The participants selected seemed not to be at risk for negative emotional experiences as a result of participating in the interviews. Should it have been deemed necessary by me or by the participants, I made arrangements for them to receive counselling from either a registered educational or a clinical psychologist. However, none of the participants reported suffering adverse effects from participating in the research.

3.4.2 Generation of field texts

It is the paradigm and the research question which usually determine the methods of data collection and analysis which will be most appropriate for the inquiry (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, methods of data collection such as interviews, observations, visual data analysis and document reviews are generally used (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). As a qualitative approach was followed, an inductive style of inquiry was employed to accumulate rich, descriptive data (Creswell,

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2007). In narrative research, spoken, written and visual texts are often used together (Keats, 2009). My primary sources of data, or "field texts" as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe them, were teachers' stories about their experiences of school violence. When I collected their experience-centred narratives, I used in-depth, semi-structured interviews which were audio-recorded, transcribed and turned into said written field texts.

3.4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative studies, the use of interviews is often the sole source of data where the researcher meets the participant at a designated time and place (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or open depending on the type of study and the research questions. I used semi-structured interviews where I have predetermined important themes related to my research topic, such as the meaning of being a teacher, care practices in the classroom, incidents of violence, etc. (Appendix E).

Within the semi-structured interview format, the role of the researcher can vary from intervening as little as possible to following a specific interview schedule depending on where the researcher thinks the narrative "lives" – in the person or as a product of co-construction between the interviewer and the participant (Mishler, 1991; Squire, 2008; Bold, 2012). Because I believe that these narratives are co-constructed, I asked participants for particular narratives according to specific themes, so that they could choose which stories to tell, and so construct meaning around their specific experiences of violence in schools (Creswell, 2007). These themes were conveyed in open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between me and the participants. The participants were also encouraged to tell their stories, rather than just answering questions.

I arranged a meeting with participants to gather their stories. The meetings occurred at a time that was convenient for them at their school. Two of the interviews were rescheduled due to the school being officially closed before a storm. I postponed another interview for a month

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after gang violence broke out in the area. As Creswell (2007) notes, narrative research is challenging due to the fact that I actively had to collaborate with each participant to discuss their stories with them, as well as being reflective about my own background in the interpretation and re-storying of the narratives.

3.4.2.2 Visual research method

Photos are often used in qualitative research because they tend to bring back specific memories around which participants construct stories (Creswell, 2007). I used photographs as a way of gaining access to the participants' experiences and how they saw themselves in their own school contexts (Croghan, Griffin, Hunter & Phoenix, 2008). The purpose of the photographs is to add a level of richness to the narrative in order to illustrate the participants' feelings and thoughts. I requested that participants take images they wish to show me which can inform and strengthen their narratives about their own caring practices during times where they were exposed to varying levels of school violence.

3.4.3 Data analysis

Squire (2008) declares that the search for a valid interpretative frame is perhaps the research stage that causes the most argument and concern. Despite there being no single process to analyse and represent narrative data (Bold, 2012), narrative data is always dependent on interpretation (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). There are various approaches to narrative analysis, posing the challenge of choosing a "valid interpretative frame" (p. 50). To illustrate the steps I followed in the data analysis process, I include the following diagram:

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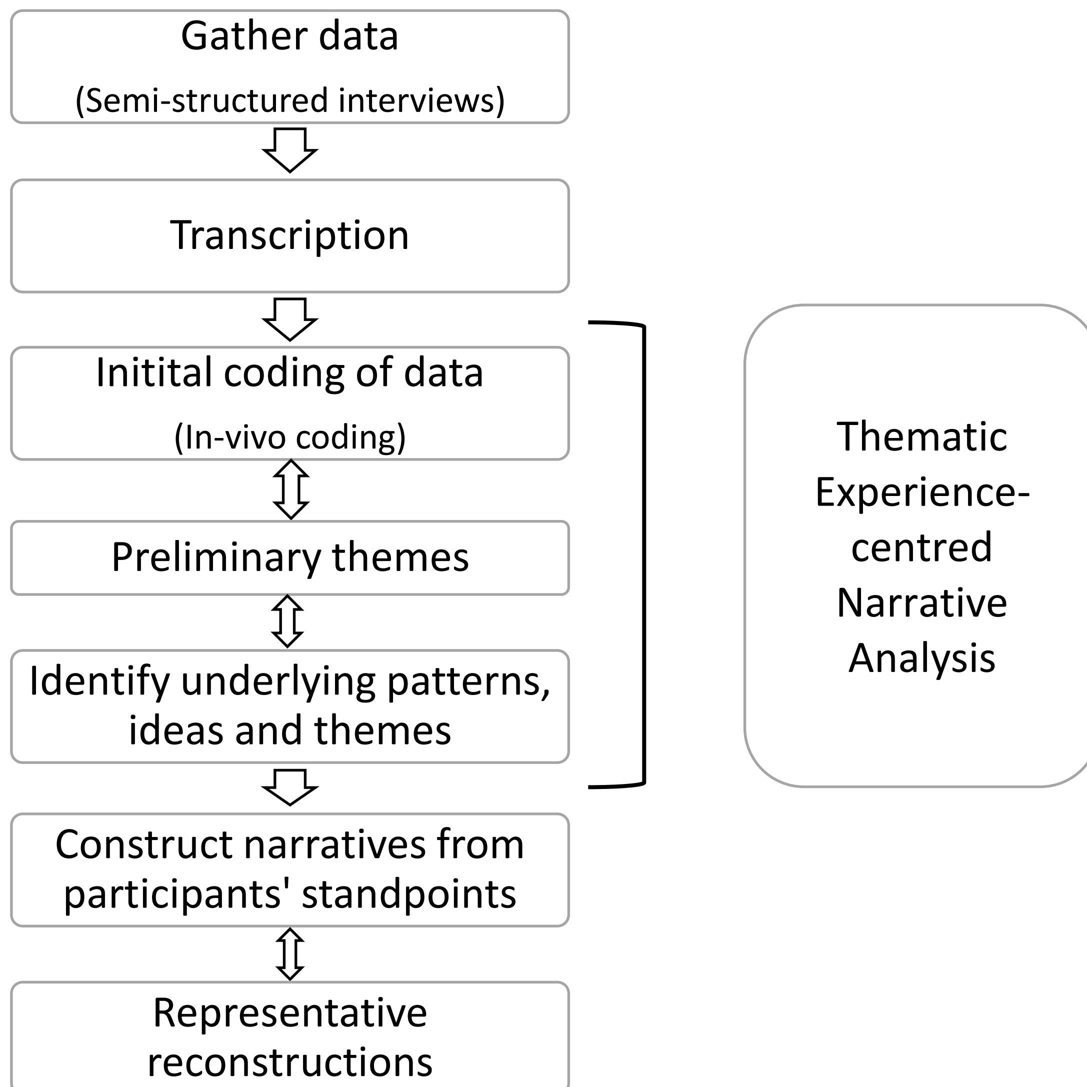

Figure 3.1 Diagram of the data analysis model

After tape-recording the four interviews, I transcribed them verbatim myself. I checked my transcriptions carefully against the original recording to ensure that they were accurate. This therefore already represents a thorough immersion in and familiarisation with the data.

The process that I followed to analyse and interpret the data was based on two analytical methods: firstly, I conducted a thematic experience-centred narrative analysis, followed by the representative reconstruction of participants' stories.

Thematic narrative analysis is the most common form of narrative analysis to seek and identify themes within the narratives (Riessman, 2008) and it is compatible with a

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constructionist paradigm in psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This type of analysis focuses exclusively on content to generate significant findings, with attention on "what" is said – the told – rather than "how" or "for what purposes" – the telling (Riessman, 2008, p. 53). However, I did not conduct a 'narrative analysis' as it pertains to the analysis of the linguistic structures that were used during the narration (Squire, 2008; Creswell, 2007). I started my thematic experience-centred narrative analysis by engaging intensively with the data, immersing myself in the content through repeated readings with repeated periods of reflection to enhance my developing insights. These periods helped me to become thoroughly familiarised with the data. I took account of each participant's contribution, the words they used, their interaction with me during the interviews, as well as my initial thoughts and ideas on possible themes which I noted down. I initially applied in vivo codes to the data, which I categorised to identify preliminary themes. I then proceeded to conduct a careful and systematic textual analysis of the data where I searched for and explored underlying patterns, noted the connections between different ideas, and identified final themes and subthemes. During the analysis I was guided by the prior conceptual and theoretical frameworks of primarily the ethics of care, while drawing from bio-ecological theory, resilience theory and social learning theory (see sections 2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.4), and while keeping the purpose of the inquiry in mind (Riessman, 2008). Also, my interview schedule was based on selective themes from the literature review which shaped the content of the data I collected. Therefore my analysis was not purely inductive, as incorporating themes from the literature led to an abductive approach. I have however remained open to unanticipated theoretical insights.

After identifying significant themes through the thematic experience-centred narrative analysis, I chose to present teachers' voices as representative reconstructions to create a complex landscape of voices with rich, full descriptions on personal experiences of school violence and care. Representative constructions are "based on information that is about real

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events or experiences. The information that is reconstructed or represented is in a form different from the original information while aiming to maintain the reality" (Bold, 2012, p. 145). In my presentation of my research findings in Chapter 4, I resisted fracturing or splintering teachers' stories, but presented them as wholes to preserve the richness of detail and to emphasise sequence, turning points and experiences that were meaningful (Squire, 2008; Riessman, 2008). Bold (2012) and Czarniawaska (2004) suggest that data which is initially fragmented and incomplete have the potential to become rich in detail and meaning if organised into a "coherent, readable and understandable whole" (Bold, 2012, p. 162). Repeated readings of the data allowed me to identify stories in the participant interviews and allowed me to put myself in the shoes of the teachers to tell their stories. Each story was constructed to represent a set of events and experiences across times and places.

This constitutes a narrative way of working with the data in which I created selective reconstructions or versions of participants' lives, albeit not fully representative of the actual lives of the teachers themselves. The events or experiences that teachers have had, have been interpreted and created; however, the reconstructions helped me to identify the main themes contained in the participants' respective narratives. While I presented the thematic experience-centred narrative analysis and representative constructions that I conducted as two separate and linear processes of analysis, in practice it was an iterative process, where I frequently went back to my themes to check my understanding or to add or alter themes while constructing the stories.

While I was listening to the interviews and the participants' answers to my questions, I once again became aware that I am not playing a passive role, and therefore themes do not "emerge" (Earthy & Cronin, 2008). I was actively involved in the production of the story, in the identification of themes and in interpreting the story. An obvious example is the story that results from an interview: the questions asked limit and shape the story told. The theory

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around using narratives in research indicates that this increases the distance between the lived life and the story told about that life (Erathy & Cronin, 2008). Ultimately, "[m]eaning is ambiguous because it arises out of a process of interaction between people: self, teller, listener and recorder, analyst and reader. Although the goal may be to tell the whole truth, our narratives about others' narratives are our world creations … Meaning is fluid and contextual, not fixed and universal. All we have is talk and texts that represent reality partially, selectively, and imperfectly" (Riessman, 1993, p. 15).

3.5 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the trustworthiness or validity of a qualitative study is an indication of its worth, therefore qualitative researchers need to demonstrate that their studies are credible. Creswell (2000) adopts Schwandt's (1997) definition of validity "as how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them."

Creswell (2013) confirms that there do not exist specific validation procedures for a specific type of research design. As I have employed systematic procedures such as thematic experience analysis, I needed to confirm its trustworthiness by establishing the following:

- **Credibility**: How confident am I in the knowledge claims or "truth" of my study?
- **Transferability**: Can my findings be applied to different contexts, for example teachers' experiences of school violence in different parts of the country or in different school contexts?
- **Dependability**: Are my findings consistent, and when repeated, will a different researcher come to the same conclusions?
- **Confirmability**: To what degree are the findings shaped by the participant and not by my biases, views, interests or motivations?

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Some techniques by which the trustworthiness of a study is established include prolonged engagement of researchers in the research setting, triangulation, peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) or peer reviews (Creswell & Miller, 2000), negative or defiant case analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell, 2013) and member-checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Angen, 2000 in Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

Creswell (2000) suggested a framework to assist researchers in selecting the most suitable methods for establishing the credibility of a study based on two aspects: a) the theoretical lens of the researcher, and b) the paradigm within which the study is located. Firstly, the lens refers to the viewpoint that the researcher will use to establish credibility and to ensure the quality of findings. There are various lenses that a qualitative researcher can use, but one of the lenses I have used is described by Altheide and Johnson (1994, p. 489, in Creswell, 2000, p. 125) as "validity-as-reflexive-accounting". This means that data is examined "over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations, and interpretations make sense" (Paton, 1980, p. 339). This process resonates with another methodological framework which Ellingson (2009, p. xii) termed "crystallization". She describes it as a bringing together of "different forms of data and analysis and also different forms of genres and sensemaking within interpretive methodology" in a "postmodern reimagining of traditional triangulation", and thereby ensuring credibility. I have used this lens during my processes of immersion into the data, reflection, identifying themes, further immersion and finally reconstructing the respective narratives according to the meaning that emerged during this process of analysis.

The second lens a researcher can use, and which I used in this study, is collaboration with the participants. Within qualitative research, it is assumed that reality is socially constructed and that reality is reflected through what participants perceive it to be. This lens suggests that the researcher checks how accurately participants' realities have been presented in the final

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account of the research. I actively involved participants to assess whether the interpretation is representative of their stories (Creswell, 2000). This particular lens for establishing validity is akin to the member-checking method. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), it is one of the most important methods to establish credibility in qualitative studies. Working from within an interpretive/constructivist paradigm, I assume that understanding is co-created between me and the participant, and there is no objective truth or reality to discover. Therefore, in employing this strategy, I have taken my representative constructions of participants' narratives to them to check.

The second aspect, according to Creswell (2000), which influences validity procedures is the paradigm or worldview. Within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm in which this study is located, I believe in "pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended, and contextualized (e.g., sensitive to place and situation)" (p. 126) perspectives about reality, which will be established using criteria such as trustworthiness and authenticity. Within this paradigm, I used a method that is closely related to triangulation known as disconfirming evidence (Miles & Huberman, 1995, in Creswell, 2000). I firstly identified the preliminary themes in the data before I searched through the data for evidence that is consistent with or disconfirm these themes. The disconfirming evidence should not outweigh the confirming evidence. This is a constructivist method which depends solely on my lens as the researcher. "As evidence for the validity of a narrative account, however, this search for disconfirming evidence provides further support of the account's credibility because reality, according to constructivists, is multiple and complex" (Creswell, 2000, p. 127). To account for the participants' lens within this paradigm, researchers should spend considerable time with participants to build trust and observe them. As this is a study of limited scope, I spent about an hour and a half with each participant. Lastly, from the lens of people external to my study, such as reviewers and readers, I endeavoured to establish credibility by using thick, rich descriptions of the themes through

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the representative constructions/narratives I created. Thick, rich descriptions help readers to decide about the transferability of the study, which refers to how they can transfer descriptions of participants, settings or themes to other contexts (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative studies cannot be generalised, but they are reliable in the sense that they are purposeful for the context in which they take place and they have significance for others who have similar stories and experiences (Bold, 2012).

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Conducting this study in an ethical manner was of utmost importance to me. What needed to be considered was that inherently ethical research involves much more than gaining the approval of a research ethics committee. I questioned what constitutes ethical research practice in qualitative research, and how could I, as the researcher, achieve ethical research practice? Guillemin and Gilliam (2004) have suggested that the notion of reflexivity, a familiar concept in qualitative research, should be used to understand how ethical practice in a research study can be achieved. According to Mason (2002), reflexive research means that the researcher should review their actions and their role in the research process on a continuous basis, and critically scrutinise their processes and decisions in the same way they would their "data." If a researcher is reflexive, it is not just the "facts" that are being reported, but such a researcher also actively constructs meaning ("what do I know?") while asking how they arrived at this specific interpretation (Hedge, 1997 in Guillemin & Gilliam, 2004). Lastly, I also needed to remember that reflexivity is an active, on-going process present at every stage of the research process.

When considering the ethics that pertain to this study, it was necessary for me to examine two ethical domains: the procedural ethics, which refers to the ethical approval from the relevant ethics committee to conduct research involving humans, as well as the "ethics in practice", which refers to the everyday ethical issues I may have encountered (Guillemin & Gilliam,

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2004). With regards to procedural ethics, the research policy of Stellenbosch University specifies that "research involving direct interaction with human subjects, or the capturing of any personal information, should go through a process of ethical clearance" (Senate Research Ethics Committee, 2009, p. 5). In preparation for a request for ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University, I had to compile various documents outlining how my research practice will adhere to ethical guidelines. As I indicated in Chapter 1, my study dealt with a potentially sensitive topic, which meant that I had to fulfil specific requirements of the research ethics committee and put tangible measures into place to protect the participants from potential emotional and psychological harm and re-traumatisation, such as the availability of two psychologists to whom I could refer participants for counselling. I also obtained permission from the Western Cape Department of Education (WCED) (Appendix A) to conduct research in high schools in the Western Cape. The WCED outlined specific conditions I, as the researcher, have adhered to. After obtaining permission from the WCED, I also obtained ethical clearance from Stellenbosch University (Appendix B). As part of the ethical clearance process, I have also sought and obtained permission from the principal of each of the three selected high schools to conduct interviews with some of their staff members (Appendix C).

When considering "ethics in practice", I deeply reflected on questions of ethics and how my actions and decisions contributed to the study being based on moral and ethical principles. In the remainder of this section, I will give an account of how these principles, which guided the study, were applied in practice, with reference to respect for people, privacy and confidentiality, justice and fairness, beneficence and non-maleficence (Allan, 2009). However, I reminded myself that making good, ethical decisions does not mean merely applying ethics principles without first appreciating the context and using principled reasoning to guide me (King & Churchill, 2000 cited in Fontes, 2004). I came to the

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conclusion that if I recognise and think through potential ethical issues, I should be able to respond appropriately.

In respecting the rights of and adhering to the justice principle I sought informed consent from all participants before I commenced with interviews. Seeking informed consent implies that I have respect for the autonomy of the participants to make their own decision on whether they want to participate in the research or not. However, to make an informed decision, I fully disclosed the specific nature and purpose of the study and the participants' role in it, emphasising that their participation is completely voluntary. Guillemin and Gilliam (2004) point out that research involving humans is ethically problematic because we are asking people to take part in procedures they have not actively sought out or requested, and the benefits or outcome of the research might not even affect them directly. Because signed consent forms do not automatically imply informed consent, but merely evidence that consent was given, I ensured that participants fully understood the purpose of my research. Respect for persons also meant that I did not act in any way that violated teachers' trust or the conditions of informed consent (Appendix D).

I maintained confidentiality and privacy of all participants by removing all identifying markers from the narratives and by storing transcripts on a password-protected computer. Hard copies and audio recordings were stored in a personal lock-up cabinet at my home or at my supervisor's office, and these were made available only to myself and my supervisor.

The non-maleficence principle "requires the researcher to ensure that no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research" (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In adhering to this principle, especially because of the sensitive nature of the study topic which could have triggered painful or uncomfortable memories, I endeavoured to protect the welfare and dignity of the participants as far as possible. For example, doing no harm suggested that I was self-aware about how I conducted the interview and that I was

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particularly heedful about re-traumatising participants. Furthermore, to protect vulnerable participants from having negative emotional experiences as a result of the interviews, I had each potential participant complete the PCL-5 PTSD checklist (Weathers et al., 2013) to screen for the risk of retraumatisation (see 3.4.1). The PCL-5 is a 20-item questionnaire which corresponds to the DSM-5 symptom criteria for PTSD (Weathers et al., 2013).

Only participants who screened negatively for signs of PTSD were interviewed. None of the potential participants, however, indicated positive responses to the questionnaire, which would have indicated that they presented too high of a risk to be allowed to participate in the study. In the event of participants suffering adverse effects as a result of the interviews, I made arrangements for two psychologists to provide support or counselling should it have been deemed necessary by the participants or by myself.

The process of production of visual field texts, such as photographs, raises ethical concerns not only about permission and access (Daniels, 2008), but also about confidentiality and anonymity (De Lange, 2011). The use of visual texts is a way of "strengthening the reliability of a study and validity of findings based exclusively on language-based methods of inquiry" (Daniels, 2008, p. 1) since they reveal the experiences and worlds of participants in ways that interviews cannot. However, I had to obtain permission and the collaboration of the participants in order to use them. The participants stipulated on the informed consent form which photos I was allowed to use (De Lange, 2011) (Appendix D). Photos taken on a cell phone were transferred to my computer where they were kept secure.

The second, and more challenging aspect of using a visual methodology, is that I had to train the participants who had taken pictures in their schools. The ideas below on this training are based on De Lange (2011) and Mitchell's (2011) descriptions of "visual ethics training" (p. 48). The ethics around taking photographs are the most easily contained:

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- when taking pictures of inanimate objects
- if people are taken in a way so that it is impossible to identify them.

To ensure anonymity, I needed to train the participants on a "no face" approach, or what they could photograph besides faces, for example objects, buildings, people at a distance so that no one is easily recognisable, parts of the body such as hands, legs or feet, or people viewed from the back. However, I needed to emphasise to them that not all pictures without faces are necessarily anonymous, and that care should be taken that a detail that could reveal someone's identity (e.g. an identifiable tattoo or hair style) is not part of the image. I only used photos in the narratives in Chapter 4 where a participant gave me permission to use it. Where I used a picture in a participant's narrative, I made sure that it is not a picture with identifying details.

The last ethical concern I want to highlight is the issue of the ownership of the stories and how they are being reconstructed. Riessman (1993) warns that questions about representation cannot be avoided, as researchers will have to confront them during the research process. The question is whether these narratives are being reconstructed as a truthful representation of what the participant has said, as one of many interpretations, or as a co-construction between researcher and participant (Squire, 2008). I regard narratives as co-constructions, and in order to adhere to the principles of respect for participants, justice and fairness, I gave the representative constructions to participants to validate that each narrative has presented their position and to amend content if necessary (Bold, 2012). This served to minimise harm so that participants do not feel threatened by an anonymised narrative about themselves, after publication of the research, which they had no opportunity to provide feedback on.

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3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on my research paradigm and methodology. I discussed how the principles underlying the interpretivist / constructivist paradigm influenced me to choose a narrative research design from which this research was conducted. I discussed how I generated field texts and how analysis of the narratives was done using a thematic experience-centred narrative analysis and representative constructions. In addition, the paradigm guided the validation strategies I used to establish the trustworthiness of the study. Lastly, I also explained the ethical considerations that were important during the procedures in obtaining ethical clearance as well as in practice. I also outlined the ethics pertinent to using visual methodologies. The findings of the research will be presented and discussed in Chapter 4.

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CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of the findings of the thematic experience-centred narrative analysis which was conducted, as well as the representative constructions I created, in order to shed light on the main purpose of this study, which was to learn how teachers' experiences of school violence impact on their ability to enact an ethics of care in their schools. In order to answer the main research question, the secondary guiding questions of this study were:

- What are teachers' experiences of violence in schools?
- How do these experiences of violence form and shape their relationships with learners?
- What are their perceptions of their own care practices as teachers in the context of violence?

Within the narrative research design of this study, I collected teachers' stories of their experiences of school violence and care. In order to place the findings within the research design and interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, I will briefly reiterate why the telling and collection of stories is important. The use of narrative to make sense of experience has been well motivated in the literature on narrative research (Bold, 2012; Bruner, 1990; Gee, 1985; Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 1993). We organise our lives through the stories we tell, and these stories shape our reality about ourselves or how we perceive ourselves and make sense of our realities (Burr, 2015; White & Epston, 1990; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Gergen, 1985; Madigan, 2010). Bamberg (2015) argues this position by stating that narrators "give 'narrative form' to experience. They position characters in space and time and, in a very broad sense, give order to and make sense of what happened – or what is imagined to have happened. Thus, it can be argued, that narratives attempt to *explain* or *normalize* what has occurred; they lay out why things are the way they are or have become the way they are" (p.

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3, emphasis in original). Through this process, narratives constitute meaning and reality (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

I conducted an hour-long individual interview with each of the four teachers in Cape Town. I have specifically used the narratives of these teachers, which I call representative constructions (Bold, 2012), in order to help me make sense of a diverse set of information and to help the reader understand the 'story' it is telling about real people's lives. What became clear in the narratives of these four teachers was that they were not simply supplying information on school violence and the impact on their practices of care, but that they were additionally telling me stories about their experiences and in the process constructing a specific identity; they were answering the question: Who am I and how have I developed into the person I am? This process shows that "[p]ersonal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned" (Rosenwald & Ochburg, 1992, p. 1). As such, the identities of the teachers are socially constructed. Throughout this chapter, the social constructionist perspective guided the representative construction of narratives, since narratives are socially produced. The narratives that I will re-present are co-constructions which represent the participants' lives, originating in the relationship between myself as researcher and each individual participant.

While coding the interview data, I identified four main themes in the personal experience stories of teachers, namely *care, school violence, justice* and *resilience*. Based on the thematic, experience-centred narrative analysis of the data, which I described in the chapter on research methodology, the findings of this study include the following subthemes:(a) *The establishment and maintenance of the ethical self*; (b) *The erosion of the ethical self*; (c) *The nature and effects of school violence*; (d) *Lack of support in the system*; (e) *Ethics of justice*; (f) *Law-enforcement*; (g) *Personal stories of resilience* and (h) *Factors for staying in*

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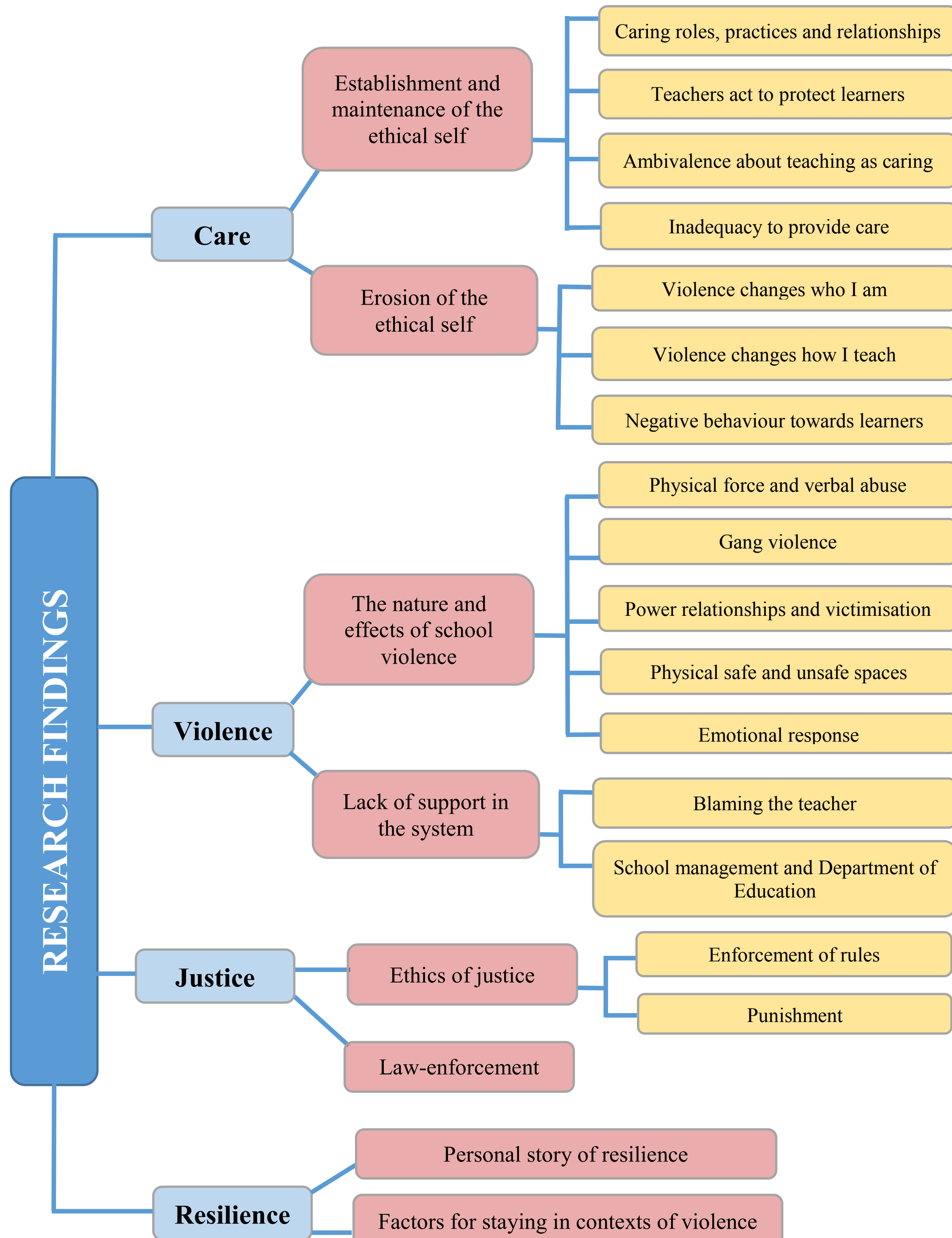
teaching contexts of violence. A summary of the analysis process, as well as the creation of representative constructions, were provided in the chapter on research methodology. A summary of these themes and categories that were conceptualised during data analysis is presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 A summary of the main themes, subthemes and categories



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4.2 REPRESENTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE

The four participants are all female and range in age from their late twenties to late fifties. They teach at high schools in some of the low socio-economic suburbs of Cape Town, where incidents of gang violence have occurred. The participants who I selected to share their narratives detailing their experiences of school violence, were all exposed to repeated incidents of trauma, either at school or in the vicinity of the school, during their teaching career. The stories the teachers told were both individual stories of experiences of school violence, as well as a collective story of school violence, in that some participants may validate or support the stories of other participants or would add to the story of one participant by offering their own story. For example, all four participants had selected to tell me stories about gang violence in and around their schools, as well as the effects of that violence on them. They also collectively constructed narratives around how the various forms of violence in schools affect their care practices, thus constructing a picture of care in contexts of violence.

To begin each of the representative constructions in the section below, I provide a diagrammatic table dealing with each participant, in which I present their background information and the context in which they teach. In the presentation of data, the names are altered to protect the identities of the participants. In a second table, I present the themes that can be linked to each of the narratives. These are followed by the stories of each participant, which I attempt to present as coherent, meaningful and representative constructions / narratives. I have assigned a verbatim title to each story within the larger narrative. In reconstructing the narratives, I had to keep in mind that for two isiXhosa-speaking participants, English is their second or third language, and for the one Afrikaans-speaking participant, it is her second language. The participant referred to as Debbie conducted her

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interview in Afrikaans, and the narratives had to be translated, while Chantal preferred to converse in English, but when she told me, for example, about interactions with learners, long explanations were given in Afrikaans.

To honour the authenticity of participants' voices, I have reproduced some of the language from the interviews verbatim. I attempted to be sensitive to how and where I edited grammar, vocabulary, idiomatic expression and sentence structure. For example, I reproduced how one participant referred to "the scissors" instead of changing it to "a pair of scissors". Where language was changed, it was for the sake of clarity and to organise events into a chronological format.

4.2.1 Narratives of teachers' experiences of school violence: Sinovuyo

Table 4.1 Participant 1: Demographics, background and context

Participant	Sinovuyo, female, early thirties
Home language	Xhosa-speaking
Teaching experience	Since 2006. More than 10 years' experience.
Subjects	Mathematics and Sciences
Grades taught	Grades 8 and 9
Background	She grew up in the Eastern Cape, where she completed Grade 12. After completing Grade 12 she relocated to the Western Cape and worked in a rural area. In 2002, she started her studies in Education at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Being too late to register for psychology or social work, she opted for a degree in Education.
School context	The high school is located in an informal settlement in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town. Despite being in an area where crime, poverty and unemployment is rife, the school is respected for its ethos of academic excellence and good results.

Table 4.2 Major themes and subthemes in Sinovuyo's narratives

Representative constructions	**Themes and subthemes**
"The boy with the scissors"	The nature and effects of school violence • educator-targeted bullying • physical force, assault • harassment

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	• emotional responses: fear • lack of self-efficacy • ineffective discipline style • physical safe and unsafe spaces • victimisation: helplessness • power relationships
"I am gonna die today"	The nature and effects of school violence • gangsterism, shooting • physical force: fighting and stabbing • emotional response: fear • physical safe and unsafe spaces Maintenance of the ethical self • caring practice: physical protection of learners Act with justice • following the rules • law-enforcement by police
"The stabbing"	The nature and effects of school violence • fighting, stabbing • emotional response: feeling unsafe
"You have to take care of the lesson"	The nature and effects of school violence • educator-targeted bullying • physical force • intimidation and threats • gangsterism • power relationships • victimisation • emotional response: sadness, negativity, anger Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships: teaching and creating a conducive environment for learning Erosion of the ethical self • violence changes who I am • negative behaviour towards learners: • lack of self-efficacy: ineffective discipline styles Act with justice • reporting challenging behaviour • punishment

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"You are not smiling anymore"	The effects of school violence Lack of support in the system Maintenance of the ethical self • building relationships • caring behaviour: encouragement, motivation Erosion of the ethical self • Violence changes the way I am • Ambivalence about teaching as caring

The boy with the scissors. I have been a teacher for almost 10 years at this school. Since I became a teacher I haven't taught anywhere else. I became a teacher because I like to teach learners new information but I actually wanted to be a psychologist or a social worker. I unfortunately applied too late, but I have found that teaching is not so different from psychology after all. When you are a teacher, you look at a learner's personality and behaviour, because they must behave themselves … Because some learners' behaviour is disruptive and scary, I am always trying to find out 'Why are you behaving like this?' and that is not so different from psychology. So I carried on with teaching. But the last three years have been bad because of a boy I taught.

This boy was in my Grade 9 Maths class. Because he failed Grade 8, he had to repeat, so this was his third year in my class. He was very arrogant and wanted to fight with everyone, even with his teachers. Every time I saw him, I was very scared of him because he was always moving around in class with scissors. I believe he wanted to stab some of the learners. He would be watching you while you teach, disrupting the flow of the lesson. When you order him to leave your class, he refused: "No, I don't want to …" I would report it to management, but it didn't help. I felt threatened because his manner in class wasn't friendly. I would tell him not to do that and you could see the animosity in his face. He was hostile and never without that scissors, wielding them like a weapon. It was terrible. Even worse for teachers because he was intimidating all of us. Some of the learners were scared. And you are the teacher, you are supposed to protect the others, but you can't because you are also scared.

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What was worst, was when he challenged me. It meant you never felt comfortable and if you try to ask the class a question and involve everyone, then he would do something and disrupt the whole lesson … You will try to assert yourself and say firmly: "Okay, you must go outside." Your heart is in your throat while you wait to see what he does. He leaves but comes straight back in. Even the learners could see this boy challenged me. If he wanted to take another learner's pen, ruler or eraser, nobody dared to stop him. Even the learners knew their teacher is too scared to reprimand him.

I would get so angry at this boy with the scissors and I had to keep in [suppress] the way I feel. I couldn't speak out. Time and time again I reported him to the office, we would discuss the case and then he would be suspended for three weeks. When he wasn't there the other learners behaved a little bit better, but soon after his return, he did the same thing and I couldn't say anything. And the cycle would be repeated. And I had to teach him. Once, when this boy was already suspended, he attacked a Grade 9 girl at the water tap and he broke her hand. After three years of being in my class and suspension, this boy got a transfer to a different school. He was violent.

I am gonna die today. Learners fight in and outside of class. Some are in gangs and others take drugs. It causes lots of problems in the classroom. When they get into a fight in the class I follow the only rule we have – call the school's management. They take the big fights to the gangs. Then we call the police. I will tell of a time that this happened to me.

It was in 2015 that the gangs came. They will surround the school and you will hear noises coming from outside putting you on edge. Then the gangs will climb over the fence and the gate and step inside the school with pangas. Trespassing. Looking for trouble. And you are afraid. And the gang members in classes will leave without permission with their own knives and pangas [machetes]. Our gangsters who left their classes fight back. The different gang

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members will chase each other around the school and stab some learners. After school they will harass or attack other learners. It is a very scary situation.

What happened on this day is that I was the one who noticed that a gangster had come into the school because my class is at the back by the parking area. Some of the classes in this passage don't have windows to the outside, only to the passage inside the building, but my class has windows. At the time I was teaching, and I noticed my learners being restless, looking out through the windows. I tried to see what was going on, and then I saw the gangsters were there. Three of them.

Figure 4.2 Sinovuyo's classroom with a view of outside

My class was so afraid. I ran to the office to report it to the vice-principal. Then I had to go back to my class because the other rule we had been given is that if you notice a gang on the school grounds, you need to go inside your class and lock the door. While I was in the passage, I came face to face with the gang members with the pangas moving around. My heart nearly stopped.

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Figure 4.3 The passage where Sinovuyo ran into the gang members

Then I just ran into the nearest class, closed the door and I was screaming and the learners said: “What’s wrong, ma’am?”

“Oh, my God, I am gonna die today,” I screamed. The class screamed. Some started crying. We called the police, they came and they stopped the gang violence. I think that was the biggest gang incident we have ever had because it was a very, very bad day. The police shot one of the gang members. I thought he was the boss. I saw him. He was hanging on the gate and had been shot by the police.

Figure 4.4 The hall is used for cultural activities too

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The stabbing. I don't feel safe at school. One day, learners started fighting at the back of the hall and two of our learners were stabbed there. We called an ambulance for them to be taken to hospital. I remember another day I was busy teaching and we were doing practical work in technology. The learners were using scissors to complete their work. I was helping a particular group, I didn't see what was happening, but that day two boys stabbed each other in the mouth and there was a lot of blood – it was just spurting out. I ran to the principal, I couldn't even say what was wrong, and I just said: "You must come now. Go to my class." I couldn't even go back. I was so scared.

You have to take care of the lesson. It is very difficult to teach a lesson because you have to take care of the lesson and at the same time you have to address the behaviour of these unruly learners in your class. It is almost impossible to do both at the same time. So we either have to ignore challenging behaviour, or order them to leave your class so that you can finish your lesson, which you planned for this period, first. Only then you can follow up and report this case to the office. But it leaves you not feeling well. You continue with the lesson for the sake of the other learners. Discipline is hard, getting learners to sit and concentrate is hard.

Figure 4.5 A class in the technology lab cooperating with me

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I teach Maths to most of the grade 9 classes and there are a lot of gang members in my class. I have no influence over them. I remember the other day I was in a class and I asked one of these learners: “Where is your work?”

He said: “I don’t have it.”

He stood up and when he passed me he pushed my shoulder powerfully out of the way. He was just showing me he has more power than me.

I am so sad that all of this change the way I am teaching. You are so negative towards learners, you are not friendly any more, you will have an anger towards them, even if one learner is doing something wrong you will be so harsh to that one learner because you still have that anger from that other learner who threatened or intimidated you. I told the class, “You know, I’m too soft, but the way you are treating me, is changing me.” I even say or do things I would have never said or done. You need to use bad language in the class which is what I am not used to. And then they won’t start listening unless you do that. I said to them, “You know, I can see you are used to a teacher who shouts at you and when I don’t do that then you know I’m powerless.” I feel so sad, you know? When the learners are misbehaving in the class, you are there and you are unable to control them. It makes you feel like you are useless, incompetent.

I am powerless. It has changed the way I am. *Completely*. I’m too soft, I know myself, I’m too soft, but now it has made me vulnerable because if you’ve been a victim and you are trying and these things happen, you don’t have power. I don’t know what to do. Most of the time we as teachers are in that situation. You feel the learners have more power than you. We can’t do anything to them and they can do whatever they want to do, and you are powerless. And it is as if they are taunting you: “No, I will go to the management, I will get the punishment and then I will be back in your class.”

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You are not smiling anymore. Last year I went to see a psychologist for support because I felt I was being blamed and I was not smiling anymore. I didn't get any support from the school. Most of the time management will accuse you: "You are the teacher, you are wrong. Why are they fighting in your class? You are supposed to control your class." But we don't know how to control our classes and the blame always lies with the teacher. Because you know they will ask you why they are fighting. Where were you? But you were in class. You were teaching. You were doing what you were supposed to do.

This is a big school with almost 1600 learners. I have on average 54 learners in a class, which makes it very hard to keep control. I think that is the biggest challenge we have. If you are unable to control them, management will blame you. Until last year I was so strict and my learners knew they must do the right thing in the class. And I think that is one of the things they wanted to challenge.

It was different when I first started here in 2006. When I started, those individuals who didn't do their work were not coming to school, so they were not a problem for me, but these days learners who don't want to work are in your class the entire day and they are not doing anything. I find our learners are bored with little motivation. You have to work so hard to try to get them to do anything. "Try harder, you must try to improve." Most of the time you will see that we as teachers are doing more work than we are supposed to do because the parents don't have time to support their children. They get home late. You can ask our learners and they will say: "I know my parents will be home around 7 o'clock tonight and they don't have time to check my books. They are always tired and will leave early tomorrow morning at 6."

In addition to academic support, you have to try to build a relationship and friendship with them, because if you don't, in this environment, they will end up hating you if you just give them the work. I always encourage them to do more, to do better. If they pass or just do

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averagely then I tell them they can perform better: "You mustn't say that if I write a test and I get average, then it is fine. Work harder." One of the learners that I have pushed went to university and he is working. He still comes to me and say: "Ma'am, thank you for motivating me, you knew I could do it …" To others I say, "Okay, what do you want to be?" and then I say, "You must concentrate on Maths, you must concentrate on Accounting and try to find other ways of doing business."

But I try to motivate some to get distinctions. I used to work with the girls and try to motivate them, and those who were having problems would come to me. I used to help them solve their problems, and most of them used to trust me, but now there are more who misbehave and do whatever they want to do.

If they manage to change your personality and your mood, then you have no more power and you are doing just for the sake of doing. You are not smiling anymore. Now you are just teaching. But sometimes it is different, and you are interacting with learners and it is better… In those moments you can feel free. And then a class will show up at the door smiling, and they will make you smile and you will see their future and they will be cooperating. You will love them for it and think you can do it and take it.

Figure 4.6 Interacting with one of my classes

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4.2.2 Narratives of teachers' experience of school violence: Debbie

Table 4.3 Participant 2: Demographics, background and context

Participant	Debbie, female, 55 years old, single, two adult children
Home language	Afrikaans-speaking
Teaching experience	More than 30 years' experience.
Subjects	Tourism and Life Orientation
Grades taught	Grades 8 – 12
Background	She grew up in a single parent household in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town. Currently she teaches at a high school in the Southern Peninsula. She had been acting head of this high school in the past, and she is currently a departmental head. She enrolled for a master's degree in Education but mentioned that her duties at school keep her so busy that she does not have time for her studies.
School context	The high school is located in a low socio-economic neighbourhood of Cape Town, where many learners grow up in poverty and where there are high rates of unemployment and crime. The area is frequently afflicted by gang violence and gang activities.

Table 4.4 Major themes and subthemes in Debbie's narratives

Representative constructions	**Themes and subthemes**
"The worst gang violence"	The nature and effects of school violence • gang activities • shooting • physical safe and unsafe spaces • emotional response: fear and anxiety, traumatisation Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships • teachers act to protect learners
"It is time to lock the school gate"	The nature and effects of school violence • gang activities • emotional responses: disillusionment • resigning from this school Lack of support in the system Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships • teaching as caring • inadequacy to provide care: insufficient training and the demands of the curriculum

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	• physical protection of learners Act with justice • law-enforcement and protection by police • parental action
"My own story of resilience"	Personal stories of resilience Factors for staying in contexts of school violence The effects of school violence: emotional responses
"I got my life's purpose back"	Resilience Maintenance of the ethical self • caring as an ethic
"No escape"	The nature of school violence • gang activities Resilience Factors for staying in contexts of school violence
"A catch-22 situation"	Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships • ambivalence about teaching as caring • caring as an awareness Erosion of the ethical self • inadequacy to provide care: demands of curriculum; cost of caring Resilience Factors for staying in contexts of school violence
"The favour"	Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships • caring as an awareness Erosion of the ethical self
"Up the mountain"	Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships

The worst gang violence. Gang violence in this area is something that flares up every now and again. Over the years, it has happened a few times, sometimes just a little bit and other times more seriously, but the recent wave of violence has been the worst we have ever experienced. In the past, it lasted for a few days or a week, and then it would subside. This time, however, it did not go away; it worsened and you wondered whether it was ever going to stop. It started about a month ago, and then you started to hear gun shots in intervals at night, during the day, in the morning, in the afternoon, really any time. Even people who

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have been in this community for a long time says it is the worst it has ever been. And then you really do not feel safe anymore.

During this time, the department of education expected us teachers to continue normally, so we tried to continue as normal as possible. But at home, at night, when you listen to two, three recordings of gun shots, just continuous gun shots, you ask yourself: “Heavens, must I really go back there tomorrow again?” And then the next morning, despite your own fear and anxiety, the butterflies in your stomach as you drive to school, you show up. You get that scared feeling until you arrive at school, enter the gates and go inside, and then it seems okay. A few years ago, the department of education erected a high fence around the school to keep unsavoury elements out, so you are safe when you are inside. And then, in the afternoon, when you get home, you tell yourself you will search for someplace else to teach, but the next day you get in your car and you show up again.

And you hear gunshots throughout the day. I would be in a class teaching and then suddenly gun shots will be heard around the school. Then we keep quiet for a few moments, we sit in silence and listen to the sounds. I chat with the learners, ask “Is everybody okay?” I look at their facial expressions and also ask them: “So what do we do now?” And they answer: “No, miss, it’s okay, outside has nothing to do with us, let’s carry on.” And you hope that this afternoon, when you go home, things will be okay. In these circumstances we let all the children go home at the same time, suspend all extra classes and extra-curricular activities. We inform the police to be there when the bell rings, hoping that will give them at least a sense of safety. We tell our children, “Make sure you get home as quickly as possible,” and that is all we can do.

On weekends, colleagues who live in the area will send WhatsApp messages that children or family had sent them. Because of the continuous shooting, many children had to spend the

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whole weekend crawling on the floor of their house. Because of stray bullets it was not safe to move around in the house. I don't live in the area, so I could only respond with messages of reassurance and telling them to stay inside, safe and not to walk around unnecessarily. At school we had to play it by ear; should it appear as if some of the children freaked out or became really anxious, you had to hide your own fear and anxiety to not let the children see how it affects you.

It is time to lock the school gate. When this particular gang war flared up this time, the violence did not want to stop and parents became really fearful for their children's lives. They were in danger walking to school and going home. Gunshots would go off all the time with no discernible pattern. We appealed to the department, but they told us that we had to see what we can do to ensure the children's safety. So who was taking responsibility for this situation? And then one morning the parents had enough. They decided to lock the school gate and lock us and the children out. It was a step they took to draw the attention of the department of education and the police. And that morning the principal, while we were listening in, was on the phone with the department's circuit manager who ordered: "But cut the lock, it is our school, we must go in," and I was just aware of outrage at the insensitivity; they had no idea what the teachers, learners and parents were going through. We said to the principal that he could not do it, it will bring him in conflict with and anger the community. So we stood outside the school for an hour or so, and then we were told to send the children home and to report to the district's office. The school was officially closed. After that, a big meeting with the MEC for education and a police general followed which resulted in agreements with the police, and money was made available for more of a police presence at school and in the neighbourhood. They also made a plan to give the children a sense of safety. In the mornings on their way to school and in the afternoons going home, there was a heavy police presence, police vans and police members patrolling the area on foot.

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Some children's emotions are dulled, not just by the recent wave of violence, but because of family members that die in the violence or who are threatened. Many times, brothers and sisters are gang members. They are anxious about these family members, but that is not something that you are aware of or notice on a daily basis. I just rely on my gut, but in this you move between the changing roles of being a teacher, a psychologist, a mother. However, the biggest part of what you have to do, is that you have to teach – we still have a curriculum to cover. But you cannot teach a scared, anxious child. And it is a shortcoming that we are not really trained to recognise symptoms of anxiety or trauma; we really just don't know how badly they are affected, and if you don't know, then you are unaware that this child needs support. Many teachers feel they are just here to teach, that's their job. They cannot be expected to take care of the psychological needs of children on top of everything else. In adverse circumstances like these, this is what leads to disillusionment and to people looking for greener pastures, someplace else to teach. But the children of this area still need to be taught, they still need their education.

My own story of resilience. I am resilient enough to resist what violence does to you. Yes, my emotions were also a bit raw from what we had gone through with the gang violence, and initially I was a bit watchful and on guard, but ultimately you need to make the children aware of the fact that this is not how life is supposed to be and that what you are experiencing is not normal, but it doesn't make your entire life abnormal. They have choices, and they can decide whether their circumstances are ideal or not and where they want to be in 10 or 15 years. I tell my learners that just like them, I grew up in adverse circumstances, and I encourage them with my own story – if I could improve my situation, they can as well. I am hoping to keep their dreams alive.

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I tell them how I was raised in one of the disadvantaged areas of Cape Town. My mother was a single parent and circumstances were very difficult. So, at the end of my standard 8 year I decided school didn't work for me, I didn't want to go to school anymore. Strangely enough, my mom was totally okay with my decision because it meant I could get a job and bring money home, because money was scarce. There were times that I didn't even have school shoes, even in high school. Then, a day or two before school would have started for my standard 9 year, I decided I'm going back to school. You can just imagine how angry my mom was, because I had given my school uniform away and I would have started a job. But I feel the decision to go back to school was the single most important and valuable decision of my life. It must have been divine intervention, but it directed my whole life and I ended up writing matric. I could give myself so much more and other people's children so much more. I decided to become a teacher. For teenagers who grew up in disadvantaged areas during Apartheid, teaching was basically the only career option. Possibly a way to escape circumstances, but for me the irony was that I grew up in a house where I was always told that one day I was going to be a teacher. Apparently, as a child, I used to play school-school and I was always the teacher with the *lat* [cane] in my hand.

I got my life's purpose back. In 2008 I arrived here at this school after not having taught for four years. And I can honestly say that since my first day here I got my purpose in life back.

You see, years ago, after I studied and qualified, I started teaching at a high school in Mitchells Plain. In fact, the school had just opened and all of us who started there were young. Those early years were fantastic; we were all great friends and we build up the school. But if I had to reflect back on the beginning, I started my teaching career on the wrong foot because there was no guidance or mentorship. After 21 years at this school, a good school with a 100% pass rate, where everything went according to plan, I became discontented and

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frustrated… Years later, when I reflected on that time, I realised I have reached a plateau and that teaching wasn't a challenge anymore. In 2003, I resigned and I left the teaching profession for four years. And then in 2008, I came back to this school with all of its problems. Gangs, violence, poverty, the bleakness… My purpose here is not about me accomplishing something for myself, but making a contribution to this community. I try to make a difference in the lives of these children who go about their daily lives with despair and aimlessness.

No escape. Many of our boys and some of the girls too become involved in gang activities. Many of them just don't have a choice. Even being friends or just being associated with a gang member means you become automatic a member. We had a boy in grade 11 here at school, who is a known gang member. Since the violence started, he couldn't attend school because he lives in an area where his gang operates, but his way to school goes through territory of a rival gang, and he couldn't come. Even now that the violence has subsided, he hasn't come back and I doubt that he will. I had spoken to him about the gangs, but he couldn't escape because of his family's involvement in gangs. But *ag* [oh], I would so have liked to see him finish school. So, if you could take a child like that, with all the potential locked inside, and put him a different place in more ideal circumstances, everything will change. But unfortunately that doesn't happen for these children. And we who are here, who can make a genuine difference, must change the direction of their lives, sometimes forcibly, because they don't know there are alternatives. And if that child comes back after two or three years saying, "I have a nice job now, I could do this for my mom and that for my family," then your entire perception of life changes because things *are* different.

A catch-22 situation. In order to make a difference you need to build a relationship with the child. You must be aware of the need to establish trust. The learner must be able to trust you

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in a positive relationship. But because adults have disappointed them so many times in their lives, they don't trust easily. It takes you a long time to build a relationship of trust, and many of my colleagues simply don't feel they have the space or time to win learners' trust. They are unaware and they only want to teach their subject because they need good results, because if they don't perform it will reflect badly on them. So, they say: "I do what I need to do and to hell with the rest." It is a catch-22 situation that affects all of us.

The department of education expects so much, but I think what they don't understand is that you put everything in, emotionally and physically, in curriculum work, to make the children feel safe… so much so that you are exhausted at the end of the day. Saturday mornings, you get up and you sit with papers and assessments. The same thing every weekend and holidays. Sometimes I feel they are asking just a bit too much from teachers, but it is a choice you have to make.

We care for our learners on a physical, emotional and psychological level. We have a feeding scheme here at school, but our children are emotionally abandoned, and therefore taking care of them on a psycho-emotional level is something that is most important if they want to develop into well-rounded, resilient individuals that can maintain positive relationships. But again, it starts with an awareness in teachers. Generally, teachers don't have time to care for learners on the emotional and psychological level, but I must say some of my colleagues do make time for that, even at the expense of spending time with their own families. We often neglect our own children because these children need more care.

The favour. After the recent wave of gang violence, we decided we had to minimise the risk of disruption to our matrics. We thought that many of them might already have been traumatised, and they need a safe place to study and sleep. If bullets are flying all over the place, you cannot concentrate, much less pass. And then, last week, the parent of a grade 12

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child who was a gang leader, was shot not far from the school. This so disturbed many of the grade 12 learners, we had to cancel an exam.

That is when we moved our 130 matrics to a safe exam location on the other side of the city to write their June exams. There is accommodation and catering. Many of my colleagues are sleeping over with them to keep an eye on them. That is a huge favour to ask teachers, but we want to let them feel that somebody cares about them and that they are worth the extra effort we are putting in.

For me personally, that is what I need to do now and that is what is being asked of me, so I need to do it… I need to do it and I am not expecting anything in return for it. For me, the most important thing is that awareness inside of you: you are here to contribute, you are here to make a difference. This knowledge has been an incredible source of spiritual strength and hope for me.

I believe it shines through in my relationship with the learners.

Up the mountain. I took a group into the mountain at the end of the first term. They were so excited about going on an outing with me. I asked a friend to help me transport some of the learners. It was a beautiful sunny day with clear, blue skies. We packed lunch and our water bottles, and we were ready. We spent the whole day on the mountain with jokes and much laughter. And a few asked me when are we going up the mountain again. So, I try through what I do with them to not only prepare them for life, which is often a mountain, but to also tell them that on this journey you should enjoy life as well.

And I think on the mountain many of them saw the *lekker* [fun or jovial] girl. This past Monday, I walked to a group of girls and one commented on the jacket I was wearing. “Oh, but ma’am is wearing a *lekker* jacket,” she said. “But she is a *lekker* girl,” another chirped in.

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And I think that is how they perceive me. I try to maintain the balance between being strict and making jokes, to let them see the lighter side of life. I want them to know that I am your teacher, but I also understand the life phase you are grappling with. I hope this is how they see me – I am young at heart and I try to show them that.

4.2.3 Narratives of teachers' experience of school violence: Chantal

Table 4.5 Participant 3: Demographics, background and context

Participant	Chantal, female, in her forties, married, teenage children
Home language	English-speaking
Teaching experience	Less than 6 years' experience.
Subjects	Hairdressing
Background	She is a qualified hairdresser, who started teaching in 2012 for the first time when she applied for a teaching position at a school of skills in Cape Town
School context	This school of skills is located next to an industrial area in a low socio-economic neighbourhood in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town. I met Chantal in her classroom set out with mannequins, wigs, basins and stations for cutting and drying hair.

Table 4.6 Major themes and subthemes in Chantal's narratives

Representative constructions	**Themes and subtheme**
"The calling"	Establishment of the ethical self Lack of self-efficacy
"The biker gang"	The nature and effects of school violence • gangsterism • robbery • physical force: beating, throwing stones • intimidation • being held hostage • emotional responses: fear, resilience Act with justice • law-enforcement by police Maintenance of the ethical self • teachers act to protect learners
"Is sy dan bedonnerd?"	The nature and effects of school violence • verbal abuse • emotional responses: anger, disgust • lack of support in the system

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	Erosion of the ethical self • negative behaviour towards learners: intentionally causing hurt Act with justice • punishment • discipline • morality
"Being a teacher"	Establishment and maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and behaviours Resilience: role of religion Act with justice • enforcement of rules

The calling. I am a trained hairdresser who had my own business, a hair salon, for many years. But something was missing and the idea to become a teacher was always there. One of my clients always told me: "You are missing your calling." That is how the seed was planted, and I thought by myself I can actually change my career. Maybe I have it in me to become a teacher. I used to let children, also from a disabled school, come job shadow at the hairdresser, and I've dealt with street children. My husband always tells me: "When you do it, you really put your heart into something."

In 2010, I decided that I was going to turn my hair salon into a training centre to teach people, but I struggled because there are so many hoops you have to jump through. And then in 2011, a friend of mine told me about a school who was looking for a teacher. And I said: "I am going to give it a try," even though I wasn't sure I would be able to do it. So, I went for the interview in November and they told me they would let me know within 24 hours. I waited, and 24 hours came and went, Christmas came, New year went and still nothing… Then I said to myself it is in God's hands, leave it, maybe it is not meant to be. And then on the 16th of January the school phoned to say I could start the next day. Getting this job was a real breakthrough. I could finally do what I wanted to do while getting stability, a permanent job and respect.

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The biker gang. It was a biker gang, a group of boys who came. During interval the gang was outside and they came onto the premises, but we got them off the premises to avoid a fight. We avoid those things. Then school came out and we just saw a group of boys running back here, shouting: “Ma’am, they rob for whoever now… his bike!”

As we came outside at the front entrance, all our boys ran back through the gates into the school grounds. Gang members who were chasing them were throwing them with stones. Then they came in with pangas and knives. They were roughly eighteen to nineteen years old, big boys, and our boys were trying to protect us and they were throwing back stones. It got so bad that we had to close the security gate, but those guys jumped over the sliding gate and kept throwing stones.

Lord knows, Qaanita was next to me. As they were throwing I came out and I saw Qaanita and I grabbed her and these guys were coming towards us now. My specs flew… everything… The next minute we were all in, behind closed doors and they took pangas and they were hitting all the windows and doors.

One child was lying outside. They beat him to a pulp, but we were inside and we had all the girls in. You know how vulnerable girls are. And Qaanita started crying, the other girls started crying. In that time, glass from windows was flying all over you. Our deputy was covered in glass too. We just covered the learners, you know, to keep them safe. We were basically held hostage in this school with these guys banging and going on. Then we activated the alarm, and ADT and the police came. And once the police came, they quickly disappeared. The police asked us if we know who it is, and I became annoyed. We said no, unfortunately we forgot to stop them to ask them their names because the police now wanted to know who it was. We don’t know who the gang members were. We don’t know their names. And we just felt the police wasn’t really helpful, because those guys could come onto

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our premises. The evidence is still there on the door, the way that they banged against it with the pangas.

And ever since then that incident with the gangs, we will tell the children, no violence please. I think they got a hell of a fright. Just like with the children the incident shooked me up a bit, but I wasn't afraid to go out and go on with my life. I can be stubborn and I am not going to tolerate you to bully me or anything like that. I went down when I spoke about it, but I wasn't emotional about it or anything like that. I got home and that was the end of the story. I was just fearing for our children that they don't get hurt.

Is sy dan bedonnerd? **[Is she a damned fool?]** Discipline is a big challenge at the school. Last week we had an incident with one of our prefects. He came from nowhere, doesn't know jack of what's going on, and he says to one of the other prefects: "Yes, everybody is saying you kicked the ball into that window." And I think, I have this situation under control, why is he now acting like such a big guy, and I said: "Who made you the lawyer? You are not the lawyer. Leave Melissa alone."

"Yes, but who gave ma'am the right to talk to me like that?" Then I just asked him to leave. The bell rang and I walked towards the staff room but he didn't see me go into the staff room. He was talking to one of the children outside in the passage and he said: "What do you guys think of this Petersen? She wants to come and tell me I am the lawyer? Is she *bedonnerd* [foolish/ idiotic] then?"

I came out and I said "Excuse me, are you talking about me? About *this* Petersen?" I actually got so furious because the thing is I … I spoke to him a few minutes ago now in the snoepie [tuck shop] and he is a prefect, and I said: "Ryan, what did you just say?" And then Zeenith, one of the girls, said, "No ma'am, he spoke about ma'am just now." Then I said: "Just tell me quickly, who are you?"

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"Yes, but who gave you the right to talk to me like that?" he protested.

He had an attitude of defiance, standing against the wall with his hands in his pockets, and I stared at him: "Ryan, do you know, you can be lucky you are not my child. *Soos jy teen daai muur vir jou ophou, sal daai muur weer vir jou teruggesoen het* [As you keep yourself standing against that wall, that wall would've smacked you back], because," I continued, "even my child at home doesn't even talk to me like that. So, who gives you the right to talk to me like that?" "Yes, but who gave you the right to tell me I'm not a lawyer?"

"Do you talk to your mother like that? You can tell your mother to talk to you like that, but you don't speak to me like that. Just come with me to the office." He really thinks he is untouchable, but in a way, I think I was a bit wrong because I allowed him to get to me. I was so angry with him. The cheek. If you are not on guard all the time, these children will walk all over you… My children would not dare talk to me like that because they know I will smack them if they did try. I mean, how did your mother rear you?

And I went to the principal and I said: "Tell Mr. Abels what *bedonnerd* Petersen you have here at school." Mr. Abels looked at me and he looked at Ryan: "What is going on?" And I replied: "Let Ryan speak." Then tears rolled down his face. I remarked: "No, no, no, tears are not going to work with me. It has no effect on me. Tell Mr. Abels how *bedonnerd* I am." I always insist a child must say his side, then I will say my side. He stood quietly. Then I told Mr. Abels what happened, I explained my side of it and then I said: "And another thing, Ryan. Let me show you how *bedonnerd* I really am. Give me your prefect badge and tie, please." I knew this was going to hurt him because he is *mos* [indeed] a prefect, so how would it look if is stripped of his badge and tie? Then I said: "This is what *bedonnerd* people do. If you wanted to see how *bedonnerd* I can be, I have just showed you."

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I took it away and Mr. Abels soft-talked him. I was not impressed with that. Mr. Abels coated him like a sugar-coating: "Hey, Ryan, I didn't expect this from you." Really, is that a head teacher who doesn't tolerate nonsense? I just felt like he was too soft on him. Ryan is a child, you as the principal should reprimand the child, but he said: "I hope you are going to apologise to Mrs. Petersen for the things you said." And I thought, why did I even bother to come to you, I could have just handled this on my own. And, then Ryan came to me and said, "Ma'am, I'm sorry," but it wasn't the first time that he had been disrespectful. And now he avoids me like the plague, but it doesn't bother me, he is a child. A child must know his place and know how to act around adults. And if you think you can talk to your parents like that, feel free, but you are not going to talk to me like that, I'm very sorry.

The other day the deputy asked me and I told her what happened. She said: "No, Ryan is not getting his badge back, nor his tie, because he told one of the other children '*Ek sal vir jou wegwerk hierso* [I will get rid of you].'" He really seems to think he is untouchable. He is definitely not being prefect again because I'm the one mentoring the prefects.

Being a teacher. This is my life. My passion. These children needs lots of love and attention; I can see their lack of love at home. Teaching to me is, having these children like your own children, treating them like your own children. I will always tell them that I love them. They need attention, they need to get that from me… The bond we have in class is really a mother-daughter, okay I had boys also, a mother-child relationship, and that is what I like because they can feel free to come talk to me. I have an open policy, and we always say that what happens in Vegas stays in Vegas. We can discuss anything and everything under the sun, and we can reprimand each other. And that is what we have here, we have respect for each other.

I had a case now about a week ago where a child lashed out at me, and I thought, no man, there is more to this, because this is not the way she is. I reprimanded her over a scarf that she

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had on and I told her she must please take the scarf off because scarves are not allowed in my class. We are hairdressers, we must look professional. She became argumentative, which is not like her. Later that day she came in tears here and I said "Qaanita, are you okay?" And she burst into tears, and I said, "Let's go and talk," and I took her to my class. And she said: "Ma'am, I'm angry," and I said: "Why are you angry?" "…because everyone around me dies."

And I thought okay… I said: "Who is dying? You didn't say anything." She answered: "Someone stabbed my tjommie [buddy]." They are living with gang violence. The friend got shot, some people get sick, and I just didn't go into depth because that's the counsellor's department. I told her "Okay, Qaanita, what is actually going on? Talk to me." She said: "Ma'am, I'm scared." I asked: "What are you afraid of?" "Everybody around me dies and I don't know what to do." Then I replied, "Okay Qaanita, from a Christian perspective we don't always know why God takes people away, but many times God will take people out of this earth situation that He has a plan for them."

We were still in class and she calmed down and she said: "Can I give you a hug?" "Yes, you know I love you very much. You are my child and I don't like seeing my child so upset." And then she said: "Ma'am, sometimes we don't have money for transport and then my mother writes me a sick letter," to which I replied "Qaanita, I cannot help everybody but I can see you are upset. If you need taxi or train money, I will give it to you." I don't mind giving her money. She doesn't smoke, she is a decent girl. She said: "Yes but I don't want to bother Ma'am every time." I answered her: "No, you don't bother me. I just want your mom's number and you can tell your mom what I said. If your mom has a problem she can phone me." The mother was here today and she actually thanked me for the time that I spent with Qaanita.

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But I am also a disciplinarian. The children calls me The Law, because they know not to mess with me. I am very strict. If I say you are going to stay in for detention, then I mean it. No idle threats with me. You have to be on your guard, otherwise they walk all over you. There are times that I do lose it with them, and afterwards I will realise I am wrong and I will tell them: "I don't like doing this." I will always tell them I love them.

4.2.4 Narratives of teachers' experience of school violence: Noluthando

Table 4.7 Participant 4: Demographics, background and context

Participant	Noluthando, female, mid-twenties, unmarried
Home language	Xhosa-speaking
Teaching experience	Since 2012. Almost 6 years' experience.
Subjects	Economics and Computer Application Technology
Grades taught	Grade 12
Background	Noluthando grew up and went to school in Khayelitsha, a township in Cape Town. She wanted to study marketing because she loves people and she loves to talk. Her mother, however, did not want her to move to Johannesburg by herself. Eventually she enrolled for a B.Ed. degree at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, where she qualified as an FET teacher, specialising in Economics and Business Studies. In 2012, she started as a novice teacher in her first teaching position at a high school in Khayelitsha. Two years later, she qualified with a certificate in Human Resources Development.
School context	The high school is located in an informal settlement in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town. Despite being in an area where crime, poverty and unemployment is rife, the school is respected for its ethos of academic excellence and good results.

Table 4.8 Major themes and subthemes in Noluthando's narratives

Representative constructions	**Themes and subtheme**
"I left Khayelitsha"	The nature and effects of school violence • educator-targeted bullying • physical force • harassment • assault • emotional responses: fear • lack of self-efficacy • victimisation: helplessness • power relationships

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"Finding a school"	Establishment and maintenance of the ethical self • caring practices: recognition of teaching as caring
"Let's go for it, let's fight"	The nature and effects of school violence Establishment and maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and relationships • recognition of teaching as caring • ambivalence about teaching as caring • inadequacy to provide care: insufficient training
"Do you know who I am?"	The nature and effects of school violence • educator-targeted bullying • drug abuse • physical force: assault • emotional responses: shock, fear, trauma • power relationships • cultural norms of masculinity Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and behaviours • teachers act to protect learners Act with justice • law-enforcement by police • enforcement of rules • punishment • morality
"You have to follow the rules"	Maintenance of the ethical self • caring roles, practices and behaviours Act with justice • enforcing rules • cultural norms of masculinity

I left Khayelitsha. I grew up in Khayelitsha and I started teaching in Khayelitsha. It is a township, a black community with too much gangsterism, too much alcohol abuse, drug abuse, whereby if you are in a class you must always be aware that you might be teaching to someone who is high on drugs. You might be teaching someone who is in the early stages of pregnancy. She might be sleepy, she might be raped at home. There might be a learner in the class that just found out she is HIV positive. What I realised when I first started teaching, is that there is so much going on in the class that it is not about the subject at all. It is the environment, and I am someone who knows Khayelitsha.

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But we know that the core value of being at school is teaching, but at the end of the day it is not all about that. One or two learners in my class were part of a gang. One time a gang came into the school. They jumped the fence and came in. They tried to provoke our learners and our learners wanted to show they are also guys. They want to show their pride and fight. Sometimes you could reason with them: "Please, guys, don't do this." At other times when they were high on drugs they just wanted to fight. That would disrupt the school, because once the fight started the school would have to be suspended. And then we would send them home for their own safety, trying to protect them. It was a very, very challenging situation.

Because it was my first teaching experience, I started to doubt whether I really want to do this. I was like, no I don't think this is what I want. It was tough. Then I ended up in 2012 enrolling for a part-time course in Human Resources Development. I continued teaching, but I told myself I needed to look for a better school. So, I kept on applying and then I got a better school. I got a job at the College of Cape Town. And then I left Khayelitsha. I have been there from 2013 'til last year (2016). The college had a different dynamic; it was worlds apart. More matured learners. But you know, the funny thing is that at the end of last year I found I wanted to go back to high school. Because high school is what I actually wanted.

Finding a school. I told myself I don't want Khayelitsha. I'm from Khayelitsha and I know how Khayelitsha is. So, I told myself, no, I am not fit enough for Khayelitsha, let me not go for that. Not to say that I'm not fit but I wouldn't be able to deliver the quality teaching I wanted to deliver. My purpose, so I told myself, is that I must look for a high school in a different area. Then I saw a post here and I did a research on the school. I found out the school is a wonderful school with a good pass rate, and everything about it is just great. Then I told myself, why not apply? I knew that there would be certain learners who would be just like learners from Khayelitsha. It is always like that. It is a township; challenges are the same

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in all townships. But I told myself that I think they got a better understanding of what education is. I told myself that because when I left the Khayelitsha schools I realised that the majority of learners don't know what education is, the importance of education, why they are coming to school. It is all about impressing and satisfying their parents. If you go to school, I will buy you a cell phone, I will buy you expensive clothes. So, when I read about this school it was like the school is really honouring the dignity of education.

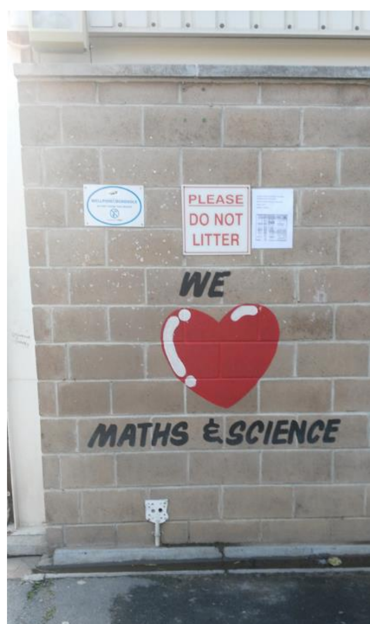

Figure 4.7 Noluthando chose this school because it values education

The learners know why they are at school. When I called for an interview, I told myself I was going to blow them away to make sure I came to this school because I had put my heart on this school. I went to the interview, it went well and they called me. "Please come to our school in January." When the school reopened in January, here I was. The rest is history.

Let's go for it, let's fight. We've got learners who have personal problems: alcohol abuse, abusive parents or a mother being beaten up by the dad. They keep all of that close to their hearts, but those hurts grows to an anger that can explode at any time.

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One day after break, a Grade 9 class was standing outside, the door was locked. They waited for their teacher to unlock the door. One of the boys jokingly pushed one of his classmates, while a few others were just playing and teasing. The boy who was pushed reacted immediately as if he needed to defend himself. The anger flashed across his face. He grabbed his classmate, grabbed his arm and pushed him to the ground. He started beating him. Someone playing with him was a severe provocation to start fighting.

And this happens a lot as a result of what learners constantly experience at home; they see any slight as a challenge. Even if I were to reprimand him or ask him about his work, he sees it as a fight. The attitude changes, it is as if he is saying: "Let's go, let's go for it, let's fight. I am up for it." If they don't react first, they will get hurt, so better to attack first.

This is why dealing with some of these learners are a challenge. Sometimes I try to penetrate and change their minds with teaching, by feeding them knowledge. Unfortunately, I have realised that for some of them, their minds are blank, there is just a board in front of them and a blabbering teacher. I'm just here, I'm here, but not to learn. So, it is a great challenge for most teachers and still we have to push, we have to try. In addition, the pace at which you have to teach, is also challenging. You have to make sure you have covered all the topics in the curriculum.

And then, at the end of all of it, it is not just about the curriculum, but about all the different ways in which you are a teacher. Because you are a teacher, but you are also a parent, a brother, a sister, an advisor, a counsellor. Just too many ways of being a teacher and roles to step into. And we are not really trained to become those things, we were trained at university to teach and to know the subject content. Yes, we did do psychology, but it was not the main focus. We did psychology in our first and second year, then we dropped it, then we had to focus on our didactics. I always say to my friend who studied Foundation Phase (FP):

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"You're lucky, because FP always get to have the chance to get to the depths of special needs, inclusive education, but when we're doing FET (Further Education and Training), there is little inclusive education." In reality, we just glanced at it. But FP takes it from first year to fourth year. They are at least a little bit more trained than us. We don't really have that opportunity to give what we can be able to offer because we were never trained.

We don't really know how to handle the psychological and emotional problems of learners. We didn't even have an opportunity to go to a special needs school, to see their challenges and how do we tackle them… How do we go forward to see that a child has anger issues, a writing impairment or an eye impairment? But those who did their foundation phase and intermediate phase, they are much luckier than us who did FET, because at least they are able to apply what they have learnt.

Do you know who I am? On that day I had two free periods. During the second one, while I was busy preparing for the next lesson, six of my Grade 12 learners whom I am teaching Economics came into my class, but they were not supposed to be in my class.

"Miss, we have a Tourism assignment, but we need internet, so can we please use the computers?"

I am also teaching CAT (Computer Applications Technology) and these computers are only for CAT, but because they are my learners I thought to myself, why not, because I'm going to be here to monitor what they do.

They know they are not supposed to watch videos or listen to music. They can only google their topic for information. So I allowed them.

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Figure 4.8 The CAT classroom where Noluthando usually teaches

One learner was sitting there and I was sitting here behind my desk. I was a little bit nervous about the principal or deputy walking in, so I had to supervise them even though they are in Grade 12. A child will always be a child. So one of the boys was on YouTube, listening to music. When I stood up I told him: “Please stop doing that. Do what you said you are here for.” Then he said: “Sorry miss.” Then 30 minutes later, I stood up again to check up on them. He was still on YouTube.

I ordered him: “Log off and get out of my class because you are clearly not here for Tourism. While the other learners are here for Tourism, you are not.”

He refused: “No miss, I’m not going to go.”

“This is my classroom, please get out of my class, and on that matter, you are not supposed to be in my class so get out.”

Then he logged off, took his bag, pretended to go out but went to another computer. I did not see him. A teacher stepped in, greeted me and left. With that I got up and my eyes fell on him. “You’re still here! Still on YouTube. This is too much; get out of my class!”

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"I'm not going anywhere." He stood up, and stood in front of me. "I'm not going anywhere." He was arrogant and challenging. His expression was like do whatever you want to do, but I'm not going anywhere. Then I came closer to him and I said: "Please get out of my class." Then I got a plan. Learners are very fond of their bags, they don't want them to be dirty, so if I threw the bag out he was going to follow the bag and that was how I was going to get rid of him. It backfired. When I threw his bag, he went to another computer, wanting to log in. Then I pulled him by his hand: "Please get out of my class." That's when he clung to the burglar gate with me pleading: "Please." Then he grabbed my hand with his one hand. With the other hand he grabbed my blouse under my neck and he pointed to me and said: "*Niyandazi?*" *Do you know who I am*? Threatening, intimidating. When people say that in isiXhosa it is meant to scare you. He was trying to say: "Have you heard about my bad side? Have you ever heard about who I am when I am very angry?" Now, this whole scenario just changed. My blood got so warm. There was a noise in my ears. What the hell am I going to do? Everything happened so fast.

Suddenly the other learners ran to me and shouted at him: "What are you doing? Let go of her!" He was still shaking me back and forth. While he was doing that, I think he realised that it was wrong. He quickly removed his hand from my chest, but did not remove his hand on my wrist. Then he kept on shaking me back and forth. I had to act like him: "I don't know you but I would like to know you. Do something. Do you want to fight?" And then he said: "Yes, I will beat you." And I was like: "No, this is not on." And then, while I was talking, the other learners got between us and they broke us apart.

After that, he ran away and stood by the wall. That is where all his guy friends went and shouted at him, and I could see that he was very disappointed in himself. I was shocked and so scared. I went straight to the principal and told him what had happened. The principal

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called him, but he said he is not coming. Then the principal threatened him and said he was going to call the police; what he did was against the law. That's when he went to the principal. The principal called me, and that's when I said I am not in a position to face the boy, I am not in a good space. The incident kept on playing in my mind's eye, and I kept on asking what if I did this and then the learner would do that.

The principal talked to him and later I told him my side of the story. Our stories were the same, he did not deny anything. He was suspended with immediate effect. After a week he was summoned for a disciplinary hearing with his parents. After that we talked. I don't hold grudges, especially against my learners, and I could see he was remorseful. He was in a bad space and high on drugs that day. And he said he has been struggling to stop taking drugs. He explained himself, but the principal wanted to expel him. I had to intervene. I have a lot of compassion for my learners. He is in Grade 12, and there is no school that is going to take him. It is too late for him to go and look for another school. I had to be a parent even though I had a traumatic experience because of him. I told him he had to show that he is remorseful. We gave him a punishment to let him know what he did was wrong. He cannot go on excursions, he cannot participate in any school activities. He offered to wash my car every Friday and he is still doing that. And because he was expelled for 3 weeks, he told me that I am going to see that he is going to pass my subject even though he missed class. But he did well and he is still doing well. He is now one of my favourite learners.

I don't want to lie. I learnt a lesson. If someone hurts you, you must give them a second chance. Just give people a second chance in life, especially if it is a child. I am not saying what he did was good; it was bad. He needed to be punished, but there are personal problems behind his behaviour for which he needed a referral to a professional person. He is not the only learner with whom I have had that type of incident, but that day was extreme because he

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acted physically towards me. Other learners are just verbally abusive. When I reprimanded them, they back-chat. After this incident, I am able to tell learners that at the end of the day I am the teacher. I am the leader of the class. I make the decisions in this class, you cannot decide for me, you cannot decide on behalf of the class.

You have to follow the rules. I still reprimand the big boys even after that experience. I continue to reprimand them. I continue to show them what is wrong and what is right. When a Xhosa black child becomes a man, they become arrogant and they think that being a man is not to be told that what you are doing is wrong. "I am a man, don't tell me what is wrong, I know what is wrong even if I am wrong. I am not going to apologise." I think that it is the teachings they get when they go for these initiations. I am not going to say the teachings are wrong. I think they receive them in a wrong way. They are being told you are a man now, you stand on your own two feet, you make your own decisions, but I think they should postpone them going to initiation school to after they have passed Grade 12. At school you are still a child and you need to abide by the rules. There are rules everywhere. I will always give them an example: if you want to join the police, you got to follow their instructions and rules. If you are being told, "No jewellery," you take off your ear rings. When you signed the contract in which you said that you were going to follow the rules, then you abide by the rules. So, I always tell them, everywhere you go, even at work, you must follow the rules.

You cannot live like an island as if you are the only person at school. I always tell them that even we, as teachers, have to follow the rules. We cannot come to work drunk and teach you.

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Figure 4.9 Learners in school uniform

You represent your school uniform, you do not have hairstyles that says you look like you are coming from a tavern. Your uniform must represent your behaviour in class.

I always preach that, but you find out that what you preach is not always what you get in return. You preach and preach and preach, but sometimes they are not going to give you what you preach. But in the end, they will remember that. When I was a learner, I also didn't want to listen, but today I apply what my teachers told me.

4.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented the main themes and subthemes that I identified during the thematic experience-centred narrative analysis. I also presented each of the participants' narratives on their experiences of school violence and their care practices as whole, concrete narratives, known as representative constructions, to retain the richness of detail and the sequence of events and topics. In Chapter 5, I will discuss the findings and offer my reflections on my research journey.

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CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research findings of my investigation into narratives of caring in the face of school violence. I contextualise these findings within the theory of the ethics of care and the perspectives highlighted in the literature review. Additionally, this chapter also reflects on my role as a qualitative researcher throughout the research process, and the challenges and limitations that this research journey has posed. I conclude the study by providing recommendations, as well as noting areas for further research and potential practical implementation of the research.

5.2 DISCUSSION

The discussion below is in response to the main research question: How do teachers' experiences of violence in their respective schools impact on their ability to enact an ethics of care in teaching? My main findings suggest that despite being exposed to school violence, teachers have the ability, inclination and intention to establish and maintain the ethical self which will enable them to enact caring practices towards their learners; and secondly, that when teachers teach in a context where school violence is prevalent and recurrent, it can lead to a process where a gradual erosion of the ethical self occurs, leading to a diminished capacity for acting caring. The erosion of the ethical self is further influenced by the participating teachers' resilience and their senses of self-efficacy as teachers.

The ethical self is a construct within the theory of the ethics of care. Noddings (1995) explains that the ethical self is our sense of our ideal self through which we can fulfil our moral obligation to act ethically, i.e. in caring ways towards those we care for. Teachers

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would thus maintain their sense of an ethical self precisely when they perceive caring as an ethic (Gilligan, 1984), establish caring relationships (Gilligan, 2011; Noddings, 1984) and enact caring as a practice or emotional labour (Fisher & Tronto, 1990; Gordon et al., 1996; Held, 2006). When the sense of the ethical self is strong, teachers regard all individuals in the macrosystemic environment of the school – management, colleagues, learners, parents and themselves – as worthy of receiving and giving care.

5.2.1 Care

The subtheme of the establishment and maintenance of the ethical self is established through teachers' caring relationships, caring practices and behaviours, and caring roles. The establishment of the ethical self, stems from valuing care as an ethic and becoming aware of the calling to be in a helping profession such as teaching. Noddings (2013) explains that the ethical self is always under construction and in flux, and depending on the context, might be more prominent or absent.

One of the findings of this study is that teachers are aware of and acknowledge the connection they are supposed to have with learners, as well as the significance of establishing caring relationships with learners, which was evident in all the narratives of the four participants. The underlying principle of the ethics of care is that care is relational; we form relationships, but in those relationships we need to be responsive by paying attention and listening (Gilligan, 2011; Noddings, 1984, 1992). In Chantal's narrative entitled "Being a teacher", she displayed caring behaviour, based on her relationship with this learner, when she payed attention to Qaanita's distress, listened to her and responded with emotional warmth, authenticity and affection. Debbie, in her narrative "A catch-22 situation", is aware of the need to build relationships with learners based on trust – a child that is growing up in an environment of violence must be able to trust the teacher as a trustworthy adult. Many

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researchers have found that trust is essential in relationships because it is conducive to caring (Noddings, 1991, 2013, Seashore Louis et al., 2016). When learners trust teachers, they know that they will be dependable, act with integrity and that their teachers will act with benevolence (Seashore Louis et al., 2016). Learners will also know they can trust their teachers to provide academic support when needed.

The overall caring behaviours that were found in the narratives of the participants, and which are corroborated in the literature on caring in schools (Noddings, 1992; Russell et al., 1982; Weekes, 2008), included building relationships of trust (Chantal, Debbie, Noluthando), joking with learners (Chantal), being responsive to their needs (Chantal, Debbie, Sinovuyo, Noluthando), paying attention (Chantal, Debbie), listening (Chantal, Debbie) and being a good role-model for learners (Debbie).

The findings on the maintenance of the ethical self suggest that teachers sometimes assume caring roles usually found in the microsystem of the learner, i.e. within the nuclear family, such as the parent – especially the mother – or other family members such as brothers or sisters. This is very much dependent on the teacher becoming aware of or attending to the emotional and material/physical needs of their learners, for example awareness of the lack of love and nurture in the lives of learners, abuse at home or conditions of poverty. Awareness, which is a construct closely related to the ideas of attention and paying attention, is recognised as an essential component of teacher care (Alder, 2000). Debbie has commented on teachers' lack of awareness, which will limit their ability to care. However, teachers who notice the emotional void in their learners will want to address that by stepping into the caring role of a parent. Chantal in her narrative "Being a teacher", for example, was very aware of the parent-child relationship that exists between a teacher and a learner, and she showed affection for one of her learners, giving her a hug and offering her transport money.

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Vogt (2002) has found caring behaviours of primary teachers to include "caring as parenting and caring as mothering" (p. 251). My study found that similar caring behaviours are also to be found among high school teachers. Other caring roles that teachers in this study assumed were those of advisor, counsellor and psychologist. These roles encompass the need for teachers to regard learners with unconditional positive regard, warmth, empathy and congruence, which form part of the ways of relating that Rogers has identified for teacher-learner relationships (Rogers et al., 2014).

As an important aspect of the maintenance of the ethical self, this study found that teachers feel compelled to act deliberately to protect their learners in the midst of school violence. Despite direct exposure to school violence, all teachers participating in this study actively protected learners. Protection is a caring practice that aims to "maintain, continue and repair our 'world'" (Fisher & Tronto, 1990) from the effects of violence. Teachers' caring practice of protection thus aims to provide a safe environment for learners which is conducive to learning, as well as contributing to the repair of the disruption of the school macrosystem. Sinovuyo and Chantal both engaged in physical protection, for example running to the office to report the presence of gang members on the school premises despite being in danger, or trying to get female learners within the safety of the school building when a gang attacked. The participants have shown a commitment to protect learners despite their own emotional responses to school violence. The participants in this study demonstrated the effects of trauma, such as hypervigilance to signs of danger, anxiety, fear, mild depression and isolation (Kaminer & Eagle, 2012; Shields et al., 2015).

Teachers are also protective of learners' academic success despite having to teach in an environment of violence. For example, Debbie, who teaches in an area with a high incidence of gang violence and where circumstances are life-threatening, protected the educational

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outcomes of her Grade 12 learners by showing up to teach, despite having to drive through areas where there are regular gun fights and her own life is in danger.

In addition to the theme of protection of positive educational outcomes, teachers maintain the ethical self when they fulfil their core function in schools: teachers are there to teach and should be well-prepared and committed to learners' learning (Garza, et al., 2014; Hattie, 2009; Murdock & Miller, 2003; Noddings, 1992, 2012). Teaching becomes an important caring practice in an educational setting. Taking the tenets of care as a construct into account, good teaching is an outcome of the quality of the social relationships between teachers and learners. Within their teaching, teachers are attentive and responsive to learners' academic needs, and they listen to learners' points of view and try to understand their perspectives. Teaching is not only the result of subject didactics or imparting methodologies and content knowledge, but it is much more dynamic and multi-layered.

Even though there is recognition in participants that teaching is a core function, some are ambivalent about teaching as a care practice. In the narrative "Finding a school", Noluthando describes how she, after escaping from the violence of her previous school, realised that she values education, and that it was important for her to teach in a school that values and honours education too. Other teachers recognised teaching as a core function, but did not identify it as a care practice. They saw teaching purely as a part of their job requirements (Debbie, Sinovuyo) and as a means to obtaining good results (Debbie).

The subtheme of teachers' inadequacy to provide care points to conditions that hinder the caring response. These include insufficient training, the demands of the CAPS curriculum, and adhering to the demands of an educational culture of performance. Teachers participating in this study were concerned because they felt they lacked training to recognise and address learners' psychological problems (Sinovuyo, Debbie and Noluthando). Participants did not

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recognise that some of learners' needs would already be addressed through establishing relationships of trust and behaving caringly, with empathy, warmth and unconditional positive regard (Rogers et al., 2014). Participants also expressed feeling overwhelmed by the pace and demands of the curriculum, especially when learners are demotivated (Sinovuyo, Noluthando) or when school violence disrupt the healthy functioning of the school community.

Hoadley (2007) reminds us of the boundaries of care and the limits of an ethics of care for vulnerable children in high-risk contexts. He argues that since the core function of teachers is teaching and learning, schools cannot be held entirely responsible for the needs of vulnerable learners. An argument could be made that an ethic of care will not necessarily improve the educational outcomes of vulnerable learners in areas affected by gang violence, as illustrated in the narrative "No escape". Debbie was attentive to the needs and protective of the learning of a high-risk Grade 11 learner, but at some point, it was beyond her personal caring and relationship with him to protect or deter him from dropping out of school. The research indicates that while teaching and learning are indeed the main functions of teachers at school, within the mesosystem, the caring of a supportive adult, through various proximal interactions, does have a protective function in the lives of many learners.

Linked to the subtheme of the erosion of the ethical self, this study found that experiences of school violence can lead to changes in teachers' professional identity, their way of teaching and to acting negatively towards learners.

This study found that some teachers tend to refuse care to learners who are perceived as difficult, disruptive, challenging, troublesome or violent. This is in line with Noddings's (2013) argument that the erosion of the ethical self leads to the withholding of care and emotional support. With the erosion of the ethical self, a teacher assumes an attitude that

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some learners who are non-compliant and challenging are not worthy of care. Weeks (2008) found that giving up on those who present challenging behaviour, illustrated in Sinovuyo and Chantal's narratives, points to a lack of care. When this happens, the effect on the teacher is detrimental: the self of each person is disrupted, and a conflict develops with regards to their professional identity as teachers. Teachers feel that their identity has changed, and that they are not acting in accordance to their true selves, or, it could be argued, in accordance with the ethical self: "I even say or do things I would have never said or done" (Sinovuyo). In this study, this occurred when teachers caught themselves displaying negative behaviours such as shouting, lashing out at learners, blaming learners, deliberately hurting learners, and the use of derogatory language. These findings were also confirmed by Bester and Du Plessis (2010) and De Wet (2010), who reported that teachers react with overwhelming negativity to learners they regard as bullies, or who are deemed challenging or violent.

In the narrative "*Is sy dan bedonnerd?*" Chantal insisted on the principal acting according to an ethic of justice, and was disappointed that he did not; she perceived it as a lack of support. As a result of the erosive effects of school violence on the ethical self, she did not act with an ethic of justice, but with judgement and a lack of care when she acknowledged that taking away the learner's prefect badge will humiliate and hurt him. Her relationship with the learner broke down completely when he started to "avoid her like the plague." According to Noddings (1984, 1992, 1995, 2002), teachers are ethically obliged to nurture the ethical ideal in their learners by modelling ethical caring behaviour. When the ethical self wears away, a teacher, as seen in some of these narratives, will often not show learners what it means to care through their behaviour. Another consequence, however, of the erosion of the ethical self, is that teachers' awareness of uncaring behaviour towards learners, leads to real feelings of guilt (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; Shields et al., 2015). One teacher in this study admitted "I don't like doing this" (Chantal). Guilt can affect teachers' efficacy beliefs, and leads to

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further erosion of the ethical self. Research has shown that when a teacher has high self-efficacy beliefs, they tend to persist longer to reach learners with challenging or violent behaviour (Five et al., 2005 in Woolfolk, 2010).

This study found that the erosion of the ethical self may also change the way that teachers teach, and may impact negatively on teachers' self-efficacy beliefs. While they are in the classroom teaching, a teacher may also lack the ability to protect learners against bullies (Sinovuyo). The ineffectual caring response may be the result of feelings of incompetence and worthlessness. One teacher had a very real sense that she was completely powerless to control what happened to her or the learners in the classroom. As depicted in the narrative "The boy with the scissors", a story of "paralysis" (Reckson, 2005, p. 107), Sinovuyo became so scared of a learner that she felt she was unable to protect learners in her class, which led to further feelings of guilt.

This research study also found that the erosion of the ethical self may lead to uncaring, apathetic and unprofessional attitudes. Teachers might ask themselves what their actual job is meant to be, and whether caring is worth the time and effort that they have to put in. Teachers calculate the cost of caring on a professional and personal level. If the cost is deemed too high on a professional level, and if teachers are already overwhelmed by various factors like the time spent preparing for lessons, the pace of covering the curriculum, fulfilling administrative duties, or giving in to an educational culture of performance, then teachers might feel apathy, neglect their duties or even consider leaving the teaching profession. Similar effects of teaching and working in conditions of school violence were noted by Bester and Du Plessis (2012). Exhaustion and disillusionment are results of school violence (Davids & Waghid, 2016), and the ethics of care is also aware of the cost of caring (Gilligan, 2011). On the side of the personal cost, teachers measure the time available to them for their own

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families, their mental and emotional wellbeing and their personal sense of safety. However, Noddings (2012) holds the view that caring is not something that is "on top" of the daily demands of teaching, but "underneath" everything teachers do. She comments that "when that climate is established and maintained, everything else goes better" (p. 777).

5.2.2 School violence

The teachers' narratives on school violence confirm previous research findings on the nature, effects and causes of school violence. These narratives tell of teachers who have been victims of verbal abuse, physical assault and educator targeted bullying. They have been witnesses of drug abuse, beatings, shootings and stabbings, as well as perpetrators of verbal abuse themselves (Espelage et al., 2013; Taole & Ramorola, 2014; Du Plessis, 2008; Shields et al., 2015). As discussed in Chapter 2, the causes of school violence are complex, and are dependent on many factors which are contextual and multi-systemic. Brown (2008) argues that many causes are not in the microsystem of the individual, but on the wider social and political macrosystemic level (Burton, 2008). Participants have reported school violence occurring in response to abuse at home, drug abuse, retaliation (Du Plessis, 2008), gangsterism and turf wars in which gangs engage (Reckson, 2005). Noluthando's narrative also portrays how the cultural norms regarding masculinity of isiXhosa culture (Bhana, 2015) are emphasised, in her view, during young Xhosa boys' initiation experiences, which suggests that patriarchy contributes to school violence. These cultural notions become entrenched in social and gender relations, where boys, who culturally become men after initiation, are less willing to accept a female teacher's authority.

The subtheme of the emotional responses of teachers to school violence reveals that some of the teachers (Sinovuyo, Debbie, Noluthando) in this study experienced fear, helplessness, worthlessness, anxiety, mild depression, shame, guilt, anger and a sense of isolation in the

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face of school violence. At least one teacher felt that she was a victim of educator-targeted bullying (Sinovuyo). This finding is corroborated by findings in national and international literature on the effects of school violence on teachers (Bester & Du Plessis, 2010; De Wet, 2010; Taole & Ramorola, 2014; Shields et al., 2015).

The subtheme of safe and unsafe places is applicable to physical safe and unsafe places which is indicated as either "inside" or "outside". For Debbie, being inside the school fence and school building is safer than outside where the gun fights occur. For Sinovuyo being inside with learners who challenge her, is more harmful than being outside, because it damages her professional identity as a teacher and her self-esteem.

A finding about the nature of school violence which can and will diminish teachers' ability to act caringly, is that many teachers, like the participants in this study, felt that they received inadequate support in the education system. This lack of support can be experienced at the level of the Department of Education, and filters down to the top management of the school, consisting of the principal, vice-principals and heads of departments. This finding confirms research done by Du Plessis (2008) on the contributing factors of school violence. However, framing this finding within the ethics of care perspective, the question arises whether teachers are valued as worthy of receiving care to strengthen their self-efficacy beliefs. This care could take the form of additional teacher training, feedback, mentorship, support from management to help some teachers change their disciplinary style, and encouragement to take care of themselves. This care could also, for example, entail management arranging for counselling and watching for signs of burn-out and depression in teachers. One teacher felt that she was blamed for not being in control of the class, which might lead to a subtle form of symbolic violence because she is not allowed to express her feelings to the management of

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the school due to fear of how they would react. Symbolic violence victimises caring teachers and makes them compliant (Scott, 2012).

Another teacher who has faced a serious wave of gang violence was angered by the initial lack of support and insensitivity of the WCED in helping the school to keep learners safe. When parents fulfilled their obligation to act ethically in accordance with their ethical selves, they took action and forced the WCED to close down that school. They, with the help of the school's management, enforced an ethic of care in the school community to protect learners.

5.2.3 Resilience

The theme of resilience was notable in Debbie's narrative "My own story of resilience", and in factors that allowed teachers to remain in school contexts where they had experienced violence. An individual is resilient when he or she can successfully adapt in response to significant adversity (Luthar et al., 2000 in Schoon, 2006). This refers to a positive outcome despite the experience of adversity, or continued positive or effective functioning in adverse circumstances (Schoon, 2006).

Mayer and Faber (2010) theorise that individuals who have high personal intelligence will have the ability to organise their goals, plans and life stories in a meaningful way. Resilient individuals can accomplish this meaning-making process because the connections between the individual and his or her surrounding systems – which are comprised of social settings and relationships generating relational meaning – are intact. When adversity strikes, they will rethink their life stories, and what meaning they generate from them. Debbie recalled an important event from her teenage years to see if and how her beliefs or values have changed, to understand who she is at the moment, and to find meaning from that particular life story. She demonstrated that she continued to function positively, despite the adverse circumstances that she experienced growing up. When Debbie decided to continue her teaching career at her

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current school, despite the poverty, violence and social challenges, her personal intelligence helped her to make choices, to frame the situation appropriately within her understanding thereof, and to resolve potential problems. The meaning that she generated was that she was making a contribution to a school afflicted by gang violence, because she felt a keen sense of connection to the school community, and in making a contribution she is fulfilling her life-purpose. She is in essence demonstrating resilient coping (Mayer & Faber, 2010).

Resilience also "involves moving from a state of lesser connection to one of greater connection" (Mayer & Faber, 2010, p. 107). The subtheme of the factors that contribute to teachers staying and teaching in spaces of violence, suggests that one of the factors is the ability to generate positive and life-affirming meaning despite adverse experiences. In her narrative "I got my life's purpose back", Debbie demonstrates this meaning-making process which helped her to remain at the school despite traumatic experiences of gang violence. When she lost her connection to the school where she taught for more than 20 years, she lost meaning and left the teaching profession. However, a strong ethical self urged both Debbie and Noluthando to return to circumstances where teaching can be described as difficult. Despite traumatic experiences, both continue to function positively as teachers.

5.2.4 Justice

The theme of justice offers insight into how the school community deals with incidents of school violence. Held (2010) raises the question of whether an ethics of care has any contribution to make in dealing with violence. Indeed, the view that one can deal with violence simply by caring is perceived with some scepticism (Held, 2010). Certainly, the subtheme of law-enforcement, which features strongly in participants' narratives on gang violence, suggests that what is needed is justice. All four participants (Debbie, Sinovuyo, Chantal, Noluthando) suggest that the police is called in to intervene in the fights, chase

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gangs away, keep learners and staff safe and to end violence. Debbie recounts in her narrative "It is time to lock the school gate" how police patrols safeguard learners on their way to and from school. Sinovuyo spoke about the "rules" they have to follow if a fight breaks out or if a gang is noticed on the school premises.

Through their narratives, all four participants also described the procedures of justice leading to another subtheme, punishment. These procedures involve reporting challenging behaviour to the principal, disciplinary hearings and suspensions. What is also highlighted in the narratives of Chantal and Sinovuyo, is the apparent ineffectiveness of the measures taken with the perceived lack of support discussed in section 5.2.3. Chantal demonstrates her approach to justice by declaring that she is a disciplinarian, known as "The Law", who enforces rules.

The literature on school violence suggests that curbing school violence is not just the responsibility of the police or the Department of Basic Education, but of schools themselves. They should have a code of conduct in place, as well as prevention and support programmes for staff and learners. The approach of care and the approach of justice, seen previously as conflicting, are however not mutually exclusive (Held, 2010), and some of these measures speak equally of dealing with violence from both a justice and an ethic of care standpoint. When Noluthando teaches learners about the benefit of following rules for the entire school community, she shows that approaches to care and justice can be reconciled.

As an offshoot of this idea, supported by Held (2010), is the perception that justice can be softened by the voice of care. The ethical self finds expression in this voice of care that is used to soften and balance the ethic of justice. The ethic of justice is based on universal principles of justice which is binding for all individuals regardless of the context or situation (Held, 2014), while an ethics of care is acutely aware of the context, and the specific needs of

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people in that context. Noluthando was the victim of a physical assault by a learner who was under the influence of drugs at the time. Responding with an ethic of justice in accordance with the school's code of conduct and criminal legislation, the principal immediately suspended the learner, and after a disciplinary hearing the school governing body and the principal would have expelled the learner. Acting with the voice of care, Noluthando recognised the influence of contextual factors, for example, drug use, in the behaviour of this Grade 12 learner. She protected his future when she became an advocate for him, pleading with the principal not to expel him. This demonstrates that a very strong ethical self can sometimes compel a teacher to act with tremendous courage, care and resilience.

In conclusion, the findings on the nature, effects and causes of school violence are similar to national and international literature on the topic. My response to the main research question is that teachers can enact an ethics of care in school contexts of violence, but that this ability is largely dependent on the strength of the ethical self. While teachers maintain caring relationships with some learners, they can deliberately refuse to care for others, which suggests that the maintenance and erosion of the ethical self are not mutually exclusive and can be simultaneous and circular processes. When the ethical self is maintained, teachers will behave caringly, establish trusting relationships with learners and step into caring roles. When experiences of school violence, however, lead to the erosion of the ethical self, teachers' professional identities change, and their ways of teaching and engaging with learners in their classrooms become negative. The erosion of the ethical self can generate feelings of guilt that will impact teachers' efficacy beliefs about themselves as teachers. When teachers are resilient, the ethical self is strengthened, and they tend to continue teaching in contexts of violence because they perceive a higher life purpose for themselves.

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5.3 MY REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

My research journey started after reading an article by O'Connor Duffy and Mooney (2014) on a mass school shooting in the United States titled "The ethical relationship between school violence and teacher morale". I reflected on the authors' question about "what the psychological and professional effects are for a teacher witnessing an episode of severe school violence and how such an episode influence their teaching practice" (p. 22). I was reminded of my own experiences as a novice teacher 20 years ago when I was bullied by learners. These reflections led to me becoming increasingly interested in the second part of their question: "How does such an episode influence their teaching practice?" Having been introduced to the ethics of care as a theory and a moral philosophy in the first year of professional training to become an educational psychologist, and finding the similarities between the construct of care and counselling compelling, I decided to explore how teachers enact an ethics of care within a context of school violence.

This section contains my reflections on my research journey. I am a qualitative researcher. I am deeply interested in the human experience and the ways that humans make meaning. From this position, I wanted to know how teachers would generate meaning from their experiences of school violence in relation to perceiving themselves as caring. Within the interpretivist / constructivist paradigm, I could explore and construct meanings of teachers' experience-centred stories.

This research journey was not without its challenges. At the outset, I realised that I had to bridge various misconceptions about the meaning and dimensions, of school violence as a construct. Misconceptions influenced the perceptions, attitudes and reactions of various stakeholders in the research process, from the ethics committee from whom I had to obtain ethical clearance to conduct this research, to the principals, who inevitably act as the

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gatekeepers for access to their schools and participants. I experienced school violence being equated with bullying on the one hand, and with serious and life-threatening incidents such as stabbings and shootings on the other. I also encountered an attitude and belief that school violence is something that happens primarily to children, not teachers. To address these concerns, I had to be assertive and clear about the main aim of my study. I also had to address the misconception about bullying. I therefore stated in my ethical clearance application that my study focused on teachers' experiences of school violence, defined as any verbal or physical act which causes the intended victim pain while this individual is under the supervision of the school (MacNeil & Steward, 2000). The definition above was also broadened to include the exercising of power by individuals or social processes in the school (Hagan & Foster, 2000). I had to make it clear that this study did not exclusively focus on bullying or even educator-targeted bullying (De Wet, 2010), but only on bullying to the extent to which forms of school violence impact on teachers' abilities to enact care practices in their classrooms. Furthermore, as I was seeking to capture and honour the teachers' voices in rich, full and varied descriptions of their experiences, I have not limited this study to a specific form of school violence.

One of the challenges in conducting this research was finding participants. I knew from working with education students who completed their teaching practice at schools, from friends who are teachers, and from newspapers, that most schools in both affluent and poor areas of Cape Town have had some experiences of school violence. However, the principals of the schools that I approached seemed hesitant to grant me access to their school. I approached the principals of nine schools to obtain permission to interview possible participants. They would ask me expectantly: "So, what is your study about? Discipline, the curriculum… assessment?" The moment I mentioned "school violence", they would become less accommodating. I wondered if they were afraid that I would blame them in my research

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report for what was happening in their schools, or whether they were afraid of the negative emotions that accompany some experiences of school violence. In two of the schools where I ultimately found participants, the members of the management team who granted me permission were pursuing their own postgraduate studies. My perception is that these individuals valued the importance of qualitative research, and recognised the need for a researcher to have access to participants.

I was very aware of how I would apply ethical principles in practice during my research. Even though I screened the participants carefully to exclude teachers at risk for PTSD, I realised that asking participants to tell stories about potentially painful experiences could lead to retraumatisation. I was therefore careful about how I conducted the interviews. I also contacted and arranged with two psychologists to be available to support participants who deemed it necessary. At the same time, I had to be aware of my role during the interview. I needed to remember that I was stepping into the role of the researcher, and not that of the counsellor, and that I was there to gather narratives about their experiences, not to counsel them. I also was cognizant of my inexperience with research interviews. However, I remained aware of my own ethic of care practices in this research process, and with awareness and reflexivity, I used my ethic of care to guide my responses to the participants.

I decided on a narrative research design because I wanted to highlight and honour the voices of individual teachers in the narratives that I elicited through my interviews. In line with this design, I did not dictate the type of narratives teachers were to produce (Creswell, 2007), but asked about their experiences according to themes, which led to a variety of narratives. Collectively, the participants informed my investigation into the effect of school violence on care practices, but the nature of the exploration was also collaborative. I established a relationship with the participants, and we co-constructed their stories. I also gave

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consideration to the ethics of not misrepresenting what they told me by asking them to check their stories. I had to, however, make decisions as to which stories to omit and which to shorten when I reconstructed their narratives.

As Riessman (1993), Creswell (2007) and Squire (2008) predicted, I realised at some point during the research journey that using a narrative research design is challenging because of the great variety of approaches and methods of analysis. I had to decide what a narrative is, and what I would do with the stories I had collected. Deciding on a method of analysis posed its own set of challenges because I did not want to split the narratives into different segments by presenting thematic excerpts from the interviews (Riessman, 2008). I wanted to honour and highlight the diversity and uniqueness of the teachers' voices and experiences by keeping the narratives intact. Therefore, I presented the findings in Chapter 4 as full narratives / representative constructions (Bold, 2012). Bruner (1986) noted that it is difficult for a single story to capture the range and richness of people's experiences. Admittedly, it is a challenge to capture people's experience in a single interview; however, the coherent, whole and collective story told on school violence or care does provide considerable insight into teachers' caring practices in contexts of school violence.

There needs to be a recognition that teachers make worthy contributions to teaching and learning. They need to receive care in the form of strengthening their self-efficacy beliefs through additional teacher training, constructive feedback, mentorship, support from the school management to help some teachers change their disciplinary style, and encouragement to take care of themselves. Counselling needs to be arranged for those teachers who are suffering the consequences of traumatic experiences or who are showing symptoms of burn-out or depression.

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The study has given me insight into my research process. In future studies of this nature, I would recommend a combination of a narrative research design with participatory action research, especially if the outcome could transform teachers' day-to-day practices. Participatory action research would generate in-depth, insider knowledge regarding teachers' care practices in schools afflicted by violence. Researchers could actively involve participants by asking them to keep a diary, to be reflective in their entries about their caring practices and to note their own experiences of school violence, in addition to gathering narratives over a longer period of time.

This study was constrained by a few limitations. In the social construction of reality and knowledge, presenting a plurality of voices in multiple contexts is important. All participants who volunteered, were female, and all were ordinary teachers, except for one teacher who is a head of department. A possible male participant withdrew due to commitments at work. Because caring is perceived as gendered, with women doing most of the caring work in schools (Forrester, 2005), having a male voice would have given a valuable perspective on the enactment of care in schools. Secondly, interviewing a member of the school management, such as a principal, would have given balance and depth to the perspectives of teachers on school violence, justice and care, and possibly contextualised many of the experiences of teachers. All of the schools in this study were in low socio-economic areas with high rates of poverty, crime and unemployment. Incorporating a school from a middle-income neighbourhood would have given me the opportunity to represent voices from different contexts, and to describe multiple realities.

The literature on caring in education can be extended with research that assesses the self-care strategies that teachers employ to protect themselves against the negative emotional consequences of exposure to violence and trauma. This can be used to design intervention

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programmes that educate teachers on how to combat stress, enhance resilience, limit self-efficacy beliefs and recognise burn-out. Teachers in this study also expressed the need for additional psycho-educational training to deal with learners who experience barriers to learning. Further research could possibly investigate the extent of this need, and provide practical recommendations to tertiary institutions, as well as the Department of Basic Education, to develop teacher workshops.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This research journey has enlightened and enriched me as a person, and professionally, as the educational psychologist I am in the process of becoming. I became sensitised to incidents of school violence reported in the news, and I was shocked and dismayed when I realised what the extent of school violence in South Africa is. The narratives that teachers entrusted to me underscored the need for all of us to take care of teachers and to support them. Caring is a way of being and a way of relating. It is the opposite of the convenience of ignorance. An ethics of care reminds each one of us who recognises the traumatised nature of the South African society that you cannot turn away from someone's suffering. You have to respond if you value and practice care as an ethic.

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APPENDIX A

Letter of consent from the Western Cape Education Department

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za
tel: +27 021 467 9272
Fax: 0865902282
Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000
wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20161206 –6742
ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Gertruida Grobler
3 Kruinzicht Crescent
Uitzicht
7570

Dear Ms Gertruida Grobler

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: **NARRATIVES OF TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE**

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

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **2 April 2017 till 29 September 2017**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

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

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
Directorate: Research
DATE: 06 December 2016

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APPENDIX B

Letter of ethical clearance by the Research Ethics Committee

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jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Approved with Stipulations
Response to Modifications- (New Application)

24-Apr-2017
Grobler, Gertruida GW

Proposal #: SU-HSD-004095
Title: Narratives of teachers' experiences of school violence

Dear Ms Gertruida Grobler,

Your **Response to Modifications** - ***(New Application)*** received on **06-Apr-2017**, was reviewed by members of the **Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)** via Expedited review procedures on **20-Apr-2017**.

Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: **20-Apr-2017 -19-Apr-2018**

The following stipulations are relevant to the approval of your project and must be adhered to:
The researcher is reminded to forward copies of the permission letters from the two outstanding schools to the REC once received.

Please provide a letter of response to all the points raised IN ADDITION to HIGHLIGHTING or using the TRACK CHANGES function to indicate ALL the corrections/amendments of ALL DOCUMENTS clearly in order to allow rapid scrutiny and appraisal.

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your **proposal number** (**SU-HSD-004095**) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

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National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 218089183.

Included Documents:
DESC Report
Humanities- REC letter_Grobler.pdf
REC: Humanities New Application

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham
REC Coordinator
Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

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APPENDIX C

Letter of consent from school principal

PRINCIPAL'S PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH

I, Mr / Ms ____ principal / vice-principal of ____, hereby consent to the research that Gertruida Wilhemina Grobler intends to conduct at ____.

I understand the nature of the research and that the participating teachers will be involved in an interview process that will not be intrusive.

I understand that all information obtained during the research will be treated confidentially and the anonymity of the school and the participating teachers will be ensured.

______________________________________ ____________________________

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL **DATE**

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APPENDIX D

Information sheet and informed consent

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

NARRATIVES OF TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL VIOLENCE

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Gerda Grobler, an M Ed Psychology student from the Department of Educational Psychology at Stellenbosch University. The results of this research will be contributed to a thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because it requires the narratives of a teacher who might have had experiences of violence within a school setting.

1. **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

This study aims to extend our understanding of teachers' experiences of school violence and how these experiences have influenced the way teachers understand caring for learners in their classrooms.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things: Participate in an individual interview concerning your experiences of violence in schools during your career as a teacher. The interview will take the form of me inviting you to tell me specific stories about themes such as violence, teaching and caring. The meetings will be held at your school or any place that is convenient for you in the afternoons at times that are convenient for you. As you will be telling me your stories, I will need to meet with you for about an hour.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Inviting participants to relate their experiences of violence in schools might be uncomfortable for some participants. Therefore you will be asked to complete a post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) screening questionnaire. If you have been exposed to a traumatic event in the past six months and are at risk of being retraumatised by the interview conversations, you will be

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excluded from this study. If you become traumatized as a result of talking about your experiences of school violence, I will make arrangements for counselling services to be available should it be deemed necessary by you or by myself. Please see point 7 of this document.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

School violence is a serious and pervasive problem that not only affects learners but also teachers. Research indicates that teachers in South African schools are being victimized or bullied by learners. Violence in schools include acts of physical force or power, threatened against oneself or another person, harassment, intimidation, verbal abuse, theft, sexual abuse and gangsterism. Despite the fact that there are national policies and legislation intended to protect both the rights of learners and teachers, violence in schools remains a significant problem which is being addressed with varying levels of success. Gaining an understanding of teachers' experiences of and their responses to violence, could potentially benefit you when this study helps to identify support and intervention strategies for schools.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

The participant will not receive payment for participating in the study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of storing the data on the researcher's personal computer and securing it by means of a password. Only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the data. The data generated in this study will be recorded on a digital voice recorder and will be transcribed verbatim by the researcher. You will have access to constructed representations/ narratives of your original interview so that you can amend any content or contextual aspects. The transcriptions and voice recordings will be kept securely locked for a period of three years after which it will be destroyed. The names of the participating teachers and schools will be deleted from all transcriptions, and will not be used in the resulting thesis or any other publication.

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7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if it becomes clear that the discussions around school violence leads to negative emotional experiences for you.

If as a result of these interviews, you feel that negative emotional experiences is disrupting your daily functioning, you are welcome to contact Mr. Anton Johnson, a clinical psychologist (PS 0074357), for counselling at (021) 903 0449 or 079 469 3227. You may also email him at afjohnson@telkomsa.net. This counselling will be at no cost to yourself. He has consulting rooms in Kuilsrivier and Kraaifontein:
Address:
2 Du Toit Street, Soneike, Kuilsrivier
23 Van Der Bijl Street, Belmont Park, Kraaifontein
Contact numbers: (021) 903 0449 or 079 469 3227

You can also contact Mr. Stephanus Erasmus (PS 0117846) at the Western Cape Education Department, Division of Psychological and Emotional Support at Metro District East. His email address is Stephanus.Erasmus@westerncape.gov.za
Address:
C/o Nooiensfontein and Belhar Road, Kuils River, 7580
Contact number: (021) 900 7243

Alternatively, as a teacher who is employed by the WCED, you are a member of ICAS (Independent Counselling and Advisory Services) and you can contact the organisation for emotional support counselling or on-site debriefing by a registered psychologist. Contact number: 011 380 6800 (www.icas.co.za/employee-health-wellness/crisis-i-call-i-).

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8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Gerda Grobler (Principal Investigator)
084 569 4326
ggrobler4@gmail.com

Mariechen Perold (Supervisor)
082 358 9182
mdperold@sun.ac.za

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché (mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622) at the Division for Research Development.

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SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

The information above was described to me by Gerda Grobler in English and I am in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

- I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study.
- I hereby consent to voluntarily complete the PTSD screening questionnaire. I understand that the results of the questionnaire might exclude me from participating in this study.
- I hereby also consent that the photos I have taken or provided as part of the interviews and data for this study may be used in the investigator's research and published in her thesis. You can only use the photos I have listed below.

These are the photos you may publish (title and description):

1. ____

2. ____

3. ____

4. ____

I have been given a copy of this form.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT: ______________________________

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT: ______________________________

DATE: ____________________

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SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to ___________________. She was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English.

____ _______________

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR **DATE**

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APPENDIX E

SEMI-STRUCTURED INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and preliminary matters

- Appreciation for their time and contribution to the study
- Reminder of confidentiality, anonymity
- Explanation of purpose and format of the interviews
- Length of the interviews
- Permission to use digital voice recorder
- Permission to use visual texts
- Any questions from teacher
- Informed consent

2. Interview themes to discuss:

- Motivation to become a teacher
- Meaning of being a teacher
- Main events during teaching career (what, when, where, how)
- Concept of care (their understanding)
- Caring as a teacher (care practices)
- Experiences / incidences of school violence (type, what, how, when, where, effects, what)
- Responses to school violence (emotional, physical, psychological, social, professional, at home, at school)
- Relationships with learners at different times during their career as a teacher

To draw out narratives, questions such as the following, will be used with any of the above themes:

Can you tell me more?

What happened then?

Can you give me an example of _____?

How did you feel / react / respond when _____?

How do you understand _____?

How do you make meaning of ______?

Who else knows about __________?

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Who would not be surprised should they hear you saying __________?

What would they say about_____________?

3. Any additional narratives

Is there any other story that is important to you that you wish to tell me?

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APPENDIX F

Excerpt from interview coding

Participant: Other learners have got family personal challenges. Abuse, alcohol abuse. Abusive parents where they would experience the mother being beaten up by the dad and they keep it close to their hearts but at the end of the day it grows to an anger whereby you find that the learner if one of the peers are teasing, just playing around, the learner does not like that. Touching, pushing, to him it is like you are fighting, so he needs to react immediately, like a defense mechanism, but not knowing that at the back of his mind the learner is just playing, the peer is just playing, but to him because of what he is experiencing every day it becomes a sort of a challenge whereby sometimes if we just reprimand a learner, to him it is like you guys are in a fight. A grade 9 learner would look at you with different eyes, different attitude like let's go, let's go for it, let's fight, I am up for it. It is because of what they have experienced at home or what they experience constantly at home. So that is why I am saying it is a challenge. Sometimes you try to penetrate and go to their minds by teaching, by giving them a fruitful knowledge but at the end of the day it is just blank, there is just a board in front of them saying I'm just here, I'm just here, but I'm not here to learn, I am just here. So it is a great challenge for most teachers. But at the end of the we just push, you will say I have tried, let me move forward but it's not a good thing, but because of the curriculum because of the pace we need to make sure we have covered certain topics but at the end of the day it is not about the topics, because when you are a teacher you become a parent, become a brother, become a sister, but …	**[Contributing factors to school violence]** abuse alcohol abuse abusive parents mother beaten up **[nature of school violence]** fighting challenge **[enforcement of rules]** reprimand **[nature of school violence]** fight let's fight **[caring practice]** teaching giving knowledge [inadequacy to provide care] great challenge for teachers [caring behaviour] we just push pace of curriculum covered certain topics [caring roles] parent brother sister
Interviewer: So you actually have a lot of roles you have to fulfil when you are a teacher?	

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Yeah. There's too much ways of being a teacher … too many ways of being a teacher. Becoming a parent, a sister you, an advisor, a counsellor. There is a lot. But at the end of the day we are not really trained to become those things, we were trained at university to teach, to know the content subject. Yes, we did do psychology but it was not the main focus. We did psychology first year and second year, then we dropped it, then we had to focus on our didactics. Our subject didactics and the subject, so we did not get to know the socio-economic issues of the learners, unlike … I always say to my friend, she did a foundation phase. I always say to her "You're lucky because FP always get to have the chance to get to the depths of special needs, inclusive education, but when we're doing FET inclusive education is very little, very little, we just go through it quickly. But them they take it from first year to fourth year. They are at least a little bit more trained than us. We don't really have that opportunity to give what we can be able to offer because we were never trained.	ways of being a teacher parent sister advisor counsellor not really trained trained to teach content subject psychology not the main focus focus on didactics special needs inclusive education very little FP is more trained than us we were never trained

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APPENDIX G

Excerpt from the themes, subthemes, categories and codes

Theme: School violence		
Subtheme: The nature of school violence	**Category**: Gangs	Code: Gangs Code: Beating Code: Shooting Code: Robbing Code: Verbal abuse Code: Pangas and knives Code: Drug abuse Code: Held hostage
	Category: Physical force	Code: Stabbings Code: Beating Code: Assault Code: Fights between boys Code: Fights between girls Code: Fights Code: Pushing Code: Shoving me hard Code: So much blood Code: Beat him to a pulp
	Category: Verbal abuse	Code: Intimidated Code: Threatened Code: Do you know who I am Code: Deviant Code: Challenging
Subtheme: Effects of school violence	**Category**: Emotional responses	Code: Victim Code: I allowed him to get to me Code: Let my guard down Code: Very angry Code: Furious Code: Lash-out Code: Guarded Code: Scared Code: Fear of dying Code: Shocked Code: Powerless Code: Raw emotions Code: Use bad language
Subtheme: Physical safe and unsafe spaces	**Category**: Inside	Code: Sport fields was a short cut for unsavoury elements Code: Thanks the department for fence Code: We feel safe inside the school Code: Safety is always an aspect Code: Fence must keep elements out

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		Code: Before fence violence was on school grounds Code: Free access before fence Code: Gangs inside the school premise
	Category: Outside	Code: Outside doesn't concern us Code: On the way to school (unsafe) Code: On the way home (unsafe) Code: Police patrols Code: Shootings Code: Dangerous Code: locked out Code: Get home as quickly as possible
Subtheme: Lack of support in the system	**Category**: Management and Department of Education	Code: Principal soft-talked Code: Department of education Code: No idea what we are going through Code: insensitive
	Category: Blaming the teacher	Code: Being blamed Code: Where were you Code: Very hard to keep control Code: Why can't you keep control? Code: Management blames the teacher Code: You are questioned