

**THE IMPACT OF EXPOSURE TO CIVIL "UNREST" ON  
CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS OF VIOLENCE**

**SHARON RENÉ RABINOWITZ**

B.A. (Honours) (Cape Town)

**MINOR DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
SEPTEMBER 1988

The University of Cape Town has been given  
the right to reproduce this thesis in whole  
or in part. Copyright is held by the author.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

GLOSSARY

### CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1	RATIONALE	1
1.2	AIMS	1
1.3	DEFINITION OF VIOLENCE	2
1.4	THE BROADER SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT	2
1.5	THE RECENT UNREST	3
1.6	THE INCREASING MILITARISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA	4
1.7	THE BROADER SPECTRUM OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA	5
1.8	THE STATUS OF CHILDREN DURING THE 'UNREST'	6
1.9	EFFECTS OF CIVIL VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN'S MORAL DEVELOPMENT	7
1.10	RATIONALE FOR REPLICATING THE LORENC AND BRANTHWAITE STUDY	12

### CHAPTER TWO : METHODOLOGY

2.1	SUBJECTS	15
2.2	INSTRUMENT	15
2.3	PROCEDURE	17
2.3.1	PREPARATION OF STUDENTS	17
2.3.2	DATA GATHERING	17
2.3.3	POST-HOC INTERVIEW OF STUDENTS	18

### **CHAPTER THREE : RESULTS**

3.1	INTERNAL CONSISTENCY	19
3.2	MANOVA	19
3.2.1	THE WEIGHTED MEANS APPROACH	20
3.2.2	THE REGRESSION APPROACH (UNWEIGHTED MEANS SOLUTION)	22
3.3	DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS	22
3.4	ANOVA WITH REPEATED MEASURES (WITHIN)	23
3.5	CHI-SQUARE	24
3.6	CLUSTER ANALYSIS	27
3.7	DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS	30

### **CHAPTER FOUR : DISCUSSION**

4.1	DISCUSSION OF STATISTICAL RESULTS	31
4.2	CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE CLASSROOM	37
4.3	DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES	41

### **CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

44

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the following persons who have respectively contributed towards bringing this minor dissertation to its fruition :

- Ann Levett, my supervisor, who serendipitously discovered the original Northern Ireland study on which this investigation is based and initiated its replication. Her academic insights, her support and consistent faith in me are greatly acknowledged.
- Frank Bokhorst, who generously shared of his statistical and computer skills and willingly gave of his valuable time. His patience knows no bounds.
- Raella Abel, Tammy Sheffer, and Lance Bloch, who efficiently tutored the students, preparing them for gathering the data.
- The students of the 1987 3rd year psychology class who rigorously collected the data.
- Jocelyn Stoch, cousin and confidante, for the meticulous manner in which she typed the original draft of this dissertation. Her willingness and patience are much appreciated.
- Cecil and Shirli Rabinowitz, my parents, for the loving manner in which they have encouraged, supported and believed in me throughout this degree, and always.
- David Greenberg, for his love, support and valuable insights throughout the preparation of this dissertation.
- Lastly, I acknowledge the financial assistance rendered by the H.S.R.C. toward the cost of this work and note that any opinions or conclusions expressed in this dissertation are attributable to me and not to that institution.

## A B S T R A C T

The investigation aims at examining the effects of exposure to civil violence on 304 'black' and 'white' children's evaluations of violence whilst controlling for gender and socio-economic status differences. The study tests the hypothesis that children exposed to civil violence tend to accept the use of violence towards all authority figures. The rationale behind comparing black and white children lies in the phenomenon that civil "unrest" has been concentrated in black areas in Greater Cape Town and media restrictions have further insulated whites from this violent reality. The instrument employed to measure these children's evaluations of violence describes 8 incidents, each involving the use of violence either by an authority figure against a child or vice-versa. The authority figures include a policeman, soldier, parent and teacher. A ninth incident involves the use of violence by a husband to a wife. The children were requested to rate each scenario according to its degree of 'wrongness'. Data were analysed by statistical procedures. No differences between gender or socio-economic status were yielded. Comparisons across race were inconclusive although black children were significantly more accepting of a child's violence to a soldier, a finding attributed to the role of the SADF in the "unrest". In general most children in the sample condemned the use of violence, but condoned the use of physical force by teachers and mothers. An overwhelmingly high frequency of corporal punishment in the classrooms was evident, with children generally accepting this. While no definite findings regarding the influence of civil "unrest" on children's evaluations of violence emerged, the politicisation of children was evident in some findings. Violence and evaluations thereof emerged as context-bound, involving the ideological and political views of the respondent. Findings raised doubt around the validity of traditional tools, such as the instrument employed in this study, as measures of ideologically bound concepts such as violence.

## LIST OF TABLES

- TABLE 1.** COMPARISON ACROSS RACE OF MEAN EVALUATIONS OF VIOLENT SCENARIOS.
- TABLE 2.** MEAN EVALUATIONS OF VIOLENCE ACROSS TOTAL SAMPLE.
- TABLE 3.** CONTINGENCY TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREVIOUS EXPOSURE AND EVALUATIONS OF CHILD-TO-POLICE VIOLENCE.
- TABLE 4.** CONTINGENCY TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREVIOUS EXPOSURE AND EVALUATIONS OF CHILD-TO-FATHER VIOLENCE.
- TABLE 5.** CONTINGENCY TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREVIOUS EXPOSURE AND EVALUATIONS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN CLASSROOMS.
- TABLE 6.** CONTINGENCY TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREVIOUS EXPOSURE AND EVALUATIONS OF PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT BY MOTHER.
- TABLE 7.** FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO SCENARIOS WITH A SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREVIOUS EXPOSURE AND EVALUATIONS OF VIOLENCE.
- TABLE 8.** FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS.

## LIST OF FIGURES

**FIGURE 1.** GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF MEAN EVALUATIONS OF VIOLENCE ACROSS TOTAL SAMPLE.

**FIGURE 2.** CLUSTER ANALYSIS DENDOGRAM BY MINIMUM DISTANCE.

**FIGURE 3.** CLUSTER ANALYSIS DENDOGRAM BY MAXIMUM DISTANCE.

## LIST OF APPENDICES

- APPENDIX I** Interview Schedule.
- APPENDIX II** Rules providing for and regulating CORPORAL PUNISHMENT in White schools in the Cape.
- APPENDIX III** Rules providing for and regulating CORPORAL PUNISHMENT in Coloured schools.
- APPENDIX IV** Rules providing for and regulating CORPORAL PUNISHMENT in Black schools.
- APPENDIX V** Cluster Matrix depicting correlations between the respective scenarios.

## G L O S S A R Y

<b>NAMDA</b>	National Medical and Dental Association
<b>OASSSA</b>	Organisation of Appropriate Social Services in South Africa
<b>COSATU</b>	Congress of South African Trade Unions
<b>DPSC</b>	Detainees Parents' Support Committee
<b>COSAS</b>	Congress of South African Students
<b>UDF</b>	United Democratic Front
<b>SAP</b>	South African Police
<b>SADF</b>	South African Defence Force

## CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 RATIONALE

The ensuing investigation into schoolchildren's evaluations of violence takes place against the background of the ongoing political violence - euphemistically coined "the unrest" - in present day South Africa. A generation of children are growing up and being socialised in this atmosphere of repressive State action, increased militarisation, and revolutionary counteraction. Countless children have been exposed to violence, either as eye-witnesses or through the media, while others have participated in or been victims of violent acts. The direct effects of violence on the physical and psychological states of children have come under focus of both "progressive" health organisations such as NAMDA and OASSSA, and concerned individuals.

Jacobs & Hollingshead (1985) note the different ways that Western Cape children have been affected by the current strife. "There are direct ways, such as direct physical and psychological trauma, deaths, detention and arrest. **Several other children have also been affected in less direct ways, which are less easy to measure and document.** Some of these include the effects on children of adults who are being repressed, and also on children **who have been exposed to violence in the schools or in their community without suffering any physical harm themselves.**" (Jacobs & Hollingshead, 1985, p.4)(emphasis added).

This investigation of a sample of children from Greater Cape Town examines one aspect of the more subtle effects of exposure to violence, namely children's evaluations of violence.

### 1.2 AIMS

The study is a replication of an investigation done in Northern Ireland (Lorenc & Branthwaite, 1986) and aims to :

- i) examine the effects of exposure to civil violence on children's moral evaluations of violence, by comparing 'Black' and 'White'\* children, whilst controlling for gender and socio-economic status;
- ii) examine the relationship between previous exposure to violent acts and subsequent evaluations of similar acts;

\* The present study rejects "race" as a meaningful biological classification system. For discussion of the rationale behind the use of race groupings in this study, see pp. 12 -14.

- iii) examine whether the individual's attitude to violence is uniform or whether it is dependent on the context - political, domestic and school-related;
- iv) consider the appropriateness or validity of a traditional instrument such as the questionnaire-cum-rating scale, and the statistical procedures in the measuring of evaluations of the ideologically-bound concept "violence".

The study does not aim at drawing comparisons with the results of the original Northern Ireland study, taking cognisance of the different historical and socio-political contexts of the two countries.

### 1.3 DEFINITION OF "VIOLENCE"

The dictionary definition of "violence" is :

1. physical force used so as to injure or damage
2. intense, powerful force, as of a storm, etc.
3. (a) unjust or callous use of force or power, as in violating another's rights, privacy, etc.  
(b) the harm done by this
4. vehemence; fury
5. a violent deed or act.

(Collins Concise English Dictionary, 1978, p.842)

In this study the term "violence" is employed in the broad context of definition 3, namely the use or abuse of power, authority or force in order to attain or retain domination, subjugation or control over another. This does not necessarily imply the use of physical force and includes verbal and other non-verbal means. Violence therefore refers to abusive or exploitive power relations.

The author acknowledges that labelling acts as violent involves making a subjective judgment (McWhirter, 1983) and that the reaction to crimes of violence may differ across social groups (Levett, 1981).

### 1.4 THE BROADER SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

While the "unrest" of the past decade, forms the rationale behind this study, this does not imply that there was "rest" preceding this. On the contrary, this study contends that the current violent political crisis has emerged out of a long history of state repression, expressed most saliently in the Nationalist Party's policy of Apartheid. "Under this ideology, Black citizens of South Africa have suffered the effects of racial discrimination in its most base and systematic form" (Lab, 1988, p.1).

Poverty, overcrowding, limited health, recreation and day-care facilities, and poor schooling, are but few of the dismal and violent realities of life under Apartheid for the majority of South African children (Burman and Reynolds, 1986; Foster, 1986). Nearly four million people have been uprooted and relocated under the policy of forced removals (Platzky & Walker in Solomons, 1986). Despite Government promises to abolish this violent policy, residents of Lawaakamp, a Black township in George, faced the imminent bulldozing of their homes and removal as recently as May 1988. This study takes cognisance of the wider South African socio-political and historical contexts, and endorses Chikane's (1986) claim that "to be born into an Apartheid society is to be born on a battlefield. The fight is for human dignity and even survival" (pp. 337 - 338).

Even prior to the events of Sharpeville in 1961 Black uprisings and organised forms of protest had become frequent, culminating in the Soweto riots of 1976 in which youth protested against 'Bantu education' and specifically against Afrikaans as the medium of teaching. Riots spread to other townships, with the youth now playing a central role in the resistance to Apartheid. During the past decade the struggle against Apartheid has intensified with the people's demands including "a non-racial and democratic South Africa, universal franchise and for a united country free of 'independent' homelands and the Group Areas Act" (Chikane, 1986, p.334).

Straker (1988) whose work in black urban townships confirms that numerous children in South Africa are being subjected to violence rooted in Apartheid, claims that "apartheid could be seen to have institutionalised child abuse" (p.3).

### 1.5 THE RECENT "UNREST"

Since 1985 the opposition to Apartheid has escalated. Some view it as having "reached the proportions of a civil war" (Chikane, 1986, p.334); others as "the harbinger of a long-awaited revolution" (Foster, 1986, p.49). The Government has retaliated with repression and violence, utilising agencies including the police and the military. In South Africa 1,559 people died in civil and political violence between September 1984 and April 1986 (South African Institute of Race Relations in Lab, 1988) and some 25,000 people were detained during 1985 (DPSC in Foster, 1986).

Apart from the violence resultant of SADF and SAP presence in the townships, Apartheid has also promoted conflict and violence amongst

township inhabitants. "Black against Black" violence, as this is frequently referred to, is viewed by some as "a Government strategy" (Straker, 1988). Examples include the fatal skirmishes fought at Crossroads between the inhabitants who were polarised into opposing factions, and the incidences of "necklacing". More than 300 people were reported necklaced by 1986 (Weekly Mail, September 26, 1986; City Press, August 24, 1986, in Straker, 1988). Furthermore the detonation of bombs in urban areas occurs increasingly.

This vicious cycle of violence evident in many regimes is described by Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil :

- Violence 1 : The injustice of oppressive laws and exploitation.
- Violence 2 : The counter-violence of revolt in riots, bomb attacks and eventually guerilla warfare.
- Violence 3 : The action by authorities to re-establish their control when they resort to imprisonment without trial, torture and taking of life. (Cock, 1988, p.23)

Further evidence of 'Violence 3' is seen in the government's declaration of a partial State of Emergency in July 1985. A national State of Emergency followed in June 1986. The collection of data for this investigation took place in 1987 during this period. On 10 June 1988, this was renewed, bringing South Africa into its third consecutive year of Emergency rule. Under this rule the Government has restricted individuals and organisations opposed to Apartheid, and has presented a new Labour Bill restricting COSATU from representing its members. It has also implemented stringent curbs on the media and accused the 'alternate' press of "fuelling the revolutionary climate" (Cape Times 28 August 1987 and preventing the termination of the State of Emergency. Media curbs include three-month bannings of newspapers, warnings to others and the detention-without-trial of journalists. It appears that there is an active attempt by the Government to combat both violent and non-violent avenues of protest.

#### 1.6 THE INCREASING MILITARISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

While many may not have witnessed overt violence, most urban inhabitants will have experienced roadblocks, seen Casspirs, or been searched by security officers in local departmental stores. Cock (1988) refers to the increasing 'militarisation' of White South Africa, i.e the increasing "reliance on violence as a solution to problems and conflicts" (p.21). She illustrates this with subtle examples in the home, such as war toys, games and movies, security gates and alarm systems; and in the school, such as cadets, veld schools, youth preparedness; and with overt examples such as the extension of

compulsory military service, deaths of soldiers on the borders, the Koeberg nuclear power station outside Cape Town (Cock, 1988). In this militarised climate South African children are being socialised. Such socially approved forms of violence form part of the process of "the normalization and legitimization of violence" in society (Kelman, 1973, p.53). An example of this process is seen in the coinage of the term "unrest", a label which dissociates it from its true meaning. A similar phenomenon is apparent in the Northern Ireland term "troubles", and the Nazi term "final solution". Such euphemisms are tantamount to blatant lies on the part of the rulers. Kelman (1973) notes how "people learn to look to official definition of actions rather than to their human consequences in assessing their legitimacy" (p.54).

#### 1.7 THE BROADER SPECTRUM OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Political violence is only one form along the broad spectrum of violence to which children in South Africa are exposed. Criminal and domestic violence must also be considered.

Cape Town was recently labelled the "murder capital of the world" by Medical Officer of Health, Dr M Popkiss. "Violent death had become 'a way of life in this city' - especially in the townships." (Argus, 22 June 1988). The number of gangs in the Cape Town area is reported to be higher than anywhere else in the world (Argus, 30 August 1981, in Levett, 1981). Shocking statistics emerge for Cape Town prior to the "unrest". Between July 1984 to June 1985 the SAP counted 3,650 cases of illegal possession of firearms or ammunition; 4,408 of public violence; 8,959 of murder; 16,085 of rape; and 123,100 of serious assault. (Criminological Statistics 1985, 1986). Some of these crimes must be understood within their socio-political context. The high incidence of violence in South Africa has been attributed to the instability and social disorganisation of large sectors of the community resulting from forced removals and conditions such as poverty, overcrowding, unemployment in the townships (Slabbert in Levett, 1981).

Specifically pertaining to children are reports for 1984-1985 of 73 cases of infanticide and 1,319 of abuse and neglect of children (Annual Report, SAP, 1985 in Criminological Statistics 1985, 1986). Escalating atrocities have necessitated the recent establishment of the 'Police Child Protection Unit in Cape Town' (Argus, 21 June 1988). Furthermore, the strong impact of domestic violence, including wife-battering, "Granny-bashing" (Pretorius, 1987) and more recently, family murders, on

both the child and the adolescent, (Labuschagne, 1987) are relevant. Children exposed to these have frequently been noted to repeat this violent behaviour in their interpersonal relationships, domestic violence thus becoming a crucial link in the "vicious circle of societal violence" (Pretorius, 1987). While Pretorius (1987) claims that family violence contributes to society violence, other theorists argue the inverse relationship (Fraser, 1974; Cock, 1988).

#### 1.8 THE STATUS OF CHILDREN DURING THE 'UNREST'

Central to the rationale of this investigation in which the subjects are children, is the status of children in South Africa over the past decade. School-going youth were at the forefront of the 1976 Soweto riots and have played an integral role throughout the struggle of the 1980's, boycotting classes in protest and participating in demonstrations.

Widespread school boycotts took place and many children died in the unrest at this time. When the State of Emergency was declared, the government paid children the dubious compliment of taking them seriously. It banned COSAS, an organisation of schoolchildren. Up to 8000 people, including more than 2000 children under the age of sixteen, had been detained under the emergency provisions by the end of 1985. (Sowetan, 13.12.85). Many detainees were members of COSAS and the Youth congresses which were affiliates of the UDF. (DPSC Report, November 1985) (Chikane, 1986, p.334).

Amnesty International in a survey on children who are victims of repression around the world, singled out South Africa for violations against children under emergency regulations.

The South African Government acknowledged last April that 1,424 children under the age of 18 were detained under the emergency regulations. But Amnesty International's survey quoted an estimate by monitoring groups that 11,000 children were detained in South Africa between 1984 and 1986. 'Some were beaten, whipped and kicked for several hours; others were given electrical shocks' (New York Times, 5 January 1988).

Researchers internationally (Allodi 1980; Fields 1982) and more recently in South Africa (Foster, 1986; Gibson, 1986; McLachlan, 1986; Skinner, 1986; Dawes, 1987) have documented the detrimental effects of detention and torture on children. However, detention is only one form of state violence against children.

The presence of the SADF in the townships has exposed children to a new wave of brutality. Many children have been physically injured and treated by township doctors for the adverse effects of rubber bullets, teargas and baton charges. There have been allegations of rape and abuse of children (South African Catholic Bishops' Conference Report, 1984, in Chikane, 1986, p.335).

At the International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid S.A, held in Harare in September 1987, it was reported that

Quite apart from the evidence about what happens in detentions, a terrifying pattern of abuse has emerged in the townships. Soldiers pick up children in the streets, load them into armoured personnel carriers, hold them for several nightmarish hours, threaten them, intimidate them, assault them, then turn them out to make their own way home. Such incidents do not appear in the statistics (The Observer, 29 September 1987).

#### 1.9 EFFECTS OF CIVIL VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN'S MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Theories of aggression are numerous ranging from psychoanalytic explanations of Freud (1933) to behaviourist explanations of Dollard et al (1939) and Bandura and Walters (1963) and are consequently beyond the scope of this dissertation. The current most widely accepted form of the behaviourist theory is that "a frustrating event increases the probability that the thwarted organism will act aggressively soon afterwards" (Berkowitz, 1965 in Fraser, 1974). Tragically society continues to provide testing grounds for these hypotheses formulated in university laboratories in the form of "sanctioned massacres" including those in Mai Lai, Bangladesh, Biafra and South Africa (Kelman, 1973). Countries such as Northern Ireland and Israel with their respective histories of ongoing violence serve as "national laboratories" for researchers (Lazarus, in Garmezy and Rutter, 1983, p. 71). Israeli researchers have focussed on stress reactions to terrorist acts, with some going as far as to set up preventative programmes to prepare children for coping in the event of such crises (Ayalon, 1983). While stress and other ill-effects of exposure to violence are crucial, these are beyond the limited focus of this study.

The more directly relevant studies emerge from the Northern Ireland research on the effects of the "troubles". Two trends emerge (Garmezy & Rutter, 1985): those which focus on the psychiatric consequences, illustrating the children's maladaptation, (Lyons, 1971; Fraser, 1974; Fields, 1980; McLachlan, 1981) and those which focus on the children's

"normality", illustrating their resilience (Trew & McWhirter, 1982; McWhirter, 1983; Cairns, 1987). An examination of these contrasting contentions follows, beginning with the "maladaptation" trend. Fields' (1980, 1982, 1986) numerous findings are summarised in her contention that "little victims into big terrorists grow" (Fields, 1982, p.142). Her research on the moral and social development of children 6 to 15 growing up in Northern Ireland yielded evidence that :

the bombers and gunmen of Belfast are often adolescent boys and girls of working-class families. In their early years, ages 4, 5 and 6, these were the children whose houses were burned down around them by mobs augmented by uniformed 'security forces'; whose fathers and sometimes mothers were dragged off to interrogation centres and tortured; whose older brothers and sisters were interned or assassinated by terror squads... (Fields, 1982, p.144)

Such observations led her to suggest that children who participate in violence through rioting in particular, can develop new moral norms, and that violence can become a way of life which leads to these children being unable to control their own aggressive impulses, leading to a lowering of inhibition which in turn leads to more violent activity. The situation becomes a vicious circle from which the child is unable to escape (Fields, 1980). She further theorised that the moral judgment of these children "halts at a primitive level" (Fields, 1982, p.144) and that they "may never achieve the level of moral development requisite to resolving legal and political conflicts non-violently" (Fields, 1982, p.146). Fields maintains that children growing up in conditions of ongoing violence, unlike those diagnosed as anti-social personalities, regardless of their age at the commencement of the upheaval "show a distinct awareness of right and wrong." However, those exposed to violence

seem to become truncated at the second level of moral development or legal socialisation. This is the stage at which an individual views right and wrong in terms of their identity group. When identification is through a perceived threatened minority group identity there is righteous indignation about perceived wrongs and justification for vendetta (Fields, 1986, p.6).

It is the present author's contention that while there is evidence of peer- and identity-group identification in the youth revolt in the Black townships in South Africa, their opposition against apartheid certainly does not imply a "truncation" in moral development.

Fraser (1974) views the expression of violence by children as a "learned behaviour", facilitated predominantly by modelling on adult behaviour,

by the presence of cues to aggression, and by adult approbation in the form of non-intervention. Reports by educationalists in Belfast and Derry of vandalism, aggression, truancy and poor academic standards in schools, led him to conclude that as a learned behaviour participation in civil violence increases and generalises into other areas of a child's life. "To a schoolboy who has, in his own eyes, successfully defied the armed might of the British Army, parents and teachers are small fry indeed" (Fraser, 1974, p.158). Fraser is suggesting the risk of increased delinquency in the children of Northern Ireland.

McCauley and Troy (1983 in Garmezy & Rutter, 1985) reported higher rates of anti-social behaviour in areas in which rioting occurred. They add a new dimension to this research area by noting that these areas were also socially underprivileged. "Associations between civil violence and delinquency are confounded by a third variable, socio-economic deprivation" (p.159).

Psychiatric effects of civil violence led to fears that even in the event of a peaceful resolution being reached in Northern Ireland, "acts of violence and anti-social behaviour will continue because of the conditioning of previous years" (Lyons, 1973, p.37). Would that an opportunity arise for the testing of this dismal hypothesis.

Contributing to the contrasting trend which emphasises resilience is McWhirter (1983) who claims that "fears of a serious growth antisocial behaviour among the young people of Northern Ireland and the total disintegration of Northern Ireland society are largely unjustified" (p.389). She criticises the above findings for being "more confident assertion than by the presence of well-based knowledge" (McWhirter & Trew, 1982, p.69) and contends that Northern Ireland is by nature a "law-abiding" (McWhirter, 1983, p.389) society, attributing this to both the Protestant and Catholic religious values, the Church's influence, and the existence of strong family ties (McWhirter, 1983). While accepting evidence that many youths would not be involved in crime were it not for the "troubles", she argues that it does not follow that those who participated in the civil violence "have simply drifted into a new kind of 'aggro', or that they don't know what they are doing" (McWhirter & Trew, 1982, p.392) and cites findings which differentiate them from delinquents on psychological dimensions. Furthermore, she emphasises that those urban areas associated with increased juvenile antisocial behaviour are also exposed to "extremes of both

socio-economic deprivation and civil strife" (McWhirter & Trew, 1982, p.75). This finding supports that of McCauley and Troy (1983 in Gamezy & Rutter, 1985).

McWhirter adds a new dimension to research in this area by undertaking investigations not only in the samples which present to psychiatry and criminology (Fraser, 1974; Lyons, 1973) but also amongst samples representative of "normal" Northern Ireland youth. She found that neither religious domination nor conflict and violence are salient dimensions for Northern Ireland children and concluded that they have built up a degree of resilience, "may be because after 12 years of 'troubles', abnormality has become normality" (McWhirter & Trew, 1982, p.309). One must ask whether such habituation does not in itself constitute a detrimental effect of the "troubles".

Cairns (1987) argues that none of the above studies directly tests the moral development or moral reasoning of the children. He thus examined childrens' ideas about the morality of violence used to settle personal conflicts by measuring the level of violence children feel is justified in school and peer situations. Possible responses included 'physical aggression', 'verbal aggression', 'leaving the field', or 'positive coping'" (Cairns, 1987, p.82). Children were initially asked what the response of most boys would be and then what they personally thought was the "right thing" or "very best thing" to do. Results indicated the children's awareness of the discrepancy between most boys' behaviour in such situations and how they ought to behave, with behaviour apparently more aggressive in the actual situations. Girls chose fewer aggressive responses as the "right thing" than did boys. Children living in peaceful areas were in agreement with those who had experienced direct political violence as to the right thing. That "exposure to real life violence did not seem to alter their ideas about the morality of violence" (Cairns, 1987, p.83) provides some evidence against the suggestion that Northern Ireland's political violence is generalising into interpersonal situations.

The present investigation is a replication of the study "Evaluations of political violence by English and Northern Irish Schoolchildren" by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986), yet another Northern Irish study to emerge out of the debate evident in the literature. The original study investigates the effects of the "troubles" on Northern Ireland schoolchildren's moral judgments of violence by comparing them with those of children in England and tests Fraser's (1974) hypothesis that "children

who support violence towards the security forces will generalise this lack of respect to other authority figures" (Lorenc & Branthwaite, 1986, p.349). This was expected to be more apparent among Irish Catholic children, particularly those living in troubled areas, because they are considered more likely than the Protestant and English children to have parents who sanction violence towards the security forces (Lorenc & Branthwaite, 1986). Their findings provided no support for Fraser's suggestion that "the children of Northern Ireland are in danger of becoming delinquents who may grow up to be amoral adults" (Lorenc & Branthwaite, 1986, p.349) or that Irish children are more accepting of violence compared to English children.

In South Africa echoes of some of these fears and sentiments have been heard (Jacobs & Hollingshead, 1985; Richman, 1986; Swartz S. & Swartz, L., 1986). Chikane (1986) predicts that :

....the experiences and exposure of township children to violence will undoubtedly result in the maiming of children in every sphere of their development. **Furthermore, all the signs are that the violence will breed yet more violence .** ....the most notable results at present have been the great increase in the politicisation of this generation of children and their growing militance. **From their ranks will come the new generation of young militants with whom parents, teachers, and no doubt the government will be dealing** (p. 337, emphasis added).

Solomons (1987) proposed a "Khmer Rouge" hypothesis suggesting that under totalitarian conditions, superego development is impaired and predisposes to particular forms of group formations which may reproduce the repressive style of the government. "The fact that the dominant model of problem-solving in the society is one of coercion, authoritarianism, brutalisation and violence ... may well facilitate its adoption. Under these conditions the culture of authoritarianism and oppression may be both transmitted and reinforced by superego function" (p.5).

Journalists have compared children in South Africa to Khmer Rouge or Lord of the Flies children. "The South African Government speaks often of 'agitators' corrupting our children and camps are set up to 'rehabilitate' children viewed by the State as activists" (Swartz & Levett, 1988, p.8). It is the author's contention that systematic research is necessary in order to substantiate such assertions. The present investigation is a preliminary attempt at such.

### 1.10 RATIONALE FOR REPLICATING THE LORENC AND BRANTHWAITE STUDY

The idea to pursue this study was precipitated by the publication of Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986)'s study at a time in South African history when the issue of the effects of the civil "unrest" on Black children in particular was being raised by sectors of South African society such as "Free the Children's Alliance".

Noting that this study does not accept 'race' or 'ethnicity' (Alexander, 1983) as a "meaningful biological classification system" (Burman and Reynolds, 1986, p.6), the rationale behind the use of the terms "Black" and "White" requires explanation. Since 1948 the Nationalist Party government has instituted legal statutes forcing citizens to be polarised into different population groups based on a 'racial' classification.

The Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950, together with Proclamation 123 of 1967, introduced no less than nine categories into which everyone in the country had to be classified. The main divisions, in current terminology are 'white', 'black' (that is, African) and 'Coloured', with asians (sub-divided into Chinese and Indians) as the main subdivision of 'Coloured.' In terms of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950 (as amended), **each group may live only in separately allocated areas** (Burman & Reynolds, 1986, p.5, emphasis added).

This statute influences all aspects of the child's life. Schooling, a crucial socialising agent, is affected in that except for private schools, children may be educated only with members of the same 'race', unless special permission has been received. Furthermore school syllabi differ between racial groups. White children's education in Government schools is prescribed to be "Christian" and "National".

By "National" it is understood that education shall build on the ideal of the national development of all citizens of South Africa, in order that **our own identity and way of life shall be preserved**, and in order that the South African nation may constantly appreciate its task as part of Western civilization (Hansard 6 col 2011 in Burman & Reynolds, 1986, p.15).

Consequently in South Africa, racial classification "has acquired a pseudo-reality because of its socio-political consequences. Generations of children have now grown up within this system, with uniquely different experiences and attitudes from and about each other despite

being members of one nation" (Burman & Reynolds, 1986,p.6).

Tajfel's theorises that "in an infinite variety of situations the individual feels, thinks, behaves in terms of his social identity created by the various groups of which he is a member and in terms of relation to the social identity of others as individuals or en masse" (Geber & Newman, 1980, p.3). It follows that in South Africa race generally constitutes the most salient group with which the individual identifies. Coles (1986)'s research in South Africa led him to claim that "In the end all the White children of South Africa stare at Black people and Coloured people and invoke Apartheid" (p.200).

The rationale behind comparing Black's and White's attitudes to violence requires explanation. Given the Group Areas Act and the concentration of "unrest" in the Black areas, children living in a "Whites - only" area will probably not personally have witnessed political violence apart from media reports. Children in Black areas however, may have encountered political violence, possibly witnessing or hearing about it in the neighbourhood, the school or by personally participating in demonstrations or riots. During the 1985 "unrest" inhabitants of White zones in Greater Cape Town, continued living peacefully, oblivious of the teargas, bird shot, army and police presence only kilometers away. Some information about the "unrest" may have been obtained from first hand accounts of colleagues and employees who were prevented from attending work, or from limited media coverage.

This division of experience is exacerbated by the rights of the media having been draconianly curtailed under the State of Emergency, with reports of "unrest" being censored by law from television, newspaper and radio, thereby further insulating Whites and those Blacks living in peaceful areas.

Press headlines illustrate this dichotomy:

"Whites sheltered from reality" (Argus, 20 April 1987)

"Worrall : News blackout causing white blindness" (Cape Times, 13 April 1987). Dr Worrall is quoted saying "Whites were denied the information which could inform them of the reality of the situation in black townships....one can therefore imagine how white perceptions differ from that of blacks whose lives are still disrupted by tension" (Cape Times, 13 April 1987).

"Bad news, no news" (Business Day, 16 April 1987).

"In a clash between police and public in Cape Town, a Coloured passer-by remarked 'Now Sir, you can see what is happening in the townships everyday'" (Cape Times, 25 October 1985).

This situation in which inhabitants of peaceful White areas have limited access to reports on the realities of the "unrest" added to the suggestion that different attitudes towards violence may be developing in the children living in the different areas, i.e. between Black and White children.

Certainly this dichotomy is not clearcut and cases exist where Black children such as those living in "grey areas" have not been exposed to overt violence while some White children, such as those exposed to rioting in the city centre, have. Also most children have been exposed to other forms of violence including commercial television. Even in such situations differences in their respective evaluations of political violence are possible. Fields (1982) notes that not all children growing up in violence become terrorists. "The relationship of a sub-group to the established institutions can provide an ameliorating condition or effect in otherwise stressful circumstances" (p.143). The more vulnerable repressed groups which she explores however "have a very different kind of relationship with their larger society and hence different problems in the socialization and social control process" (p.143). When one considers the different relationship Black and White children have with the larger South African society a difference in the effects of exposure to violence on their attitudes to violence is possible.

This is further supported by Fraser's (1974) finding that "the children without friends of the other religion were much more likely to endorse political violence" (p.172). Taking into consideration the polarisation of experience noted above, current South Africa provided an ideal context in which to replicate the study by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986).

## CHAPTER TWO : METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 SUBJECTS

The subjects constituted 304 children aged 10 to 12 years, drawn randomly from areas in Greater Cape Town, respectively designated to Black and White South Africans according to the Group Areas Act. The 112 White children were included as a contrast group unexposed to political violence to the same degree as the 194 Black children who generally came from areas exposed to civil unrest since 1985. The Black sample included all children interviewed who were living in areas designated to 'Coloureds', 'Africans' and 'Indians'. Of the total sample 159 were male and 145 female, drawn from a cross section of socio-economic levels, coded according to parents' occupational status\* into two socio-economic status (SES) groups (Schlemmer and Stopforth 1979) for the purposes of comparison : 212 children came from the higher SES group (Professional and Managerial; Middle White-collar; and Manual Foreman, Skilled Artisans, Farmers and status equivalent categories); 92 children came from the lower SES groups (Routine Non-Manual and Semi-Skilled Manual; and the Unskilled Manual and Menial categories). Of the 212 children from the higher SES group, 110 were Black and 101 White. Of the 92 children from the lower SES group, 83 were Black and 19 White.

### 2.2 INSTRUMENT

The instrument employed to measure children's evaluations of violence was an interview schedule adapted from the original questionnaire compiled by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) (see Appendix I). It describes nine incidents, each involving the use of violence either by an authority figure against a child, or vice versa. The first eight scenarios were verbatim replications of the original designed along the pattern of Piaget's short moral stories (Piaget, 1932). The scenarios were created such that each of the four authority figures - a policeman, a soldier, a parent and a teacher - was conceived both to perpetrate and to be the victim of a violent act. An element of mitigation, involving varying justification for the behaviour, was included in some "to make

\* Occupational status is an index of **social achievement** of a particular kind. Here we refer to what is variously called social status, social prestige or honour, socio-economic status, social standing or (using the concept loosely) social class. It is important to note that occupational status is only one index of social standing (Schlemmer & Stopforth, 1979, p.3).

them more realistic and meaningful" (Lorenc and Branthwaite, 1986, p.350). Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) note that the stories do not represent all possible combinations of the characteristics involved, since it was thought that eight stories were as many as the children would be able to cope with. "The stories selected were thus designed broadly to cover the characteristics and to be sufficiently varied to maintain interest" (p. 350). A ninth scenario involving the use of violence by a husband to a wife was constructed along similar lines and added to the original questionnaire. The rationale for the inclusion of this question is the contention that with the increasing militarisation in society, violence has infiltrated all spheres of life, the family included (Cock, 1988; Pretorius, 1987).

A five-point rating scale, an exact replication of the one devised by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) followed each scenario. This was divided according to degrees of "wrongness", with a high score representing a greater condemnation. Subjects were to evaluate the respective scenarios according to this scale.

- 1 - not wrong at all
- 2 - fairly wrong
- 3 - wrong, but understandable
- 4 - definitely wrong
- 5 - very wrong indeed.

In order to elicit subjects' previous exposure to violence, the original questionnaire required slight adaptation. Each scenario was followed by a direct question as to whether the subject had witnessed a similar violent episode. Details of the incident, such as when, where and to whom it happened, were included. These specific questions were intended to be used open-endedly to facilitate subjects' personal accounts of their exposure to violence.

The interview schedule included demographic data : biographical data including the subject's age, sex, home language, "racial" classification, residential area, school and religion; socio-economic status indicators including number of occupants residing in the home, the parents' occupations and instances of unemployment; political persuasion including whether the parents and the child were politically involved, and what the nature of this was. (Political persuasion, although included on the interview schedule, was omitted in the actual procedure for ethical reasons). All interview schedules were anonymous to protect the respondents (Savage, 1983).

## 2.3 PROCEDURE

### 2.3.1 PREPARATION OF STUDENTS.

Data were gathered by 50 third-year students from the Psychology Department of the University of Cape Town, in partial fulfilment of their course requirements. Students were informed that the data collection was part of an ongoing research project in the same department and the importance of accuracy was stressed. In a series of five tutorials the students, in groups numbering approximately ten, were prepared for data collection by a postgraduate psychology tutor. Students were given exercises in interviewing skills, including listening techniques and the facilitation of rapport. Some of the possible difficulties encountered in interviewing children were explored through the medium of role-play. They were given standardised instructions regarding the procedure to be followed and rehearsed the administration of the questionnaire. Ethical issues including confidentiality, informed consent (Steere, 1984) and the question as to whether research in South Africa can be politically neutral were discussed.

### 2.3.2 DATA GATHERING

Each student interviewed between 5 to 10 children with whom they were unacquainted. Contact was made via channels available to them in their personal capacities. Interviewer and respondent were not intentionally matched for gender or race. Interviews were conducted in one-to-one sessions, were taped and transcribed. Interviewers introduced themselves and explained that they were doing a project for the university and that only they and their supervisors had access to the results. An attempt to develop a degree of rapport and to relax the subject was made by chatting casually to them about school and hobbies.

Thereafter the instrument was administered according to the standardised instructions. Demographic data was elicited, the rating scale was explained and an example of the questions was given so as to give the child practice in its use. The interviewer stressed that there were no right or wrong answers. The interview schedule was filled in by the interviewer.

The requirements having been grasped, each scenario was read to the child who was then asked how wrong they considered it to be. This question was immediately followed by a recital of the possible answers provided in the rating scale. In the event of queries either the scenario or the scale was repeated or the interviewer clarified whose

action was in question. No additional information was given. Where children requested to re-read the scenario themselves, this was permitted. The scenarios were presented in the exact order in which they appeared on the schedule. After evaluating each scenario the child was asked whether they had seen something similar and was requested to elaborate. Where the child responded "no", students encouraged them to think of similar rather than the specific incident, prompting them with questions such as "perhaps on TV?", or "to a friend?". The interviews having been terminated the completed interview schedules and the transcripts of the taped interviews were submitted to the tutor.

### 2.3.3 POST-HOC INTERVIEW OF STUDENTS

In order to check whether the interviews were conducted in accordance with the instructed procedure, a randomly selected sample of 6 students (approximately 10% of the original sample) were interviewed by the author. Students were informed that this interview was for the purposes of the ongoing research and would not implicate their assignments which had already been evaluated and returned to them by their tutor. Each step of the procedure taken by the student was queried.

The following issues confounding standardisation of procedure emerged :

In all cases children were previously unknown to the interviewer. However the manner of selection of interviewees varied. Some were prepared in advance by their parents that a student would be interviewing them, others were instructed without warning by a teacher or principal to answer the student's questions, while other children were spontaneously 'picked up' in playgrounds or supermarket car parks and invited to participate. All interviews were held on a one-to-one basis, but their settings varied from children's own bedrooms, empty classrooms, school playgrounds, to inside motorcars.

The issue of interpretation was confounding where respondents spoke only Xhosa. Interpreters included teachers and older children unskilled in the art of interpretation. Similarly some interviewers translated the questionnaire into Afrikaans. These translations were not standardised between interviewers. The six students interviewed had complied with the procedure except for their presentation of the rating scale. Some claimed that halfway through the interview they no longer read out the full rating-scale as the children, having become familiar with this, evaluated the remaining scenarios spontaneously. The interview length varied both between students and between their respective subjects. This may have been a function of different styles of both students and subject. It may however suggest that some students were less thorough or less facilitating than others.

The above constraints on the standardisation of interviews may have had different effects on the quality of responses elicited and must be taken into consideration in evaluating the results.

## CHAPTER THREE : RESULTS

In this section results of the analyses of the data will be presented and briefly discussed. The rationale behind the specific tests selected and the results yielded will be respectively cited. The total number of respondents differs for each table because of some missing data.

### 3.1 INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

First the instrument was validated by the method of internal consistency. The essential characteristic of this method is that the criterion is a total score on the test itself. Essentially this is a measure of item homogeneity and not of external validity (Anastasi, 1969).

Data were subjected to a two-way ANOVA. In determining internal consistency, the result  $\alpha = 0.4117$  was yielded (BMDP, 1981). This result is equivalent to Cronbach's alpha-coefficient, and indicates the proportion of the observed score variance which is non-error variance, i.e. "signal or wanted information" (Cronbach, 1970). The result yielded indicates that only 41% of the test variance is due to true individual differences. This score must be treated with caution as the contribution of internal consistency data to test validation is very limited. "In the absence of data external to the test itself, little can be learned about what a test measures." (Anastasi, 1969, p.117). Despite this caution, the low  $\alpha$ -coefficient yielded raises a serious methodological issue about the instrument employed and has implications for all other findings. It is interesting and puzzling that this issue was not raised in the Lorenc & Branthwaite (1986) report.

### 3.2 MANOVA (MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE)

Data were analysed using a multivariate analysis of variance in order to examine the respective effects of Race, Gender and SES and their interaction on the children's attitudes to violent scenarios. Manova is a multivariate procedure which essentially deals with multiple dependent variables simultaneously. Manova, by 'lumping' together the nine respective scenarios to form one dependent variable, yields a single outcome as opposed to the nine results which would be yielded by nine separate Anovas each dealing with one scenario respectively. Manova was the preferred test since by definition it requires fewer assumptions than Anova - the test used in the original study by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) - and avoids the increased probability of a Type I error as in the case of employing a number of univariate tests.

A difficulty faced in the analysis of data was that of unequal sample sizes. These arose out of the random sampling of subjects and did not proportionally represent the distribution in the total population from which the sample was drawn. Unequal sample sizes result in the main and interaction effects no longer being independent. Several alternative solutions are available when faced with this problem including :

(1) a weighted means approach, and (2) a regression approach (unweighted means solution) (Howell, 1982). Each of these approaches was respectively applied.

### 3.2.1 THE WEIGHTED MEANS APPROACH

Firstly the weighted means approach was applied. Within this approach the sample sizes are treated as part of the treatment effect in that larger samples carry more weight in the analysis - hence the term 'weighted means'.

Results yielded nonsignificant overall three-way interaction between Race X Gender X SES: (multivariate  $F(9,278) = 1.12$   $p > .05$ )

There is a suggestion of a significant three-way interaction on scenario 8 (involving physical punishment from a mother)

( $F(1,286) = 5.45$   $p < .05$ )

The significance of this is dubious in the light of the above non-significant overall score and can thus be ignored (Howell, 1986).

Similarly all two-way interaction effects on the MANOVA yielded non-significant results :

Race X Gender : (multivariate  $F(9,278) = 1.10$   $p > .05$ )

Race X SES : (multivariate  $F(9,278) = 0.57$   $p > .05$ )

Gender X SES : (multivariate  $F(9,278) = 1.51$   $p > .05$ )

There are suggestions of significant two-way interactions on scenario 1, (involving violence from a child to a policeman) :

Race X Gender :  $F(1,286) = 6.45$   $p < .05$

Race X SES :  $F(1,286) = 2.79$   $p < .05$

Gender X SES :  $F(1,286) = 3.91$   $p < .05$

There are also suggestions of significant interactions between Gender X SES on scenario 2 (involving child to soldier violence)

$F(1,286) = 4.05$   $p < .05$  ;

and on scenario 4 (involving child-to-father violence)

$F(1,286) = 8.84$   $p < .01$

All these suggestions are considered dubious in the light of the above overall nonsignificant scores for two-way interactions and can thus be ignored.

The main effects yielded by the Manova were then examined.

A marginally significant main effect for Race was yielded:

(multivariate  $F(9,278) = 1.68$   $p < .10$ )

This indicates a significant difference between the White and Black children's attitudes to the violent scenarios on the questionnaire.

Nonsignificant main effects for Gender and SES were yielded.

Results across RACE of mean attitudes for each respective scenario were examined in order to locate the significant difference due to Race noted above. These are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 : Comparison across Race of mean evaluations of violent scenarios

SCENARIOS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
DEPICTING	CHILD	CHILD	CHILD	CHILD	POLICE	SOLDIER	TEACHER	MOTHER	FATHER
VIOLENCE	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO
	POLICE	SOLDIER	TEACHER	FATHER	CHILD	CHILD	CHILD	CHILD	MOTHER
BLACK (184)	4.185	3.304	4.304	3.457	3.679	4.1467	2.082	2.592	4.011
WHITE (110)	4.291	3.555*	4.346	3.346	3.482	4.0273	2.300	2.746	4.209

$p < .10^*$

Table 1 indicates a marginally statistically significant difference due to 'RACE' apparent only on scenario 2 (involving child-to-soldier violence) ( $p < .10$ )\* with the White children being slightly more condemning of children stoning soldiers than Black. None of the other 8 scenarios yielded significant differences due to Race. However, perusal of Table 1 clearly yielded inconsistencies in the respective races' attitudes to the different scenarios. Black children were slightly more accepting of violence from a child to police, soldiers and teachers; and of violence from a teacher and mother to a child; and of violence to a wife. White children however were more accepting of police and soldier violence to children and of violence from a child to father. These trends are not statistically significant ( $p > .10$ ) but may be contributing to the overall significant MANOVA for Race. No uniform result was thus yielded regarding the respective racial groups' overall attitude to violence.

Each individual story was then analysed across Gender. There is a suggestion that attitudes to Story 3 (child-to-teacher violence) are significantly

different due to Gender, ( $p < .05$ )\*. The significance of this result is dubious in the light of the above nonsignificant Manova for gender and therefore can be ignored.

Each individual story was then analysed across Socio-Economic Status.

There is a suggestion that attitudes to story 4 (child-to-father violence) are significantly different due to SES ( $p < .05$ )\*. The significance of this result is however dubious in the light of the statistically nonsignificant Manova for SES and therefore can be ignored.

### 3.2.2 REGRESSION APPROACH (UNWEIGHTED MEANS SOLUTION)

Data were also analysed using the regression approach to the problem of unequal sample sizes, also referred to as the unweighted means solution. With this more conservative approach, equal weight is given to the respective means. Each effect is tested after controlling for all other effects because they are no longer correlated or orthogonal.

Results yielded a nonsignificant main effect for RACE:

(multivariate  $F(9,278) = 1.28$   $p > .10$ )

This result contradicts the marginally significant result yielded by the weighted means approach and throws serious doubt on it. All other results yielded were nonsignificant, thus corresponding with those yielded by the weighted means approach.

### 3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Since no overall statistically significant differences across Gender and SES were yielded in the above results, and since Race could not be accepted as statistically significant with much confidence, it followed next to examine the overall mean attitudes to each scenario across the total sample, ignoring Race, SES and Gender. These are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2 : Mean Evaluations of Violence across Total Sample

VIOLENT SCENARIO	CHILD TO POLICE	CHILD TO SOLDIER	CHILD TO TEACHER	CHILD TO FATHER	POLICE TO CHILD	SOLDIER TO CHILD	TEACHER TO CHILD	MOTHER TO CHILD	HUSBAND TO WIFE
Means	4.22	3.40	4.32	3.41	3.61	4.10	2.16	2.65	4.09
S.D	0.997	1.183	0.952	1.176	1.288	1.06	1.256	1.257	1.056



were compared to the rest - with the assumption being that the others were all the same. Such a procedure amounts to a planned comparison of a subset of all possible comparisons. One advantage of a planned comparison is that the probability of a Type 1 error is smaller than if the comparisons are arrived at on a post hoc basis (Howell, 1982). Data were thus subjected to a linear (orthogonal) contrast (an Anova with repeated measures within) so that one group of means (scenarios 7 and 8) could be compared with another group (scenarios 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9). Results yielded a significant F-ratio ( $F(8,286) = 93.37$   $p < .001$ )\*\*. This finding confirmed the apparent difference on Figure 1, i.e. that the childrens' mean attitude to violence from mother and teacher differs significantly from their mean attitude to the other violent acts, in that they appear to accept or condone the use of corporal punishment in schools and by mother more than any of the other violent acts. Stated differently, it appears that these children do not condemn the use of violence by teachers or mothers with the same degree of intensity as they do the use of violence by security forces on children or by children to authority figures in general.

### 3.5 CHI-SQUARE

The data were next subjected to a Chi-square test in order to examine the relationship between subjects' previous exposure to similar violence and their evaluations of the scenarios depicted in the questionnaire. Chi-square was employed for its function as a test of the independence of two variables, in this case, 'previous exposure' and 'attitude'. Only statistically significant results are presented in Tables 3 to 6 below. The total number of respondents differs for each table because of some missing data.

**TABLE 3 :** Contingency table of relationship between previous exposure and evaluations of child-to-police violence

Evaluation	Not wrong at all	Fairly wrong	Wrong but under-standable	Definitely wrong	Very wrong indeed	Number of Respondents
Respondents previously exposed	2	5	14	15	29	63
Unexposed	1	17	18	64	117	<u>217</u> 280

$$\chi^2_4 = 13.62 \quad p < .01^{**}$$

**TABLE 4 : Contingency table of relationship between previous exposure and evaluations of child-to-father violence**

Evaluation	Not wrong at all	Fairly wrong	Wrong but understandable	Definitely wrong	Very wrong indeed	Number of Respondents
Respondents previously exposed	4	11	21	6	6	48
Unexposed	12	30	83	42	70	<del>237</del> 285

$$\chi^2_4 = 9.50 \quad p < .05^*$$

**TABLE 5 : Contingency table of relationship between previous exposure and evaluations of corporal punishment in classroom**

Evaluation	Not wrong at all	Fairly wrong	Wrong but understandable	Definitely wrong	Very wrong indeed	Number of Respondent
Respondents previously exposed	120	33	50	16	15	234
Unexposed	12	11	20	9	3	<del>55</del> 289

$$\chi^2_4 = 18,35 \quad p < .01^*$$

**TABLE 6 : Contingency table of relationship between previous exposure and evaluations of physical punishment by mother**

Evaluation	Not wrong at all	Fairly wrong	Wrong but understandable	Definitely wrong	Very wrong indeed	Number of Respondents
Respondents previously exposed	38	29	35	7	8	117
Unexposed	25	30	66	25	26	<del>172</del> 289

$$\chi^2_4 = 22.21 \quad p < .01^*$$

No statistically significant relationships were found to exist between children's previous exposure and attitudes to scenarios depicting violence to a soldier or teacher, violence from a policeman or a soldier and violence from a husband to a wife.

Analysis of the frequency distribution in Tables 3 to 6, yielded informative trends. For this purpose, the rating scale was collapsed into a 3-point rating-scale and frequencies were converted into percentages. Results are presented in Table 7.

**TABLE 7 : Frequency distribution of responses to scenarios with a significant relationship between previous exposure and evaluations of violence**

Rating	1 and 2 not wrong at all to fairly wrong	3 wrong but understandable	4 and 5 definitely wrong to very wrong indeed	Number of Respondents
Previously exposed	12%	22%	66%	63
Unexposed to child- to-police violence	8%	8%	84%	217
Previously exposed	31%	44%	25%	48
Unexposed to child- to-father violence	17%	35%	48%	237
Previously exposed	65%	21%	14%	234
Unexposed to corporal punishment in school	42%	36%	22%	55
Previously exposed	57%	31%	12%	117
Unexposed to physical punishment by mother	31%	39%	30%	172

Results indicate that subjects who had witnessed children stoning policemen tended to be more accepting of this than those who had not witnessed it previously. Subjects who had witnessed a father being hit

by a child tended to be more accepting of it than those who had not witnessed such previously.

Subjects previously exposed to corporal punishment at school tended to be more accepting of it than those who had not witnessed it previously.

Subjects who had been exposed to physical punishment from a mother tended to be more accepting of this than those who had not.

Thus it appears that for these specific scenarios depicting violence to a policeman, to a father, from a teacher and from a mother, there was a tendency for those children who were previously exposed to these violent acts to judge these less stringently, or to be more accepting of these acts than those who were not exposed to them. Stated alternately, the children who had not witnessed these scenarios tended to judge them more stringently, or to condemn them more. In summary, it appears that for these situations specifically, there is a significant relationship between previous exposure and leniency in attitude.

Caution must however be taken in generalising these findings to support the wider hypothesis that exposure to violence leads to a general acceptance of violence for the following reasons :

- This relationship was only significant for 4 of the 9 scenarios.
- While a significant Chi-square does confirm that the chances of the significant distribution being a random one is very low, it does not necessarily imply a strong relationship between the variables. The strength of these relationships is not yielded by the Chi-square.

### 3.6 CLUSTER ANALYSIS

The data were next subjected to a cluster analysis, in order to establish the possibility of subsets or groupings existing within the nine respective items on the questionnaire. This was done in order to break down the questionnaire into broader categories which could be further analysed. This method is a multivariate analysis which uses numerical methods to reduce large amounts of data, in order to generate classifications for further interpretation and analysis (Romesburg, 1984). Cluster analysis groups variables into clusters according to the degree to which they are similar and dissimilar, and expresses these relationships in terms of a resemblance coefficient. This coefficient represents the average of all the product moment correlations between all the variables in the cluster (Romesburg, 1984).

Cluster analyses were performed by three respective methods: average,

minimum and maximum distance, each using the following procedure:

- 1) input data consisted of the correlation matrix of the 9 respective scenarios (see Appendix V).
- 2) A cluster analysis dendogram or 'tree' was constructed from the correlation matrix. This provides a hierarchical ordering of similarities that begins at the bottom of the tree where each variable is separate in its own cluster and similar only to itself. Consequently, the shorter the distance the stronger the resemblance, whereas the higher the distance the more separate they are.

The results of the cluster analysis by minimum and maximum methods are presented in dendogram form in Figures 2 and 3. Average linkage is not illustrated since it is merely the average of the distances depicted in the maximum and minimum methods.

Perusal of Figures 2 and 3 reveal that the respective methods yielded very different clusters. Whereas scenario 4 was linked with scenarios 1 and 2 in Cluster A by maximum linkage, it is linked with 3 and 6 in Cluster B by minimum linkage. Similarly, whereas 7 and 8 form a cluster by maximum linkage, they are separate from each other and not clustered with any other scenarios by the minimum distance method.

That each method yielded very different clusters suggests that such groupings may be random. This possibility is substantiated by the fact that the clusters yielded were generally psychologically meaningless. Even the cluster with the highest correlation ( $r = 0.2820$ ), and which is yielded using both methods, i.e. the Clusters C grouping scenarios 3 and 6 together, is psychologically meaningless. This grouping of child-to-teacher violence with soldier-to-child violence is meaningless except in that both acts are perhaps similarly abhorrent. These are not the most similar however, when one considers the overall mean evaluations (see Table 2).

Certainly both methods did yield a Grouping D of Scenarios 1 and 2, depicting violence to a policeman and to a soldier at 63.41. This grouping also has the second highest correlation ( $r = 0.2682$ ). The scenarios it groups together do resemble each other in that both involve children's violence to security forces - authority figures of a different kind from the more intimate mothers and teachers. Similarly both may be construed as either protectors of citizens or as representing repression. This grouping however, does not go beyond a mere correlation and does not form a cluster.

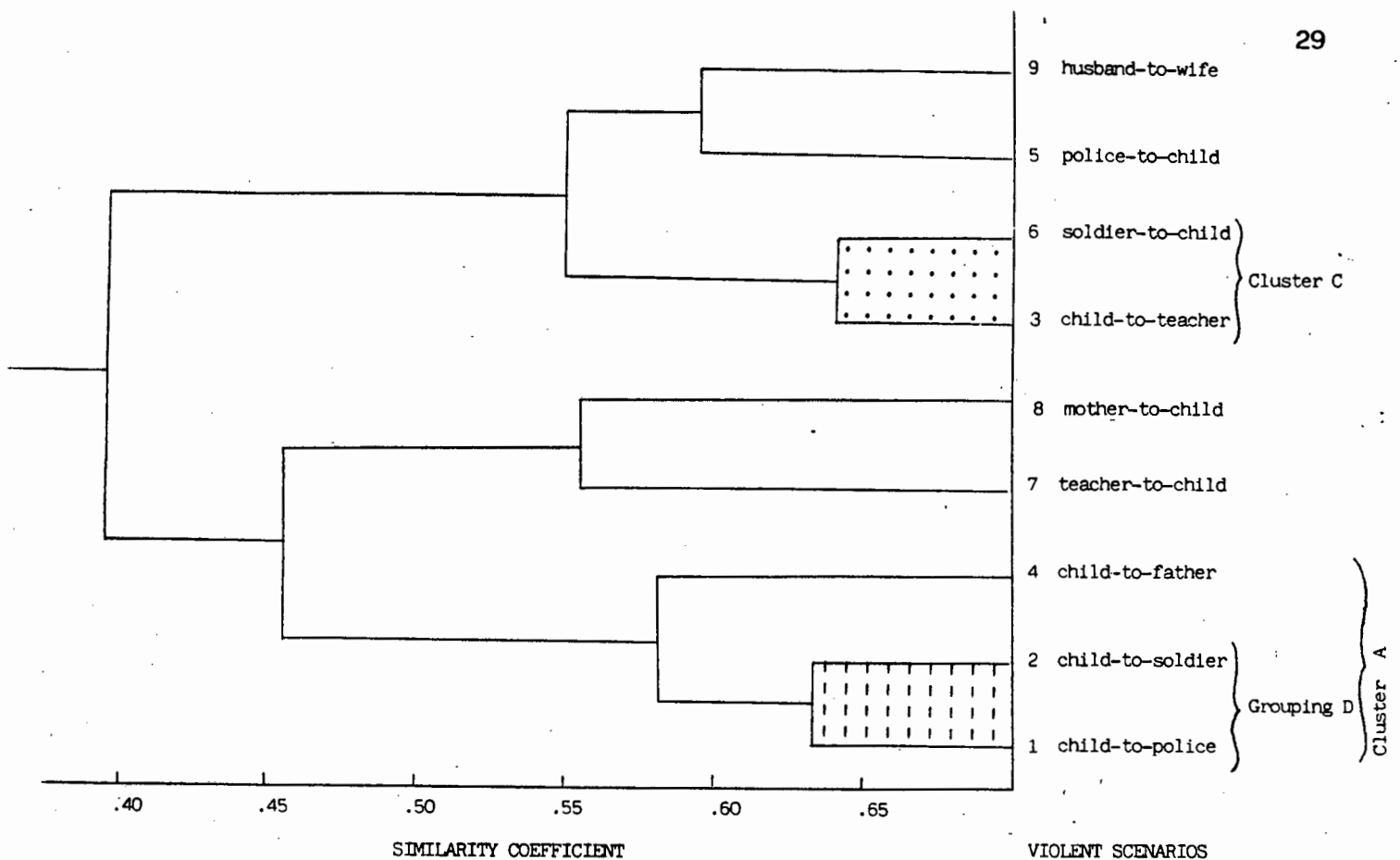


FIGURE 3. CLUSTER ANALYSIS DENDROGRAM BY MAXIMUM DISTANCE.

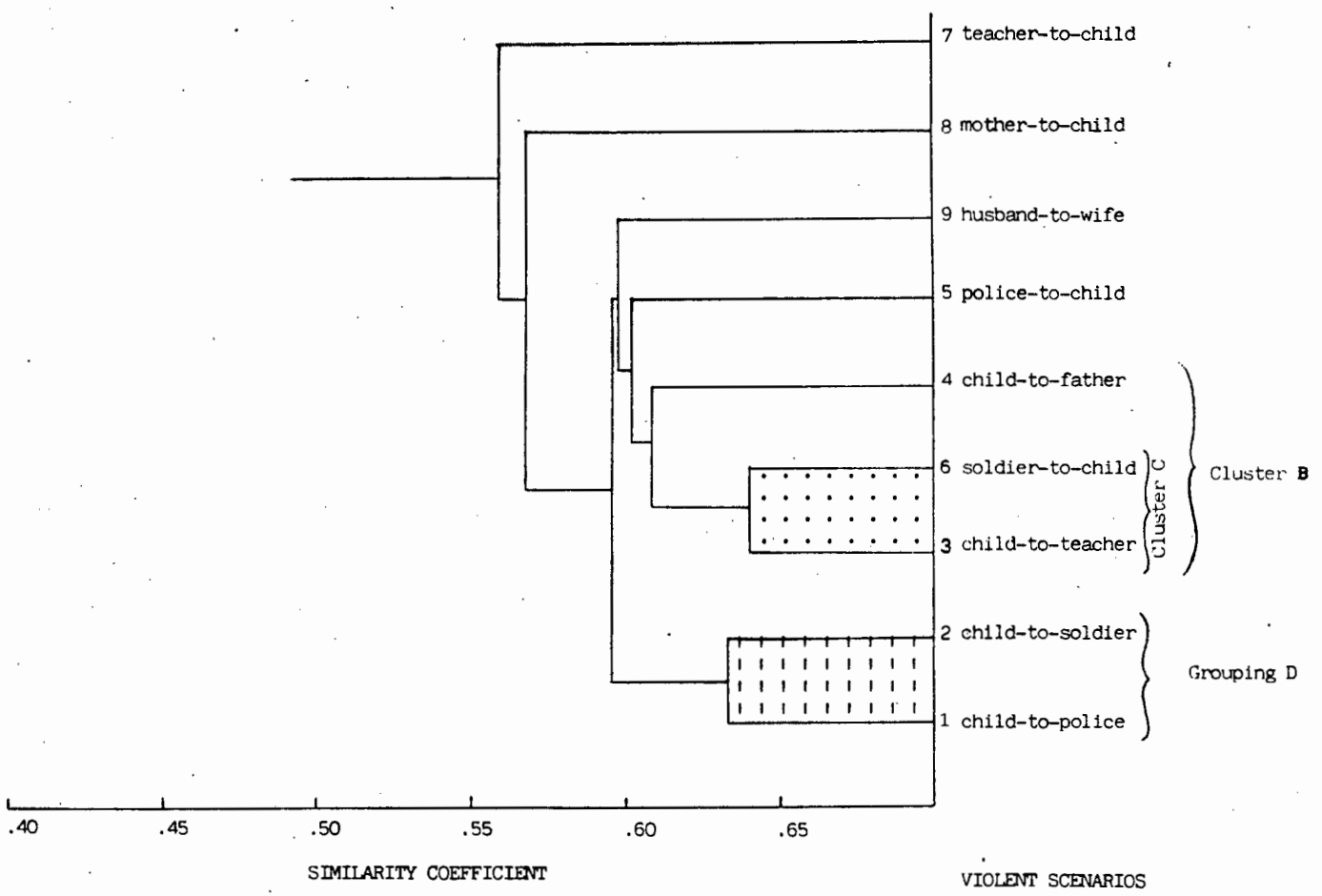


FIGURE 2. CLUSTER ANALYSIS DENDROGRAM BY MINIMUM DISTANCE.

Furthermore, an examination of the correlation coefficients reveals that these are very low (the highest  $r = 0.2820$ ). Consequently all resemblance coefficients are low.

These results suggest that none of the scenarios could be grouped together in any statistically significant yet psychologically meaningful way for the purpose of further analysis. Thus no further analyses using Anova were performed. These findings raise methodological issues about the instrument employed.

### 3.7 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS

A descriptive analysis of responses to the question "have you seen an incident similar to scenario 7 depicting corporal punishment in the classroom?" is presented in Table 8.

**TABLE 8 : Frequency distribution of corporal punishment in schools**

Grouping	Number of Respondents	Received/witnessed corporal punishment in school	
Total Sample	289	234	(81%)
Blacks	179	164	(92%)
Whites	110	70	(63%)
Males	148	123	(83%)
Females	141	111	(78%)
High SES Black	103	98	(95%)
White	101	61	(60%)
Low SES Black	76	66	(86%)
White	9	9	(100%)

Perusal of the contingency table (Table 5) yields further interesting results regarding the relationship between exposure to corporal punishment in schools and evaluations thereof.

Of the total sample of 289, 132 (45.6%) rated it 'not wrong at all' (1). Of the 234 subjects who had been exposed to school corporal punishment, 120 (51%) rated it (1) and 153 (65%) rated it 'not wrong at all' (1) or 'fairly wrong' (2). Of the remaining subjects who had not been exposed to school corporal punishment, 23 (42%) rated it 'not wrong at all' (1) or 'fairly wrong' (2)

## CHAPTER FOUR : DISCUSSION

This section deals with a discussion and interpretation of only the significant results presented in the previous section. Furthermore methodological issues arising from the statistical results yielded will be discussed. Thereafter methodological issues of a more qualitative nature will be raised.

### 4.1 DISCUSSION OF STATISTICAL RESULTS

Various results yielded raised doubt around the reliability and validity of the instrument employed. These are listed below :

- 1) The low coefficient  $\alpha = 0.417$  reflects poor internal consistency suggesting that a great proportion of results yielded are not due to individual differences between subjects and raises the possibility that subjects may have responded to the questions idiosyncratically, i.e. in a manner not intended by the researchers. Consequently the instrument has not tapped the same variable, namely their evaluations of violence, from each respondent.

This is illustrated in this complex response to the question on corporal punishment in school (scenario 7). Themba, an 11-year old, Black Xhosa-speaking boy from Langa, responded initially by asking whether the teacher knew the home circumstances. "If the teacher knows that the child is having a hard time at home, hitting him is 'definitely wrong' (4). But if there is no problem at home, then hitting him ('4 times with a ruler') is 'not wrong at all'." (1) This vignette illustrates that the use of force by a teacher was not evaluated here but rather whether the circumstances surrounding the child's failure to do their homework warranted punishment. Themba focussed on whether the child was sad or bad, thus responding idiosyncratically.

- 2) Cluster analyses yielded low product moment correlations, with even the highest correlation emerging only as  $r = 0.2820$ , and consequently low resemblance coefficients. These suggest that each subject answered randomly, interpreting and responding to the respective scenarios idiosyncratically. This contradicts expectations that each scenario taps the same variable, i.e the respondents' moral evaluation of the use of violence. Furthermore, that cluster analyses by minimum, average and maximum distance methods yielded

different clusters, and that those clusters yielded generally appeared to be psychologically meaningless, suggests that clustering was random. This finding supports the argument that the instrument is unreliable and invalid since one would expect some meaningful clusters to form considering that each scenario depicts violence used in contexts varying at times only slightly.

- 3) Lastly, the numerous arbitrary findings (e.g. both weighted means solution and regression approach yielded insignificant overall results but some single significant scenarios); the absence of clear trends in the findings (e.g. weighted means solution and regression approach yielded conflicting results with respect to comparisons across Race); together with the seemingly random relationships yielded by certain tests (e.g. Chi-square and Cluster Analyses) are further evidence that the instrument employed is problematic.

The above findings provide damaging evidence against the reliability and validity of the questionnaire as an instrument intended to elicit children's evaluations of violence. The instrument thus emerges as a confounding variable and all results yielded must be interpreted with caution. No generalisation from the sample to the total population of children of Greater Cape Town is therefore possible. Viewed in this context, the results yielded in the original study by Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) possibly need to be reconsidered.

While the above findings shed doubt on all results yielded, they should not be surprising. Violence is an ideologically-bound concept and consequently evaluations thereof are inextricably linked with the ideological contexts of both the scenarios described and the respondents themselves. The concept "ideology" is used here in a broad sense, referring to "that aspect of the human condition under which human beings live their lives as conscious actors in a world that makes sense to them in varying degrees. Ideology is the medium through which this consciousness and meaningfulness operate" (Therborn, 1982, p.2).

Therefore analysis of the children's responses in isolation from their personal ideological contexts is tantamount to a misrepresentation of their evaluations of violence. Similarly, results based on total scores such as internal consistency and concerns about clustering procedures are possibly inappropriate in a study on violence, since such quantitative procedures are ill-equipped to meaningfully measure the ideological component of results. Low scores, random results and inconsistent trends possibly highlight the large contribution of this

ideological component to these results. Punamäki (1987) deduces from her research on Palestinian children "that it is artificial to try to separate the political and psychological areas of human life from each other" (p.95). Possibly this may be reflected in these results.

The following vignettes illustrate how responses reflect ideology, in Peter's case in its sense as "the system of ideas appropriate to that class" (Williams, 1981, p. 129). Peter, an 11-year old White boy from Claremont, son of professional upper-SES parents, gave a complex answer to scenario 1, depicting the stoning of a policeman by a child. "For me it is 'definitely wrong' (4) but if the child lived in Crossroads,\* then it would be okay," (1). In clarifying his response, Peter appears to be stating that the meaning invested in violence is inextricably linked with the respondents' socio-economic background and their political and ideological stance. Siphso, an 11-year old Black Xhosa-speaking boy from Guguletu rated the scenario depicting the stoning of a policeman by a child, a scene which he had personally witnessed, as 'wrong but understandable' (3). He clarified his answer, "because the children want freedom". His words echo those of Chikane (1986) and reflect a prevailing ideology. Punamäki (1987) warns that "a foreign researcher studying an alien culture and applying traditional psychological theories runs the risk of interpreting children's responses as 'slogans', repetition of the adult sayings, imitation of political speeches, or even 'propaganda'." She rejects this, claiming that these illustrate "that psychological and political meaning are closely integrated and they together serve the purpose of protecting human beings and the whole society from severe impact of traumatic experiences" (p.95). Gail, an 11-year old girl from a 'Coloured' area Fairways, rated scenario 1 depicting the stoning of a policeman 'wrong but understandable' (3). She elaborated that when she witnessed a similar scene on television, "I felt hatred, I felt like I could also throw stones at them." A discrepancy emerges between her quantitative rating and her qualitative response, possibly reflecting her conflict, "a pull of opposites", the tension being between the "personal vs the political" view (Straker, 1988). While in her personal capacity violence to authority figures may seem wrong, when viewed in a political context or in relation to her identity group, its use possibly becomes more comprehensible to her. This is evident too in her response to scenario 2, depicting a child stoning a soldier. She elaborated that

\* A 'squatter' township on the Cape Flats which during 1985 was the seat of violence between two polarised camps of residents, Comrades and Witdoeke.

when she witnessed a demonstration on television, "I felt angry at the troops for being there because the troops have no right there and they beat us up when we have a right to protest." Despite her anger she rated this as 'wrong but understandable' (3).

These vignettes illustrate that while exposure to civil violence has not resulted in these children condoning violence (note the common rating 'wrong but understandable'), it has however raised their level of politicisation. (Chikane, 1986; Hall, 1986). This finding supports the contention that "not all young people suffering repression will end up as highly disturbed adults. Some will emerge in this way, but for many the scars of repression will provide the driving force for a commitment to social change" (Dawes, 1987, p. 46).

Illustrating a different point the following vignettes are examples of resilience and casualty:

Leyroy, an 11 year old Black boy of higher SES parents, was physically injured during an incident between the SAP and demonstrating schoolchildren. He evaluated the political-related scenarios as 'definitely wrong' (4). On the contrary, Jake, 11 year old, Black, son of working class parents, who has witnessed violent political "unrest" in his school and neighbourhood in Langa, condoned the use of violence by children to police and soldiers, rating these as 'not wrong at all' (1). While both their responses may have been influenced by the "unrest", the processes behind their individual differences is not explained by this quantitative method of research and requires further examination.

The ideologically-bound nature of violence has wide repercussions in current South Africa. Frequently political activists - or offenders, depending on one's ideological stance - face charges of 'public violence', 'murder', and 'necklacing'. The present author contends that any judgment of these acts must consider both the court's and the perpetrators' ideological contexts.

Results of comparisons across Gender indicated that there was no overall statistically significant difference between male and female subjects' evaluations of violence. This contradicts documented findings that boys are more aggressive than girls (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Similarly it does not correspond with Cairns' (1986) finding that girls chose fewer aggressive responses than boys. Such studies however have different foci from the present investigation's. The specific issue of gender differences in children's evaluations of violence was not central to

this study and needs to be addressed in a future study.

Results of comparison across Socio-Economic-Status yielded no overall statistically significant difference between the evaluations of violence by children from upper and lower socio-economic-status brackets. This contradicts contentions that the relationship between exposure to civil violence and delinquency is confounded by the effects of socio-economic deprivation (McCauley & Troy in Garmezy, 1985; McWhirter & Trew, 1982). These studies however do not have the same focus as the present investigation's. The specific issue of SES differences in children's evaluations of violence was not central to this study and requires further investigation.

Results of the comparisons across "Race" were inconclusive. When subjected to weighted means approach results yielded an overall statistically significant difference between the Black and White children's evaluations of violence. When the same data was subjected to a different statistical analysis (regression solution) however, results yielded nonsignificant differences. This inconsistency indicates that interpretations of these results be treated with utmost caution.

Results of the comparisons across Race for each respective scenario were explored (See Table 1) yielding a statistically significant difference only for the scenario depicting violence to a soldier, with the Black children emerging more accepting of this form of violence than the White children. Various possibilities may account for this. One suggestion is that it arises out of their different perceptions of the role of the SADF. With compulsory military conscription for White males, White children perhaps grow up with the expectation that they or their siblings will become soldiers. Some may already have significant others in the Defence Force. Increasing consumerist militarism evident in war toys, games, films which glorify the military (Cock, 1988), media coverage on the role of the SADF in protecting the country's borders possibly facilitate a positive view of the soldier as a protective authority figure. On the other hand, SADF presence and activity in the Cape Flats since 1985 may account for the significantly different perception of the role of soldiers for Black children. The atrocities attributed to the SADF in this study are hardly compatible with the view of soldier as protector.

Since no common direction in attitude was yielded for the respective race groups, it appears that a particular "Race's" attitude to violence may be dependent on the specific scenario being evaluated, rather than on the Race of the respondent. There may also be an interaction between

Scenario and Race. A recommendation for further research is that Scenario needs to be treated as a dependent variable in analyses of data, as were Gender, Race and SES in the present study since it is within the actual scenario that the ideological context, the political meaning or the extenuating circumstance is embedded. This is congruent with earlier suggestions that "violence" is not a neutral term, but is context-bound and consequently needs to be treated like-wise statistically.

Results of comparisons across Race must be treated with caution and generalisations of these must be viewed as a misrepresentation. Statistical considerations for such caution are :

1. Comparison by weighted means solution yielded significant differences while regression solution yielded the nonsignificant differences.
2. Only one scenario yielded a significant difference across race suggesting that this finding may be random and that no generalisations can be made regarding the other eight scenarios;
3. The methodological issues surrounding the reliability and validity of the questionnaire itself cast doubt upon all findings. (3.7)
4. Numerous possibilities may account for these children's responses including the socio-political climate in South Africa, the interview situation, a sense of bravado, or an expectation of the researcher's needs. The possibility that idiosyncratic variables may account for their responses must be considered in interpreting the overall results of the comparison across Race.

While heeding to the above cautions, this marginally significant statistical difference across Race cannot be ignored and clearly indicates to this area being an important focus of further research.

Further analyses yielded a significant relationship between attitude and previous exposure, suggesting that those children who were previously exposed to violence to police, to a father, from a teacher and from a mother, were more lenient in their evaluations of these particular scenarios. Certainly in the case of violence to police, this finding can be explained by the contention that exposure to civil violence leads to the subject investing political meaning in the violent act, thereby finding it more 'understandable'. In the case of violence to a father, this finding corresponds with the hypothesis of the vicious cycle of family violence (Pretorius, 1987). However the fact that only four of the nine scenarios yielded significant relationships suggests that they are possibly random findings. Had the findings reflected the status quo, one would similarly expect significant relationships in scenarios depicting, for example, violence to soldiers. That no explanation is

apparent for the discrepancies between significant and nonsignificant findings suggests that results are random. This raises doubt as to their generalisability and consequently does not support the wider argument that with exposure to civil violence, violence generalises to all authority figures (Fraser, 1974).

Results of overall comparisons of the children's evaluations of the different scenarios, disregarding Race, Gender and SES, indicated that they did not evaluate violence, whether to or from authority figures, in a uniform or stereotypic way. Their evaluations reflected the justifications, circumstances and the specific authority figures included in the stories. Trends emerged indicating that whereas these children condemned the children's violence towards authority figures in general, they however distinguished between the different authority figures responsible for using force on children. Whereas they condemned the violence by soldiers and policemen, they were more accepting of the use of force by teachers and mothers. Furthermore these children were generally opposed to the use of violence in all situations explored, except by schoolteachers and mothers. That children appeared to condone the use of force by teachers and mothers reflects their exposure to violence at the most widespread grass-root levels of society. This finding supports Foucault's contention that "phenomena of repression or exclusion have their instruments and their logic at the effective level of the family, of the immediate environment, of the basic units of society" (Burman & Reynolds, 1986, p. 7). Clearly subjects' evaluations of the use of physical force as a means of punishment both in the home and in the school warrant further discussion.

#### 4.2 CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE CLASSROOM

Results revealed an overwhelming majority of children, i.e 81% of a total sample of 289 respondents admitting either to having received corporal punishment from the teacher, or to having witnessed it meted out to classmates. This finding is supported by official claims. "Instances still occur where teachers contravene the provisions of the regulation regarding corporal punishment in schools" (Education Bulletin, 1987, p.1).

This finding is morally shocking and legally an offence (see Appendices II, III, IV for complete Acts providing for and regulating corporal punishment in schools). In terms of the Coloured Persons Education Act, 1963, (Act 47 of 1963) and the regulations S28 formulated thereunder : "S28.2 (b) corporal punishment may be inflicted only by the principal or by any other teacher in the presence of the principal, after due inquiry".

(c) In no case shall corporal punishment be administered **in the presence of other pupils**, save in the case of joint offenders when corporal punishment may be administered to pupils in the presence of such other joint offenders".

Qualitative responses indicated that 78% of girls admitted to receiving or witnessing corporal punishment. This finding contravenes the regulation that 'Under no circumstances is corporal punishment to be inflicted upon any **girl**, or any student teacher' (Cape Education Ordinance 20 of 1956, art. 11.1).

Reasons elicited for receiving corporal punishment mainly included spelling mistakes, talking, being noisy, failure to do homework, not being seated at one's desk. In two cases an entire class of children was hit with a ruler for failing to complete homework. One wonders whether such "offences" have been interpreted by the teachers concerned in accordance with these regulations:

S28.2(a) Corporal punishment may be inflicted upon boys **only as a last resort** in serious cases of misconduct.

S28.5 Punishment of whatever nature shall always be **reasonable and just**, and should as far as possible **fit the offence that has been committed**. (Coloured Persons Education Act, No. 47 of 1963).

Quite on the contrary, it seems as if whatever the teacher finds to be disagreeable, to interfere with their concept of orderliness, or whatever challenges their authority, is deemed deserving of the infliction of corporal punishment. Perhaps these offences are incorporated under 6.(4)" ... cases of insubordination " (in Education and Training Act 90 of 1979, Regulation no. 1143 of 29 May 1981 in Government Gazette No. 7598) and noted below.

That contravention of the official regulations regarding corporal punishment emerges as a common occurrence certainly warrants exposure. However criticism needs to be addressed at a deeper level, (i.e at the very provision for corporal punishment itself, regardless of circumstance) the present author viewing it as a violent act, tantamount to "assault" (Berg, 1972) or "sanctioned child abuse" (Burns, 1986).

Popular belief possibly has it that corporal punishment in schools and at home aims at teaching children a lesson, or developing their consciences. The assumptions on which this practice - now almost universally outlawed in schools in other Western countries (Duane, 1972, Burns, 1986) - rests is false and has long been the focus of critique

(Ginott, 1969; Duane, 1972). Psychologists have postulated that the use of physical force - under the legitimising euphemisms spanking, hitting, or cuts, - may in fact interfere with the development of the child's conscience, and have the opposite effect of that which was initially intended (Fraiberg, 1978).

Provisions for the use of corporal punishment in the more serious cases only are certainly contraindicated, and the assumptions on which they are built emerge as misinformed.

6.(4) Corporal punishment may be administered only in cases of truancy, insubordination, wilful damage to property, flagrant lying, theft, dishonesty, assault, bullying, indecency or similar offences (Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 Regulation no. 1143 of 29 May 1981 in Government Gazette No. 7598).

Many of these "offences", are viewed by mental health professionals as psychiatric symptoms requiring therapeutic interventions, the use of force being contra-indicated (DSM III-R, 1987).

The high percentage of children receiving corporal punishment in Black schools (91.6%) as opposed to the lower percentage in White schools (63.6%) is not coincidental. The excessive use of corporal punishment in Black schools has been attributed to "underqualified teachers trying to cope with large classes and inadequate resources" (Burns, 1988). This phenomenon brings to mind the demands of COSAS and other UDF organisations under the umbrella of TRSC as early as November 1984.

The issues raised by the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee were a combination of educational, workplace and wider political matters, including the withdrawal of the army from the townships, **the abolition of corporal punishment** in schools and the scrapping of increases in rents, service charges and busfares, the release of all political prisoners, and the reinstatement of dismissed workers (Hall, 1986, p.10).

While the specifics of these demands may differ, all involve the abuse of power and force by the respective authorities and are thus of direct relevance to a study on violence.

The use of corporal punishment in schools is the focal point of a whole attitude towards children which seeks to deny their rights as human beings, with the teacher in the role of omnipotent repressive agent. "Corporal punishment is obviously incompatible with any view of the child as human" (Berg, 1972, p. 35). What schools are in fact providing for is the conditioning of children through psychological means into attitudes towards authority that make them unable to challenge the

positions of those higher in the social scale, or to question and take effective action about their own place in the hierarchy. Ultimately, the prime aim is for obedience, which in turns helps to keep "the system ticking" (Neil, 1972, p.156), i.e the current system which condones obtaining compliance by the use of force.

The effectiveness of this conditioning is possibly apparent in the results indicating that children previously exposed to corporal punishment in schools were more accepting in their evaluations of it. For some children however, this is perhaps only a developmental stage. As they approach adolescence, they may reject this oppressive system. As recently as 25 April 1988, during a protest action involving over 90 high schools from the Western Cape, students called for, amongst others, "an end to corporal punishment" (Venter, 1988).

The other form of violence approved of or condoned significantly more than the others is physical punishment from the mother. Of the sample 41% admitted that either they, or their siblings, had experienced this. Presumably this is an underrepresentation of the status quo with many subjects possibly embarrassed to admit to this. "Spanking though in bad repute, remains a popular method of influencing children" (Ginott, 1969, p. 124). Results indicated that distribution across Race, Gender and SES was equivalent.

The finding that children previously 'spanked' tended to be more accepting of this action, is illustrated in the frequent response, "I deserved it", or "It served me right". Another explanation, equally applicable to corporal punishment in schools, is that these children have had authoritarian upbringings and consequently are not equipped to question or consider any alternatives in discipline. Possibly this too is a function of their developmental stage, a time during which they still invest in their parents and teachers powers of wisdom and omnipotence. Questioning their parents at this developmental stage would possibly be too threatening.

Of relevance to this study is the role this form of discipline plays in the perpetuation of violence. While socio-political conditions have been noted to facilitate the making of violent individuals, socialisation in the home and at school must also be considered as predisposing factors. What we are witnessing here is the advocacy of violence and the implicit fear and compliance it induces at the most grass-root levels of society - the home and the school. Corporal punishment is legitimised in the judicial system also. Min. Justice

Coetzee acknowledged that 161606 persons received judicial corporal punishment between July 1982 and June 1986 - i.e 40000 persons per month (1986 Race Relations Survey, Part 2, in the Weekly Mail, 19 - 25 August 1988). According to Act 33 of 1986, the Government has extended the number of offences punishable by corporal punishment - a policy abolished in all other Western countries (Weekly Mail, 19 - 25 August 1988, p.12). This finding is yet further evidence of how highly militarised and violent a society is South Africa. (Cock, 1988).

#### 4.3 DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

This section of the discussion will address methodological issues of a qualitative nature. The following issues will be critiqued: the original questionnaire, the revised questionnaire used in this study; sampling; and difficulties in conducting this research in the current political climate in South Africa.

Lorenc and Branthwaite's (1986) questionnaire was adopted. The rating scale deserves attention. The 5-point scale reveals very fine distinctions between degrees of wrongness, perhaps only an issue of semantics. While allowing for subtle individual differences in attitude, this scale may have been confusing for children. A smaller scale could be used, or more attention given to the semantic value attached to each number. Furthermore a rating scale used as a measure of attitude generally has inherent problems. One difficulty is whether it taps the respondent's personal attitude or perceived demand (Anastasi, 1969, Cronbach, 1970).

Criticism has also been directed at the contexts of the questions : some acts have either 'little' or 'some' justification included. This is a likely confounding variable. The "amounts of justification" included should be standardised across all scenarios.

More specific to this study is a critique of the adapted questionnaire. After eliciting their response to each scenario, children were asked whether they had witnessed something similar and to describe it. Had subjects **first** been asked whether they had witnessed a similar event may have elicited different responses. Furthermore, respondents may soon have realised that their personal experiences of violence were also being elicited, placing them in a more vulnerable and possibly defensive position, thereby perhaps confounding the subsequent attitudes elicited. Perhaps eliciting respondents' attitudes to all 9 scenarios initially, and thereafter eliciting details of personal experience may have had the advantage of removing the personal from the more objective.

Each respective sequencing discussed, however, has its own inherent confounding effect on the attitudes elicited.

The original questionnaire was adopted without changing language. This may be problematic in a South African context. For example, the word 'baton' could have been changed to 'quirt' or even the Afrikaans equivalent 'sjambok', to facilitate familiarity in scenario 5.

The child in each scenario was given a name corresponding with the 'Race' or language of the respondent to facilitate identification, but this is possibly a confounding variable. In South Africa, changing the name of victim or victimiser to a name with particular group connotations is tantamount to changing the ideological and political context of the scenario and risks eliciting a different attitude, as illustrated in the vignette about Peter (page 33). This difficulty could have been overcome by using more neutral terms such as 'a child'.

One of the assumptions of the study was that children living in Black areas had probably witnessed civil violence. This issue could not be directly addressed for fear of both incriminating (Savage, 1983) or intimidating subjects. However the respondent, was asked, "Have you ever seen something like this happen before?" Results indicated that the majority of respondents, claimed not to have witnessed civil "unrest".<sup>L + B</sup> Should this finding be accurate, it follows that the original assumption\* that Black children have all been exposed to violence is false. Violent outbreaks during the height of the "unrest" were in fact sporadic; by 1987 (the time of data collection), the State of Emergency had long been instituted; Black opposition was perhaps less salient in the children's minds. However, this response was perhaps a function of the interview.<sup>\*</sup> Various possibilities exist for the majority response. Children may have been responding concretely to the specific scenario stated before, rather than to the intended general focus of the question. In the case of the political scenarios, it may reflect children's fear of implicating themselves or their significant others. Similarly, it may reflect a defensive response to the violent nature of real experience. This may also be a function of the one-to-one interview with a stranger\* of unknown or neutral political affiliation. Researchers with political credibility, may elicit different data (Swartz & Levett, 1988). The sample may be representative of some unknown population variables, being a function of undergraduate students' choice.<sup>\*</sup> Completing a questionnaire anonymously in a classroom of other children, as in the original study, may have facilitated more open answers. Sampling was unsystematic and unlike the original study, was not drawn from specific schools in a known violent and a known peaceful area

respectively.

The difficulty in obtaining access for any research in South African schools is well known (Cape Department of Education Information document L15/73/7, (1986)).

This brings us to the difficulty of replicating such a study in South Africa. The collection of data took place during 1987, the second consecutive year of The State of Emergency, within the pervasive atmosphere of repression and resistance. Legitimate access to schoolchildren in classroom settings aside, respondents' fear to admit to witnessing certain political actions is valid. In an attempt to explore whether children are affected by their parents' active encouragement of political violence, this study originally intended to tap such a relationship by asking the question: "Are your parents politically involved? And similarly, are you (i.e the child) politically involved?" However, because of the political climate, although these questions were printed on the questionnaire, it was decided to omit them. Security police have confiscated research in progress at South African universities (Savage, 1985). In addition, these questions may have intimidated children, creating an atmosphere of interrogation rather than one conducive to the facilitation of rapport and data gathering. The fact that the respondents' political affiliations are unknown is limiting.

The fact that 60 under-graduate students collected the data also constitutes a methodological difficulty. The confounding variables emerging from post-hoc interviews with students presented in Section 2.3.3 cannot be discounted. The possibility of student-generated fictitious data must be considered but trends evident in the computed results rule this out with some degree of certainty. The correlation matrix (see Appendix V) yielding coefficients of approximately 0 values suggests that results were not fabricated; students could hardly have had the preconception that no meaningful clusters were to emerge. \*

## CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This investigation examined the influence of civil "unrest" on children's evaluations of violence. Contrary to expectations, not all the Black children admitted to having witnessed political violence similar to the scenes outlined in the questionnaire. No generalised findings regarding a particular racial group's evaluation of violence emerged. Only with respect to the scenario depicting a child's violence to a soldier, were Black children more accepting of violence than the Whites. This is attributed to the influence of the 'unrest', during which Black children have suffered negative experiences in their contact with the SADF. No significant Gender or SES differences and no conclusive findings regarding the relationship between previous exposure to violent scenes and subsequent attitudes to these emerged.

A salient finding was that violence emerges as a context-bound concept and consequently evaluations thereof are not uniform but dependent on the respondent's political and ideological world view. Thus for a specific individual, evaluations of different violent acts may range from acceptance to condemnation. Many Black children's responses to the politically-related violent scenarios indicated a high level of politicisation.

Generally, the use of physical violence was evaluated as being wrong, with the exception of that used by mothers and teachers. The overwhelmingly high incidence of corporal punishment in classrooms supported contentions of the high level of militarisation of South African society. In the light of such findings, campaigns calling for the freeing of the children currently in detention in South African prisons are urged to broaden their focus to campaign for the freeing of all South Africans, from the violence evident at every level of South African society - in the home, at school, in the judicial system and in the wider socio-political arena.

In view of the ideological nature of evaluations of violence, traditional instruments such as the questionnaire emerge as inappropriate. This study warns against the use of similar tools in any such study where ideology comes to play. A shortcoming of this genre of quantitative research is that individual differences are lost in complex statistical procedures. Interpretative studies (Ingelby, 1981) or discourse analysis, may be suitable methodologies (Potter & Reicher, 1987).

Alternatively, a longitudinal study may be the recommended approach for future studies. In this way a base-line can be established and the accumulative influence of exposure to "unrest" on children's evaluations of violence can be traced.

The relevance of further research into children's attitudes to violence should not be underestimated. We are reminded that after the 1976 Soweto riots, Geber and Newman (1980) reflecting on their earlier findings regarding the Soweto's children's attitudes noted how "Some elements old, some new; together they combined to change the students of the 1960s to the activists of the 1970s, **to shift beliefs about action to action itself .**" (Geber and Newman, 1980, p. 152). (Bold print denotes present author's emphasis).

## REFERENCES

- Alexander, N. (1983). Nation and Ethnicity. Work in Progress, 28, August 1983, p.6-12.
- Allodi, F. (1980). The psychiatric effects in children and families of victims of political persecution and torture. Danish Medical Bulletin, 27, 229-231.
- Anastasi, A. (1969). Psychological Testing (3rd Ed.). MacMillan Company, U.S.A. BMDP Statistical Software (1981). Berkley : University of California Press.
- Ayalon, O. (1983) Coping with Terrorism. The Israel case. In : D. Meichenbaum and M.E. Jeremko (eds.). (1983 ) Stress Reduction and Prevention. New York : Plenum
- Bandura, A. and Walters, R.H. (1963). Social learning and Personality development. New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Berg, L. (1972). Moving towards Self-Government. In : Adams, P., Berg, L., Berger, N., Duane, M., Neill, A.S., Ollendorff, R. (1972). Children's Rights. London : Panther Books Ltd.
- Burman, S. & Reynolds P. (Eds.), (1986). Growing up in a divided society. The contexts of childhood in South Africa. Johannesburg : Ravan Press.
- Burns, R. (1986). Spoil the rod and spare the child. The Argus, 22 July, 1986.
- Business Day. (1987) 16 April.
- Cairns, E. (1987). Caught in Crossfire. Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict. Appletree Press.
- Cape Department of Education Information document L15/73/7 (1986) "Research projects in which the Department of Education and Departmental Schools and institutions are involved" Cape Department of Education, 11 September, 1986.
- Cape Times. (1985) 25 October.
- Cape Times. (1987) 13 April.
- Cape Times. (1987) 28 August.
- Chikane, F. (1986). Children in Turmoil: The effects of the unrest on township children. In: S Burman & P Reynolds. (Eds.), Growing up in a divided society. The contexts of childhood in South Africa. Johannesburg : Ravan Press.
- Cock, J. (1988). A high price for freedom. Militarisation and White South Africa. Work in Progress, 53, (April/May), 19-23.
- Coles, R. (1986). The Political life of Children. (1st Ed.). U.S.A. : Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Collins Concise Dictionary. (1978). London and Glasgow : Collins

- Criminological Statistics 1986. (1987). Compiled by L. Offen, Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Cronbach, L.J. (1970). Essentials of Psychological Testing. Third (3rd. ed.) New York : Harper and Row Publishers.
- Dawes, A. (1987). Security laws and children in prison: The issue of psychological impact. Psychology in Society, 8, 27-47.
- Dollard, J., Doob, L.W., Miller, N.E., Mowrer, O.H. and Sears, R.R. (1939). Frustration and aggression. New Haven, Conn. : Yale University Press.
- DSM III - R. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (3rd ed. revised). American Psychiatric Association.
- Duane, M. (1972). Freedom and the State System of Education. In : Adams, P., Berg, L., Berger, N., Duane, M., Neill, A.S., Ollendorff, R. (1972). Children's Rights. London : Panther Books Ltd.
- Education Bulletin (1987). Vol. 22. 3/87, 16 February, 1987, Cape Town : Administration : House of Representatives, Department of Education and Culture.
- Fields, R.M. (1980) Society under siege. New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Books.
- Fields, R.M. (1982). Research on the Victims of Terrorism. In : F.M. Ochberg and D.A. Soskis. (Eds.), Victims of Terrorism, Boulder, Colorado : Westview Press.
- Fields, R.M. (1986). The psychological profile of a terrorist. Paper presented at American Psychological Association convention, August 25 1986, Washington, D.C.
- Foster, D. (1986). The South African crisis of 1985. Psychology in Society, 5, 49-65.
- Foster, D. with Davis, D., and Sandler, D. (1987). Detention and torture in South Africa - Psychological, legal and historical studies - Cape Town and Johannesburg : David Phillip.
- Fraiberg, S.H. (1978). The Magic Years. Understanding the Problems of Early Childhood. London : Methuen & Co Ltd.
- Fraser, M. (1974) Children in conflict. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud, S. (1933). New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1973.
- Garmezy, N., and Rutter, M. (eds.) (1983). Stress, Coping and Development in Children. New York : Mc Graw-Hill.
- Garmezy, N., and Rutter, M. (1985). Acute reactions to stress. In: M Rutter and L Hersov (Eds.). Child and adolescent psychiatry (2nd ed.) Oxford : Blackwell Scientific Publications.

- Geber, B.A. and S.P. Newman, (1980). Soweto's Children : The Development of Attitudes, London : Academic Press.
- Gibson, K. (1986). The effects of civil unrest on children: A guide to research. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Ginott, H.G. (1969). Between Parent and Child. New York: Avon Books.
- Government Gazette, No. 7598, Vol. 191., 29 May, 1981.
- Hall, M. (1986). Resistance and Revolt in Greater Cape Town 1985. Paper presented at Western Cape Roots and Realities Conference, Centre for African Studies, UCT, July 1986.
- Howell, D.C. (1982). Statistical methods for Psychology. (2nd ed.) Boston : Duxbury Press.
- Ingelby, D. (1981). Critical Psychiatry. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books.
- Jacobs, M. and Hollingshead, J. (1985) Memorandum on children under repression. Unpublished, independent report.
- Kelman, H.C. (1973). Violence without Moral Restraint : Reflections on the Dehumanization of Victims and Victimizers. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 29, 4, p.25-61.
- Lab, S. (1988) The psychological effects of unrest conditions on children with specific reference to South African townships. Unpublished Honours Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand.
- Labuschagne, I. (1987). Adolescent victims of crime. Paper presented at 6th National Congress of the Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions.
- Levett, A. (1981). Considerations in the provision of adequate Psychological care for the sexually assaulted woman. Unpublished M.Sc. in Clinical Psychology thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Lorenc, L. and Branthwaite, A. (1986) Evaluations of political violence by English and Northern Irish schoolchildren. British Journal of Social Psychology, 25, 349-352.
- Lyons, H.A. (1971). Psychiatric sequelae of the Belfast riots. British Journal of Psychiatry, 118, 265-273.
- Lyons, H.A. (1973). The psychological effects of the civil disturbance on children. Northern Teacher (winter) 35-38.
- Maccoby, E.E., and Jacklin, C.N. (1974). The psychology of sex differences. Stanford, California : Stanford University Press.

- McLachlan, F. (1986). Children in Prison. In : S. Burman and P. Reynolds (Eds.) Growing up in a divided Society. The contexts of childhood in South Africa. Johannesburg : Raven Press.
- McLachlan, P. (1981). Teenage experiences in a violent society. Journal of Adolescence, 4, 285-294.
- McWhirter, L. (1983). Growing up in Northern Ireland: From aggression to the troubles. In: A. P. Goldstein and M. H. Segall (Eds.), Aggression in global perspective. New York: Pergeman.
- McWhirter, L. and Trew, K. (1982). Children in Northern Ireland: a lost generation. In: E.J Anthony and C. Chiland (Eds.) The child in his family, 7, Children in turmoil tomorrow's parents. New York : John Wiley and Sons.
- Neill, A.S. (1972). Freedom Works. In : Adams, P., Berg, L., Berger, N., Duane, M., Neill, A.S., Ollendorff, R. (1972). Children's Rights. London : Panther Books Ltd. Neill, A.S. (1973). Summerhill. Great Britain : Pelican Books.
- New York Times. (1988) 5 January.
- Piaget, J. (1932). The moral judgement of the child. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Potter, J. and Reicher, S. (1987). Discourses of community and conflict : The organization of social categories in accounts of a 'riot'. British Journal of Social Psychology, 26, 25-40.
- Pretorius, R. (1987) Family violence and the adolescent: A Criminology perspective on a vicious circle. Paper presented at 6th National Congress of the Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions.
- Punamäki, R.L. Content of and factors affecting coping modes among Palestinian children. Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives. VI. No. 1. March 1987.
- Richman, S. (1986). Stress and stress coping mechanisms employed by pre-schoolteachers in the black townships of Cape Town in relation to the South African Crisis. Unpublished Honours thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Romesburg, C.H. (1984). Cluster analysis for researchers. London: Lifetime Learning.
- Savage, M. (1983). Constraints in research on Sociology and Psychology in South Africa. Psychology in Society, 1, September, 1983.
- Schlemmer, L. and Stopforth, P. (1979). A guide to the coding of occupations in South Africa. Fact paper no. 4, Centre for applied social sciences.

- Skinner, D. (1986). The consequences for the pre-school child of a parent being detained. A study from the Western Cape. Unpublished Psychology Honours research report, University of Cape Town.
- Solomons, K. (1987). The effects of Repression on Children: Why governments should not torture children. Paper presented at 6th National Congress of the Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions.
- Steere, J. (1984). Ethics in clinical psychology. Cape Town : Oxford University Press.
- Straker, G. and the Sanctuaries Counselling Team. (1988). Apartheid and Child Abuse. Psychology in Society, 9, 3-13.
- Swartz, L. and Levett, A. (1988). Political repression and children in South Africa: The social construction of damaging effects. Social Science & Medicine (in press).
- Swartz, S. and Swartz, L. (1986). Workshop for pre-school teachers, Cape Town 1985 - 1986. Paper presented at 1st OASSSA National Conference. 17 - 18 May 1986.
- The Argus (1988). 21 June.
- The Argus (1988). 22 June.
- The Observer. (1987) 29 September.
- The Weekly Mail. (1988). 19 to 25 August, Volumes 4, no. 31.
- Therborn, G. (1982). The ideology of Power and the power of Ideology. London: Verso.
- Venter, S. (1988). Biggest protest since 1985. Work in Progress, 54, 20-22.
- Williams, R. (1981). Keywords : A vocabulary of culture and society. Glasgow : Fontana.

APPENDIX I :

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE : CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE

- 1. AGE :
- 2. SEX :  M  F
- 3. HOME LANGUAGE:.....
- 4. "RACE" : coloured  african  indian   
white  other ?.....
- 5. Where do you live?.....
- 6. Who lives in your house?  
grandparents   
father   
mother   
sibling/s  how many?.....
- 7. What does your father do for a living?  
.....  
mother .....  
.....
- 8. What school do you go to? .....
- 9. Religion? .....
- 10. Parents political involvment : yes no  
If so, what.....
- 11. Child's political involvement : yes no  
If so, what.....

1

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

SCENARIOS

1. A policeman was walking out of the station talking to his friends. When..... saw them, he picked a stone and threw it, hitting one policeman on the head.

CIRCLE CORRECT RESPONSE:

- 1 - not wrong at all
- 2 - fairly wrong
- 3 - wrong, but understandable
- 4 - definitely wrong
- 5 - very wrong indeed

23

Have you ever seen something like this happen before? yes no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

24

25

2. .... father had been arrested by the army early in the morning. That night some political demonstrating started near his house and although he didn't usually join in, tonight he did. He hit one soldier on the face with a brick.

1 - not wrong at all

2 - fairly wrong

3 - wrong, but understandable

4 - definitely wrong

5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen before? yes no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

26

27   
28

3. .... teacher decided that because he had been noisy in class he would be kept in after school. But..... said he would not stay. When the teacher tried to stop....., he punched him in the face.

1 - not wrong at all

2 - fairly wrong

3 - wrong, but understandable

4 - definitely wrong

5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen before? yes no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

29

30   
31

4.....father was a very grumpy man. One day after her father had been shouting at her a lot, .... lost her temper and pushed him roughly against a wall.

- 1 - not wrong at all
- 2 - fairly wrong
- 3 - wrong, but understandable
- 4 - definitely wrong
- 5 - very wrong indeed

32

Have you ever seen something like this happen before    yes    no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

33   
34

5. The policeman who was sent to arrest..... had, had a very tiring day. When..... refused to come with him, the policeman lost his temper and hit..... in the stomach with his baton.

- 1 - not wrong at all
- 2 - fairly wrong
- 3 - wrong, but understandable
- 4 - definitely wrong
- 5 - very wrong indeed

35

Have you ever seen something like this happen before?    yes    no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

36   
37

6. A soldier was on patrol when he heard a window being smashed. When he went to investigate he saw ..... near the window. Without asking any questions, he ran up to ..... and hit him with his baton.

1 - not wrong at all

2 - fairly wrong

3 - wrong, but understandable

4 - definitely wrong

5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen

before?    yes    no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

38

39

40

7. When ..... came into school for the third time that week without having done his maths homework, his teacher hit him four times with a ruler.

1 - not wrong at all

2 - fairly wrong

3 - wrong, but understandable

4 - definitely wrong

5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen

before?    yes    no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

41

42

43

8. ....mother had had a very hard day.

When .....came home from school she was being quite noisy. Her mother got very angry and smacked .....

1 - not wrong at all

2 - fairly wrong

3 - wrong, but understandable

4 - definitely wrong

5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen

before?    yes    no

Where did it happen?.....

When did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

44

45

46

9. When..... father came home late from supper for the third time that week, her mother was very upset.

When..... mother scolded her father, her father got very angry and slapped her across the face.

- 1 - not wrong at all
- 2 - fairly wrong
- 3 - wrong, but understandable
- 4 - definitely wrong
- 5 - very wrong indeed

Have you ever seen something like this happen before?      yes      no

When did it happen?.....

Where did it happen?.....

Who did it happen to?.....

Other details:.....

47

48

49


APPENDIX II : RULES PROVIDING FOR AND REGULATING THE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

IN WHITE SCHOOLS (CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT: ADMINISTRATION  
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY)

CAPE EDUCATION ORDINANCE No. 20 of 1956, art.11.

**Corporal punishment.**

231. The Director may make rules providing for and regulating the corporal punishment of pupils.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF PUPILS

Girls

11. (1) Under no circumstances is corporal punishment to be inflicted upon any girl or any student-teacher

Boys

- (2) Corporal punishment may be inflicted upon boys
- (a) ● only as a last resort in serious cases of misconduct such as persistent and gross neglect of duty, indecent conduct or language, bullying, truancy and other offences of like gravity
  - (b) ● only by the Principal or by the Deputy Principal or Head of Department if authority has been delegated to him by the Principal, or by a teacher in the presence of the Principal or his delegate as referred to above, after due inquiry, and in no instance in the presence of other pupils
  - (c) ● only on the buttocks with a suitable strap or cane and with due regard to the age and physical condition of the pupil, and
  - (d) ● only in a moderate and reasonable manner and in no circumstances in such manner as to cause permanent bodily injury or disfigurement.

Punishment register

- (3) The Principal shall keep a register of all cases of corporal punishment inflicted, showing the date and nature of the offence, the date and nature of the punishment inflicted, and by whom the punishment was inflicted.

**COLOURED PERSONS EDUCATION ACT, No. 47 of 1963**

**REGULATION S28**

**CORPORAL PUNISHMENT**

S28.1 Under no circumstances shall corporal punishment be inflicted upon any pre-primary school pupil, girl, trainee or apprentice or any pupil teacher.

S28.2 (a) Corporal punishment may be inflicted upon boys only as a last resort in serious cases of misconduct.

(b) Corporal punishment may be inflicted only by the principal or by any other teacher in the presence of the principal, after due inquiry.

(c) In no case shall corporal punishment be administered in the presence of other pupils, save in the case of joint offenders when corporal punishment may be administered to pupils in the presence of such other joint offenders.

(d) Corporal punishment may be inflicted only on the buttocks with a suitable strap or cane and with due regard to the age and physical condition of the pupil, and

then only in a moderate and reasonable manner and in no circumstances in such manner as to cause permanent bodily injury or disfigurement.

S28.3 The principal shall keep a register of all cases of corporal punishment inflicted, showing the date and nature of the offence, the date and nature of the punishment inflicted and by whom the punishment was inflicted, and this register shall at any time be open for inspection by an inspector of education.

S28.4 (a) In a State and State-aided hostel the superintendent of the hostel may, according to circumstances, inflict corporal punishment or may delegate the powers he possesses under this sub-regulation, to the senior resident teacher or house master.

(b) The provisions of sub-regulations 1, 2 and 3 of this regulation shall also apply in the case of corporal punishment at hostels.

S28.5 Punishment of whatever nature shall always be reasonable and just, and shall as far as possible fit the offence that has been committed.

**LYFSTRAF**

S28.1 Onder geen omstandighede mag lyfstraf aan enige pre-primêre skoolleerling, meisie, kwekeling of vakleerling of enige leerlingonderwyser toegedien word nie.

S28.2 (a) Lyfstraf, as 'n laaste uitweg, mag aan seuns toegedien word in ernstige gevalle van wangedrag.

(b) Lyfstraf word slegs deur die hoof, of deur 'n ander onderwyser in teenwoordigheid van die hoof, na behoorlike ondersoek, toegedien.

(c) In geen geval mag lyfstraf in die teenwoordigheid van ander leerlinge toegedien word nie, maar in die geval van gesamentlike oortreders kan leerlinge in die teenwoordigheid van sodanige ander gesamentlike oortreders lyfstraf toegedien word.

(d) Lyfstraf word slegs op die boude met 'n geskikte platriem of rottang en met behoorlike inagneming van die ouderdom en liggaamlike toestand van die leerling toegedien en dan net op 'n gemagtigde en redelike wyse en in geen omstandighede op sodanige wyse dat dit blywende liggaamlike letsel of skending veroorsaak nie.

S28.3 Die hoof moet 'n register hou van alle gevalle van lyfstraf toegedien, waarin die datum en die aard van die misdryf, die datum en aard van die straf toegedien en deur wie dit toegedien is, aangetoon moet word en hierdie register moet te alle tye vir 'n inspekteur van onderwys ter insae lê.

S28.4 (a) In 'n Staat- en Staatsondersteunde koshuis kan die koshuissuperintendent, na gelang van die geval, lyfstraf toedien of die bevoegdhede wat hy ooreenkomstig hierdie sub-regulasie besit, aan die senior inwonende onderwyser of koshuisvader oordra.

(b) Die bepalinge van sub-regulasies 1, 2 en 3 van hierdie regulasie is ook in die geval van lyfstraf by koshuise van toepassing.

S28.5 Straf van watter aard ook al moet altyd redelik en regverdig wees, en sover moontlik 'n natuurlike verband hou met die oortreding wat begaan is.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING ACT 1979 , ACT 90 OF 1979.

REGULATION 1143 OF 29 MAY 1981.

DISCIPLINE

6. (1) If any pupil conducts himself at school in such a way that his training, the good name of the school, the maintenance of order and discipline at the school or the proper continuation of the work of the school is harmed or could be harmed, disciplinary measures can be taken against him, which may include—

(a) the imposition of work as a punishment by the principal or a teacher authorised by the principal for that purpose;

(b) withholding of privileges by the principal or teacher authorised by the principal for that purpose;

(c) the administering of corporal punishment in terms of subregulations (5) to (9); and

(d) expulsion from school in terms of regulation 7.

(2) Disciplinary measures shall be administered in a reasonable and discerning manner, shall have reference to the offence which has been committed and shall serve mainly as a measure in the interests of the pupil and for the maintenance of discipline and the good name of the school.

(3) In no case shall corporal punishment be administered to any girl.

(4) Corporal punishment may be administered only in cases of gross neglect, truancy, insubordination, wilful damage to property, flagrant lying, theft, dishonesty, assault, bullying, indecency or similar offences.

(5) Corporal punishment shall be administered in isolation by the principal: Provided that any other member of the staff may administer corporal punishment in the presence and with the approval of the principal.

(6) Corporal punishment shall be administered only on the buttocks with a cane not exceeding 75 cm in length and 1.2 cm in diameter, or a leather strap of not less than 2,5 cm in width, and with due regard to the age and physical condition of the pupil and in no circumstances in such a manner as to cause permanent bodily injury.

(7) The number of strokes that may be administered during one day shall not exceed four.

(8) Corporal punishment shall under no circumstances be administered to any pupil with a serious physical disability.

(9) Any punishment inflicted or imposed shall be entered in a punishment register, recording—

(a) the name of the pupil;

(b) the nature of the offence;

(c) the punishment imposed;

(d) the number of strokes inflicted and the instrument used for the purpose, in the case of corporal punishment;

(e) the date on which punishment is inflicted or imposed;

(f) the name of the person who inflicted or imposed such punishment; and

(g) the name of the person, if applicable, under whose supervision the punishment was inflicted or imposed.

(DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING)

TUG

6. (1) Indien 'n leerling aan 'n skool hom op 'n wyse gedra wat sy opleiding, die goeie naam van die skool, die handhawing van orde en dissipline aan die skool of die behoorlike voortsetting van die werk van die skool benadeel of kan benadeel, kan tugmaatreëls op hom toegepas word wat kan insluit—

(a) die oplegging van strafwerk deur die prinsipaal of 'n onderwyser wat deur die prinsipaal daartoe gemagtig is;

(b) die onthouding van voorregte deur die prinsipaal of 'n onderwyser wat deur die prinsipaal daartoe gemagtig is;

(c) die toediening van lyfstraf ingevolge subregulasies (5) tot (9); en

(d) uitsetting uit die skool ooreenkomstig regulasie 7.

(2) Tugmaatreëls moet op 'n redelike en oordeelkundige wyse toegepas word, moet verband hou met die oortreding wat begaan is en moet hoofsaaklik dien as maatregel in die belang van die leerling en vir die handhawing van dissipline en die goeie naam van die skool.

(3) In geen geval mag lyfstraf aan 'n dogter toegedien word nie.

(4) Lyfstraf kan slegs in gevalle van ernstige pligsversuim, stokkiesdraai, weerspanningheid, moedswillige beskadiging van eiendom, skreiende leuentaai, diefstal, oneerlikheid, aanranding, baasspelery, onwelveuglikheid of dergelike misdrywe toegedien word.

(5) Lyfstraf word in afsondering deur die prinsipaal toegedien: Met dien verstande dat 'n ander lid van die personeel lyfstraf in die teenwoordigheid en met die goedkeuring van die prinsipaal kan toedien.

(6) Lyfstraf moet slegs op die sitvlak toegedien word met 'n lat waarvan die lengte hoogstens 75 cm en die diameter hoogstens 1,2 cm mag wees, of met 'n lyfband wat minstens 2,5 cm breed is, met behoorlike inagneming van die ouderdom en liggaamlike toestand van die leerling en onder geen omstandighede op sodanige wyse dat dit blywende liggaamlike letsels veroorsaak nie.

(7) Die getal houe wat op een dag toegedien kan word, mag nie vier oorskry nie.

(8) Lyfstraf word onder geen omstandighede aan 'n leerling met 'n ernstige liggaamlike gebrek toegedien nie.

(9) Enige straf wat toegedien of opgelê word, moet in die strafregister aangeteken word met vermelding van—

(a) die naam van die leerling;

(b) die aard van die oortreding;

(c) die straf opgelê;

(d) die getal houe toegedien en die instrument daarvoor gebruik, in die geval van lyfstraf;

(e) die datum waarop straf toegedien of opgelê is;

(f) die naam van die persoon wat die straf toegedien of opgelê het; en

(g) die naam van die persoon, indien van toepassing, onder wie se toesig die straf toegedien of opgelê is.

## APPENDIX V

### Correlation Matrix depicting the correlations between the respective scenarios

S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	
S1	1.0000								
S2	0,2682	1.0000							
S3	0.1362	0.1592	1.0000						
S4	0.1677	0.1923	0.2193	1.0000					
S5	0.0081	-0.0937	0.1004	0.0679	1.0000				
S6	0.1592	0.0791	0.2820	0.1494	0.2046	1.0000			
S7	-0.893	-0.0691	-0.2121	0.1203	0.1159	-0.1741	1.0000		
S8	-0.0106	-0.0000	0.0910	0.0271	0.1357	-0.0115	0.1120	1.0000	
S9	0.1244	0.0493	0.1187	0.0264	0.1928	0.1996	-0.0697	0.0097	1.0000

Key S = Scenario