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**Violence and insecurity in schools for teaching
personnel: Impact on educational access**
by Anne-Marie Hilsdon and Shirley Randell

Background paper for discussion at the 11th Session of the CEART
(Geneva, 8–12 October 2012)

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Violence and insecurity in schools for teaching personnel: Impact on educational access, by Anne-Marie Hilsdon and Shirley Randell

This paper served as a background study for the 11th Session of the Joint ILO/UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART), held in Geneva, 8-12 October 2012.

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Acronyms

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
APA	American Psychological Association
CCSD	Canadian Council of Social Development
CEART	Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers
CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IES	Institute of Education and Science
ILO	International Labour Organization
LD	learning difficulties
MRM	monitoring and reporting mechanism
NEA	National Education Association
NGO	non-governmental organization
OBPP	Olweus Bullying Prevention Program
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPTA	Post Primary Teachers Association
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
SRGBV	school-related gender-based violence
TVET	technical and vocational education and training
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization
UK	United Kingdom
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction

Scope

This report, prepared for the 11th Session of the Joint ILO–UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART) examines violence at primary and secondary schools and technical and vocational education and training (TVET) colleges and institutions, which research suggests is increasing globally (Education International, 2009; O’Malley, 2007). The geographic scope of the paper is worldwide. The report describes the effects of violence on teachers and students, and details some of the interventions put in place to prevent and respond to such violence. It canvasses some of the policies, programmes and strategies adopted by countries to combat violence in schools, and discusses the results and evaluations of these policies and programmes.

Definitions of violence and insecurity

Violence ranges from the murder, torture, suicide and rape of students and teachers to more subtle forms of discrimination, including name-calling and personal insults, and exclusion of teachers from work on political or ideological grounds. Such violence occurring both inside and off school grounds is considered school related and can have a financial impact.

The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in the United States regards school violence as a subsection of youth violence – harmful behaviours that may start early and continue into young adulthood. These include not only bullying but also slapping, punching and weapon use. Victims can suffer serious injury, significant social and emotional damage or even death. According to this definition, a young person can be a victim, an offender, or a witness to the violence – or a combination of these (CDC, 2010).

The term “bullying” is often used to describe frequently occurring violence in schools. In this paper Naser et al.’s definition (2004, p. 2) is used, where bullying is behaviour consisting of repeated and intentionally hurtful acts, using words or other kinds of behaviour perpetrated by those who bully, against those who are bullied. Cyberbullying, a unique form of bullying that takes place on the Internet via email, text messaging or social media, increases the spaces where bullying can occur, and presents increasing difficulties for schools (Goff, 2011, p. 117). Bullying everywhere, including in the arena of disability, is a “special type of aggressive peer interaction in which a powerful classmate repeatedly intimidates, exploits, and victimizes a weaker classmate” (Doll, Song and Siemers, 2004, p. 161). Teachers can also perpetrate bullying against students. Bullying and other forms of violence in schools frequently have a gender dimension (Education International, 2009; Malaby, 2009; Shehu, 2009).

In their global report on violence against teachers, Education International (2009) claims that, with the increasing trends of violent attacks in schools perpetrated by a wide range of actors including school authorities and parents, teachers around the world are increasingly vulnerable. Although the media image of a school shooting incident is what typically comes to mind, school violence is multifaceted, including, for example, not only pupil-on-pupil violence and attacks on teachers, but also damage and destruction to school premises (American Psychological Association, 2011).

When considering violence globally, different violations exist in diverse contexts, and levels and violence become layered in different countries. According to O'Malley's extensive research on violence against teachers, including in Afghanistan, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Liberia, Nepal, Myanmar, Thailand and Zimbabwe (O'Malley, 2007, pp. 15–18), teachers and students are increasingly being terrorized, raped and murdered in ideological, military, political, ethnic and religiously motivated attacks. Abuse also includes arrest, bullying, torture, kidnapping and injury (Education International, 2009). Of these countries, Colombia is considered the most dangerous place in the world for teachers: around 42 teachers are murdered every year and face regular harassment by paramilitary groups (O'Malley, 2007). Teachers in Colombia are subject to violence mostly because they are involved in campaigns that defend the right to education (Novelli, 2009). Sexual abuse and intimidation predominantly of women students and teachers is widespread in all countries, with women in Islamic countries and in the Asia and the Pacific region considered more vulnerable than others. In OECD and middle-income countries like United States, Norway, Portugal, Germany and Finland (Education International, 2009) gang activity and armed violence, especially school massacres have occurred. In the United States, CDC reports that in 2005–06, 38 per cent of public schools reported at least one incident of violence to police. In 2007, 23 per cent of students reported gangs in their schools (CDC).¹ From 2003–04, 10 per cent of teachers in US city schools were reportedly threatened with injury by students (Department of Education, 2009).

Verbal and lower level physical abuse of teachers by students and parents is prevalent across the world. In Colombia, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nepal, this violence is often motivated by concerns over “access to education in remote areas, language of instruction, distribution of education budgets and curriculum” (O'Malley, 2007, 28). In Canada, 80 per cent of over 700 teachers (K-12) indicate that they experienced violence at least one time in their career (Wilson, Douglas and Lyon, 2011). Personal insults and name-calling were most often reported (61 per cent), and overt violence especially threatened physical violence without a weapon was reported by 27 per cent of teachers (Wilson, Douglas and Lyon, 2011). In the US, violence affects teachers in the majority of primary and secondary schools and TVET colleges and institutions (public and private; urban and rural) and ranges from verbal threats or intimidation to acts of physical and/or sexual violence (Dinkes et al., 2009). In Slovakia, Dzuka and Dalbert (2007) found that 55 per cent of TVET teachers had experienced at least one act of violence (i.e. direct verbal abuse, physical threats or assaults, taken or destroyed property, indirect harmful behaviours) in the 15 days prior to their survey.

With respect to bullying in schools, in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2003, over half of the primary and secondary school pupils surveyed thought that bullying was a “big problem” or “quite a problem” in their school (<http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/bullying-at-school>). By 2007, about 30 per cent of students in the US were involved in bullying on a regular basis, either as a victim, bully or both, with cyberbullying both at school and outside of school on the increase.² Townsend, Fisher, Chikobvu, Lombard and King (2008) indicated high levels of bullying in South African high schools: for example in Cape Town and Durban secondary schools, 36 per cent of students have been involved in bullying with 41 per cent of students overall affected. No statistics, however, are available for primary schools (Tim and Eskill-Blockland, 2011). According to Australia's

¹ <http://www.cdc.gov/violence-prevention/pdf/schoolviolence-factsheet-a.pdf>.

² <http://www.bullyingstatistics.org/content/school-bullying-statistics.html>.

2008 Youth Poll Survey, cyberbullying impacted one in five young Australians.³ In Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Commission (CBC) reported that 70 per cent of students said they have been bullied at least once online, 23 per cent of middle-school students surveyed were bullied by email and 41 per cent by text message on their cell phones (CBC, 2007). In the UK, 15 per cent of children and young people have received abusive or aggressive messages, and there has been an increase in children being bullied over new technologies (Rivers and Noret, 2007).

Violence directed towards teachers is increasing but is under-researched. The American Psychological Association (2011) outlined US Indicators from the National Center for Education (Dinkes, Cataldi, Lin-Kelly and Synder, 2008), stating that 253,100 teachers (7 per cent of the teaching force) were threatened and/or assaulted by students. Further reports indicate that 7 per cent of primary education teachers and 8 per cent of secondary education teachers have been victims of violence in schools (Dinkes et al., 2008). Eleven per cent of school principals in the US reported that students were verbally abusive to their middle and high school teachers (Institute of Education and Science (IES) 2009). Cyberbullying of teachers by students around the world has also been reported (see discussion below). Other more subtle forms of discrimination such as non-hiring of homosexual teachers and excluding children of homosexual parents are also increasing globally (Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) News, 2011).

With reference to the broad discussion above, we therefore focus below on the following forms of school violence and explain its causes, effects and interventions.

- Daily verbal and low-level physical abuse or insecurity in classrooms (particularly but not exclusively in OECD and middle-income countries) provoked by student indiscipline and parental harassment – by far the most common and widespread form of insecurity facing teachers in these countries and contributing to demotivation and departures from teaching.
- Sexually related harassment and violence occurring globally and resulting in injury and sometimes death.
- Life-threatening physical violence that occasionally occurs in such countries (school shootings as in North America and Europe; gang-related violence in these countries and in a number of Latin American countries such as Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa).
- Physical violence and attacks on schools and teachers for ideological, ethnic, or political reasons, resulting in psychological disturbance, injury and death.

Forms and causes of violence in schools

Taking account of context to explain violence in schools

Many studies of the causes of school-related violence indicate the part played by context and environment. Tim and Eskill-Blockland (2011) researched the “ecology” of the (student) bully in primary schools in South Africa. They emphasize the importance of contextualizing bullying in schools within violent community and political environments.

³ <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2008/05/09/1210131251440.html>.

They refer to Maree's research (2005, cited in Tim and Eskell-Blockland, 2011), which incorporates bullying in schools as part of the spiralling community and political violence in South Africa where communities are under-resourced. In their in-depth study involving key persons such as relatives, teachers and other school personnel in the social/ecological environment of the bullies, the authors found not only that violence perpetrated in the home can lead to violence in school, but also that some teachers believe in using violence in the classroom. They explain how "good child, bad child" discourse, developed within the school environment primarily by teachers and administrators, can lead to reproduction of bullying behaviour. Bullies were shown to have had very difficult relationships with some family members. Loss of educators' status and disengagement of parents from the school ecology were reasons given for exacerbation of bullying. Tim and Eskell-Blockland (2011) argue that the silence surrounding bullying is key to its existence: bullying remains undefined and unacknowledged as a problem by teachers, students and parents.

School and community environments provide a key to understanding violence specifically against teachers. Despite a paucity of research in the area (APA, 2011) a few writers (Kasen, Berenson, Cohen and Johnson, 2004; Kasen, Cohen and Brook, 1998; Kasen, Johnson and Cohen, 1990) have investigated these environments in the US for individual, school, and community factors influencing teacher victimization. They found that poor teacher–student interactions and classroom organization can lead to incidents of aggression and violence against teachers. Because such violence in elementary schools in the US differs across classrooms, the importance of teacher characteristics and individual class organization is stressed (e.g. by Henry et al., 2000; Kellam, Ling, Merisca, Brown and Lalongo, 1998). Payne, Gottfredson and Gottfredson (2003) found that communal school organization, student bonding and neighbourhood characteristics were also key to understanding violence against teachers in the US: the lower the communal school organization where fewer supportive and collaborative relations and common norms and goals were shared between teachers and students, the greater the frequency of teacher victimization. In addition, such victimization was found greater in schools situated in poor communities, those with the greatest concentration of disenfranchised minorities, such as African Americans, and those with a high index of residential crowding.

War zones, conflict and violence

Perhaps the starkest realities of violence are faced by schools in war zones, where school and national environments are often interwoven. UNESCO concluded in 2011 that "[n]o country can hope to live in peace and prosperity unless it builds mutual trust between its citizens, starting in the classroom" (UNESCO, 2011: 7). Schools, teachers and students have come under increased attacks in war zones, with teachers and students often becoming victims of rape used as a weapon of war. This has broad consequences, ranging from keeping girls away from school, to the ensuing breakdown of families and communities, which creates an insecure environment for schooling (UNESCO, 2011). Schools in war zones are susceptible to militarization and politicization of curricula; such curricula and text books reflect the violence in war zones by representing "the other" and encouraging ethnic, religious and other social divisions rather than peace (UNESCO, 2011). Davies and Bentrovato (2011), writing about education in the four fragile States of Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia and Liberia, argue that such school curricula, together with a pedagogical approach that does not encourage critical thinking, contribute to insecurity that can actually lead to war. The school itself may become a battlefield where ethno-political conflicts are played out. In addition, violence outside the school may also be reproduced inside it through corporal punishment and the acceptance of violence as a normal way of resolving conflicts.

Gender relations and sexual violence

Sexual abuse of female and male students comprises aggressive sexual behaviour, intimidation and assault by older boys, sexual advances by teachers, corporal punishment and verbal abuse by male and female teachers, and unsolicited sexual contact by strangers on the way to school. Although sexual and gender-based violence is not confined to developing countries, several studies (PLAN West Africa, 2008; United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 2003) focused their research solely where “economic imbalances are extreme, literacy rates low, basic universal education a goal rather than a reality, and the HIV pandemic often devastating” (USAID, 2003: iv). PLAN West Africa (2008) argued, however, that a culture of silence, which originates at home and is sustained and considered unavoidable at school because of authoritarian cultural values, operates in African countries to suppress discussion of sexual violence.

A comprehensive USAID (2003) study of sexual violence in developing countries, predominantly in Africa, integrated the findings of published qualitative and quantitative research (comprising over 1,600 students), unpublished international reports, and interviews with international experts. The study found that levels of sexual abuse reported by male and female students ranged from 16 per cent to 67 per cent. While researchers like Rosetti (2001) considered both male and female students equally exposed to abuse such as forced sex, the highest percentage of sexual abuse was usually reported by or about girls; e.g. in Botswana, 67 per cent of girls reported sexual harassment by teachers (Rosetti, 2001), and a Ghanaian study by Afenyadu and Goparaju (2003) found that 27 per cent of girls were subjected to forced sex. Fifty per cent of students in an all girls school in Zimbabwe reported being sexually abused by strangers on their way to school (Leach, Machakanja and Mandoga, 2000). Perpetrators of school-related sexual violence were predominantly students from the victims’ own or other schools (30 per cent in a Cameroon study by Menick, 2001), but school teachers were listed responsible for between 5 and 8 per cent of cases, and school administrators have also been found to be abusers (PLAN West Africa, 2008). The “sugar daddy” phenomenon was prevalent and in one Zimbabwe study (Leach, Machakanja and Mandoga, 2000), 92 per cent of female students reported being propositioned by older men. Afenyadu and Goparaju (2003) found that students reported many of their peers engaged in sex with “sugar daddies” to meet financial needs. Female students often reported that they had sex for money, gifts or favours (see, for example, the Botswana study conducted by Roberta Rivers and UNICEF at Metlhaetsile Women’s Information Centre).

Writers such as Malaby (2009) and Shehu (2009) argue that gender relations in sport and physical education often underpin school-related sexual and gender-based violence (SRGBV). The authors explain that body contact, unequal power relations (gender, class, and race) and differences in athletic ability make sports and physical education a fertile site for studying dominance in peer relations. Writing about Botswana, Shehu (2009) explored peer provocation in physical education amongst 675 junior secondary school students (15–16 years old). The author’s definition (Shehu, 2009: 144) of peer provocation – “peer action or speech experienced by the target as bad, hurtful and offensive” – comes close to the definition of bullying used in this paper. While Shehu (2009) found instances of all types of bullying, boy to boy and boy to girl bullying were the most prevalent. Humiliation constituted the most common type of abuse (100 per cent of both girls and boys) while physical violence (90 per cent of girls and 96 per cent of boys) was the second most common. Dangerous pranks initiated by boys during physical education were reported only by girls. Sexual harassment was experienced almost totally by girls who were derided and their bodies touched and abused because, amongst other reasons, they were seen to be too physical, endangering both their femininity and childbearing abilities. Girls internalized the cultural values underpinning such abuse, simultaneously wanting to excel at physical education but concerned about their femininity, desirability and fertility. Interestingly, girls more often than boys perpetuated these gender myths (Shehu, 2009).

Disability and bullying

Studies in Canada (McNamara, Willoughby, Chalmers, and YLC-CURA, 2005; Canadian Council of Social Development (CCSD) 2003; Unnever and Cornell, 2003; Gil and Da Costa, 2010), and New Zealand (Kent, 2003) show that children with disabilities are more likely to be subjected to violence in school than non-disabled children. CCSD (2003) offered comparative statistics for Canada: 25 per cent of children aged 10 to 15 with physical, learning, intellectual, and emotional disabilities felt out of place at school, compared to 17.5 per cent of children without special needs. Of those with special needs, 10.6 per cent were bullied most of the time (in comparison to 5 per cent without special needs) and an additional 12.2 per cent were bullied some of the time (as compared to 6.4 per cent without special needs). Eighty per cent of special needs children received extra help from their teacher when they needed it (compared to 85.4 per cent without special needs). Seventy-seven per cent stated that their teachers treat them fairly (compared to 90 per cent without special needs).

The bullying phenomenon in the case of disability is often comprised of increased social and personality factors, as children with disabilities suffer deprivations of social skills and competencies and lack of social awareness (Basquill et al., 2004; Jahoda, Pert and Trower, 2006; Luckasson et al., 2002). Moreover, girls with learning difficulties are more likely to be bullied than boys (Nabuzoka, 2003). Studies, such as those by Kaukiainen et al. (2002) and Mishna (2003) show that disabled victims of bullying are at more risk of becoming bullies themselves than non-disabled victims. This is reflected in Kaukiainen et al.'s research results, where 141 grade five students in Finland (28 with learning disabilities, 111 without) identified other students as bullies (21.4 per cent of children with learning disabilities were nominated as bullies, versus 6.3 per cent of children without). In several countries (e.g. Spain: Estevez, Murgui and Musitu, 2009; Australia: Rigby and Slee, 1992) studies showed medium to high self-esteem amongst non-disabled bullies, whereas disabled bullies usually had low self-esteem (Gil and Da Costa, 2010).

Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying has unique characteristics and there are few areas of life it does not penetrate. Hence all levels of the ecology of the violence need to be explored, both to explain causes, effects and interventions.

An Australian study by Goff (2011) showed how the potential spaces for bullying are multiple and varied. By using a single hypothetical instance of cyberbullying, in which several male students posed as an online boyfriend to a female student and then “broke it off” by notifying her of the death of the boyfriend, the author invoked questions difficult to answer in the current climate in Australian schools and society. For example, Goff (2011) asked where does the duty of care of the school begin and end? Do events that involve and impact students but which take place outside of school hours and the walls of the school need to be addressed by schools? She argued that government legislation was insufficient to address cyberbullying: police action, for example, could not be taken until current laws on stalking were revised to include Internet stalking. Schools are left to decide on these issues but need clear directions to do so.

Teachers are also victims of cyberbullying. Education International (2009) reported an increase of cyberbullying against them in Europe (e.g. Germany, Norway and UK) despite evidence that other violence in schools was not high. In one German study, while only 8 per cent of 500 teachers claimed to be victims of student cyberbullies, over one third knew of a colleague who had been targeted, sometimes receiving death threats (Education International, 2008). The study cited the case of a male teacher falsely accused

of paedophilia in a fake online journal, which raises another issue seen in the US and Canada: overprotective policies that require immediate teacher suspension if a student makes an accusation (Tomlinson, 2012).

Summing up

Violence in schools exists in a variety of forms, ranging from murder and rape of teachers and students to verbal prejudice and exclusion. The multiple causes of such violence, including creation of ethnic, political, military and religious divisions and the multiple discriminations related to gender, race, class and ability which underpin it, are undeniably linked with local and national environments in which schools are situated. The effects of violence on teachers and students, and the policy and programme interventions that address them are also necessarily embedded in these ecological contexts and it is to these issues we now turn.

Effects of violence on teachers and students

The 2009 background document on employment, careers, working conditions and salaries of teachers by the CEART found student indiscipline, harassment and violence in classrooms and schools to be significant impediments to quality education and effective teaching and learning conditions (Iliukhina and Ratteree, 2009). These issues impact on school culture and environment and affect school management, individual teachers and other staff (ILO–UNESCO, 2010: 20). Significant management issues arising include school reputation and morale, teacher stress, absence and retention, parent, teacher and community complaints, occupational health and safety challenges, the need for prevention and response procedures, and victim support services. Teachers, as indicated above, and special populations of students (e.g. disabled or lesbian, gay, or bisexual students, NEA, 2011) are facing increasing danger of bullying, torture, injury and even murder, yet research on the causes and consequences of bullying from teachers' perspectives is lacking.

A few existing studies (such as Bradshaw, Sawyer and O'Brennan, 2007) indicated that school staff viewed the issue of bullying differently from students, who suggested that staff were not responding sufficiently when informed of bullying incidents. Of special concern then is ongoing violence targeted against teachers and educational support professionals (ESPs) and the failure of governments to take recommended action to improve teachers' conditions, including provision of safe school environments (Education International, 2009). Effects on victimized teachers have also been under-researched. According to the studies that do exist (e.g. Daniels, Bradley and Hayes, 2007; Galand, Lecocq and Philippot, 2007) individual teachers may experience symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, heightened levels of stress and increased fear. Wilson, Douglas and Lyon (2011) found that teachers experiencing violence predicted fear, and Ting, Sanders and Smith (2002) argued that, as a result of workplace violence, teachers experienced avoidance behaviour toward students and situations, perceived they had personal safety issues and felt they were being intruded upon. In addition, gender differences exist in teachers' responses to workplace violence (Wilson, Douglas and Lyon, 2011; Breslau, Chilcoat, Kessler, Peterson and Lucia, 1999; Perkonig, Kessler, Storz and Wittchen, 2000; for an opposing view, see Pimlott-Kubiak and Cortina, 2003). For example, Wilson, Douglas and Lyon (2011) found that women teachers, when faced with covert violence, experienced more physical, emotional and teaching-related impact symptoms than male teachers.

Organizational effects of teacher victimization also abound: teachers who felt unsafe at school due to potential violence tended to be unmotivated and less committed to their job (Wilson, Douglas and Lyon, 2011); and teachers have cited unsafe work environments in reasons for leaving the profession completely (Ingersoll, 2001). The American Psychological Association outlined these personal and organizational effects as a series of obvious and hidden costs in US education: lost wages and days of work (927,000 per year); need for training and replacement of teachers prematurely leaving the school or profession; lost instructional time; medical and psychological care resulting from threats and assaults; student disciplinary proceedings involving school, police, judicial systems, social services and parents; increased workers' compensation claims and premiums; and incarceration of perpetrators.⁴

The effects of violence in conflict-affected poor countries, however, arguably have the greatest impact on teachers, students and schools: 28 million children of primary-school age are out of school in some 30 countries, which accounts for 42 per cent of the world total, and in 2008, only 69 per cent of primary-school age refugee children in United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) camps were attending primary school (UNESCO, 2011: 6). Children in conflict-affected poor countries are twice as likely to die before their fifth birthday as children in other poor countries. However, the impunity surrounding violations of children, teachers and schools including widespread and systematic rape as a weapon of war constitutes the largest barrier to education (UNESCO, 2011). Collective international measures must be taken to prevent the effects of all violence and improve the safety of teachers and students, focusing on prevention, intervention and response.

Policy and programme interventions

Guides to developing national policy frameworks for reduction and prevention of violence in schools have been available in OECD countries at least since 2003. A comprehensive framework (by Moore, Jones and Broadbent, 2008, p. 11) draws on the World Health Organization (WHO) report (2002). In addition, in 2003, the International Labour Organization (ILO) produced a code of practice on workplace violence (ILO, 2003) with guidelines for effective policy formulation, roles and responsibilities of government, employers and clients and planning and implementation of violence management systems. Various teachers' unions around the world, e.g. Victorian Independent Teachers Union, Australia, have produced policies to manage school violence.

Bullying and cyberbullying

Despite legislation, policy and programming, the problem of bullying has not been eliminated anywhere and is actually worsening in some countries (Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho and Tippett, 2006). The following interventions address daily, verbal and low-level physical insecurity and abuse in classrooms and school communities, predominantly in OECD countries. Some of these interventions claim to address, in addition, more serious forms of school violence, such as sexual abuse, drug and alcohol use, assault with weapons, and physical violence, e.g. massacres. While all these violent forms have similarities with respect to causes, effects, intervention and prevention, they also differ in several respects and hence are given more specific attention in later sections of the paper.

⁴ <http://www.apa.org/ed/schools/cpse/activities/violence-against.aspx>.

One of the largest studies of interventions, the US National Education Association's (NEA) nationwide study of bullying at primary, secondary and TVET rural and urban schools and institutions (Bradshaw, Waasdorp and O'Brennan, 2011) surveyed over 4,000 school staff to explore the prevention of bullying through perceptions of the school environment and efficacy of handling bullying situations. While over 60 per cent of all respondents (teachers and education support professionals) acknowledged the existence of bullying prevention policy and programmes at their schools, less than half of them were involved and received training. The NEA study found that the willingness of teachers and support professionals to intervene in bullying situations depended on their degree of "connectedness" with other members of the school community, namely students, other teachers and school principals. Staff perceptions that other staff would intervene led them also to intervene in bullying situations. Teachers more than education support professionals reported more ease intervening in different types of bullying (i.e. physical, verbal, relational, cyber and sexting),⁵ across special student populations (i.e. those with issues of sexual orientation, disability, body size, and those targeted by sexist, racial and religious remarks). The study advocated enhancing programmes that promote close relationships across administrators, teaching staff, support staff, parents and students as a factor in preventing student bullying. All respondents expressed a need for more strategies addressing cyberbullying and sexting. In addition, education support professionals had greater needs than teachers for training in other areas such as sexual orientation, gender and disability.

In a review of 26 school-based interventions between 1966–2004 in primary and secondary schools predominantly in the United Kingdom and United States, Vreeman and Carroll (2007) assessed the effects on direct outcome measures of bullying (bullying, victimization, aggressive behaviour and school responses to violence) and outcomes indirectly related to bullying (school achievement, perceived school safety, self-esteem, and knowledge or attitudes toward bullying). The authors concluded that multidisciplinary "whole-school" interventions, such as the well-known Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP)⁶ seem to provide better results than approaches that are more limited in focus.

The Olweus Program implemented in several OECD countries (for US see Schoen and Schoen, 2010; Olweus and Limber, 2010; for Europe see Committee on Culture, Science and Education, 2011) has as its core the whole school and multi-level approach to target the entire student body, and all school staff so that there is a sense of ownership of the problem and ways to tackle the programme together:

At the school level school-wide rules against bullying are adopted, a system of supervision is developed. At the classroom level students are surveyed regarding bullying, school community members are trained, rules against bullying are reinforced, meetings are held with parents, and discussions are regularly scheduled to address bullying and social skill development. At the individual level, interventions are implemented with bullies as well as victims, and parents are included in resolution strategies (Schoen and Schoen, 2010: 69–70).

⁵ *Sexting* is sending or forwarding nude, sexually suggestive, or explicit pictures on a cell phone or online (Siegle, 2010).

⁶ The OBPP, devised by Dan Olweus, was introduced by the Norwegian Government in the early 1980s in the country's schools. Among the other successful projects in Europe not based on the Olweus method are the anti-bullying programmes in Finland (Salmivalli, Kaukiainen and Voerten, 2005) and Greece (Andreou et al., 2007) as well as the *Kia Kaha* (Raskauskas, 2007), *Kiva* (Salmivalli, Karna and Poskiparta, 2007) and *Respect* (Ertesvag and Vaaland 2009) programmes.

This whole-school approach to prevention of bullying is widely considered to be the most successful intervention in bullying – a consideration that is reinforced by Australian research (Cross et al., 2009) which, like that of Vreeman and Carroll (2007), found that programmes that focused on curricula changes or changes in behaviours of perpetrators or victims yielded limited results.

There are a range of resources to assist schools in developing and implementing effective anti-violence policies, practice and procedures in response to issues like bullying, sexual and racial harassment. One such is the New Zealand Post-Primary Principals' Association that has produced an anti-violence toolkit (PPTA, 2007). Another example is a set of five guidebooks produced by the Northwest Regional Education Laboratory to assist schools and school districts to build safe learning environments (Hutton and Bailey, 2008). These guidebooks and resource kits are some of a large number of resources and effective strategies available from teachers unions and education laboratories around the world (OECD, 2009). They provide teachers and schools with:

- Support for management – school councils and school education leaders – to create an environment conducive for student participation and achievement through effective codes and rules on behaviour and discipline, including student rewards and sanctions, and calling on parents to also be involved in reinforcing appropriate behaviour in classrooms and schools.
- Information on legal rights and obligations to provide a safe school environment for all members of the school community. These vary from country to country and can include legislation related to health, employment and education.
- Analysis of the different forms of violence occurring in schools, including bullying, racial harassment and sexual harassment.
- Description of issues for staff and schools resulting from the various forms of bullying and harassment between various members of the school community.
- Guidelines on developing a school policy statement and effective anti-violence policies, preferably through a whole-school approach to full school community commitment and participation.
- Guidelines on developing effective strategies and procedures for use in preventing and managing incidents of violence, including complaints procedures, and provision for support services and ongoing monitoring and evaluation.
- Resources to assist schools in developing and implementing anti-violence policy and practice.
- A process for dealing with violent students and individuals.
- Although there is no one solution to problems, examples of best practices of fellow educators in managing discipline issues, overcoming challenges and achieving results in similar situations can be helpful.
- Improving school facilities and security technologies to prevent violence.
- Professional development of teachers to include structured teaching practices, more engagement of students in their own learning processes, team teaching and classroom discipline strategies (compiled from PPTA, 2007, Hutton and Bailey, 2008, and OECD, 2009).

A major challenge with intervention programmes is to change behaviour. For students, approaches may range from isolation of the aggressor, small group mentoring, individual counselling, social skill development and anger management programmes, to contact with agencies like the police, health workers and child and family services.

Many of these toolkits and guidebooks provide sample forms for an incident report, an interview record and a non-violent student contract. The PPTA toolkit also provides an example of a school bullying survey and checklist that might be used to identify the extent of the problem in a school.

Many of these strategies and toolkits from the extensive research on intervention and prevention of bullying could also be used in the control and management of cyberbullying incidents (Cross et al., 2011). Perpetrators of cyberbullying, however, have more opportunity to remain anonymous, minimizing the risk that they will be caught (Bjorkqvist, 1994; Smith and Slonje, 2009). There is also greater potential for harm experienced by the target of the cyberbullying, partly due to the target's possible isolation (Smith and Slonje, 2009). As such, cyberbullying presents a higher effect-to-danger ratio than non-cyberbullying (Bjorkqvist, 1994). Given cyberbullying messages can be stored permanently and distributed repeatedly, with rapid technological changes providing new means by which cyberbullying can be inflicted, ongoing education for students, parents/families and school staff is necessary. Cross et al. (2011: 10–11) provide a list of multiple strategies for educators to use at school, classroom and student levels for the prevention and reduction of cyberbullying.⁷

Sexual and gender-based violence

While interventions discussed in the previous section represent important advances, there are still significant implementation challenges, especially in terms of limited attention to sexual and gender-based violence. Several bilateral aid agencies, notably USAID (2008) and PLAN West Africa (2008) have focused specifically on interventions related to school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), and UNESCO (2010; 2011) reported on international strategies for reducing SRGBV in situations of war and conflict.

In the UN Security Council's Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism (MRM)⁸ on Children and Armed Conflict, sexual violence and attacks on schools have received superficial attention compared with the plight of child soldiers (UNESCO, 2010). After August 2009 the addition of two more triggers for listing by the Security Council, namely sexual violence and killing and maiming, resulted in mandatory action plans to tackle violations, such as provision of sexual services to the armed forces and sexual violence by members of armed groups, soldiers or security forces as a tactic of war (UNESCO, 2010). UNESCO (2011) recommended that the UN Security Council should create an International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence to document the scale of the problem in conflict-affected countries, identify those responsible, and report back. The remit of the Commission, headed by the executive director of UN Women and involving

⁷ See also the extensive website of Hinduja and Patchin (2009) of the Cyberbullying Research Center, (<http://www.cyberbullying.us>). Siegle's (2010: 16) specific tips adapted from this resource material may also be useful.

⁸ MRM was established by Security Council Resolution 1612 (2005) to provide "timely, accurate, reliable and objective" information to the Security Council on six grave violations against children in armed conflict, including "attacks on schools and hospitals" (For more details see UNESCO 2010, Chapter 9).

the International Criminal Court (ICC) in an advisory capacity, should provide detailed investigation in countries identified as centres of impunity.

PLAN West Africa's (2008:13) recommendations for reducing school-related gender-based violence also span international, national and individual levels:

- Better collaboration between government agencies, school authorities, and the non-governmental and United Nations systems.
- Empowering children to stand up to and report violence; building self-esteem of girls and encouraging their economic self-sufficiency to minimize the risk of transactional sex. Children themselves must become agents of change to eradicate sexual exploitation and abuse in schools.
- Improving legal frameworks by including sexual exploitation and abuse at school in national periodic reporting on child rights, women's rights and torture.
- Conducting a thorough review of legal frameworks and national policies that ensure that laws and policies meet international standards, and are socially adapted and consistent.

Perhaps the most detailed intervention into school-related gender-based violence has been the 2003–08 Safe Haven Project (USAID, 2009a) implemented in Ghana and Malawi. Preceded by an extensive literature review (USAID, 2003) and a comprehensive school assessment (USAID, 2009a), the project includes the Doorways Training Program, a set of three manuals for students, teachers and community counsellors (USAID: 2009b; 2009c; 2009d). The project works at the national level (establishing advocacy networks with government and non-government agencies), the institutional level (teachers and supervisors are sensitized to recognize, prevent and respond to SRGBV), the local level (teachers work with traditional leaders, village elders and other community groups to develop mobilization to prevent SRGBV) and the individual level (teachers and peer leaders are trained to deliver Doorways 1, designed to build teacher acceptance and community ownership, while stressing children's rights and responsibilities).

Successes attributed to the synergies developed through multiple interventions are explained as follows:

- Teachers became more aware of how to report a violation related to SRGBV (75 per cent, compared with 45 per cent before the interventions).
- Teachers' attitudes against the acceptability of physical violence, such as whipping boys, changed (96 per cent, compared with 76 per cent before).
- Teachers' awareness of sexual harassment of girls and boys at school increased by 38 per cent.
- Students became more confident that they had the right not to be hurt or mistreated (70 per cent, compared with 57 per cent before).
- Students' attitudes towards teen pregnancy changed (90 per cent, compared with 70 per cent before, disagreed that a teacher could get a girl pregnant as long as he married her) (compiled from report, USAID, 2009: 27–37).

Conflict and war zones, shootings and gang warfare

UNESCO (2011), CARE/World Bank/Afghan Ministry of Education International (see Glad, 2009, O'Malley, 2007 and UNESCO, 2010; 2011) have researched local and international interventions to ameliorate the effects on schools of armed violence and conflict. Areas of focus relevant to this discussion include provision of adequate protection, monitoring of attacks to end impunity, and interventions in school shootings and gang warfare, which occasionally occur in OECD and middle-income countries.

UNESCO (2010) found that armed protection by government security forces necessary for students and teachers depends on ministries of education and security agencies working together to raise awareness. In 2007, in Iraq, final exams for 150,000 students were severely disrupted when armed militia entered exam rooms killing teachers and students. This resulted in an inflated 85 per cent pass rate as exams could not be held, a refusal of neighbouring countries to recognize such results and the consequent necessity for Iraqi universities to absorb all qualifying students because they did not want to leave them idle and in the streets. In 2008, ministers urged cooperation between the ministries to protect students who were consequently moved into larger university buildings for easier protection during exams – 50 per cent passed and could easily be accommodated at local and international universities (UNESCO, 2010).

UNESCO (2011) reported that security forces in southern Thailand increased to 3,000 the number of police employed to guard 1,000 government schools and to provide armed escorts for teachers. Teachers also received weapons training and training in how to negotiate with hostage takers and had permission to carry guns. While the number of school attacks drastically fell in 2007–08 as a result of this increased security, attacks against teachers remained the same and actually increased in 2009 for several reasons: attackers shifted emphasis to teachers given that schools were better protected; in the post-2008 coup government the high number of untrained vigilantes employed was considered unsuitable for guarding teachers (bodyguards were considered to attract insurgent attacks); and the location of schools near police stations made schools vulnerable when police stations were attacked (UNESCO, 2011).

Governments in many poor countries do not have the resources to offer such security force protection for schools, students and teachers, and community defence has been organized as an alternative. Community defence of schools is exemplified in Afghanistan, which commenced a programme in 2006 to resist and prevent attacks. Glad (2009) offered the most comprehensive evaluation of the programme that included the following aspects: the development of Shura or school councils supported by an information network and an early warning system; appointment of 85 child protection officers to monitor security; and the encouragement of individual community members to confront attackers. The effectiveness of these measures to prevent attack had not been overwhelmingly positive across all communities, but Glad (2009) argued that a strong relationship existed between community involvement in the school and the prevention of attacks. Respondents in this study recommended prevention measures, such as the establishment of shuras (72 per cent), general disarmament (56 per cent) and negotiation with attackers (42 per cent) (Glad, 2009). UNESCO (2010) noted the possible limitations of these research results in that participation was limited to schools that researchers could safely visit.

At the international level, UNESCO (2011) has specific proposals for effective protection of teachers, students and schools:

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- UNESCO be mandated to lead the development of a more robust reporting system specifically related to TVET teachers, school children, institutions and colleges.
 - A reinforcement of the monitoring and reporting mechanism system to provide a more comprehensive account of human rights violations against children.
 - Increased cooperation of UN agencies in collecting, verifying and reporting evidence, and for persistent offenders to be named and reported to the Security Council.
 - Punitive measures to be applied where countries systematically failed to act on national action plans.
 - Security Council more actively to refer cases that qualified as war crimes or crimes against humanity to the ICC.

Agencies such as the International Red Cross (ICRC) have intervened in the life-threatening physical violence that occurs in OECD and middle-income countries. In Honduras, which has one of the highest rates of homicide in the world, a five-year programme commenced in 2010, administered by the ICRC and the Education Department (ICRC, 2011). The programme, *Creating Humanitarian Spaces*, is designed to assist teachers, students and the wider education community to cope with threats, attacks and murders on an everyday basis. As one of the first strategies, 60 teachers from 20 different schools attended a five-day meeting. The ICRC provided first-aid training for emergencies. One of the key outcomes was a reduction in isolation of teachers who shared both experiences of violence and pedagogical tools about issues such as human dignity and the impact of organized violence. This comprehensive approach also includes working with students, developing resource materials, training in the field of emergency psychological support, assessments and security protocols, and the involvement of young people striving to help their local communities (ICRC, 2011).

While school shootings are regarded as rare events, their impact is extremely long-lasting. Wike and Fraser (2009) have used individual factors motivating shooting events and the characteristics of schools where shootings have occurred as the basis for developing six prevention strategies: (a) strengthening school attachment; (b) reducing social aggression; (c) breaking down codes of silence; (d) establishing screening and intervention protocols for troubled and rejected students; (e) bolstering human and physical security; and (f) increasing communication within educational facilities and between educational facilities and local resources. Individual psychiatric assessment and individual-based violence-prevention strategies are considered insufficient to prevent school shootings (Twemlow, 2008). Preti (2008) argued that a code of rules for reporting on such incidents might prevent the dissemination of cultural norms that encourage school shootings. He noted that while risk assessment particularly for shooting is very difficult, there is agreement that accumulating risk factors indicate a greater risk. These include a history of aggression, a decline in functioning, and a recent relational loss or stressful event that make the case for an additional inquiry, particularly after openly disclosed threats of suicide or targeted violence has occurred. Specific guidelines have been released in the US for this purpose (see Fein, Vossekuil and Pollack, 2002), but they are lacking in other countries. Interestingly, bullying victimization has been associated with all school shootings in the US (Preti, 2008; Crary, 2010; Espelage and Swearer, 2010). Writers such as Hong, Cho, Allen-Meares and Espelage (2010) call for risk assessment that examines the nature and influences of the various ecological systems (i.e. family, peer group, school, and community) that affect youths' behaviour.

Concluding comments

School-related violence ranges from that ignited by political, ethnic, military and religious divisions and life-threatening physical violence such as shootings and gang warfare to sexual abuse and low-level harassment and intimidation occurring on an everyday basis in schools. None of this violence has yet been eliminated from schools around the world and, in some areas and with specific populations, it is considered to be escalating. Different forms of violence produce a layered effect in specific communities and nations. Low-level, everyday violence and harassment occurs predominantly but not exclusively in schools in OECD and middle-income countries, and as with political, ethnic and religious violence, it is often accompanied by sexual and gender-based violence and abuse. Newer forms of violence in schools, including cyberbullying and sexting, have different causes and effects and require additional intervention strategies. School-related violence affects teachers and students as recipients, perpetrators and witnesses. School administrators, parents and educational support professionals may also be involved. While violence against students has now been well researched, few studies give priority to teachers' voices or focus on teachers as victims.

Violence in schools has wide-ranging effects on teaching and learning, school management, school culture and environment, and especially on individual students, teachers and other school staff. Students and teachers are bullied, threatened and even murdered, and emotional and psychological effects of such violence can have lasting consequences. While destruction of property is an obvious economic effect of violence in schools all effects can also be reported in monetary terms.

Taking account of the context and building up a social ecology of violence facilitates an understanding not only of its causes, but also development of policies, prevention programmes and their implementation. The broad social environment within and outside the school is implicated in both the production and resolution of school-related violence. Students, teachers, parents, family, community members, government and international agencies are all social actors in this process. In this way issues such as sexual violence in school can be acknowledged as underpinned by gender relations in the family, school and community and interventions sought from various levels of the social and political environment.

ILO, UNESCO and governments each have a role to play in providing incentives and facilitating action to deal with this escalating worldwide problem, ensuring the provision of quality education to all children and appropriate teaching conditions for teachers so that effective learning targets are met in all countries at the earliest possible time.

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