

Schools as Sites of Violence: The Role of Social Capital in Reducing Violence in South African Township Schools

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ABSTRACT Violence is a feature of schooling globally; in this regard the experiences of violence in South African schools are not in isolation. This paper presents selected findings of a research study on schools as sites of violence which was conducted in 16 secondary schools in townships across six South African provinces. Data for this study was collected through a literature review as well as an empirical investigation. Bourdieu and Coleman's social capital theories were used as theoretical frameworks for the empirical enquiry. The results of the study revealed the prevalence of violence within the participating schools and that the presence of violence can partly be attributed to the social contexts of these schools, for example, the unique context of South African townships. In this context social capital is not optimised. The researcher thus argue(s) that violence could be reduced through optimising social capital. In this paper it is explained how the social capital theory could be used to change the social contexts of these schools which in turn would reduce violence, improve school safety and enhance learners' academic performance.

INTRODUCTION

Violence is a feature of schooling globally (Harber 2004) but in this paper the focus is on township schools in South Africa. Townships are characterised by poverty, extremely high unemployment rates and a lack of social infrastructure including providing adequate educational, health, housing, recreational and transport facilities (Govender and Killian 2010). Govender and Killian (2010) argue that a combination of these factors lead to the breakdown of family life and have exerted a direct negative effect on community life, particularly within townships. Benette (2008) argues that people who are exposed to chronic poverty, which is the case for the majority of township dwellers, often have less resources or mechanisms which they can employ to exercise control over their lives. Violence then appears to become an attractive option as it is one of the few available options through which these people can exert control over their lives. This explains why places which experience chronic poverty often have the highest violence rates. This violence according to Burton (2008) is often transmitted to schools, and it is within this context that township schools are discussed within this article.

In the South African context, Black Township and rural schools are characterised by overcrowding, a shortage of teachers, dilapidated buildings, a shortage of school textbooks and generally poor facilities (Kapp 2010). Christie (2010) points out that in these schools, the over-

all academic performance is generally poor; educators and learners are often absent or they arrive late; and they experience conflict and often violence in and around the schools. Furthermore, they may be exposed to violent behaviours such as vandalism, criminality, gangsterism, rape and substance abuse (Hunt 2007). Since the fall of apartheid, the government has not paid enough attention to township schools and these schools continue to face similar problems as those experienced in the previous dispensation (Paulson 2011). This is despite the South African Constitution which guarantees everyone's right to basic education (RSA 1996). The school type in the South African context determines the quality of education that learners receive. Learners in township schools experience academic failure, more so than learners in other types of schools (Vandeyar 2008).

Model A, B, C and D schools were introduced in 1990 by the Apartheid government as a new policy for white schools which were to be semi-private/semi-state owned, which would be state-aided schools run by the management committee and principals (Lewis and Naidu 2004). These schools tend to be relatively safer, less overcrowded and better resourced, with better qualified educators (Alexander 2008). Most learners in these schools tend to have higher academic performance levels and display very little violence (Vandeyar 2008). These school models were revoked after 1994. The term former Model C has, however, remained an informal part of education discourse in South Af-

rica but in fact none of these models exist anymore.

However, in contrast to former Model C schools, township schools have experienced a breakdown of schooling since the fall of Apartheid. Christie (1998) argues that the breakdown in schooling in townships can be attributed to the years of opposition to apartheid and the resistance struggle waged within schools from 1976 onwards. There is now a legacy of contestation of authority within township schools, which was brought about by struggle leaders rejecting Bantu Education. The contestation was through protests and boycotts which were often violent. Unsuccessful attempts were also made to forge an alternative People's Education (Christie 2010). Poor provision of material, conditions of poverty and disruptions in black communities have contributed to the low value placed on schooling within these communities (De Wet 2007). The traditional opposition to schooling and the disruption and deprivation experienced in schools and communities continues to hinder education within township schools (Le Roux and Mokhele 2011).

Christie (2008) found that many educators and learners in township schools felt that they were being unfairly treated by the school system. They therefore masked their anxieties, fear and dissatisfaction by blaming others and performing their tasks at a minimum level. Even when some teachers and learners attempted to implement solutions, the school systems were found to be a stifling environment that inhibited attempts to improve conditions. Christie (1998) argues that the problems that township schools face stem from the general environment in which they are located, that is, poor townships.

Although much research has been conducted on violence in schools in South Africa (for example, Prinsloo 2006; Mncube and Harber 2010; Spreen and Valley 2010; Le Roux and Mokhele 2012), their research was at a smaller scale involving a sample of two or more schools within the same geographical area or district. However, the research on which this article is based was conducted in six South African provinces in sixteen schools. As a result, it gives a broader perspective on the extent of violence in South African township schools. This article discusses selected findings of the "Dynamics of violence in school" project cited above, and explores schools

as sites of violence. The research aimed to provide guidelines which could assist township schools in reducing violence through the effective use of the social capital within the school environment.

Research Question

In the light of the above literature review, the research question which underpins this study is how are South African township schools' experiences of violence shaped by the social context in which these schools are situated? How can violence in schools partly be explained by social capital or its lack thereof? The theoretical perspective used is an attempt to introduce a new perspective to the debate by using the social capital theories of Coleman and Bourdieu to explain schools as sites of violence and its effects on both the teachers and the learners.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that underpins this study is the social capital theories of Coleman, Bourdieu and Bernette. The social capital theory was popularised through the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1990).

In terms of the relevance of social capital to schooling, Kapp (2004:248) argues that it is through schooling and home that social identities and unequal power relations are produced and reproduced. Traditionally teachers and parents are the ones in authority while learners are the subordinates in those relationships. However, children also form their own social hierarchy between each other, and their place in the social hierarchy influences their self-identity.

Coleman identifies human capital as a by-product of social capital which enables children to have a secure sense of self-identity, confidence in expressing their own opinions, and growing in their emotional intelligence (Coleman 1998). Social capital therefore enables young people to become better learners, and consequently to become more successful in school and in society. Social capital is intergenerational and can be experienced by anyone, regardless of current socio-economic level.

Coleman (1998) distinguishes between school social capital and home social capital. Home social capital depends on relationships, more obviously within the family and other sup-

port networks. Coleman (1988) argued that if the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, then it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth regardless of the amount of human capital the parents may possess. The researcher argues that as there is a breakdown in family relations within townships, even if the parents possess human capital, they are unable to pass this on to their children. Township schools also have less capital due to their context and thus the children are double disadvantaged than children in other types of schools, which negatively impacts on the child's educational performance. Most township children then face bleak prospects for their future and often become trapped in a cycle of poverty which leads to violence. In the absence of the much needed material and cooperation from parents, teachers resort to inflicting either physical or psychological violence on children. Learners at these schools often feel powerless against the harsh disciplinary measures and this is often exacerbated through an ideological justification of punishment as expressed by teachers as being essential to make learners conform (Benette 1998). Benette (1998) argues that this establishes a cycle of violence which is sanctioned as a sound educational practice by teachers, with children at the receiving end. Corporal punishment is the most obvious and widely reported form of school violence, which sometimes results in serious injury, truancy or drop-out (Leach and Humphreys 2007).

Learners are therefore socialised to accept violence as a 'functional tool' to obtain social control over their circumstances and as an effective weapon in the hands of adults who have a relatively high ranking in the social hierarchy. The researcher argues that children therefore learn from teachers that violence constitutes a justifiable mechanism to dominate others in search of gratification and control in the context of their chronic poverty.

This is in line with Bourdieu's explanation (1973, 1986, 1991) of differences in children's school outcomes in France during the 1960s on the grounds of different forms of capital. Bourdieu (1986) is well known for his distinction between economic capital, that is, command over economic resources; social capital which he famously defined as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or

less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"; and cultural capital, that is, attributes acquired by people mainly through membership of a social class or group and involving informal parental transmission of knowledge, skills and attitudes to children in the home.

Bourdieu (1986) presents a different interpretation of social capital than Coleman. Bourdieu views social capital as another form of capital along with the economic and cultural capitals which interacts with the process of social reproduction to maintain the society's social structure. Learners' experiences of violence mirror the experiences at home and the broader community. The use of drugs, learners' assault and robbery at home are significant variables in learners' experiences of violence at school. The ways in which children acquire violent repertoires can only be understood by exploring the ecology of the context in which children grow up. Thus Bourdieu is considered to adopt a macro social class viewpoint on social capital whereas Coleman's theory espouses a micro social viewpoint.

The section below will explain the data collection methods which were used to collect data.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research questions in the main Project were investigated by means of a mixed method approach (MMA) research design, in which quantitative and qualitative approaches, methods and language were combined (Brannen 2004; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Creswell 2010). This paper reports only on the qualitative phase of the research, which sought an understanding of what is external and internal about the violence taking place in township schools.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers, learners, principals, non-teaching staff, and members of School Governing Bodies (SGBS) as well as focus group interviews with learners. Observations were also conducted which enabled the researcher to understand the why and how of violence in South African schools based on the perceptions and experiences of those involved. Martens (2005) contends that interviews allow ultimate, repeated and prolonged involvement of the researcher and the participants. This enables the researcher to get to the root of what is being investigated.

According to Rubin and Rubin (1993) semi-structured interviews are a way of uncovering and exploring meanings that underpin people's lives, routine, behaviours and feelings.

Questionnaires were administered across the six provinces to get a better understanding of the type of violence taking place in schools nationally.

Sample and its Description (Selection of Participants)

Four secondary schools were selected as research sites from each of the six provinces, namely Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Limpopo, North West, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. The criteria for selecting those schools were based on the perception that they are sites of violence and the schools records which indicated incidents of violence. This was established after discussions with teachers, the principals and the community members in the areas where these schools are situated. Furthermore, all the identified schools in each of the six provinces were easily accessible and in close proximity to the researchers.

Fourteen year old learners who were either victims or perpetrators of violence were purposively selected as research participants. These learners were divided into two groups and focused group interviews were conducted with these learners. A total of 192 learners participated in the study consisting of four learners who were victim of violence and four learners who were perpetrators of violence.

A purposive sample of two teachers (the school principal and the Life Orientation teacher for Grade 9) in all four schools in each province was used. A total of 64 teachers participated in the study. Qualitative questionnaires were distributed to these teachers and principals to fill in. Purposive sampling was also used to select two representatives of the School Governing Bodies (the chair of the governing body and the member who chairs the school disciplinary, safety and security committee) in all the participant schools. A total of 64 support staff participated in the study.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data was analysed through thematic analysis. Since a voice recorder was used

for interviews, the researchers employed transcribers who were fluent in the participants' languages in the six provinces. Although interviews were conducted in English learners were allowed to respond in languages they were most comfortable with. However, caution was used to check the accurateness of the data transcribed and translated. Interviews were transcribed and analysed according to the phenomenological steps analytical framework of Giorgi (1985) where the researchers

- Read each transcript
- Re-read the transcript and identify transactions in the experience (each transaction signifying a separate unit of meaning)
- Eliminate redundancies in the units of meaning, and begin to relate the remaining units to each other.
- Transform the participant's language into the language of science.
- Synthesise the insights into a description of the entire experience of leadership practices

After data was transcribed and interpreted, responses were arranged according to each question asked for each category of participants. Researchers printed the arranged responses in order to analyse them using the analytical framework of Giorgi et al. (1975). Transcriptions were read and re-read in order to make sense of the analysis. Themes that emerged from the transcripts were identified.

Ethical Issues

A number of ethical issues were taken into account in this research:

Confidentiality, anonymity and privacy were respected. An exception would have been on an occasion that information emerged that could allude to harm being done to an individual, which would have to be reported to the appropriate agency. This proviso was communicated and agreed to before the start of any interview. The participants were promised anonymity and they remained anonymous regardless of the information they provided. However, if participants were warned beforehand in writing that such cases will be reported to police, it would have meant that nobody would have volunteered to share their stories with the researchers. This would have rendered the research exercise null and void. Researchers stated beforehand that

they were not there as police or government officials but as researchers.

Provision was made in the event of participants being traumatised in the process. In situation where participants were likely to be traumatised through relating traumatic experiences, free psychological counselling was provided through the use of the Department of Education's district based psychological services' personnel. Also an agreement was sought from the school based counselling and psychological services beforehand. This enabled the researchers to call for their assistance when required. If no such agreement could be made then the researchers could not use such a school to collect data.

The consent of all participants was sought. Information sheets were provided on the research aim, processes and use of data. Consent forms were provided and completed by the school, parents and participants. These specified the right of the participants to withdraw from the research at any point in event of which the participant's data will be eliminated.

Permission from the educational authorities were sought and obtained. Feedback to participants was provided so that they could both verify data used for analysis and comment on the researcher's interpretation thereof.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Four major categories emerged from the analysis of the participants' responses. Forms of violence occurring in schools included, among others: (i) bullying, (ii) corporal punishment, (iii) sexual abuse and (iv) drug and substance abuse. Descriptions of these types of abuse are supported by evidence mostly in the form of quotations from the interview transcripts (Ely, Vinz, Downing and Anzul 1997). These four major categories will be discussed below:

Bullying

Bullying can further be categorised into two types: learner to learner bullying and teacher to learner bullying. Learners in the study reported that they were being bullied by other learners in their schools. This bullying occurred mostly when teachers were not in class, during breaks and in toilets. Learner to learner bullying takes many forms, among others direct physical con-

tact such as unwelcomed touching, explicit sexual innuendos in speech, teasing, beating and spreading rumours and competition for attention from other sexes. Although both boys and girls are being bullied at schools, the rate of girls being bullied is higher than boys. Girls, as the physically weaker sex, are bullied by both boys and fellow female learners.

"I don't feel safe during break time, because there is no security in the school" (Learner Mpumalanga).

"I feel very scared when there is no teacher in class" (Learner Mpumalanga)

"...a couple of [violence] cases [take place] in the toilets, boy's toilets...but also in the classroom...in most cases when you hear of kids fighting it's more than 90% chance that there was no teacher in that class. So it's mainly in the classroom" (KZN).

These views from learners were supported by teachers who indicated during interviews that violence in the classroom occurs in the absence of teachers.

"Yes, we experienced that they usually fight alone in classroom when there is no teacher is where they will be fighting about the squabble that they had so they continue to fight during those times and it will start maybe fighting for a chair or where they are having girls because some situations belong to girls maybe is in the school or outside school so these are the games which lead to this so we do Experience fight" (Teacher Limpopo)

Teacher to Learner Bullying

Teachers as authoritative figures in school are also perpetrators of violence in schools. Most of the educators in township schools are less qualified than their suburban counter parts and therefore are unable to teach effectively. This situation is exacerbated by overcrowded classrooms as well as lack of good work ethics on their part (Le Roux and Mokhele 2011). This results in teachers' overreliance on physical abuse through but not limited to the following list:

Corporal Punishment

Although the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 prohibits corporal punishment in schools, according to Le Roux and Mokhele

(2011) most schools including the 24 schools which participated in this study reported that they were being hit by teachers and principals respectively for every misdemeanour. Most teachers believe that it was necessary to beat the learners since they were not obedient. This is despite the fact that Le Roux and Mokhele (2011) indicate that the use of corporal punishment in school do not improve learners' behaviour. This confirms Haber's (2008) assertion that schools can be violent places through culturally condoned ethos of muscularity, gender violence, the inculcation of habits of conformity, the intense examination competition regime which leads to anxiety and high levels of stress result in most learners experiencing schooling as being violent.

Besides the issue of corporal punishment, learners indicated that they were also physically abused by teachers. Others also reported being raped by teachers. Most of the participating schools being in townships are located in low socio-economic environments with most of the learners coming from impoverished environments. The lack of both the school and home social capital among these learners makes them prone to physical abuse by the teachers. Morell (2002) claims that teachers whose identities are vested in a power hierarchy contribute to violence by being violent, by condoning violence and by supporting school ethos of intolerance and their insistence to conformity.

One obvious way in which violence can both take place in schools and, via role modelling, have implications for the wider society is when teachers are violent towards students and each other. This research found instances of such behaviour,

"Teacher calls us by vulgar words". (Learner Gauteng)

"We would like you to talk to teachers not to ill-treat us". (Student North West Province)

"The first thing some teachers are being rude to you they don't talk to you nicely, they swear, they talk about your parents. So it's like you do one mistake like making noise, she won't say keep quiet normally she would say wrong things like swearing at you and use big words" (Student North West Province).

"Most of the emotional violence is from teachers who swear at learners and act in an inappropriate way like calling names and shouting and things" (Student North West Province).

"There are some teachers who call us these nasty words like bitch because of our short skirts" (Student North West Province).

We are being abused emotionally and physically by those teacher who stand at the

Front and tell you that saying

"I'm in place of your mother and father", but still has the nerve to tell someone sitting

Next to me that you are busy opening your thighs like Nandos chicken. How do you

Expect that person to feel; is this not bunking of classes? Is this not causing high failure rate and then you blame the learners while the teachers are still there. They are not taking responsibility for anything and they are the adults in this situation. (Student North West Province)

The quotations above indicate that teachers in the township schools represented in this study are perpetrators of violence because they abuse the learners verbally and through the use of corporal punishment. Most of the schools which participated in this study can therefore be classified as both violent and unsafe. The discussion below gives an indication that learners in these schools are not only victims but teachers are also abused in these schools by some of the learners.

Learner on Teacher Abuse

Teachers who participated in the study also attested to being afraid of some of the abusive learners at school. Most of the teachers, especially female teachers, did not feel safe at school. Teachers claimed that they were unable to assist weaker learners for fear of being attacked either inside the school premises or outside the school premises on their way home (Teacher Gauteng). This supports Burton's assertion (2008) that school violence was nothing more than community violence which penetrates the schools. The following quotations give an indication of how teachers feel about violence occurring in their schools.

"It hinders learning (Teacher Mpumalanga)

"I'm not free to teach" (Teacher Mpumalanga)

"Violence creates barriers to learning" (Teacher Mpumalanga)

Teachers are scared to discipline learners" (Teacher Mpumalanga)

"Time is wasted try to calm down the situation"... (Teacher Mpumalanga)

Teachers interviews shows that teachers feel unsafe within the school environments which could also explain why the high incidences of absenteeism and late coming to school.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR SCHOOLS

The results of the study are interrogated using Bourdieu and Coleman's theories of social capital discussed above.

The data suggests that violence continues to be a serious problem in most township schools investigated. However, this is not to say either that there is nothing that schools can do about such external violence or that such violence is completely external in anyway. In this article the researcher argues that the violence that is experienced in schools could to a large extent be minimised if these schools uses both the school and the home social capital at their disposal.

Most learners in township schools reside in informal settlements and also within the township communities. These places are in most cases characterised by high levels of unemployment, lack of recreation facilities, lack of service delivery and a high prevalence of drug and substance abuse. People living in high poverty areas such as these are three times more likely to be abused than those living in other parts of the cities (Kapp 2004). Although it is true that since these learners are facing abject poverty and being prone to violence are violent themselves, schools can use their social capital to enhance the learners' social lives or their own lack of social capital. Coleman (1998) argues that, humans draw on various forms of capital in social settings to produce balanced personalities.

Coleman (2008) describes three types of capital that may benefit these learners. The first type of capital that he mentions is the physical capital, which is the wealth that improves peoples' living conditions. Schools clearly need to use their physical capital by improving the school surroundings, by building recreational facilities, by improving schools security systems through the use of security gates and controlling people coming in and out of schools.

More often than not these learners tend to leave school earlier and go home where there is no one to attend to their needs. This could be curbed by having after school classes where

learners are being assisted with their homework. Extra curricula activities could also assist learners with something to do after completing their homework. In such cases, learners will arrive home late when parents are also returning from work.

The second form of capital that school should use to improve the learners safety at school is human capital. Human capital is the personal characteristics and experiences of an individual that enhances his/ her productive behaviour and overall wellbeing. The researcher argues that schools can assist learners with violent behaviours and make schools safer through the use of human capital. Schools can invite prominent members of society to come and address learners on issues affecting their daily lives. It is the responsibility of the school to make the necessary and important ties with professionals in other fields such as social workers, doctors and psychologists. Business people can assist poor learners in the communities by giving these learners part time employment or weekend jobs.

Schools should desist working only as academic institutions without taking into account their pastoral role especially, when dealing with learners from impoverished communities. Parents in these communities need assistance with knowledge on good parenting skills and being available to their children and showing interest in their children's school work. Also of importance is that teachers should be good role models and build a trusting relationship with the learners. It is important for learners, especially as adolescents to have someone to confide to when experiencing problems.

The third form of capital that can assist in reducing violence in schools is social capital. Social capital is the social ties and networks that give people a sense of belonging. Teachers in township schools need to be reskilled on how to deal with violent learners, on how to detect violent behaviours before they become problematic. Teachers need to spend enough time on the task of teaching and intellectually engaging the learners. Most of the violent behaviour is also a result of boredom as learners are not engaged in cognitively demanding task. Clear examples in point are where learners have been without books from the beginning of the year. Most of these schools which were without books are located in impoverished communities and as such these communities feel hopeless and have no means of resolving their problems.

Learner's academic achievement and performance can be seen as an aspect of human capital. High academic achievement is the form of capital that promotes adaptive and productive capacity. Once learners experience academic success they are likely to succeed as success breeds success. Through academic success, learner's self-image will be enhanced. However the results of the article show that some 'external' threats are also partly internal. Most of the schools appear to be failing to deal with cases of bullying or sexual harassment even when these incidents are reported to teachers. This is a case of violence by omission where schools know, which the evidence in this study clearly suggests they do, and still do little or nothing to try to prevent it. One teacher in the wider study even noted that the wider education system itself was partly to blame as many bullies were those that the system had failed.

The study shows evidence of direct forms of violence that originate within the schools themselves. From this study it is clear that a proportion of teachers are verbally, physically and psychologically violent towards learners, including using corporal punishment which is illegal. However, the results of the study also show that teachers themselves do not feel safe in most of the township schools investigated. Teachers are also being abused by the learners and the school principal.

The findings suggest that the majority of township schools are experiencing a lot of violence, which also explains why a lot of these learners are experiencing academic failure. Violence which is experienced within these schools cannot be separated from the violence within the communities in which these schools are located. According to Barnett (2008), as the majority of township dwellers lack both the home and school social capital violence becomes the only attractive option available to them to exert control over their lives.

The abuse of power by the teachers through the use of corporal punishment, through sexual harassment, verbal and emotional abuse indicates how unsafe the schools have become. Kapp (2004) argues that it is through schools that social identities are formed and unequal power relations are produced and reproduced. Since most of these learners are abused by the teachers they also model teacher's behaviour by abusing each other and also their teachers.

Schools with stronger social capital are able to make use of the community and the broader society to assist with the smooth running of the school. Although the schools themselves are situated in poverty stricken communities they are able to build bridges with other communities who are able to assist either with finances to improve the physical conditions of the schools. In order for these schools to function well they need the resources for fencing and hiring of the security guards. The social ties will also assist these schools as they will be in a position to invite prominent leaders in other communities to address both the teachers and learners on different aspects that might be affecting their lives. Social workers, psychologist and doctors and other prominent community leaders are need as schools are in themselves communities and these professionals will be able to assist learners and teachers who are experiencing problems

Bonding social ties that learners depend on within their families, school and community will have a significant social connectedness which is likely to yield benefit to the learners. It is therefore important within the school settings that learners have teachers that they could trust and be able to turn to as a school is a community in itself. Most of the learners who participated in the study lacked these social ties as they are from dysfunctional families, disorganised communities which are also violent and dysfunctional schools.

CONCLUSION

The major focus of this article has been on the applicability of the social capital perspectives in explaining the dynamics of violence within South African schools. The research findings underscore important aspects of violence facing most township learners. Bullying, sexual and verbal abuse, the presence of gangsters and drug abuse and corporal punishment were the four major forms of violence occurring in most schools with adverse effects to learners, the learning environments and the teachers. The effectiveness of township schools as illustrated in learners' academic success depends on schools being safe environments where effective learning can take place.

Clearly the results indicate high levels of violence within schools. Nevertheless, the results

suggest important forms of human and social capital that schools need to have in place. The results of this study indicates the importance of both the social and human capital matters as critical resources that children and teachers can effectively use in managing violence in township schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the research findings the researcher suggests that schools need to make use of important forms of capital (human and social) that they have in order to be effective. Social and human capitals are critical resources that teachers and learners can effectively use in managing violence in township schools. Schools need to use social capital by creating ties with the larger communities within which the schools are situated to enhance learner performance. Social ties also assist learners and teachers to make connections with the outside school communities which increase a sense of belonging.

Through the use of financial capital schools are able to accumulate resources to assist in improving the schools. The financial capital could be in a form of donations which could be utilised to repair school buildings and improve school grounds for sporting activities. Schools should have after care classes with extra staff members to assist learners with their homework.

It is suggested that the police, parents and community leaders should become involved in assisting schools to deal with violence. The study also suggests that teachers be reskilled to deal with the issues of violence in schools and also to assist parents with good parenting skills. Although schools are affected by violence within the communities in which they are situated both social and human capital within the school's environments could be effectively used to buffer the effects of community's violence.

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