

The Hybrid Nature of School Space and the Manifestation of Violence in South African Schools

Nomanesi Madikizela-Madiya¹ and Vusi S. Mncube²

¹College of Education: University of South Africa,
Department of Science and Technology Education

Telephone: +27(0)124294698, E-mail: madiyn@unisa.ac.za

²College of Education: University of South Africa, Room 6-77 AJH Van Der Walt Building
Telephone: 012 429 2139, Fax: 012 4294919, E-mail: Mncubvs@unisa.ac.za

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ABSTRACT Violence in South African schools seems to challenge the conventional perception of school as a safe place. Drawing from the qualitative data of a project that investigated the dynamics of violence in South African schools, this paper illustrates the manner in which violent practices in schools speak to the hybrid nature of school space. Using theories of hybridity and Third Space, the authors argue that as researchers and educators advocate for students to bring funds of knowledge they learn from outside school to develop a Third Space for learning, they overlook the effects of violence as part of those funds of knowledge. The paper concludes by posing a challenge to educators and researchers that, while useful knowledge from outside school is necessary for holistic learning, adequate preparation is needed for addressing the unwanted funds of knowledge.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a report on school-based violence in South Africa, the South African Council for Educators (SACE) (2011) notes a shift from conventional construction of school as a safe and protected learning space to a space of widespread violence. This is a problem not only in South Africa but also in other parts of the world (Astor et al. 2006; Ngakane et al. 2012). Even though violence is not a new phenomenon in schools all over the world, a major concern is its changing nature and magnitude. In the 1990s these have included drug abuse; alcohol abuse; pregnancy; suicide; rape and assault. Similarly in South Africa violent acts reported are as serious as stabbing and killing in both public and private schools (SACE 2011; Mncube et al. 2012).

Mncube et al. (2012:12) suggest that school violence is two-fold. Firstly, there is direct internal form of school violence which results when schools “actually *perpetrate* the violence themselves rather than have it imposed upon them from the outside or reproducing it by failure to act”. Here sexual violence towards girls by male staff teachers is given as an example. Secondly, there is external violence which originates from outside school “with the socialisation of the individuals concerned in their families and communities but which nevertheless take place within schools and which can be reproduced by schooling by omission when they are ignored

or even passively condoned” (Mncube et al. 2012: 7). In other words, this is school violence that is learnt from outside and brought to school.

Without undermining the seriousness of the internal violence in schools, in this paper the authors focus on the external violence for the following reason. Often educators and researchers advocate for the acknowledgement of what students learn from home and from their neighbourhood and that such knowledge should be brought to school. It is often argued that students bring to school the funds of knowledge which they gain from their families, communities, cultures and languages (their First Space) (Gonzalez et al. 2005; Quigley 2010). The idea is that such knowledge should be integrated with scientific knowledge they gain from school (their Second Space). These two spaces should overlap or work together to develop students’ congruent Third Space. Third Space is an ideal, hybrid “space”, where both social and scientific funds of knowledge overlap for holistic learning. In Third Space, what seem to be oppositional categories can actually work together to generate new knowledges, new Discourses, and new forms of literacy (Moje et al. 2004: 42). In other words when researchers and educators speak of this hybrid space their focus is only on *ideal* funds of knowledge from the First Space and the Second Space joining together to develop a congruent Third Space with the required funds of knowledge.

What this paper argues, however, is that the funds of knowledge brought by students to school are not only those that are positive. As indicated above, students also bring to school violent funds of knowledge which make incongruent Third Space within schools. This happens when violence that students bring to school from outside becomes a barrier to learning. Although extensive research and publications on violence in schools exists (for example Harber and Mncube 2011; Barnes et al. 2012; Le Roux and Mokhele 2011; Ngakane et al. 2012), little attention has been paid on how such violence, as a fund of knowledge, impacts on learning to create an incongruent Third Space. This paper purposes to contribute knowledge to this gap.

Eight sections structure this paper. Following this introduction is the background section in which the context from which the paper emanates is discussed. Third, the authors discuss the theoretical framework of this study. Fourth, the methodology that was used in extracting data for the paper is presented and is followed, fifth, by the presentation of findings, followed, sixth by the discussion of findings. The conclusions regarding school violence and space are presented next and are lastly followed by the recommendations.

1.1 Background

This paper draws from a project that investigated dynamics of violence in schools from six provinces in South Africa. Amongst the objectives of the project were to: elicit perceptions and experiences of learners, teachers, other school staff, governors and parents about school violence; categorise the types of violence that occur in South African schools both in terms of the nature of the violence and the actors involved; and evaluate the effects of violence on teaching and learning (Mncube et al. 2012). This paper uses Third Space and hybridity theories as framework towards addressing these objectives. These theories are discussed below.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In his 2004 paper titled *Breaking down the school walls*, Matthew Horne argues for schools in the United Kingdom to be open to the larger society so that students can be exposed to more than what is in the classroom. He argues,

“schools cannot meet the expectations of the modern world unless they tear down the school walls and make better use of the learning opportunities that surround them” (2004: 6). Horne clearly indicates that he refers to both the physical and the non-physical boundaries in this statement as he argues that schools shut out the outside world to keep the schools safe. Yet, he argues, “bringing the outside world into the classroom is essential if we are to motivate, stimulate and engage our young people” (2004: 6). Similarly, Moje et al. (2004) suggest that for purposes of learning competing, academic and everyday knowledges may be integrated in some school contexts.

The authors of this paper understand that Moje et al. refer to such openness and integration in relation to classroom learning and the authors agree with them to some extent. The authors’ position however is that “there is no unified, single space-time called the “classroom” and no single production called “classroom discourse” (Leander 2001: 642; Leander et al. 2010). A call for “breaking down the school walls” and/or integrating “knowledges and Discourses drawn from the “First Space” and the “Second Space” to construct the “Third Space” needs a careful reconsideration in some contexts. There is always a “multiplicity of contexts-in-play within school-related discourse [which] ought to be considered as a norm rather than an exception” (Leander 2001: 642). This multiplicity may include unacceptable behavior learnt from outside school. If this is the case the authors get worried when researchers and educators call for bringing the outside world into the classroom as if the outside world is always congruent with the classroom situation. Even Horne (2004: 6) posits that although shared values and beliefs from school and the community are necessary, ensuring that both “are tolerant, welcoming diversity, open and dynamic is an enormous challenge for institutions like schools”. This is much so when the community where the school is located is significantly different from what the school is ought to be. In the next section this position is discussed in relation to hybridity theory.

1.3 Hybridity and Third Space

The world outside school is not only composed of supportive parents and good role models. In the context of this paper, when “the walls are broken”, the safe space (school) that Horne

(2004) refers to gets mixed up with culture of violence that students learn from the world outside the school and the school space becomes a hybrid, a mixture of good and bad habits. Hybridity theory was first espoused by Homi Bhabha (1994). It relates to mixing of the cultural traits of colonial and postcolonial population due to movements and the resultant “in-between cultures” which were neither similar to the original incarnations nor new locations but unique. Similarly, in schools some students and staff have a violent culture which they bring from outside school but some do not. The anti-violence culture in schools is also supported by the existence of policies and codes of conduct. In this regard schools have a hybrid culture between violent and non-violent. Quigley (2010) understands Hybridity theory as examining the manner in which people draw on multiple funds that place those people “in-between” them and looks at how being in-between those funds enables or constrains participation in particular contexts.

The Third Space referred to above is similarly hybrid. Cook (2005: 85) describes Third Space theory as “an attempt to explain and resolve the tensions and lack of productivity that may arise when different cultural and institutional identities come in contact, including those with apparently similar aims...” When such cultural identities differ, unfortunately one of them becomes a barrier against productivity. Therefore while educators and researchers advocate for a Third Space for learning the question that may be asked is how the violent culture can be sifted to get only the ideal knowledge from the First Space to the Second Space. To demonstrate how difficult this can be in this paper the authors were interested in understanding what conceptions participants had about sources of violence in schools and why they had those conceptions. The authors also wanted to examine how such violence hybridise schools’ culture of learning and teaching. Thus the paper purposed to explore the following question: What are the perceptions and experiences about violence in the selected South African schools?

The subsequent questions were:

1. What are the sources of violence that is experienced in schools?
2. What forms of violence do students bring to schools?
3. How does such violence impact on teaching and learning?

In the next section the methodology that was used to gather data to address these questions is presented.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As indicated above, this paper draws its data from a primarily qualitative research project that also employed some ‘quantitative’ approach in order to get at the lived reality of violence in South African schools. The project used semi-structured interviews with teachers, principals and members of School Governing Bodies. In addition, focus group interviews with learners and observations allowed the researchers to get first hand and more nuanced and detailed reality of what happens inside schools. This allowed the researchers to obtain insights and understanding of the how and why of violence in schools based on the perceptions and experiences of those involved. The attempt was to get at the nature of reality of violence in schools as seen by the key participants. In addition, a questionnaire was used in order to reach the wider audience.

Participant observations were conducted in one case study province (KwaZulu-Natal). For issues of convenience and financial limitations only two case study schools from KwaZulu-Natal were used in conducting participant observation. The researchers asked and trained two teachers per school to conduct observations on a daily basis on behalf of the researchers. In total there were four participant observations made in two KZN schools.

Four secondary schools were selected from each of the six provinces. Criteria used for selection was based on anecdotal evidence of incidences – this evidence was garnered from media reports and conversations with ‘critical friends’ (teachers, principals and ward managers and school governors etc.). The schools were chosen on the basis of their being seen as violent, as per discussion with critical friends mentioned above. Further, based on the criteria, all the schools identified were put on the short list in each province and the four most convenient schools in terms of access and proximity to the researchers were finally chosen. Two focus groups of learners were interviewed in each school. In each school and province purposive sampling was used to include two teachers (the school principal and the life orientation teacher

in the Grade 9); 2 representatives of school Governing bodies (the chair of governors and the chair of the school's discipline safety and security committee). Below the findings from this study are presented.

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Starting with a sub-question on the sources of violence in schools, the findings discussed in this section are concerned with the stakeholders' perceptions and experiences about violence that is eminent in South African schools.

3.1 Sources of Violence

Amongst the themes that were identified from data was that of community as a problem. It appeared that different stakeholders were of the opinion that some of the violence in schools originates from the communities. One of the learners interviewed stated, "The school is located inside a rough community, it's easy for learners to [bring] anything illegal /prohibited in the school premises when they want to" (Learner Mpumalanga). Similarly the member of the SGB at a school in Mpumalanga noted that "most learners are from dysfunctional homes and this is seen their behaviour..." This was also corroborated by a teacher in the same school who also blamed violence on learners that are from dysfunctional homes. A teacher in the Northwest stated:

I think also the environment where these kids come from plays a role in them being violent because at home they are staying alone there are no parents to guide them. Others they are staying with their grannies, so that is why they become so violent because there is no one to guide them, so when they come here, whoo it's problems! (Teacher NWP)

Clearly, this statement indicates some of the problems that are in the First Space and which need to be considered as the call for breaking down the school walls is made. One argument, suggested in relation to schools and its community, is that schools are a microcosm of society and that they merely reflect or mirror the violence of the wider society. For example one participant indicated, "...a school ... reflects the kind of society [where it] is situated and learners in our school are also a reflection of the society. So, the society where the school is situated is a poor society ... and there is violence ..." (Teacher, KZN). The implication here is that

socio-economic conditions in the community are reflected in school through learners' behavior. Would this therefore mean a need to break down the community or societal reflection in schools instead of the school walls? This is a question that the authors propose is worth exploring. However, to indicate that not every fund of knowledge in the community is not worth bringing to school, some participants indicated, "*We do have some quiet kids who are disciplined and you can see the background that this one is coming from a good home... [but] others have abusive parents. So they end up coming to school and being abusive to other kids*" (Teacher, KZN). This statement indicates the manner in which the culture within the same school and classroom may be a hybrid and therefore may imply a need not to generalize as a call for a Third Space and breaking down of school walls is made.

Violence in schools occurs regardless of the fact that schools have codes of conduct which spell out how learners should behave in schools.

We've got a code of conduct for learners and for teachers also, it is working somehow but for other learners it is not working because if there are laws there are saying no vulgar language, no late coming, no fighting but they still fight but some they know that there should abide by the code of conduct (Teacher NWP).

These codes of conduct are meant to make a school a safe space, but as the teacher in the extract indicates, some learners decide to create their own space where such codes do not fit. In other words, they mix the culture of safety and security that the school tries to build with a different culture of disobedience and violence.

The next question that this study wanted to explore was the types of violence that take place in schools. The findings on this question are subsequently presented.

3.2 Forms of Violence in Schools

A number of violent acts were identified as taking place in all the schools studied. Here the findings related to gangsterism, drug abuse and racial tensions are presented as those originating externally but causing violence in schools.

3.2.1 Gangsterism

Gangsterism proved to be one of the serious causes of violence in schools, particularly so in the Western Cape Province. This is in line with

the findings of the Portfolio Committee on Education (18 June 2002) that gangs emerge from within communities due reasons such as low-income employment, unemployment and poor living conditions, all leading to conditions of poverty and deprivation. The researchers found that learners as young as 13 years of age are being recruited to join the ranks of gangs. This gangsterism causes chaos and disruption in school. Learners and educators are similarly terrified of being caught in crossfire, not only at school, but also on their way to school and on their way back home. Therefore they opt not to go to school until the situation is calm and this affects the teaching and learning. For example one principal stated:

Last year we experienced random shooting in front of the school gate, whereby two gangs were shooting at each other and a stray bullet hit a learner and up till today we don't know who the person is that shot the girl and in the community that we live in a lot of our kids during the time of gang violence in the area get caught in the cross fire and they miss out a substantial amount of academic time (Principal, Western Cape).

This shows that sometimes violence and its consequences get to the school not because members of the school community such as teachers and learners but practically breakdown the school walls. Another principal also indicated:

... what happens here is that whatever happens in the community impacts on the school... when we returned to school there was huge amount of gang violence and then they signed a peace form which, well, was very fragile and will last a very few weeks or months and then an incident happens and you must understand that especially in the coloured community gangs is part of the fabric of that community there is huge number of gangs in any coloured community... (School Principal, Western Cape).

This is one of the clear ways in which community culture hybridises the school culture. A clear indication of what happens when the physical school walls are non-existent in schools that are affected by gangsterism was picked from the following statement.

... the fence is for our own safety and the safety of our teachers and if there is no fence we don't feel safe ... which means our education cannot continue because if you sit in the class wondering what's gonna happen, when is the

gangster gonna come in and open fire on the learners, that is what is going through our minds as learners... (Learner, School A Western Cape).

It was also clear that often the learners that are involved in gangsterism are understood as having dual identity within a class where they are supposed to be only learners. This affects their classmates as indicated in the following statement.

... some learners that are gangsters come to school and we as learners we don't know what's gonna happen because he is in class and he is a gangster and that other gang is gonna come and hurt him while I am in the class... we are in fear and we don't now what's gonna happen because they come any time and hurt him. There is no fence in the school so they come in and look for the gangsters... (Learner, Western Cape).

The question that this situation may raise is whether it would be better to develop means of closing out the gangsters from the school instead of breaking the school walls for them to come in. Often the problem of gangsterism goes hand in hand with drugs which; as indicated below have also been identified as causing violence in schools in the provinces concerned.

3.2.2 Drug Abuse

In almost all schools that participated in this study drugs were found to be a major cause of violence, particularly with boys. Some participants indicated:

... the boys... go out during break time and have these drugs "wunga" which is most common drug that they are using at the moment... they come back after break being arrogant and they don't want to listen to teachers. When you are trying to calm them down they try to be more aggressive to the teachers and at the end of the day you end up not knowing how to control them... they can hit you. Sometimes they do carry knives in their bags (Teacher KZN).

In this case the school walls are broken in the sense that learners are allowed to go out to the community during break time. The result however is a clear indication that not all contexts are conducive for breaking down the school walls. It may be assumed that if the boys remain inside the school premises throughout the day

their behavior would be unproblematic. One Principal in Gauteng mentioned the case of an old lady (from the First Space) who sells dagga to learners in the area where the school (the Second Space) is located. Even in cases where there is no direct evidence, schools have come to believe that the First Space has a role in disrupting schools with drugs. The extract below from one principal indicates this and the manner in which dagga relates to violence in the school.

Dagga smoking I think that one we have the biggest problem with if I would open my drawer now you will smell dagga confiscated from the learners, so if the police can come here now they'll take me...the problem that we have is that the parents will always cover for their children and I think they sell or something but I think the outside people use them to sell it and I think they sell cigarettes also and it's like there is territories here and the other boy stabbed the other because of territory" (School C Principal, Western Cape).

Indeed, drugs can influence the behaviour of even some of the more potentially responsible learners such as the head of the representative council for learners (RCL),

...yesterday the president of the representative council for learners... attempted to stab one fellow who is in grade 12... This fellow slapped the president across his face and the president went to and opened his bag and took a knife and attempted to stab this fellow... For your information Prof., this fellow [the president] takes drugs... which suggest the damage that is caused by this "wunga" this drug to the learners (Principal KZN).

This is worrying considering the fact that the RCL head is usually selected on the basis of good behavior and academic merit. The existence of drugs in his disposal evidently hybridized his identity and therefore the school culture. The question would be how the school could retain his identity as a good learner through the funds of knowledge only from school.

Not only drugs and gangsterism lead to violence in schools. The most obvious reflection of community violence spreading to schools is that related to racial tensions, which are discussed next.

3.2.3 Racial Tensions

Racism was found to be amongst the major problems that disrupt learning and teaching in

the schools, particularly in the Western Cape Province. For example one participant had this to say:

There is also the so called Coloureds and the isiXhosa learners in our school, there is racial conflict that is always coming up for instance if one of the Xhosa learners has a conflict with a Coloured learner then all of a sudden the Coloureds are on one side and the Xhosa are on one side. The fight breaks out and continues even outside school premises...some of the Xhosa speaking children won't be able to come to school because they are scared of being beaten and all that so the police will have to escort the Xhosa speaking learners (A Learner, Western Cape).

This problem is obviously brought from the larger community from which the school is located. Historically this school was mainly for the Coloured community, but with the dawn of democracy in South Africa it opened its gates to all races. In terms of learner population the school consists of 1 Indian learner, 250 Black Xhosa and 759 Coloured learners. Given the dynamics of the school of having black and coloured learners in the school exposes it to the potential for racial violence. According to the principal any clash or disagreement that involves a Coloured and a Black learner is reduced to race, which results in racial tension and violence.

Just yesterday we had an incident that involved a black kid and a coloured kid; it has now been reduced to race. I mean a simple thing a coloured will take a packet of chips from a black boy and a fight will start along racial lines with other learners taking sides and it is not the issue of what the coloured kid did was wrong it is reduced to race in the area, so that exposes us to a school of a particular type of violence which is racially motivated (School A Principal, Western Cape).

One can assume that even during the lessons learners cannot freely share information related to their cultures to such racial tensions. This becomes a disruption of the development of a congruent Third Space as proposed by literature above. Racial tension amongst learners is a cause for concern for the school because when this escalates it throws the school's basic functionality into turmoil and disarray. More of the impact of violence is presented in the next section.

3.3 Impacts of Violence on Teaching and Learning

As indicated above, violence in schools terrifies both teachers and learners to the extent that some opt to stay away from school for some time. This was evident in the following statements:

If a child is always a victim in the toilet, now the child is going to fear to go to the toilet and when the child has got to respond to call of nature where shall the child go? He goes to the toilet he is going to be victimized. As a result of that the child will be tempted not to attend school and that affects teaching and learning (Principal, KZN)

Victims of violence don't cope they end up dropping out from school. (Principal Gauteng)

Some forms of violence become barriers to learning even when learners have decided to come to school. One learner for instance narrated, *"This happened outside the school. A girl promised to beat me daily after school hours. I got so scared that at times I used to go home immediately after break just to run away from them"* (Learner Gauteng). This learner therefore missed after break lessons because of a girl outside school who threatened her. This is how out-of-school violence impacts on learning in school. The question is how much worse it would be if the community was not closed off by the walls. Some participants indicated:

[violence] affects or hinders learning, in most cases classes are destructed, teachers spent quality time trying to calm down the situation. (Principal Gauteng).

It wastes a lot of learning time. Learners end up focusing or paying more attention to the perpetrator because they are not sure of what is going to do next. (Teacher Gauteng).

When these things happen they indicate a different culture from that of teaching and learning that schools are supposed to focus on.

The stereotyping made by this learner to me, made me feel as if I was less human this affected my learning " (Learner Gauteng).

I don't feel safe inside the classroom (Learner Gauteng).

This is an indication of how school space is no longer as safe as it used to be, but resembles some spaces outside school where people do not feel safe nor protected. Even more seriously, violence has been reported as leading to either

absenteeism or complete drop out of school. It was also apparent from the interviews that not only learners get affected by violence, but teachers as well. One principal stated:

...you are going to find that teachers enter the class...prepared [to teach]. Now instead of teaching you are going to lecture them, trying to motivate them to leave what they are doing and sometimes we must start punishing them [sending them] to work in the gardens or maybe to pick up the papers around the school. Sometimes it affects us [in the sense that] some teachers don't want you to punish those kids. They see that thing [the misbehavior] was not so important, and then it causes friction between the teachers (Principal Gauteng).

These views indicate that violence plays a very big role in disrupting the culture of teaching and learning in schools. Below these findings are discussed.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Hybridity and Third Space in South African Schools: Discussion of Findings

The blame of violence in schools to the communities indicates that school is not a "discrete spatial and temporal islands, isolated from 'the outside world' [which has] wider socio-economic and political problems" (McGregor 2004: 4) because those outside world problems create problems inside school. So, where the school is located as well as the learner's home ethos, are understood as having a significant role in the manner in which learners behave at school. Two interrelated issues emerged from the findings above. First, breaking down of school walls may be contextual. Secondly, third space may not be congruent due to dual identities.

4.1.1 Contextual Breaking of School Walls

As indicated in the theoretical framework above, authors in some contexts call for the breaking down of school walls to expose learners to the world out there (Horne 2004). When such walls are broken a hybrid space (Bhabha 1994) develops in which learners will be able to easily develop their own adequate Third Space (Cook 2005; Moje et al. 2004; Quigley 2010) to learn from both the community and the school funds of knowledge. However, the findings pre-

sented above indicate that such breaking down of school walls may not work in the South African context where schools are subjected to violence. This study found that some cultural knowledge that students possess adds to but does not add up to what learners need to learn. Bhabha (1994:234) warns against such knowledge and states that it is the “enemy of the *implicit* generalization of knowledge or the *implicit* homogenization of experience...”. As such the intermingling of the violent culture from the some South African communities with school codes of conduct challenges and disputes the notion of pure and or essential Third Space for learning as advocated for by literature above. This may be interpreted as implying a need for educators to be ever vigilant of the fact that “all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity” (Rutherford 1990:211). Thus as they call for the breaking of school walls (Horne 2004) they should keep a look at what culture they are inviting to schools from the First Space and therefore what culture will be in the process of developing within the Second Space. Findings presented above indicate that in the South African context hybrid culture in schools creates incongruent rather than congruent Third Space for learners.

In addition, it became clear that the socio-economic conditions in the communities from which some schools are located demands a need for addressing poverty to be a priority than the development of a Third Space for learners from such communities. This may suggest that breaking down the school wall may not be generalized as it may not apply in some contexts. Changing society towards equality should be the priority than breaking down the school walls in the South African context.

4.1.2 Dual Learners’ Identity

It became apparent in the findings of this study that some learners are not only affected by violence at a third person position. Their identity is dual in the sense that they are both gangsters or drug users and learners at the same time. This proves to be not only a barrier to their peers learning but also indicates that their Third Space cannot be congruent. They do not display a fruitful fund of knowledge that can benefit them and their peers in class. The authors therefore question whether it would not be better in such cas-

es to think of ways of building walls against such learners coming to school than breaking down the school walls to their community. This question is pose because when the walls are on, the school can to some extent be able to protect learners from outside violence and be able to develop a culture of teaching and learning. When the learners are out of school their safety would be in the hands of the community. But if the walls are broken, as in a case of allowing learners with dual identity in, there is no clear demarcation about who determines the safety of our children in schools.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper purposed to understand the perceptions and experiences of participants in relation to the sources and forms of violence that affect schools in South Africa. The authors’ aims were to examine the extent to which the idea of breaking down the school walls towards hybridizing school culture and developing Third Space for learning could work in the South African context. It became apparent that the forms of violence that take place in South African schools put learners, teachers and other members of the school community in so much risk that instead of breaking down the school walls, consideration may be towards building them. However, ultimately it is the school management – the Principal and SGB – that is responsible for the day to day prevention of violence in schools and there is considerable evidence in the report from which this articles draws that many schools are not being managed sufficiently well to reduce violence. A key question that policy makers and educationalists have to ask themselves in terms of reducing violence in schools is whether to continue to go down a path which emphasises punishment, control and surveillance of learners (and staff) or to take a path of increasing the effectiveness of school organisation and culture of teaching and learning.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The authors recommend that the department of education, together with the school governing bodies and principals should develop ways of managing what comes to the school from the learners’ First Space. Strategies for doing that may be developed in consultation with the com-

munities involved so that it does not become an imposed strategy from above. This way, knowledge from the First Space and that from the Second Space may adequately be integrated for the benefit of all parties.

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