



Kids first: approaching school safety

Margaret Roper

Schooling in South Africa is based on the 1996 Constitutional principles of equity, human rights and democracy, and explicitly focuses on remedial measures intended to address the impact on students and youth of years of violence associated with the anti-apartheid struggle. According to the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training:

The education system must counter the legacy of violence by promoting the values underlying the democratic process and the charter of fundamental rights, the importance of due process of law and the exercise of civic responsibility, and by teaching values and skills for conflict management and conflict resolution, the importance of mediation, and the benefits of toleration and co-operation. Thus peace and stability will become the normal condition of our schools and colleges, and citizens will be empowered to participate confidently and constructively in social and civic life.¹

This theme is taken up in the South African Schools Act of 1996 which emphasises addressing past imbalances and disparity, and providing for an equitable and democratic system of governance, management and funding of schools and the education process. In addition, the Act provides for a higher quality of education for all learners.

However, while noting that the policies and frameworks for education developed for South Africa were basically sound, in July 1999 the newly appointed Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, acknowledged that the delivery and transformation of the system had been slow and uneven, that rampant inequality was still prevalent, and the quality of education had failed many children. The Minister said "...the educational condition of the majority of people in this country amounts to a national emergency".²

To address this, the Minister announced his "Tirisano: Call to Action" plan detailing the educational priorities and vision for the next few years. The plan focused mainly on "the massive inequalities in access and facilities, the poor state of morale of the teaching force, failures in governance and management, and the poor quality of learning in much of the system".³ In addition, the plan emphasised the

need for improvements in the safety and security elements of schooling and in the processes of teaching and learning. Further, it emphasised the proactive role of schools in addressing high levels of violence in local communities.

How severe is the problem of violence in schools? While there is a lack of quantitative data on the scope and nature of the problem across the country, various studies and reports indicate widespread incidence of corporal punishment, bullying, intimidation, fist fights, knife fights, theft, shootings, interpersonal violence, and rape.⁴

Further, an investigation by Human Rights Watch into sexual violence against girls in South African schools highlights the extent of sexual abuse and harassment experienced on a daily basis:

South African girls continue to be raped, sexually abused, sexually harassed, and assaulted at school by male classmates and teachers. For many South African girls, violence and abuse are an inevitable part of the school environment...

Girls who encountered sexual violence at school were raped in school toilets, in empty classrooms and hallways, and in hostels and dormitories. Girls were also fondled, subjected to aggressive sexual advances, and verbally degraded at school. We found that girls from all levels of society and among all ethnic groups are affected by sexual violence at school.⁵

This and other research indicates that there are five types of violence that occur within the school environment:

- Physical assault between learners.
- Sexual assault perpetrated by boy learners on girl learners.
- Assault (physical and sexual) by those outside of the school on learners or teachers.
- Assault by teachers on learners.
- Assault by learners on teachers.⁶

Here violence is defined as the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation".⁷ The impact of such violence on youth, as victims, witnesses or perpetrators, has a wide and detrimental affect on schools, families, peer groups, communities and society as a whole.

The safety of schools and the prevention of violence in schools is therefore an enormous challenge facing government, schools and communities.

One of the key strategies for addressing this is the Safer Schools approach. This entails the provision of environments where youth can learn in peace and safety, free from fear

and victimisation. The approach also acknowledges the potential of schools to reach youth through crime prevention activities and to provide a 'safety net' for children with learning difficulties, with behavioural problems, who come from poor homes, who live in deep poverty, or who come from broken families.

Safer Schools therefore implies a preventive approach towards dealing with youth violence. The approach is based on international experience in youth-focused intervention strategies which have shown success in preventing children and youth from becoming victims or offenders, and in diverting youth away from delinquent or criminal behaviour. This chapter outlines the approach towards Safer Schools adopted in South Africa.

Risk and resilience

A review of literature relating to violence and youth indicates that youth behaviour is often analysed in terms of the risk and resilience factors that influence such behaviour.⁸

Risk factors refer to the immediate social system within which the child is developing, that is, the underlying socio-economic and environmental elements that have a pervasive or direct influence on the development of the child. These are factors that research indicates have the potential to push a child towards delinquent or violent behaviour. For instance, some risk factors identified in South Africa include:

- disadvantage and relative deprivation
- lack of economic opportunity
- shortages of social services
- lack of family stability
- ineffective parenting
- lack of positive role-models
- pervasiveness of violence as a form of problem-solving
- sexism
- intolerance
- lack of community support
- access to firearms and drugs.⁹

However, despite living in conditions where any one or more of these risk factors occur, not all children become violent or turn to crime in their youth. The ability of children to resist or be resilient towards these adverse conditions is remarkable. Key resilience factors identified in South Africa are:

- supportive social networks
- positive moral grounding
- positive self esteem
- developed communication skills

- confidence in dealing with adversity
- conceptual problem-solving skills
- competency at school
- involvement in community activities.¹⁰

Research undertaken by Garbarino in North America indicates that one risk factor alone does not determine aggressive, delinquent or violent behaviour.¹¹ Nor does the accumulation of the risk factors. Rather the extent and impact of risks depends on children's contexts—their environment. It is when three or more risk factors and their contexts overwhelm children that they face a high probability of becoming violent. No safe place can then counteract the negative effects of the risk factors and the toxic environment.

Van Dijk and Field have developed models to explain the complex relationship between risk factors. Van Dijk proposes that:

...violent crime, which characterises low resource nations, depends on strain factors (such as poverty, social inequalities, income dissatisfaction), whereas property crime, more frequent in wealthy nations, depends on the structure of opportunities (such as availability of goods, lifestyle, detached houses).¹²

The purpose of understanding risk and resilience factors is that it allows for an informed approach to preventive action. In other words, understanding the risk factors allows for interventions to build and develop resilience factors.

Looking into these factors is not easy—it requires looking into the "dark places of our society, in the dark secrets of our culture".¹³ Therefore, preventive action requires a critical range of interventions, which cut across social contexts and through the stages of childhood development. Simply put, the aim of the prevention approach is to "put confused, lonely, or depressed boys in situations of healthy progressive conformity and build patterns of positive functional autonomy, as opposed to negative environments and negative patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting".¹⁴ To do this, Garbarino outlines eight key 'lines of defence':

1. Before birth: to prevent children, particularly, boys from entering the world with a biological disadvantage or facing maltreatment by parents.
2. Positive parenting: to equip parents to deal with their child's emotions and behaviour, to provide sound social competency for children.
3. Attachment: to build and develop caring relationships so as to create positive self esteem and a sense of belonging.
4. Early childhood education: to provide high-quality early childhood education to provide the opportunities for identifying behavioural and learning difficulties, as well as providing an opportunity for developing and building strong parent-child relationships.

5. Responding to aggression: to identify 'conduct disorder' early to develop appropriate and effective early intervention.
6. School and community based violence prevention programmes: to focus on primary school programmes that deal with violence prevention.
7. Character education: to provide character-building programmes aimed at developing values such as "trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring and citizenship".
8. Harnessing positive power: developing teaching skills such as mediation, conflict resolution and peer counselling particularly in high schools.¹⁵

Garbarino's lines of defence correlate with the key areas for proactive intervention identified by the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC):

- Interventions that target young children (0-6 and 7-12 year olds) and their families—these include home visits, parent training, child support, enriched pre-school activities, school based interventions, and dealing with learning/cognitive difficulties.
- Interventions targeting youth aged 12 to 18 years that include completing school programmes, job training, developing responsibility, and functional family therapy for young offenders.
- Interventions which reduce the opportunity and availability for theft, crime and violence such as Safer City approaches, protection of goods, neighbourhood initiatives, better protection systems, and closed-circuit television.
- Interventions which include youth in surveillance and crime prevention initiatives.
- Key interventions are firearm legislation, substance abuse treatment and treatment for violent men.¹⁶

In addition, Gottfredson indicates that the necessary critical range of interventions within a school setting can be achieved through an integration of the following kinds of programmes:

- Training for parents.
- Frequent home visits by programme staff.
- Social skills coaching for children.
- Regular academic tutoring for children.
- A classroom programme focusing on social competency skills linked to classroom management training for teachers.¹⁷

In South Africa, though, there is a particular need to intervene effectively to end sexual violence in schools at every level. The Human Rights Watch report recommended that a national plan of action on sexual violence and harassment in schools be adopted.¹⁸ It specifically called on the South African Council of Educators, the Teacher's Union of South Africa and Teacher Training Colleges to increase efforts to end sexual violence against learners.

Prior to this report, the national Secretariat for Safety and Security, in collaboration with the Department of Education and the National Youth Commission, developed a Joint Framework Document: "Tirisano—towards an intervention strategy to address youth violence in schools."¹⁹ This strategy is guided by the vision of the President, Thabo Mbeki, for an integrated, measurable, targeted inter-departmental approach to address national priority issues. The document argues that it is necessary to intervene in a comprehensive and sustainable approach at three levels:

- Address the system underlying youth violence to shift the risk factors and build resilience in youth.
- Eliminate the spaces where violence often occurs, that is, the design and infrastructure of schools as well as the management of the teaching and learning environment.
- Increase the deterrent factors that prevent the occurrence of crime involving young people. This refers to the actions of the criminal justice agencies as well as building alternative means of conflict resolution.

Principles guiding interventions

A number of important principles have been identified to guide implementation of specific strategies:

1. The school has an important role to play in reducing violence, and all government departments and the school community need to work together to achieve this objective.
2. A number of the factors that facilitate high levels of violence in schools cannot be addressed within the school context, and therefore it is essential that there be community involvement in alleviating these factors.
3. While support is required throughout childhood development, research indicates that the earlier the intervention begins the more effective is its outcome.
4. It is essential that intervention strategies involve multiple government departments at all levels, because a number of the issues cover sectoral boundaries. Furthermore, these interventions are likely to require integration in local level development initiatives.
5. All strategies must be integrated into the core business and functions of each public-sector stakeholder.
6. Resources—financial, human and information—must be allocated to strategic priorities and built into budgetary cycles.
7. The integration, co-ordination and evaluation of interventions should not focus on developing new structures. Rather, emphasis should be placed on workable, creative and sustainable mechanisms to reduce levels of crime and improve the quality of learning and youth development.

A key approach that consolidates these principles is that of Safer Schools.

Safer Schools

The development of school safety is seldom quick and easy. This is because the approach involves a range of elements, including:

- The development of implementable policies and procedures for addressing particular problems at school level.
- A partnership between school law enforcement (such as rules and discipline) and state law enforcement (such as policing), which involves the community, parents and youth.
- Involving, mobilising and capacitating youth in strategies, preventive projects and campaigns.
- Improving the efficacy of school management.

Gottfredson argues that many interventions which directly and singly target delinquent behaviour and the facilitators of crime such as drug abuse do not often result in reduced delinquency or violence. Rather, what is required is the creation of a sense of order, using models of good behaviour and clearly stated rules that express the desired norms and values, which is endorsed by learners and their parents.²⁰

This is largely a function of school management. Indeed, key research findings indicate that perhaps the most important factor facilitating school safety is school management.²¹ For example, research indicates that:

- The management style and organisational functionality of the school are key determinants of stability in the school.
- Higher morale by teachers and pupils and lower levels of disorder are found in schools where teachers, administration and management communicate and work together according to a problem-solving action plan.
- Less disorder is found in schools where learners know and understand the school rules, these rules are enforced fairly and unambiguously, and where there is a clear reward and recognition system for compliance with the rules.

Elements for developing safe schools

Further research indicates that effective school safety initiatives are based on six key elements:²²

- Developing a programmatic approach: a safe school programme is one developed by school management, learners and the wider school community to provide for:
 - Environmental change strategies—such as building school capacity, setting norms and procedures, managing classes and regrouping learners.
 - Individual change strategies—such as social competency skills training, intervening in inappropriate behaviour, peer programmes, counselling and providing recreation and enrichment activities.²³

- Identifying key indicators: a school safety assessment that includes awareness of behavioural changes in children indicative of problems such as drug abuse, gang involvement, alcohol abuse and domestic violence. In addition, it is important for teachers and parents to know about learning difficulties so that affected learners may acquire remedial attention.
- Developing a safety plan: although safety plans are likely to vary from school to school, the following key elements should be included:
 - A school discipline code and procedures for dealing with misconduct, for learners and teachers.
 - A clear procedure for dealing with firearms, drugs and alcohol use on school property.
 - A clear procedure for dealing with truancy.
 - A procedure for dealing with school gang membership.
 - A procedure for building relationships with local police and other service providers.
- Building 'safety nets': this involves the school community developing support mechanisms for learners which may include:
 - extramural activities and self-defining activities
 - leadership programmes
 - academic support programmes
 - curriculum development programmes
 - specific crime prevention programmes
 - cultural awareness and tolerance programmes
 - programmes aimed at dealing with learning problems.
- Crisis management: preparation for crisis management is critical to the Safer Schools approach. Staff training in conflict management and mediation is therefore required.
- Treating the aftermath of violence and trauma: planning for this should aim at ensuring that the school environment remains stable, supportive and non-threatening.

While often difficult to implement, the advantages of the Safer School approach are:

- Developing participative-problem solving which encourages innovation.
- Developing shared decision making, which encourages early support, ongoing information sharing, and communication between parties.
- Developing a shared responsibility for dealing with issues of common concern.

In short, then, the Safer Schools approach requires a fundamental change in the manner in which a school is managed—a change to develop self-respect, self-discipline and positive working relationships between management, staff, learners, and parents. The elements outlined above also indicate that school safety involves a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary approach. Effective partnerships between schools, communities, law enforcement agents, parents, social services and non-government

organisations are required. The purpose of these partnerships is to develop an integrated approach and shared responsibility for the school as part of the community.

Shaw undertook an international review of experience and action in promoting safety in schools to highlight international trends, policies and programmes. International trends in effective school safety action include the following:

- Pro-actively promoting school safety rather than reacting to violence.
- Linking the needs of victims, victimisers and healthy behaviour to school safety.
- Offering comprehensive approaches.
- Using school-community partnerships to develop inclusive strategies.
- Targeting 'at risk' schools and learners using a strengths-based approach and proven (evaluated) model programmes.
- Involving young people themselves in identifying and assessing problems, problem-solving and developing projects.²⁴

The theoretical review above provides a framework within which to examine practice in South Africa. The Independent Project Trust in KwaZulu-Natal developed one of the earliest school safety projects in South Africa, which is reviewed below.

Case study: Independent Project Trust, KwaZulu-Natal²⁵

As conflict resolution became more integrated in school curricula in the early 1990s, the Independent Project Trust (IPT) based in KwaZulu-Natal developed the Schools Mediation and Reconciliation Training Programme (SMART). The SMART programme enables educators, learners and school governing bodies to work together to develop effective conflict management skills and to build "democratic processes of negotiation and compromise".²⁶

An early evaluation in 1995 (after the first year of the project), found that the programme had impacted on facilitating a positive learning environment as well as improving team relationships. Further research undertaken by the IPT indicates that the SMART programme impacts at an individual level and an organisational level, which in turn impacts outside the immediate school context.

The SMART programme includes the use of peer mediation, through which learners are trained to mediate and negotiate disputes themselves. Educators and parents are also trained so that they can support the programme. However, it became clear to the IPT that while conflict management training was a necessary part of a violence reduction process, the high levels of gang activity, carrying of weapons, bullying and victimisation of learners (and teachers) within the school and community, impacted on the ability of participants to actually use their new skills. Therefore IPT decided to examine conflict management within a broader intervention strategy.

This was addressed in 1997 with the establishment of the Community Alliance for Safe Schools (CASS), which included representatives of major role-players in the province. The objectives of CASS, at its launch, were to:

- Build a sense of community ownership through partnerships.
- Protect school children through community mobilisation.
- Create safe school environments through effective school governing bodies.

In 1999, the IPT and CASS launched a manual for facilitating the development of safe schools: "Protecting your school from violence and crime: guidelines for principals and school governing bodies".²⁷ The manual covered practical issues such as how school managers can take responsibility for school security, draft a security plan and manage implementation and monitor the plan. In addition, it outlines ways of working with the police and other community structures and organisations to build partnerships around safer schools. The manual was made available to school principals, and, at the time of writing, was being implemented in three pilot schools within the Durban area to determine the impact of its approach on reducing crime and violence.

The baseline data for the pilots was gained during an initial workshop in April 1999, where the principals, educators, and members of the school governing bodies (SGB) and school representative councils, filled in a 50-point diagnostic questionnaire on school security. This covered a number of school security aspects as well as safety plans and strategies. The score each school achieved rated it according to the following safety levels:

1. A serious security problem.
2. A security plan in place but further improvement required.
3. A school which has many functioning elements of school security but some areas are difficult to address.
4. A functioning and advanced security plan.

The three schools were all found to be at level two. Based on this analysis, the schools were provided with the IPT guidelines on "Protecting your School from Violence and Crime". In 2000, all three schools redid the 50-point security plan questionnaire and a comparison with the 1999 results indicated that two of the schools had moved up one category. Although one had remained within the same category, it had scored higher than it did previously.

A 'one year on' evaluation indicated that reported crime figures from one of the police stations (which covers two of the schools) had decreased.²⁸ However, the evaluator argued for caution "as one school at least felt that incidents of reported crime had increased as learners were more ready to report and inform".²⁹ However, the evaluation indicated that the ability to reduce the high levels of fear of crime was an important success indicator of the project.

Principals, educators, learners and the police indicated that they believed their schools were safer than they had been before the project was initiated. In addition, they thought that levels of crime reporting had increased because there was less fear of retaliation. This reduction in the fear of crime may also be attributed to a number of tangible changes in school security and the functioning of schools that sent a clear message of 'no tolerance' towards crime and violence. For example, school security plans and committees had been set up, entrances were monitored, counselling was offered at the schools, spot checks were held, and communication with the police improved.

Furthermore, the project clustered the three schools and this, it appeared, had improved relationships and communication between the schools and had gone a long way in helping to develop a collective problem-solving approach. One example cited in the evaluation was that the three schools, together with the police, successfully lobbied the Durban City Council for a change in the bus route, so that learners could be dropped at the school gates rather than at the railway station, where sexual harassment and muggings of learners regularly occurred. Previously, two of the schools had separately tried to get the bus route changed, but had not succeeded.

Finally, the evaluation indicated that schools themselves were often unable to undertake the tasks of developing a school safety plan or finding creative solutions to problems on their own. All three schools indicated that "change wouldn't simply happen by itself" because of the reality of day to day school and classroom management and the process of trying to teach and learn within an insecure environment. The IPT was therefore seen as the catalyst for the inclusive process that followed.

Following this evaluation, the IPT Safe School project was then rolled out and replicated in 14 predominantly disadvantaged schools in the greater Durban area. A further evaluation highlighted two aspects of the IPT project as key areas for further development. Firstly, the issue of follow-up and continuity was identified as requiring further development, particularly in the short-term. Secondly, the lack of time, money and personnel to "implement the total strategy effectively" was consistently raised.³⁰

General comments by those interviewed during the evaluation process indicated that the project had had a positive impact. This related particularly to the improved self-esteem, enhanced leadership skills, better communication and more effective teamwork reported by the learners. Furthermore, they felt enabled to "effect change within their school environment if they were to implement what was learned".³¹ Following this, it was decided that the primary responsibility for sustaining the project would be allocated to the school security committees, established within school management structures.

Based on the evaluation and feedback received from the schools, and to sustain the work in schools, IPT has established a School Management Training Project (2001/02) to provide training to school management teams. The programme focuses on strengthening schools through the development of co-operative alliances and the harnessing of mutual strengths. The training project takes an asset-based approach and builds individual management competencies.

Challenges for Safer Schools in South Africa

The application of a Safer Schools approach, as outlined above, raises a number of challenges for South African schools:

- *Integrating school safety into school management:* the development of school based crime prevention should not be seen as an 'add-on' function, but rather as a key component of effective school management. As highlighted in the case study, this change is likely to require a range of supportive tools, standardised policies, commitment and training by national, provincial and regional education departments, by NGOs and community based structures, and a range of government delivery agents.
- *Resource constraints:* real resource constraints mean that school management needs to develop an approach to working with local organisations to secure additional resources. Further, there is a clear need for communication channels and co-ordination mechanisms to ensure the information sharing that is critical to the participation of the relevant stakeholders.
- *Building relationships between the school and the police:* a strong and proactive relationship is required between school management and the police at local level (both the SAPS and Metro Police). This could be facilitated through Adopt-A-Cop programmes, School Watch initiatives, or initiatives aimed at juvenile diversion, community service for troubled children and direct mentoring. Further, school management could elicit the support of private security organisations.
- *Breaking the 'silo approach' to service delivery:* the multi-sectoral approach implicit in the Safer Schools programme challenges the standard delivery mechanisms of government. The programme requires the formation of working partnerships between schools, government departments (such as those responsible for health, welfare, local government), non-governmental organisations and community representatives. This requires that clear lines of responsibility, reporting and accountability need to be drawn up and included in the schools' safety plan.
- *Developing a critical range of interventions:* interventions that target and cut across all stages of youth development are required, that is, a critical range of interventions in the family, school, peer groups and wider community. These interventions need to reduce the space for violence, address the risk and resilience factors and provide adequate deterrence through sure and fair enforcement of the law.

- *Involving parents*: the important role of parents in developing safer schools needs to be explicitly addressed in the programme. This is often easier said than done, as the high levels of child abuse and truancy indicate. Therefore, a safer school programme may well need to include a focus on building parental skills.
- *Changing school culture*: inherent in the Safer Schools approach is the understanding of schools as important sites and agents for social change. This means that a safer school programme should focus on building schools as democratic institutions that foster human rights, responsibility and commitment towards the principles of South Africa's democracy.
- *Involving the youth*: youth participation must be meaningful; it needs to encourage initiative and innovation and should aim to build responsible decision making and problem-solving skills among learners.

Conclusion

Encouragingly, it appears that the approach towards building safer schools now being advocated by government attempts to consider the above challenges. A number of government-led initiatives are under way to address issues that impact negatively on teaching and learning in schools. These include reducing firearm violence, substance abuse, sexual violence, child abuse, and preventing HIV/Aids.

A new workbook entitled "Signposts for Safe Schools: enabling safe and effective teaching and learning environments" will be released during 2002 by the South African Police Service and the Department of Education. The purpose of the workbook is to provide guidelines for school managers, educators and school safety committees for the development of school safety. The workbook outlines relevant school safety issues, such as gangsterism, bullying, conflict resolution, or dealing with stress or suicide, and provides options on interventions. In addition, the workbook focuses on:

- building resilience amongst learners
- providing safety nets at schools
- dealing with HIV/Aids and violence
- providing healthy alternatives for learners.

The workbook marks an important milestone in the development of a coherent approach to building safer schools across various contexts in South Africa. Further, the workbook begins to address many of the challenges highlighted previously through integrating youth development and democratic school management within the range of interventions based on the principles and elements explored in this chapter.

In addition to the approach that government is taking towards building safe and nurturing learning and teaching environments at schools, many non-governmental

organisations and schools are responding innovatively to the challenges they face. The case study presented is one such example, and implementation has grown through rigorous evaluation and reflection. A number of these projects have undergone evaluations, and relevant lessons for good practice can be drawn from the findings. These practices are continuously developing and reflect the growth and understanding in this field over time.

Of particular interest is the review commissioned by the Open Society Foundation in 2001 of funded school based crime and violence prevention programmes.³² The review highlighted the following good-practice examples for improving safety in South Africa's schools:

- Two-way commitment between the school or community and the service provider is essential. This involves intense involvement in the school, because quality time is spent in building trust and agreeing on timetables and deliverables.
- A strategy that integrates a number of programmes and targets all stakeholders is more likely to be effective because it "creates a critical threshold of inputs that make for effective and sustainable change".
- Effective strategies are not complex ones or ones that keep changing with 'add-ons'. They are simple and understandable.
- Interventions that meet the needs of educators and make their job easier by fitting in with job descriptions and the core business of the school are more likely to produce the desired outcomes.
- Stakeholder ownership of the process and outcomes is essential to sustaining and replicating interventions across contexts.
- Clustering of schools offers schools and service providers a means to share resources, share information and experience, maximise the number of schools over a wider area, and reduce operating costs through working with a number of schools at one time.
- "One of the most cost-effective ways of increasing the resources to reduce crime and violence is to facilitate an increased level of partnership". This can facilitate a sense of community ownership and involvement in the school.
- User-friendly material that is well designed but not prescriptive is well received and used in schools, particularly disadvantaged schools. However, practice indicates that material on its own does not meet the desired outcome: training and ongoing support and mentorship over time are essential to ensure its effectiveness.³³

As previously indicated, the findings of this review are supported by international experience and action. So experience, understanding, potential and commitment do exist. The challenge to make South Africa's schools safer learning environments remains.