OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

# Preventing Crime and Violence in South African Schools

A review of learning and good practice from eight interventions

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# Dr Richard A Griggs

COMMENSIONED BY THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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# **Dr Richard A Griggs**

## September 2002

Commissioned by the Criminal Justice Initiative, Open Society Foundation for South Africa



Colinton House, Fedsure Oval, 1 Oakdale Road, Newlands 7700, PO Box 23161, Claremont 7735 Tel: +27 (021) 683 3489 Fax: +27 (021) 683 3550 E-mail: admin@ct.osf.org.za Web: www.osf.org.za

An association incorporated under Section 21 – No. 95/12103/08

# Introduction

The Criminal Justice Initiative (CJI) at the Open Society Foundation for South Africa is primarily a grant-making programme, with an interest in building local knowledge and sustainable innovation in the criminal justice system, as well as in relation to the prevention and reduction of crime. To this end, since 1999, the CJI has provided support to civil society organisations undertaking a range of different innovative projects primarily aimed at the prevention or reduction of crime. These have been in three broad categories: local government-focused initiatives, community-focused initiatives and school-based initiatives.

During this period, the CJI provided support to eight NGOs undertaking school-based crime or violence prevention initiatives, each adopting its own unique approaches and strategies to address different kinds of problems being faced by South African schools. The idea was to generate local learning and to complement the range of lessons available from abroad, with a view to strengthening the ability of South African schools to respond to the challenges of crime and violence.

In 2001, the CJI contracted researcher Dr Richard Griggs to conduct a review of these eight projects with a view to extracting good practice; articulating learning that has emerged, and formulating some ideas regarding the elements of a "best practice" strategy for working in South African schools. It should be noted that this report does not pretend to present an evaluation of these projects. The researcher's findings are based on the documentation produced by each project, on observations and discussions with beneficiary schools and on interviews with the implementers of these projects.

From the perspective of the CJI, it is hoped that this, together with other learning emerging out of similar work, can contribute to strengthening the capacity of schools to respond to crime and violence, and provide clear lessons to NGOs that wish to assist in this process.

The learning captured in this report would not have been possible without the creative vision and boundless energy of the people who serve the eight participating organisations. The work of each of these individuals is a beacon for those of us who seek to understand how to navigate the trials of this changing environment. The staff of the CJI have been privileged to interact

# **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

СЛ	Criminal Justice Initiative		
CPF	Community Policing Forum		
COPES	Community Psychological Empowerment Services		
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation		
ELLC	English Language, Literacy and Communication		
GBV	Gender-based Violence		
IPT	Independent Projects Trust		
LRC	Learner Representative Council		
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation		
NWF	New World Foundation		
OBE	Outcomes-based Education		
OSF-SA	Open Society Foundation for South Africa		
РНР	Public Health Programme		
SAPS	South African Police Services		
SGB	School Governing Body		
SMILE	St Mary's Interactive Learning Experience		
UCT	University of Cape Town		
UWC	University of the Western Cape		
WCED	Western Cape Education Department		

Sections 1 through 8 consist of thirteen subsections, including:

- Introduction
- The Strategy
- Geographic Extent of Work
- Target Group and Exposure
- Material Content
- Training Content
- Monitoring and Evaluation Methods
- Impact
- Challenges Ahead
- Sustainability
- Key Lessons Learnt (offered by the organisation)
- Best Practices in terms of Strategy (the reviewer's analysis)

Section 9 collectively analyses all the best practices identified in each section. Best practices are defined as procedures and tactics that can be replicated by most organisations, irrespective of the precise style of intervention. Such tactics also increase the chances of a sustainable intervention. In analysis, duplications were eliminated and the underlying element of success in a practice discerned. For instance, the involvement of the South African Police Services (SAPS) in school programmes might be seen as one best practice but the underlying idea is that partnerships with service providers outside the school can increase the chances of a successful intervention.

In Section 10 recommendations are made for developing an ideal, integrated strategy for working in schools. Potential targets, strategic components and best practices extracted from the collective experiences of all the NGOs were refined through analysis with reference to international reviews of best practices. The result was a recommended strategy with accompanying illustrations and explanations.

All the tools described above offered a focus for workshop discussions held at the end of November 2001 that brought together key stakeholders among the reviewed organisations, along with academics, education officials and other interested parties. This workshop further informed the strategy of the Criminal Justice Initiative so Section 11 which describes the feedback from the workshop, was added. Generally, the feedback supported the strategy but led to a retraction of a suggestion given in the final recommendation of Section 10 that CJI consider a tender process. Instead a further study, similar to this one, addressing the appropriate and effective partnerships for implementing the strategy is recommended prior to any consideration of a tendering process. This is fully explained in Section 11.

# Section One

# St Mary's Interactive Learning Experience (SMILE)

### Introduction

St Mary's Interactive Learning Experience (SMILE) began in KwaZulu-Natal in 1991 when two former teachers with significant experience in developing coursework materials came together in an effort to improve English teaching and learning skills among Grade 4-7 educators and learners. The initial challenge was that young black learners in KwaZulu-Natal often failed to complete Grade 5 because of poor English language skills. Upon examining the problem, SMILE founders Daniela Browne and Lynda Swinbourn considered the need to hold the interest of learners in the subject. Since English requires some medium or vehicle of instruction, they decided that relevant age-appropriate themes that were exciting and well presented would be the key to success.

These English lessons around an interesting theme took place initially at one venue (St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, where SMILE offices are still situated today) with young black learners taxied in from surrounding areas. Owing to the success and popularity of the programme, some local principals approached the educators to ask whether this system could be brought into every classroom. Browne and Swinbourn accepted the challenge and developed their programme around a whole series of age-related themes that correspond with the phase organisers of the English Language, Literacy and Communication learning area Outcomes-based Education (OBE). Today there are 20 themes (five themes each for Grades 4-7). SMILE continues to work on new themes and new grades.

The programme of training that developed with the learning materials came to be entitled the 'Classroom Reinforcement and Teacher Training Programme'. Despite the subsequent expansion of SMILE programmes, projects and areas of operation (now in five provinces) this remains the core work of SMILE.

In 1997 SMILE was commissioned to develop material on crime prevention as another thematic vehicle for learning English skills. This was done based on research and consultation. Both learners and educators were consulted and the main finding was the shocking level of crime and violence to which

#### Figure One:

The number of communities, schools and learners affected by 1998 and 2000-2001 Open Society Foundation Funding to SMILE

Year	Province	Communities	Schools	Learners	Educators
1998	KZN	Hammarsdale Chesterville	4	745	4
	WC	Khayelitsha	2	200	2
2000	Gauteng	Heidelberg, Ratanda, Soweto	5	251	7
	WC	Guguletu	2	137	2
	KZN	KwaMbonambi, Umlazi, Umgababa, Ntuzuma, Tongaat, Cato Ridge, Hammarsdale, KwaDabeka	19	1 649	21
2001	Gauteng	Soweto, Tembisa	4	598	4
	NP	Tzaneen	1	99	1
	WC	Philippi, Strand, Firgrove, Nyanga, City Bowl	18	1 459	23
	KZN	Estcourt	8	778	9
TOTAL		24 communities	63	5 916	73

# Target Group and Exposure

SMILE targets Grade 4-7 educators and learners through the provision of materials and skills for teaching English as a second language. The crime prevention component provides six months of daily English lessons using stories and exercises based on crime and violence prevention. A SMILE facilitator provides four of the initial lessons and then the educator takes over.

and Empowerment'. While learning to read and write, Grade 7 learners have the opportunity to develop their own thinking and values surrounding the problems of crime and possible solutions.

These materials fit within the National Curriculum Framework developed by the Department of Education (DOE). They are OBE compatible, approved and recommended by five provincial departments of education. The writers are current and former educators who know the classroom environment and they enter into extensive consultation with educators and pilot the material in classrooms prior to publication for sale. Since consultation is fairly continuous the product also undergoes changes and improvements. The third edition of 'Making Our World Safe' (2002) added material that educators felt was relevant: addressing rape, drugs and violence against women.

The schools choose and purchase the various programme organisers and 'Making Our World Safe' has been selected by 54 out of the 238 participating schools. Since it applies only to Grade 7, it is popular. SMILE sells at cost four workbooks and one reader for learners (R14) along with a comprehensive teacher's guide (R65) that covers six months of daily classroom lessons. The reader is used daily and tells a story that the learners discuss within a co-operative learning framework. The readers also increase vocabulary for understanding and negotiating the meaning of crime. The comprehensive teacher's guide provides step-by-step assistance to the educator.

The crime component materials provide the daily lessons covering many skills, knowledge, values and attitudes relevant to crime and violence prevention while at the same time thoroughly teaching ELLC. Below are examples of issues covered within the context of learning to read, write, communicate and engage in critical thinking:

- Distinguishing between negative and positive behaviour
- Types of crime and how to identify and report them
- Children's Bill of Rights and Responsibilities
- How peer pressure operates to produce gangs
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- Childline: their services and how to contact them
- Violence Against Women
- School rules
- The effects of drug abuse
- Criminal investigations and the role of the legal system
- How to write a witness report
- Methods of crime prevention
- Dealing with rape: reporting, impact and recovery time

The immediate attention to in-classroom practices and the in-class mentoring is undoubtedly a best practice that meets problems in a most direct way. It is also a form of monitoring that ensures that the SMILE programme has impact. The objective is to thoroughly empower teachers and reduce dependency on SMILE so that when the six months are over the school has a sustainable language, literacy and communication framework. The number of schools continuing to use SMILE's Learning Support Materials year after year can be used to indicate success at this. Of the six 1998 schools, five were still purchasing the crime component in 2001, three years after training and without further SMILE assistance.

### Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring is constant, and SMILE facilitators are in the classroom mentoring and observing. Training methods have been constantly refined as a result of this. The material is designed and updated annually to keep pushing the limits of new understanding of such issues. It is monitored and evaluated by educators involved in the programme. As a result, each new edition adds conceptual material reflecting the growing conceptual skills among young people in the years since democratisation.

No proper evaluation measuring the impact of 'Making Our World Safe' on learners has yet been done, although many positive comments have been collected from participating departments of education, educators and learners. The materials have also been approved and recommended by the provincial departments of education. The latest approval coming from the Northern Cape argued that the material provided a 'range of effective intellectual, social as well as physical skills" (eg, observing and reporting crimes) on the subject.

Evaluations do take place but only in the context of the learners' English language development skills and improved teaching skills by educators. Evaluations of the SMILE materials in general have shown that they are highly effective in improving skills in ELLC (71% improvement in target groups vs 25% in control groups without SMILE materials). Good communication is a social competency known to prevent violent behaviour (see the discussion on Strategic Component 5 in Section 10).

It would be of benefit to both CJI and the organisation to undertake an independent evaluation of the crime prevention component. The lack of an evaluation means that there is a lack of precise information for forming relevant CJI strategies. More detail could answer significant questions. For instance, have sufficient stakeholders in the school been targeted to ensure institutionalisation of the crime prevention programme after SMILE leaves?

• Shy children become more active learners and class co-operation in learning increases substantially.

There is also a teacher assessment form that is distributed after SMILE's departure and some of these have been included in progress reports. They show high ratings by educators. Increased skill levels among learners are also reported. With regard to the crime programme organiser, it is clear that learners use critical thinking exercises that can help generate sound values, morals and attitudes.

These good indications cannot replace an evaluation. It might be useful to compare the crime component with other components that develop social competencies. This would deliver more precise information about the combination of frankly addressing crime and raising social competency through life skills.

### Challenges Ahead

Three challenges can be identified that might have a bearing on the crime component:

- Some facilitators reported that some educators need more than six months to make the transition to a new style of teaching, a new programme and all the skills necessary for co-operative learning. The authoritarian culture in which most educators are fully embedded is part of the cycle of violence. It is likely that without continuous intervention many educators will lapse back into the style of punitive behaviour and authoritarianism to which they were originally acculturated. Perhaps if SMILE were part a multi-agency approach that addressed this authoritarianism its impact would be extended.
- The crime component is limited to six months in Grade 7. It would naturally seem that some exposure over the entire intermediate and senior period of schooling would have greater impact. Since social competency is developed through SMILE materials at all grades, this may not be the case. Social competency, rather than frank discussion of crime, is widely regarded as the more effective violence-prevention strategy. However, exposure to crime can occur at any age and there is a need to address types of crime and crime prevention frankly and specifically.
- While it seems likely that the crime component is having an impact, only a proper external evaluation will determine this and this should be seen as a priority.

- In the course of learning to use the materials, the educator gains skills in Outcomes-based Educational methods. Therefore, SMILE aids in changing the previous authoritarian culture of education and also supports existing policy frameworks.
- It is an elegant strategy in that it is simple and effective and grounded in international theories on best practice in social crime prevention (discussed in detail in Section 10). Social crime prevention strategies that improve classroom management and instruction while increasing the social competency and academic performance of learners are highly rated.
- The ease with which the material can be employed increases its use and therefore the chances that there is sufficient exposure to have an impact.
- Extensive and affordable training of educators through cluster targeting.
- An emphasis on educator ownership of the process so that what is learnt in the intervention is sustained as practice.
- The learning support materials are highly professional well written, illustrated, easy to understand, user-friendly and provocative, and deal with very current issues (they are updated annually).
- The materials relating to crime are very familiar, relevant and frank.
- The learning materials are affordable and designed for low-income communities with few resources.
- The success of the learning materials can be attributed to a careful review process that includes the educators who will use them in the class.
- Critical thinking is stimulated in both method and materials so that the learners can individually and collectively negotiate the meaning of crime and violence and therefore develop deeply rooted values that offer resilience.
- Information on practical and particular relevance to crime prevention is passed along (eg information about the Children's Bill of Rights or how to contact Childline).
- Good co-operation with the National Department of Education: The crime programme organiser is approved and recommended by the relevant education departments, as it is OBE based and compliant.

# Section Two

# Bridges

### Introduction

Bridges is a well-researched drug and alcohol education programme that targets learners in Grades 6 through 12, their educators and their parents. Sarah Fisher founded Bridges in 1996. Previously, she had been a counsellor at the Cape Town Drug Counselling Centre, the only outpatient clinic in the area at the time. From that experience, she learnt that recovering alcohol and drug addicts benefited most from sharing their experiences and feelings in a non-judgmental environment. In an interview she said, "Moralising about the problem did not help but people owning their own experiences and giving their own ideas did help. We learn through stories."

Some Western Cape educators heard about Sarah's approach and contacted her to see if she could help their schools. Sarah Fisher responded by fund-raising through the media (especially radio), business and communities for a school-based programme. By 1999 Bridges had worked in 39 schools, affecting 17 000 learners and some 400 educators. However, it was difficult to change and adapt strategies on limited community funding. So, in 1999 she approached the Open Society Foundation to assist with funding to refine the Bridges strategy in schools and to help evaluate existing and potential approaches.

According to Sarah, the impact of the OSF on Bridges was profound.

"OSF funding put me in Room 339 of the Department of Education Building in Pretoria, enabling the advocacy that led to South Africa becoming one of the first countries in the world to have an enlightened national education policy on drug abuse. This will also affect national policy on expulsion. Consequently, the OSF has enabled change within the South African school system. From now on there will be a restorative, supportive policy of reintegration into the school community – not only for learners, but for educators too."

Historically, the high impact of the programme in schools had been personality-driven. Sarah is a recovered alcoholic who speaks frankly and directly about problems of drugs and alcohol. However, under OSF funding, Bridges worked toward more formulaic, replicable materials that can be delivered by teams that include volunteers and interns. This resulted in upgrading materials, new modules (training content), and producing facilitator manuals so that anyone can impart the programme. Bridges is presently developing a website to share information and experiences with other people and organisations.

#### Geographic Extent of Work

The work of Bridges is focused on some 25 Western Cape schools, particularly in the Boland region. Both private and state schools are targeted. Since drugs are a problem of both rich and poor, Bridges includes both the advantaged and disadvantaged in its list of target schools. However, the real impact of Bridges is research-based advocacy at national and global levels, so characterising it as focused on the Western Cape schools may not be appropriate.

#### Target Group

Bridges maintains that all youth are at risk of addiction in a society where drugs are so readily available, and tries to reach youth through many kinds of youth forums. However, schools have been identified as the most critical point for positively influencing them. This occurs through a multi-component strategy that addresses all stakeholders. In order to reach learners in the school environment, attention must be given to their parents, educators and school management. Bridges therefore ensures that attendance at the appropriate modules is compulsory for every person in the school. Bridges is sufficiently well known, and schools can therefore contact Bridges for help.

#### Training Content of Intervention

Bridges targets four groups (school management, parents, learners and educators) in four key modules of activities. The order of the activities is critical and represents one of the lessons learnt. Originally, the training programme started with the learners but during the time of OSF funding this was altered. It was seen to be necessary to establish procedures and policies in the school and train the school managers prior to working with learners and parents. Frank discussion of drugs and alcohol with learners and parents in a non-judgmental environment tends to identify problems and when these are revealed, there must be supportive structures already in place. Bridges therefore prepares the school for the discussions.

# Material Content

Four Bridges publications provide the framework for the training modules. These are shown and described in Figure Four.

Figure Four:

Publications used in each module of the Bridges Programme

Module	Title of publication	Target	Description
1	Draft Policy Document	Management and staff	Framework policy document and notes for improving management of substance abuse issues
2	Drugs: The Reality Facts for Parents	Parents in PEP Module	A booklet that offers comprehensive notes on substance abuse and a list of community referral services
3	Drugs: The Reality Facts for Young People	All learners in LEADA	A booklet that offers comprehensive notes on substance abuse and a list of community referral services
4	The SAFE Manual SAFE = Substance Abuse For Educators	15 to 20 educators per school	A text on education in drug and alcohol abuse

The booklets for Modules Two and Three were made available to the researcher. These are pocket-sized booklets of about 40 pages each. Both English and Afrikaans versions are available. The purpose of each is to build learner resilience to drug and alcohol abuse by providing accurate information. It is theorised that:

- Learners informed about drugs are less vulnerable to peer pressure or 'urban legend'
- Parents well informed about drugs can better manage family drug problems, as poorly informed parents often make the problem worse through abusive and hypocritical behaviour.

A self-reporting questionnaire follows the LEADA programme three months after training. A longitudinal study measures impact more accurately than self-reports and qualitative studies using focus groups and interviews should supplement the questionnaires. Collecting statistical data alone can be a problematic way of doing research in the South African environment and it is always best to use multiple methodologies and corroborate the results. The director agrees but so far there has been no funding for this.

#### Impact

It is through research and advocacy that Bridges has had its widest impact on provincial, national and global structures. These are some of the achievements:

- A Bridges research paper delivered in January 2000 contributed to three resolutions that the International Congress of the International Commission for the Prevention of Alcoholism and Drug Dependency forwarded to the World Health Organisation and the United Nations.
- Bridges is on a task team with the Department of Health and Welfare, Department of Education and the Western Cape Drug and Alcohol Forum working toward a standard Drug and Alcohol Policy and Procedure in all government schools.
- At the time of writing, Bridges director Sarah Fisher was seconded to the National Department of Education to drive the National Drug and Alcohol Policy Initiative.
- Through its influence (research and advocacy) Bridges has had a significant impact on the Council of Education Ministers. The Council has tasked the Department of Education with developing a National Framework Policy and Protocol Document on managing drug and alcohol abuse and has ruled that relevant non-judgmental education must be included in the learning area of Life Orientation in Curriculum 2005 from Grades 6-12.
- Nationally, the policy on expulsion has changed with regard to substance abuse owing to Bridges' persistent advocacy on the issue. It is now seen as a health problem so educators and learners are referred for help and can be reintegrated into the school afterwards.
- Its research is regularly utilised by the South African Community Epidemiology Networking on Drug Use (SACENDU).
- Lastly, Bridges serves on the education and prevention committee of the Western Cape Alcohol and Drug Abuse Forum.

## Other Lessons Learnt

These are some other lessons Bridges identified that might inform other interventions:

- Lesson plans should always include visual aids (these were integrated into all the modules).
- It is critical to start these school-based programmes with a policy and procedure plan so that problems that come up during training can be managed properly.
- All documents and materials must be made very reader friendly if they are to work in schools. Under OSF funding, all the booklets were updated and improved. The framework policy document was made so reader friendly that it was eventually circulated by the Department of Education.
- Drug problems start early so it is not sufficient to just target high schools. Grades 6 and 7 were added under OSF funding, creating JADE (Junior Alcohol and Drug Education).
- As with St Mary's Interactive Learning Experience, Bridges also learnt that if the school contributes something, the stakeholders are then more ready to participate (hence, the small fee per learner). Schools pay on a *pro rata* basis (the minimum being R0,17 per learner) but Bridges does not turn down disadvantaged schools that cannot pay although it is preferred that they do contribute something.

One of the most critical lessons learnt was that peer counselling programmes were not effective for substance abuse cases and this was therfore dropped from the programme. These were the problems uncovered by Bridges:

- 1. NGO training is insufficient to provide youth with appropriate counselling skills (drug counsellors normally need 200 hours of intense training).
- 2. The youth do not have sufficient medical knowledge to diagnose the problem.
- 3. Those who volunteer have too many unresolved issues of their own (this can lead to inappropriate reactions such as trying to control the problem).
- 4. Adolescents do not typically look for help from other adolescents.
- 5. Those attracted to peer counselling are not always the best counsellors.
- 6. Drug counselling is simply too much responsibility for teenagers (eg, what happens if someone overdoses or attempts suicide?).

# Section Three

# Independent Projects Trust (IPT)

#### Introduction

The Independent Projects Trust (IPT) is a registered trust that was founded in 1990 to work with cross-cultural groups of KwaZulu-Natal youth on issues of prejudice and cultural perceptions. By 1995 this had evolved into schoolbased programmes in conflict management including peer mediation structures. In 1997 the IPT established a research department that evaluated the schools programme to find that CMS was not having a sustainable impact because a significant proportion of violence in Durban schools originated with criminals and gangsters entering the premises. The IPT then facilitated an alliance of public, private and non-governmental organisations to focus on developing a strategy for Durban schools. This became known as the Community Alliance for Safe Schools (CASS).

The IPT hosted and facilitated the public CASS meetings and these meetings also informed IPT strategy. A critical outcome of the CASS meetings was a booklet entitled *Protecting Your School from Violence and Crime*. It focused on setting up school security committees that would be accountable for developing and implementing a plan to make the school safe.

Monitoring of the CASS booklet indicated that the strategy was effective where used but most principals left this 'stand-alone' guide on the shelf. So in 1999 the IPT piloted a training component to accompany the guidelines. This took place in a cluster of three schools. The clustering was a strategic component to encourage schools to share experiences and learn from one another. Three workshops were held with representatives from each cluster including principals, educators, learners and representatives of the neighbouring stations of the South African Police Service (SAPS).

An external evaluator studied the pilot project using post-intervention interviews and observations and deemed it to be successful in terms of increased perceptions of safety (Harber 2000). The evaluator also made some suggestions for refining strategy such as more attention to training in democratic management, one of the four components of a good safety plan outlined in the guide.

In April 2000 the IPT approached the Open Society Foundation and obtained funding under the Criminal Justice Initiative to help expand the project to 14 Durban schools. After one year of work in the 14 schools, the IPT concluded that the schools that tended to succeed in its programmes were the ones with

- Facilitation: Identifying and responding with flexibility to problems in individual schools; facilitating strategic partnerships (eg, SAPS, Department of Education, university departments and community-based organisations); offering topical modules to help meet school needs
- Monitoring: A diagnostic before-and-after test of the security situation; monthly support visits
- Evaluation: This is action research that includes a baseline, participation and a year-end evaluation based on the foregoing. The baseline helps inform the delivery strategy used in each school and provides a basis for measuring change.

#### Geographic Extent of Work

The IPT works in a total of 40 schools but it is 14 of these in four clusters that are under OSF funding – Umlazi South (four schools), Chatsworth East (three schools), Inanda Newtown A (four schools) and Greenwood Park (three schools). CRISP, now an IPT project, works in 20 schools. There are also six schools in which the IPT is working in partnership with Gun Free South Africa (KwaMashu, Phoenix and Inanda). Eventually the best practices and lessons learnt in all the schools may be formulated into a single strategy.

### Target Groups

The IPT targets clusters of schools in consultation with the Department of Education and most particularly through discussions with the Superintendent Education Managers (SEMs). These school supervisors help choose, gain entry and provide encouragement to the clusters of targeted schools. Each cluster must be in close geographic proximity and report to the same police station. The targeted schools are also disadvantaged ones with a history of crime and violence. The management team must also be committed to the process.

In Phase One (building security teams) these are targeted:

- The principal
- Two educators
- Two SGB members
- Two RCL members
- The SAPS youth desk Co-ordinator
- The learner representative council

# Training Content

The training intervention is participatory so the exact contents of a workshop are developed with the schools. It has been the IPT experience that each school has diverse concerns that require attention.

However, there is the following general pattern of workshop delivery:

- An introductory one-day workshop that identifies the security situation in each school and concludes with homework: each school must form a security committee and develop a written plan
- A two-day workshop about one to two months later in which the school security committees and the security plans are reviewed and strengthened. Skills are imparted on the second day in communication, co-operative behaviour, conflict management and group problem-solving.
- A two-day workshop for RCL members to assess needs and to define their role in school safety
- Management training (three two-day workshops over a six- to nine-month period).

The location of the management training is historical and was added owing to the evaluation and monitoring of previous strategies that showed it was needed. This will probably be the first workshop in newly targeted schools. The aim is to establish a participative and democratic school management framework based on developing core skills. Setting goals with the group through a situational analysis that identifies existing assets and links those strengths to gaps in management will establish the workshop content.

### Monitoring and Evaluation Methods

To monitor its interventions, the IPT developed a 50-point questionnaire that is used to determine whether a school has a good safety plan. The same 50-point questionnaire is then administered at a later date. There are also monthly visits to the schools during which observations are made and informal interviews are conducted.

For evaluations, an external evaluator is used to:

- Conduct a baseline study before any interventions occur
- Make observations during intervention processes
- Conduct a final evaluation at exit phase.

For the newly developed school management training programme, the IPT uses the National Department of Education's guidelines for well-managed schools to provide indicators.

# Sustainability

The IPT's 1999 pilot schools still use the manuals and still have their security teams in place. This provides some indication that the strategy of creating accountable people with the skills, structures and plans for creating school security is sustainable. Longer-term studies with more schools (perhaps the 14-schools project) over at least a five-year time span would still be required to verify this. Making structures that are new to a school sustainable through short-term interventions (a problem of short-term funding) can be problematic.

#### Some Lessons Learnt

These are two of the lessons identified by the IPT:

- One of the most important of these is that the first line of intervention in a school must be with the school principal and the management team. It was argued in their second round of OSF funding that this is the group that will determine the ethos of the school and the interactions between all the key stakeholders. Related to this is that the involvement and support of the Superintendent Education Manager (SEM) is critical to the successful outcome of school-based interventions.
- A relatively new practice that the IPT is finding beneficial is to take an assets-based approach to empowering schools rather than simply identifying gaps and weaknesses in performance. Recognising the strengths within a school and building on those can maximise levels of empowerment.

## Best Practices in terms of Strategy

Perhaps the best practice employed by the IPT can be summed up as building the skills in a school to address many factors critical to improving security. The reviewed literature covered in Section 10 shows that IPT's skills development components of group problem-solving, conflict management, communication, and co-operative behaviour are essential ingredients of effective strategies to reduce crime and violence in schools. With its new focus on school management teams the IPT may be approaching the critical threshold of inputs that makes for effective and sustainable change.

Other best practices include:

• The IPT found that clustering schools helped to exchange information on safety, solve problems, share resources and facilitate SAPS and CPF work in the schools. Sharing information in the clusters also had a direct impact on preventing crime (eg warning other schools in the cluster about gang movements or imminent crimes). The CSVR found the identical result, verifying this as a best practice.

# Section Four

# Khanya Family Centre

#### Introduction

The Khanya Family Centre (KFC) has it origins in a community outreach project of the Johannesburg Parent and Child Counselling Centre. In 1994 the centre responded to requests from teachers, parents and community leaders for debriefing traumatised children in the aftermath of the political violence that raged in Kathorus just prior to the General Elections. Various community meetings were held among parents, teachers, government officials and other service providers, leading to a decision to provide psychosocial services. By 1995 a centre was established in Katlehong that eventually became known as the Khanya Family Centre, although in its early years it was called the Kathorus Parent and Child Counselling Centre.

The earliest project was building the capacity of guidance teachers to be able to identify traumatised children, offer basic trauma counselling and refer them for further help. These workshops in trauma counselling reached a total of 105 guidance teachers in the area.

Although the violence affecting Kathorus became less politically motivated after the 1994 elections, the cycle of violence continued, as did the trauma. At the end of 1998 the KFC administered a questionnaire to 50 Grade 10 learners in four schools to assess the mental health needs of young people in school. The study revealed that the following areas concerned them:

- Depression and suicide
- Violence
- Sexuality issues
- HIV/Aids
- Crime
- Alcohol and drug addiction

According to the same study, most of the young people talk to their peers when experiencing problems instead of talking to adults. Learners seemed to feel that friends or peers were more understanding and less judgmental. The KFC was also aware that very few counselling resources existed in the area. To address the twin problems, the NGO developed and designed a peercounselling programme it calls Motswalle, a Sotho name that means 'friend' or 'buddy'. If all goes well with the adult stakeholders, peer counsellors are recruited and screened using questionnaires that were designed with the assistance of the Wits University Statistics Department (Mark Parker). Once selected, letters are sent to the parents informing them. The chosen peer counsellors are not necessarily leaders in the school, although some are also members of the Representative Council of Learners (RCL). Some informants were of the opinion that quiet and more introspective learners were attracted to this role.

#### Geographic Extent of Work

The focus of the work is on four schools in three Kathorus townships: Katlehong (2), Thokoza (1) and Vosloorus (1). The KFC selected these schools because they had high levels of crime and criminal involvement by learners. One of the schools, Ponego, had been caught in political violence, as it was located between a hostel of one political party and a township of another.

#### Target Group

The peer counselling focuses on 120 Grade 10 students in four schools. Trained Grade 10 learners may elect to continue as peer counsellors until graduation and become involved in follow-up programmes. After graduation, some of them work at the Khanya Family Centre, helping to train peer counsellors in schools and helping with other programmes such as community education on HIV/Aids. Of KFC's 15 volunteers, six are former peer counsellors.

#### Training Content

Most of the guidance counsellors who supervise the peer counsellors were trained between 1994 and 1996 and remain part of the programme. Thus, the present focus is on training Grade 10 learners. The selected learners receive 15 after-school training sessions of two hours each for a total of 30 hours. Self-awareness and basic counselling skills are taught. Training includes these modules:

- Building self-esteem
- Understanding roots and family trees (identity issues)
- Emotional and social problems and their stages
- The difference between counselling and interviewing

Evaluations are part of the KFC strategy. For 2000-2001 Open Society Foundation funding, KFC had an external evaluator co-operate with staff in conducting 16 focus groups to determine impact in four schools. These included parents, educators, learners and peer counsellors. Guidance counsellors were also interviewed. The six-page report seemed brief in terms of the extent of research and the possibilities for analysis since it included 80 educators, 50 parents, 297 learners and 102 peer counsellors. The impacts and challenges emanating from the report are covered in the subsections below.

#### Impact

These were the key findings covered in the 2000-2001 evaluation conducted in joint partnership between an external evaluator and the Khanya Family Centre staff:

- Some peer counsellors experienced improved relations both at home and school
- Self-motivated peer counsellors organised a Youth Against Crime March (then scheduled for June 2001)
- A need to improve the criteria for selecting peer counsellors
- Criminal activities were perceived to be lower
- More peer counsellors are required
- Most parents felt properly informed about the programme but a few did not
- More meetings with parents were recommended
- Most learners said they were not well informed about the programme
- An increased number of referrals from the targeted schools to the centre indicated that the referrals by peer counsellors were working.

To further assess impact, the reviewer visited two schools including Ponego Secondary School in Katlehong and Landulwazi High School in Thokoza. At the first school, a discussion was held with the principal, guidance teacher and four teachers who had participated in the programme. The school had been engaged in the peer-counselling programme for three years and reported that the most profound impacts were occurring in this third year of exposure. These were some of the positive impacts as expressed in testimony:

- The learners were enthusiastic about the programme
- The relationship between learners had improved
- General levels of respect had increased between all stakeholders
- The atmosphere in the school was more relaxed and informal
- Referrals are regularly made from the guidance counsellor to peer counsellors

- "To become a peer counsellor you have to face many problems. Some are tough problems. It increased my empathy so I became friendlier. This helps to create a more friendly school."
- "I benefited a lot! I was nervous and judged others before I knew them. It has helped the school to become a more understanding place."
- "Peer counselling helps us to face problems and this school has a lot of problems to face. It teaches us how to deal with them and our own personal problems. Teenagers often do not share their problems so this programme helps the school."
- "PC has helped me a lot. I am less shy. Now it is easier for me to talk to people and share my problems. I am able to socialise more."
- "It really changed my behaviour. I used to be impatient and rude. Now I am a better person and I have learnt to trust my own instincts. I am more confident. In the whole school there is better communication".
- "People tell me I have changed so I know peer counselling made a difference. It really improved communication around the school. Some people said I was not suitable, though."
- "I am a quiet person but I have learnt to communicate. I am more confident and make friends more easily."
- "I was totally changed by peer counselling but it did not help with my brother at home so now I am working on this. I can say what I feel now."

The researcher asked for volunteers to describe two cases of peer counselling as examples of their work. It seemed not all were active in this role. Three were offered as follows:

- A raped girl was too embarrassed and terrified to tell anyone what had happened. Finally, she came to a peer counsellor. The peer counsellor then found an appropriate and sensitive educator who could help.
- A girl was doing very well in school and believed she lost her closest friend through jealousy. The peer counsellor advised her to believe in herself and her goals. She became less worried about the loss and more confident.
- One learner has a mother who called her names and she was so frustrated that she wanted to kill herself. The peer counsellor thought this was too deep to handle alone so she brought the learner to a counsellor who helped her through the crisis.

## Sustainability

The educators and counsellors who have been trained throughout the area to supervise the peer counsellors have remained in this role for a few years. They seemed to have gained enough experience to continue in this role. However, it is uncertain whether the schools would carry out the peer mediation training themselves without KFC support. It might be advisable for KFC to look for ways to empower these educators and counsellors to build leadership skills.

#### Other Lessons Learnt

According to the Khanya Family Centre there were four critical lessons in their development of the peer-counselling model:

- To involve all the stakeholders during the planning phase including the Department of Education, SGBs, parents, educators and learners
- To consult a researcher to assist in developing an evaluation tool at the onset of the programme
- To consider training peer counsellors in earlier grades
- The Centre has also developed early childhood intervention models and is working in four crèches affecting 200 children because it has learnt that many of the problems experienced by young people in high school could have been prevented if detected earlier.

## Best Practices in terms of Strategy

Despite both international and South African critiques of peer mediation and peer counselling, there were clear indications at Ponego that it helped. It may be that researchers are asking the wrong questions and 'counselling' is the wrong word to use. The best practice is not peer counselling per se but developing leadership skills among a sufficient mass of learners to effect a change in the culture of the school. In the case of Ponego, the combination of Wilderness Therapy and the peer counselling over a three-year period appeared to offer sufficient healing, introspection and communication skills to create leaders who take a leading role in creating a more respectful, sensitive and caring school.

# **Change Moves**

## Introduction

Change Moves was started in 1999. It is a non-profit co-operative that focuses on organisational development through active action learning. Through such techniques people observe what they are and imagine what they can become. The school-based programme is called "Making a Difference" (the MAD programme). Problems in a school are exposed in the process of a facilitated journey comprising ritual, ceremony, art and role-playing, and the school generates its own solutions rather than the organisation offering one. Each intervention is unique and tailor-made to suit the needs of the school. This way of working has been described as 'healing' and involving body, mind and emotions.

The Change Moves co-operative got started in schools in its first year of operations (1999) when appointed as a social development facilitator to the City of Cape Town's Department of Community Development to work on a project in Bonteheuwel. The Bonteheuwel Pilot Project (BPP) was intended to both improve service delivery and to reduce or eliminate a culture of non-payment for services. One of the key problem areas was restoring the culture of learning and teaching in Bonteheuwel schools. Change Moves was tasked with this and started out in two schools, one junior school (EA Janari) and one high school (Elsies River Range High). The intention was to see if the active learning methodologies could involve all school members from learners to cleaners in making a difference. OSF funding was obtained for this.

In its first year, Change Moves considered that it had succeeded in an extremely effective schools programme and was supported in many aspects of this by an external evaluation. The school was motivated and more co-operative, the leadership was greatly enhanced and the school had generated working projects and programmes. The weakness was the lack of involvement from the surrounding community and there was some concern about sustainability. Therefore, in its second round of funding, Change Moves developed the programme in two new schools using a multi-agency approach and one in which the school-based programme was combined with a community building programme along with a specific intervention aimed at high risk youth (identified from the two schools).

#### Phase Four: Sustaining the difference

Change Moves offers support in ensuring that the strategies are sustainable. The final external evaluation also occurs here.

#### Other characteristics

The strategy has other defining characteristics besides its phases, including:

**Professional facilitation.** Only professionals with many years of experience in facilitating active learning workshops are utilised owing to the active learning technique's requirements. There is also a significant amount of straight talk and confrontation regarding issues that can be quite emotional and require experience to confront. One of the contracted facilitators, Nic Fine, has written two books on the subject that have helped to explain ways to work creatively with youth in institutional settings.

A community development approach: The MAD programme extends to community members whereby leadership and leadership structures are developed that can support the school. This requires the facilitators to attend numerous local meetings and through this 'presence' the facilitators gain a deep knowledge of their working environment that informs how they work within the schools and community. It helps to create empathy, understanding and an appropriate level of commitment. Community links that are highly beneficial for the school were observed in Bonteheuwel, a high crime area, where Change Moves helped to establish a 'crime and grime' campaign and a neighbourhood watch. It also helped to improve community-police relations and to overcome community divides. The school leadership was involved and this led to community members and parents increasing their involvement in the schools. For instance, people came to clean the school and provided glass for broken windows. The school was also increasingly used for community meetings and this alone reduces the potential for crime through community ownership.

**Partnerships and networking:** The MAD programme builds local partnerships and structures that help with community development. These includes structures within the City of Cape Town, such as the Department of Community Development. Change Moves also partners with the USIKO programme for Youth at Risk. This involves Wilderness Trails for identified male youth from the same two schools where it is now working. This is an example of developing a community structure that can really support a school even after the Change Moves intervention ends. USIKO also uses the same kinds of active learning techniques.

# Workshop Content

The number of workshops held in a school is determined by the signed working agreement that is developed through initial discussion and presentations with management. The content and length depend on the needs of the school. This is an example of the work that was designed for one school:

- A five-day intensive workshop with 40 learners in leadership roles in Grades 8-11 that built confidence and prepared the student to take a dynamic and creative leadership role in the school
- Two short workshops for Grade 12s
- Three very intense workshops that focused on management and leadership of the school this was observed to turn mind-sets around
- Two intensive workshops with staff and students to concretise plans
- A workshop for parental members of the school governing body
- Weekly check-ins by Change Move facilitators
- Monthly topical workshops on issues of concern (related to projects that develop).

What is unusual is that the content of the workshops, particularly the initial ones, is not determined in advance because the facilitation is aimed at a journey of self-discovery. For instance, at one high school workshop that was observed, staff members arrived late and moved in and out of the room without a sense of commitment to the process. This immediately became the focus of the workshop and the lack of commitment became central to understanding why leadership was not working to make the school safe. The intense workshop process changed mind-sets and helped to establish programmes to turn the school around. This helps explain why very experienced facilitators are required: One must observe the group carefully and address problems in real time. Without the right kind of expertise, this could become confrontational. Anger and many other kinds of feelings have to be managed and discussed.

Once the staff and student leadership complete their respective journeys, they have a good idea of the kind of school that they want. They then come together to discuss projects and plans. Specific committees are formed to generate changes in the school. The school decides on all the projects so that no programme or model is foisted on the school. This again makes the Change Moves approach very different from most 'models'.

Once the projects are under way, Change Moves continues its work by means of weekly visits and workshops to help the projects arrive at an action plan.

- Better treatment of cleaners (now seen as part of the team)
- · A new project to create a library was generated and under way
- Improved gender relations were reported
- · An environmental club was being organised
- Fewer complaints to the principal regarding staff relations
- Action plans were being generated to build the skills of educators
- Foot patrols by the police increased in the area owing to improved community-police relations.

It should also be noted that the workshops at the high school were also observed and there was a major shift from despondent who that did not communicate with one another (sometimes not knowing one another's names) to staff with high morale working together and planning for change.

#### Challenges Ahead

Early research observations suggest that some specific skills imparted to the target groups would reduce the intensity and longevity of the facilitation sessions. So, it may be that a combination of the active learning techniques with certain kinds of skills-building (eg, communication and problem-solving) might be more efficient.

At the workshop sessions it was observed that the target schools, as with most South African schools, have a culture of authoritarianism so that there is not a sense of equality between learners and educators or educators and cleaners. Replacing this culture may also be critical to achieving maximum impact using the Change Moves methodology. Partners with NGOs that offer democratic training, democratic management and communication skills might be a good foundation for the MAD programme.

#### Sustainability

The involvement in the schools has not been long enough to determine the sustainability of the programme. It appears that the schools first targeted in the year 2000-2001 are still carrying on with their projects and programmes but expressed concern about their ability to do this without Change Moves. The new schools (2001-2002) are only being evaluated now and there is a concerted effort to ensure this factor. Given the benefits already arising from linking schools work to community development work it is fairly

# Section Six

# Public Health Programme (PHP)

## Introduction

The Public Health Programme (PHP) was established at the University of the Western Cape in 1993 as part of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences. Its role is to:

- Provide postgraduate and continuing education on public health and primary health care
- Assist in the development of district health systems and programmes
- Research priority health problems
- Respond to the country's public health challenges

In 1999, the PHP conducted a situational analysis of the school education curriculum to find that there was very little education on gender-based violence (GBV), particularly in primary schools. A few NGOs were working in schools, although this work seemed to be mainly in high schools. In addition, they realised that educators did not seem to be operating in a gender-sensitive way. As a result, the Public Health Programme approached OSF for research funding to find a realistic model that would put learning about GBV into the provincial school curriculum.

Most of 1999 and 2000 was spent developing a model for intermediate level grades (Grades 5, 6 and 7 in primary schools). It was decided that the model would have to be a training programme for educators so that it could be sustainable. A partnership was also formed with the 'Safe Schools Project' of the Western Cape Province Education Department (WCED) to help ensure that lessons on gender-based conflict were included in all the provincial schools. This would also ease entry by reducing the trust-building period in the schools and making gender-based lessons part of an integrated approach to crime reduction.

During 2000, the PHP found six schools where these grades had already been exposed to safer schools training. They then designed materials and a training course for educators and tested these in these schools. As part of the pilot programme, the PHP also sought to compare the results of different approaches to implementing their materials in the participating schools, and compared whole school training with the train-the-trainer approach (also often referred to as the 'cascade' method). The former might be more holistic but is also resource intensive, while the latter could possibly be more expedient. Therefore, one school was offered a whole school approach and a 11 schools and consultations with some 16 other NGOs in the field. The PHP then developed materials and training with these characteristics:

- Educator-targeted
- User-friendly
- Participatory
- OBE-compatible
- Frank discussion and critical thinking
- The training models what educators are expected to do in the classroom.

The PHP now remains in the original six target schools monitoring and evaluating so as to refine the draft material based on classroom use and to measure impact on the learners (the first-year evaluation measured impact on educators). Thus, ongoing support and follow-up training are provided as part of the action research strategy.

#### 2. Transference of these materials into schools

Once the material and training have been developed, the strategy is to disseminate these to ensure that GBV education is included in a variety of places. This includes training 15-20 master trainers (educators) in the use of gender-based materials so that these enter many more schools. The PHP is also developing a course module for both graduate and undergraduate students of education at the University of the Western Cape using the same material developed in research. If this works, the PHP will target pre-service educators in tertiary institutions of the Western Cape.

#### 3. Advocacy

Since the PHP works closely with both the WCED and the University of the Western Cape, it is in a good position to engage in advocacy. This means working to establish various policies, programmes and courses. One example would be ensuring that GBV issues are addressed in sexual harassment policy and that the materials are fully integrated into the primary school curriculum. The PHP also seeks to ensure that GBV is included as part of the WCED's HIV/Aids and Life Skills programme.

### Geographic Extent of Work

The pilot project work is confined to the Cape Flats area of Cape Town and is ultimately concentrated in six schools where the materials are being refined and tested. However, the target is to include these materials in all Western Cape primary schools via advocacy in the WCED and training in the tertiary institutions.

7	"Gender-based Violence"	Promote awareness of the wide- spread but often hidden problem of sexual abuse of young girls and boys and identify ways to address sexual abuse
8	"The problem of women abuse"	Recognise and discuss the growing incidence of wife abuse and identify what to do when it occurs
9	"Working together to improve my environment"	Identify a priority school problem and develop a collective plan to address it
10	"Moving ahead toward a brighter future"	Examine how they have supported one another and plan how to work together in the future.

### Training Content

The PHP trains educators in the use of the classroom lessons in eight two-hour sessions over a two-week period. The first week focuses on basic information about GBV. The second week analyses the school, how to make it more gender friendly and how to make the best use of the materials. Ultimately, the workshops provided a role model for what should go on in the classroom.

### Monitoring and Evaluation Methods

The PHP constantly monitors and evaluates its work through observation and participation in the original six pilot schools. This includes observations in class and observations of learners in the school. The depth of involvement was such that the PHP staff sometimes took up duty on the playground during lunch breaks in order to observe the learners. Total involvement in the schools allowed the PHP to better understand gender-based problems and has provided the data for most of its reports. A year-end evaluation is also conducted internally and some of these results are reported under Impact on the following page.

## Sustainability

This is a research-based project and one of the questions is whether the GBV materials can be sustained in the school without external support. Train-the-trainer methods failed. Advocacy is required to move the WCED toward assuming responsibility for the GBV life skills component. Sustainability looks more promising in terms of the integration of GBV with developing HIV/Aids life skills work or through the pre-service training that is being piloted.

#### Lessons Learnt

These are some key lessons learnt as reported by Abigail Dreyer, the project manager:

- Train-the-trainer approaches did not work and whole school approaches are preferable. Allocating time to train colleagues is the key problem. The 'dilution effect' of cascade-style training is another. This warrants further study if this method continues as the popular approach of the Department of Education.
- In a whole school approach, separate role-players for training to ensure there are no power conflicts. The position of authority that a principal holds within a school can intimidate other teachers and staff from participating openly in discussions and therefore diminish the impact of the programme.
- Support staff are not likely to participate in programmes unless logistical arrangements have been made for them.
- Illustrating the links between GBV and the dynamics of the HIV epidemic in South Africa adds significant impact to the training sessions. GBV should be integrated with other learning areas to illustrate all the linkages.
- The GBV training manual and learner support materials should be compatible with OBE and Curriculum 2005. If each lesson indicates the specific life orientation learning outcome, educators will incorporate GBV material into their phase organisers from the beginning of the year.

### Section Seven

# **Community Psychological Empowerment Services** (COPES)

### Introduction

The Community Psychological Empowerment Services or COPES is a project that works with foundation phase children (first three years of formal schooling) in one of the most violent areas of Cape Town: Lavender Hill. It is a joint project of two NGOs: the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture and the New World Foundation (NWF), where COPES is based. The former is situated in Woodstock and operates a centre with diverse programmes in trauma management, and the latter operates as a community development centre in Lavender Hill. What makes COPES particularly interesting is that it is a seven-year longitudinal early childhood intervention aimed at reducing and preventing aggressive behaviour.

The project began in January 1996 when it worked exclusively in pre-schools with children between the ages of four and six who had been identified as aggressive and disruptive. Over an eight-week period, COPES offered social and behaviour management skills to the identified children, their parents and educators. The key effort was to increase the pro-social skills of all parties so that children increased their social skills and to attempt to replace negative, punitive behaviour toward children by positive reinforcement methods.

The pre-school interventions occurred between 1996 and 1998 and involved about 300 children. All of this was professionally evaluated using baseline and post-intervention data and was shown to be very effective in reducing aggression in children. Furthermore, the parents' sense of competence increased and the educators reported better-managed classrooms. The outcome was so impressive that it was immediately replicated in 15 pre-schools in the Western Cape. Despite the success, certain additions and changes were suggested to refine the project. These included the following:

- A school-based intervention should be emphasised since all children in the community are subjected to social stresses, not just those showing aggressive behaviour
- Inclusion of children in their early years of school, since nearly 70% of the children do not go to pre-school
- A long-term commitment to tracking the children to ensure a longitudinal study of merit

Finally, small group sessions with learners are conducted in order to address cases of very aggressive and disruptive children. These consist of three to four children per class who have behaviour problems, partly as a result of ineffective classroom management.

Partnerships are used to help deliver this strategy. The Schools Development Unit (previously known as the Mathematics Education Project or MEP) handles the literacy and numeracy component. COPES staff are responsible for the social skills training, the classroom and behaviour management component, classroom mentoring and the small group sessions. The mathematics, reading and life skills components all fit in with OBE and its phases.

### Geographic Extent of Work

COPES is working in seven primary schools in and around the Lavender Hill area. OSF assists with funding in two of these.

### Target Group and Exposure

COPES targets selected educators, learners and parents (or caregivers).

### Material Content

The material outputs include:

- A parent-training manual
- An educator manual for social skills curriculum at the foundation level
- A resource list on classroom management techniques
- An educator's reference on mathematics and reading enhancement.

### Training Content

Training addresses educators, learners and parents.

Ten to 12 educators per school attend an initial four-hour introductory workshop on how to promote good social skills. After that, they attend 16 to 18, two-hour long bi-weekly training workshops on classroom management, life skills, mathematics and reading. COPES to address in order to contribute to the optimal functioning of the school. The baseline indicators include:

- Leadership, management and governance
- School identity
- Human resources
- Culture
- Structures and procedures
- Levels of technical support.

To say that any programme has an impact on reducing and preventing criminal and violent behaviour requires longitudinal studies. Such studies are internationally rare. The COPES intervention will be able to make some sound statements about effectiveness since it tracks the exposed learners through seven years of the educational system. A contributing factor is that most of the COPES staff and participants are researchers. In addition there are partnerships with academics at both the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town who help design the research and engage in it. This has resulted in peer-reviewed articles.

### Impact

There is a 1999-2000 report, but it came quickly towards the end of the pilot intervention. It certainly supports the theoretical underpinnings of the COPES project but it was simply too soon to register the full impact. It generally registered modest improvements in educators and learners in some key areas while reporting some greater impacts on parents. It would probably be wise to await a second-year study wherein more of the changes can be measured and take root.

In September 2001, the researcher observed two small group sessions with both Grade 1 and 2 learners at Harmony School where the intervention had been in progress for more than 18 months. There were 12 to 14 learners in each group. Among them were children who had been subjected to much abuse (physical, sexual and verbal). A professional COPES psychologist worked with the learners and this methodology was observed:

- The learners were provided with many opportunities to discuss their feeling in pro-social ways (the process starts with a check-in: "How is everyone feeling?")
- The learners were given constant positive reinforcement, which clearly raised their self-esteem
- Positive interaction in a group setting was encouraged

numbered up into 80 in a school. However, this was also an area of significant advancement among those parents who participated according to the first-year evaluation. Still, the institutional impact of this is limited without more involvement.

- A third challenge is effectively changing the authoritarian culture in which most educators are fully embedded. It is likely that without continuous intervention many educators will lapse back into the style of negative reinforcement to which they were originally acculturated. Educators do make progress but not up to the optimal level of impact. In support of this observation, the evaluation report for the first-year pilot showed definite but small improvements in terms of educator skills.
- There is presently no component to address democratic management in the school. Many other organisations have found that this is key to changing mind-sets in a school. Ensuring that authoritarian school cultures change must require some attention to management structures. Otherwise, this will be replicated and the cycle of violence will not be broken. The organisational baseline studies may well identify this and to the credit of COPES they attempt to address such gaps through new programmes or partnerships.
- With three full-time and two part-time staff COPES can presently only handle about three schools effectively. Some method must be found for replicating the COPES strategy on a larger scale, as by all accounts it appears to be effective at the local scale but is resource intensive. Perhaps the answer is in the measures that the education department takes to ensure that OBE is working: This also demands that educators move away from authoritarian practices and toward the model that COPES is trying to impart. COPES strategy could be promoted through extensive pre-service training. This demands a strong relationship with the Department of Education and perhaps advocacy.

### Sustainability

By all testimony, it appears that the training for the educators helps create improved classroom environments. There is a transformation in the culture of learning and teaching and this is an achievement. However, the high level of professional support given to the school by COPES in small group sessions may not be sustainable. One could advocate that professional psychologists of this type belong in every school but it is doubtful whether South Africa can afford that. COPES may have to think about ways to generate improved classroom environments on a larger scale.

- The COPES strategy addresses home environments in addition to classroom environments. Including parents is a traditional difficulty in these kinds of interventions but COPES has been scoring successes here, with up to 80 parents in a single school gaining parenting skills.
- COPES works intensely within a school: It offers in-class mentoring of educators, trains in the school and includes parents. Perhaps the best practice in any intervention is being there intensively and often enough to observe and interact.
- COPES offers an early childhood intervention and there are compelling arguments in support of this kind of approach when it comes to preventing violence at a later age.

## Section Eight

# Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR)

### Introduction

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) was founded in 1989 at the start of South Africa's transformation to a democracy with the intention of helping to make the transition a peaceful one. Work in schools began in 1994 when it was becoming evident that a cycle of violence was deeply entrenched in South African schools. So, the CSVR designed and piloted a project in four Soweto schools based on imparting conflict and trauma management skills to both learners and educators. This helped to establish a support service: trained educators who could respond to issues of trauma, violence, abuse and conflict and learners who could offer both peer counselling and peer mediation.

By 1996, CSVR had developed training materials and programmes for 40 schools in Soweto. So, this came to be known as the Forty Schools Project.

In 1999, CSVR decided that it was dealing with the symptoms of crime and violence and needed to do more to deal with the causes. Research indicated that a body was needed within each of the 40 schools to be accountable for creating safer schools. The CSVR approached the OSF with the idea of creating safety teams in the targeted 40 schools and this funding was obtained in November 1999. Much of the CSVR work during 2000 involved establishing safety teams in the 40 schools through training, material and facilitation. Critical to this was securing the participation of SAPS stations and Community Policing Forums.

### The Strategy

The strategy of safety teams is based on previous inputs since 1996 including:

• Clustering: This occurs at two levels: (1) all 40 schools where there is a Project Teachers' Committee, whose role is to identify training needs, plan programmes and help sustain the project; and (2) clusters of approximately three schools each for training and sharing resources.

### Geographic Extent of Work

The work has concentrated on 40 schools in Soweto servicing three main communities: Zola (14 schools), Emdeni (12 schools) and Jabulani (14 schools).

### Target Group and Exposure

The members of the safety teams are the target group. These include:

- The principal
- A member of the SGB (preferably the chair)
- Educators trained in trauma management
- Two learners (often the peer mediators)
- A parent
- A person in school administration
- A police representative
- A CPF member
- Other community partners (quite variable).

In many cases, the CSVR-trained peer mediators, peer counsellors and educators with trauma management skills became involved in these structures. The nine community facilitators, who operate in three to four schools each, were also targeted for training in facilitation.

### Material Content

The material inputs included:

### 1. A safety policy guide called Safety Now

This is a very colourful 13-page booklet that forms the basis for facilitating the formation of the safety teams. The team is trained in the various aspects of safety covered by the guide. It emphasises these four steps in generating safety teams and safe school policy:

- 1. Get everyone together
- 2. Work together with other schools
- 3. Write up and adopt your safe school policy
- 4. Set up a safety team

There are clear guidelines and a great deal of information on how to follow these steps. For instance, what should be included in the plan is quite well Business Against Crime also negotiated individually with different clusters to organise training based on community and school needs. In one community groups of parents might run workshops on community awareness and in another out-of-school youth would explain the problems of crime. Gun Free South Africa helped in some areas but not others. The tremendous variation in training between clusters owing to unique partnerships has not been fully documented.

### Monitoring and Evaluation Methods

Monitoring and evaluation methods included the following:

- Each school safety team was provided with a Safety Watch Booklet at the beginning of the project to measure the increase or decrease of incidents of crime in their schools but this was not entirely successful (there may have been resistance to recording such information).
- The CSVR staff interviewed informants who included principals, police, community facilitators, the safe school committees and learners.
- A series of workshops was held with the safety teams and SWOT analyses were conducted to reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the intervention.
- A 40 schools committee that helps drive the project also serves to monitor the intervention.

### Impact

These were some of the impacts recorded in the CSVR evaluation at the end of 2000:

- Thirty-eight out of 40 schools succeeded in setting up safety teams
- All 38 teams had a safety policy that they were implementing
- A wide range of variation in efficiency and functionality of the safety teams was recorded
- The majority of the safety teams appear to be self-sustaining
- An increase in recovered stolen property from the schools resulted from increased community involvement.

The researcher also visited two schools in September 2001 to observe and record some impacts. The first was Emdeni High School where some members of the safety team were present, including the principal, peer The second set meeting was at Zola Primary School where committee members of the 40 Safe Schools were present, along with safety team members and a community facilitator from the area. Collectively the group reported these kinds of impacts:

- The community facilitator believed that more training for that role was required, particularly since he was unsure how the criminal justice system operated, making it sometimes difficult to intervene on behalf of the school
- The safety committee appeared to enjoy good relations with the SGB, CPF and the police at this location although the police do not always attend meetings
- Links with the CPF were strong: There was an office on the premises with CPF members present around the clock
- The safety committee had implemented measures to control people coming in and out of the school
- Four educators at the school had been trained in trauma management but this was seen as inadequate given the level of problems in the school. Those present argued that all educators must have this training and that the Department of Education should assume this task.
- Communication between stakeholders had improved enormously owing to the safety team
- Police-community relations have improved owing to the safety teams and to previous work done in the school since 1996. The police reportedly visit the school between one and three times a month.

The surprising finding was that CPF members were housed on the school premises. The school next door had been burgled recently but not Zola Primary, thanks to this arrangement. All the informants present advocated the idea of 'little CPFs' in each school. The researcher would only recommend very careful screening as to who plays this role.

Finally, the CSVR Youth Department Director, Dorothy Mdhluli, reported that the national government has taken a decision to model its national school safety policy on the 40 schools project. One key lesson might also be implied in the history of the strategy. Ultimately it may be better to work on crime and violence prevention rather than just the 'symptoms' of violence.

### Best Practices in terms of Strategy

These may be some of the best practices based on the CSVR documentation and observations:

- Clustering schools helped to exchange information on safety, facilitated SAPS and CPF work in the schools and through sharing information crime prevention was affected (eg, warning other schools in the cluster about imminent burglaries).
- The peer-mediation and peer-counselling components have the effect of building up leadership in the school and the leadership elements, regardless of the limited success of mediation or counselling (see discussion under Bridges and Khanya Family Centre). Many of the counsellors and mediators at one school were not active in that role per se but were very active as leaders on the safety team. Ensuring leadership skills in a school seems to be the essential best practice.
- Building partnerships between schools and police, local government and organisations in the community seems to have a direct impact on increasing security. A best practice is probably achieving a critical mass of good partnerships.
- SWOT analyses as a participatory research technique offer a good method of evaluation if combined with other methods.
- Colourful, easy-to-read and accessible materials.

## Section Nine

## A Collective Analysis of Best Practices

### An Analysis of Best Practices

This section refers to 'practices' or intervention tactics: the way we carry out our strategies. Best practices are meant to apply to any intervention and should help enable sustainable and replicable impacts. A list of best practices concluded each of the previous eight sections. These were extracted, duplications were eliminated and some features combined to produce a single list. The international literature was used to help validate these but South African experiences took precedence in constructing the list.

A compact list of best practices has more utility than a long cumbersome list. So, ten best practices were identified that can help pinpoint an effective strategy. These will be used in the next chapter to help identify, explain and recommend a comprehensive 'best practice' strategy.

### 1. Two-way commitment

Probably the biggest constant observed in terms of best practice for this review and many other projects is reciprocal commitment between the targeted school (or community) and the service provider.

Firstly, impacts appear to be weakest in situations where facilitators fly in and out with workshop material, offer little follow-up and really do not come to know the area or stakeholders. One of the real strengths of both the Change Moves and COPES interventions is intense involvement in the target communities. Both work within the context of larger community projects and this leads to familiarisation. Ironically, just 'being there' and 'being involved' can make the worst strategy work because quality time in the target school or community enables one to help solve real problems in real time. Not being committed or available can make the best strategy fail. Quick job performance and departure seldom wins the trust of the targeted community.

Secondly, the school or community must also demonstrate commitment. Both SMILE and Bridges like to see real buy-in: schools purchase materials in one case and pay for training in the other. Change Moves negotiates a contract with every school and stringently ensures that they diarise workshops and meet timetables. Placing all planned activities on the school calendar from the beginning of the year helps ensure commitment. Some organisations that did not do this did not meet their targets.

### 3. Elegant strategies

Elegant means something that is simple and effective so that it is graceful in form. Effective strategies are not usually complex ones or ones that keep changing and require more and more add-on components to make them work. Even strategies consisting of many individually successful components tend to fail if they grow too complex. Gottfredson (1996) writes:

"The recommended direction for school-based prevention – toward multi-faceted, longer-term and broader-reaching programmes embedded in school capacity-building activities – presents a challenge to researchers and policy-makers alike because the 'user-friendliness' of programmes is related to the fidelity of their implementation. More complex programmes are likely to be watered down or reinvented by school staff. The evaluation of a five-year effort (that combined several components that were individually successful)showed that the programme never reached the expected level of implementation and no reliable effects on youth behaviours or attitudes were observed."

If there is elegance, the basic strategy can usually be stated in one understandable sentence. These are two examples:

- Improve classroom management by mentoring and training educators in the use of positive reinforcement.
- Thoroughly train educators in the use of learner support materials so that the school can sustain programmes with materials alone.

# 4. Interventions that make schooling easier and fit job descriptions

The most scientific international review of violence prevention strategies in schools (Gottfredson 1996) states:

"Longer-term multi-component strategies in natural school settings using staff readily available from the schools employing methods that are acceptable to regular school staff are most likely to produce the strongest and most durable effects."

In South Africa, making the existing job of educators easier and not harder is a good tactic for achieving that outcome. One way to do this is to offer materials that make it easier for them to prepare lessons. This is the aim of both the Public Health Programme's strategy and SMILE. Another way is increasing educator motivation, part of the Change Moves strategy. Not every component can achieve this, but one can strive to ease the stress on educators and other school staff while enhancing their job performance. Extra structures and extra materials falling outside job descriptions should be avoided.

- Reduce operating costs since a number of schools can be addressed at once
- Share information and experiences
- Share resources.

It is recommended that the clusters be composed in consultation with the appropriate education supervisors and that they are also offered workshops in monitoring interventions. This is helping them to do their jobs and it can help the NGO with its intervention.

### 7. Appropriate partnerships

One of the most cost-effective ways of increasing the resources to reduce crime and violence is to facilitate an increased level of partnerships. At school level this can lead to better policing services, more expertise, improved referral services and an ethos of community ownership. This last point is recognised globally as one of the four most common ways to help reduce crime and violence in schools: open the school premises to local residents and activities (Shaw 2001). This way the school is occupied longer and the community gains a sense of ownership and watches over the school more carefully. Facilitating appropriate partnerships is common practice for two reasons: It is effective and any organisation can help facilitate partners for schools.

The NGO also needs partners and some of the most effective strategies seem to be ones in which a good working relationship has been developed with the National and Provincial Departments of Education. Bridges' relationshipbuilding has had excellent results, as the organisation was eventually commissioned by the National Department of Education in Pretoria to bring its expertise to bear on national policy in relation to drugs in schools. SMILE ensures that the provincial departments of education approve all its materials. Co-operation at these levels is best practice because sooner or later an intervention has to be sustained and supported by these role-players.

# 8. Accessible and easy-to-read support materials that are not prescriptive

Targeted stakeholders like some kind of support materials. These increase confidence levels because they provide something tangible to refer to. In turn, increased confidence helps make the intervention sustainable. More often than we like to think, prescriptive materials end up in drawers especially manuals, guides and handbooks. These tend to be overly prescriptive and this frustrates the user. Learner support materials are used because they make the educator's job easier. Training educators in how to use those materials also builds their skills.

- Enable a more comprehensive evaluation, since research takes place over a longer period of time.
- Reduce reliance on informant testimony, since other forms of data capture can be integrated into delivery strategy.
- Facilitate a good partnership between the researcher and service providers owing to a longer period of working together.
- Introduce the researcher to the informants at an early stage so that familiarisation and trust building increase the accuracy of the final evaluation.
- Document an intervention with sufficient rigour for the NGO to successfully engage the international research community with its findings.

Monitoring is another feature of research. Right after a workshop, many facilitators pass out a quick questionnaire asking a few inconsequential questions and then refer to this as monitoring impact. That is poor research. Some good methods include:

- Telephonic interviews and follow-ups some weeks later
- Workshops in tandem with school monitoring
- Reference groups that engage in participatory research workshops
- Engaging university scholars in monitoring
- Finding people who are employed to monitor and engaging them in participatory research workshops (superintendents of school clusters)
- Immersion techniques (eg, take up recess duty at the school).

Of course, another critical component is the evaluation itself. This should be done externally. This reduces bias and therefore increases the credibility of the result. If the funding agency independently arranges for an evaluation, it can further reduce the bias but can also generate organisational fears about co-operating with 'the evaluator'. The solution is to ensure complete transparency in these matters. Sometimes research workshops at the start of the process help to facilitate co-operation. If the evaluator is the same person who conducts the baseline study, it also helps smooth processes and offers a better research methodology.

Well-researched interventions on the subject of social crime prevention are usually multi-year interventions (Elias, Weissberg, et al, 1994). Often, funding is for one or two years and this is too short to accurately measure the effectiveness of programmes and to help refine them. Evaluations that come on the heels of the intervention before changes have taken root can skew our understandings. Furthermore, short-term evaluations cannot effectively measure the effect of school-based crime prevention programmes on learners unless we use longitudinal studies to trace the behaviour of exposed and control groups over a period of years. Such studies are needed but entirely

## Section Ten

# A Proposed Best Practice Strategy

### 10. Recommendations

This section follows from the analysis of best practices and all previous sections to make recommendations on how to conduct school-based programmes that prevent violence among youth. While these comments were written with the CJI in mind, they are applicable to anyone with an interest in ensuring that new interventions take into account the best practice learning that has emerged from the work of the reviewed NGOs, and international experience.

Accepting the idea that it is more important to find ways to link strategic components and practices with refined strategy than to compare interventions (Elias, Weissberg, et al, 1994), the NGOs were not compared for this exercise. Rather, the collective targets, components and best practices extracted from the collective experience were analysed to find the interconnections and interdependence between them. Reference was then made to both national and international research findings to recommend and explain possible ways forward in terms of violence prevention programmes in schools.

To be as succinct and as clear as possible, these recommendations are based on asking two questions:

- Who should be targeted with which strategic components?
- Where should they be targeted?

Tools, explanations and mechanisms for discussing these two questions are provided below. Addressing the last question concludes this report, since the final recommendations are included there.

# I. Who should be targeted and with which strategic components?

Both the collective experiences of the reviewed organisations and international experience suggest that all stakeholders critical to reducing and preventing criminal, violent and aggressive behaviour be addressed (Shaw 2001). Reviewers also suggest that targeting many problems with many different strategic components works better than single interventions (Catalano et al, 1998, Shaw 2001). These two factors only apply if all the

	Strategy	Target Group(s)
3	Provide research-based facilitation, training and materials to create skilled management, leadership and partnerships that can develop, implement and sustain school security plans.	School management, SEMs, SGB, School Security Committees, RCL, community partners, Department of Education officials (advocacy)
4	Provide sufficient healing, introspection and skills for learners and educators to take a leading role in creating more respectful, sensitive and caring schools that assist and refer traumatised learners.	Selected educators and learners
5	Use active learning techniques to guide leadership in both schools and community towards identification and ownership of problems, solutions, projects and programmes.	All staff, all school leaders, SGB parents, all community leaders
6	Develop, pilot and evaluate materials to educate Grade 5-7 learners about Gender-based Violence and then advocate their usage throughout schools and in pre-service training.	Educators, learners, Department of Education officials (advocacy)
7	Mentor, train and offer materials to ensure that educators manage the classroom in ways that promote pro-social behaviour and academic achievement and train parents in how to support this at home.	Educators, parents, learners
8	Provide facilitation, training and materials to create safety teams that develop, implement and sustain school security plans and create learner and educator systems of conflict and trauma management.	Selected educators, selected learners, management, community service providers, leaders, facilitators and Department of Education officails (advocacy)

	Strategic Component	Target	
6	At-risk youth: support, research and evaluate some extracurricular projects for at-risk youth, including the sustainability and replicability of community-based mentoring programmes	Learners	
7	School safety teams: review the South African experience of school-based safety teams and assess the real or potential role of professional and accountable public planning departments.	School and community partners	

The core strategy of applying improved management skills to inter-linked classroom, school and community environments matches developing international theory on school-based violence prevention. The basic conclusion of the most exhaustive and the most scientific of all the international reviews on the subject was this:

The recommended direction for school-based prevention is towards multifaceted, longer-term and broader-reaching programmes embedded in school capacity-building activities (Gottfredson 1996).

Gottfredson referred to 'capacity building' as addressing both classroom and school management and by 'broader-reaching' she referred to addressing the whole environment. For her, increasing the capacity of all stakeholders through skills development to shape the whole class/whole school/whole community environment was the key to a successful strategy. There is a caveat: skills must be increased without leading to NGO dependency. That kind of outlook and all the skills to make the proposed strategy work can be identified within the reviewed organisations. So, collectively, the reviewed organisations illustrate the kind of skills base from which one can begin to design and implement a best practice strategy.

The international literature on school violence is United States and European dominated but there are some distinct South African elements to be found in Figure Seven:

The third component stresses democratic management, which is new to South African schools and not well developed.

The fifth component includes an element on integrating crime prevention into the OBE phases of the Language, Literacy and Communication curriculum. This might be a cutting edge South African strategy and it is recommended that this be evaluated without delay.

	Tirisano Programmes	Matching 'best practice' Components
5	Organisational Effectiveness of the National and Provincial Departments of Education	School management, a review of school safety team strategies, NGO partnerships, workshops in monitoring for education superintendents.

Explanations for each of the seven strategic components as enumerated in Figure Seven follow as recommendations.

**1.** It is recommended that this 'best practice' strategy focus on raising the pro-social skills of learners and their academic achievement by supporting improved educator skills in classroom management and instruction in the context of OBE .

Improving classroom management is an intervention strategy ordinarily aimed at primary school educators. Both COPES and SMILE provide examples of NGOs impacting on this. COPES empowers primary school educators in Grades 1-3 to maintain classroom order through positive reinforcement techniques and by setting clear boundaries for behaviour. Simultaneously, learners become literate and more skilled in Maths as instruction techniques in these subjects are improved. SMILE works with Grade 4-7 educators on classroom management but improves instructional skills in language, literacy and communication using its own OBE-approved materials. The COPES work differs in one significant way: Parents are offered parenting skills and this greatly enhances success (see component two).

There is both sound logic and research behind classroom management approaches. First, the learner spends most school time in class so it is in this environment that socialisation is most intense. If classes are managed in angry, punitive and threatening ways, this is the socialisation process that reproduces angry, punitive and threatening people. It is difficult for children to be committed to learning if there is little or no emotional support and even negative reinforcement in the classroom. This results in poor learner commitment, a poor education and/or dropping out three major risk factors contributing to criminality and violence (Maguin and Loeber 1996).

The appropriate tactic is to prevent such classroom abuse: Create orderly, courteous classrooms full of positive reinforcement to produce pro-social learners. This builds resilience to crime because it is easy to develop problem-solving skills in such environments. Add good schooling to a caring environment and you have one of the most internationally respected formulas for preventing a life of crime, drugs, violence and anti-social behaviour (Prohirow-Smith 1991, Aos 2001, Gottfredson 1996).

**2**. It is recommended that parenting skills programmes that are linked to classroom management strategies be integrated into a best practice strategy since studies show that it maximises impact. Additionally, it would also help to undertake research into methods of further linking home and school environments. This would provide schools with tools and information for attracting more parental involvement.

Learner problems in school often originate in the home owing to various kinds of abuse, instability or trauma. Dealing with this in its entirety is beyond the capacity of schools but imparting parenting skills combined with improved classroom management has been shown to be effective in reducing and preventing problems of aggression. In her review, Denise Gottfredson (1996) looked at five interventions that combined imparting parenting skills with facilitating well-managed classes and one that only did the latter to find: "Programme effects were not as positive in the one study that used only the classroom strategies".

The Seattle Social Development Programme was one of the successful projects identified in Gottfredson's scientific review. The SSDP success is explained as the integration of 'Family Management' Training with 'Classroom Management' Training (see also Hawkins et al, 1992, 1999). Parental training is not intense, just effective. Over the years of a child's primary years (1-6) parents receive about 16 evening sessions of training that cover:

- Monitoring children
- Providing appropriate and consistent discipline
- Communication skills
- Positive home learning environments
- Helping children with reading and Maths skills
- Building a child's resistance to drugs and negative peer pressure.

It should be further noted that the strategy of combining family and classroom management interventions has been established as statistically significant in randomised control group trials and replicated in two independent studies (Brestan 1998). It has also been found effective for adolescents (Tolan and Guerra 1998) so the component can be utilised wherever baseline assessments indicate the need.

Parent skills aside, parental involvement alone is a factor that reduces crime and violence in schools (Tolan and Guerra 1998). Many South African schools seem to lack the capacity, skills or tools for achieving this. A field-based study that reviews, examines and explains the ways in which South African parents have been successfully included in whole school development is recommended. of like-minded people around her/him. Conversely, problems experienced within many dysfunctional schools can often be directly traced to negative and incompetent school management structures. Clear evidence of poor management skills is the continued use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool: this despite the fact that it is illegal."

In South Africa, the top management is the place to initiate workshops and the IPT was not the only reviewed organisation to discover this. Bridges completely reordered its training modules owing to the need to create supportive management structures before stakeholders started exposing their problems with substance abuse.

Training top management is not enough. A 1989 study (Duke) established that caring schools in which learners feel a sense of belonging are the least disruptive. A big part of creating that atmosphere is being inclusive: giving all stakeholders in the school a say in solving school problems and setting the rules that affect them. That requires some form of democratic management.

Establishing a system of democratic management requires both an educational component and some participatory workshops. First, one must separately provide management, educators, learners and parents with some basic grounding in Democracy and Human Rights Education (DHRE). Then, bring them together to negotiate school rules, responsibilities and plans. Only when all the stakeholders understand and negotiate rights and responsibilities, do schools become significantly less violent and more tolerant (Harber 1997, Griggs 2001). Explosive situations have been created where learners discover that corporal punishment violates their rights but educators lack any knowledge of human rights or basic laws. Learners can be subjected to violence when taking their 'rights' into the home environment if parents also lack an education in DHRE (Griggs 2001).

After a basic democracy and human rights education, active learning techniques can be employed to mobilise all stakeholders to look at school rules, rights and responsibilities. This creates the basis for generating a whole range of democratically conceived projects and programmes for the school. Both the processes and the school-owned outcomes help to reduce violence.

International research and the experience of democracy training organisations in South Africa support this kind of strategy. One of the most dramatic and successful efforts in using participatory democracy to turn a school around is recorded in Margaret Shaw's (2001) review of international school strategies to reduce crime and violence. In 1994 crime and violence levels had soared in a disadvantaged French school of mixed races, cultures and immigrants. Parents, learners, community members and educators came together to negotiate school rules, rights and responsibilities. For the first time, learners were listened to and their views valued. Creating democratic school management at all levels covers a range of best practices:

- Commitment to the target community (if not the country)
- Containment within a larger strategy
- · Makes the job of educators and managers easier
- Maximises stakeholder ownership of processes
- Clustering
- Facilitates a critical mass of school partnerships
- Can include accessible, easy-to-understand materials
- Helps put ongoing efforts into the public domain
- Research-based at school level (needs research at systemic level).

**4.** It is recommended that the 'best practice' strategy should include a policy of linking school programmes with community development strategies that build community leadership and create partnerships with the school.

That community development is significant for school-based efforts to reduce criminal and violent behaviours has long been identified. This is from the classic 1985 publication by Gottfredson and Gottfredson, *Victimisation in Schools:* 

• By far the strongest correlates of school disorder are characteristics of the population and community contexts in which schools are located. Schools in [urban] poorly disorganised communities experience more disorder than other schools.

Change Moves is an example of one of the reviewed organisations strongly committed to a community development framework and it is seeing positive impacts as once-isolated schools become integral parts of their communities. The schools intervention is one part of a larger community development programme by the City of Cape Town that includes work on roads, clean-up campaigns, housing and service delivery. Furthermore, Change Moves is not just building leadership in the school but in the community as well. In turn, the growing number of leaders committed to their communities is rapidly resulting in organisations, groups and individuals taking an interest in the schools. This example demonstrates these best practices:

- Commitment to the target community
- Containment within a larger strategy
- Simple and effective
- Makes the job of the educators and managers easier
- Maximises stakeholder ownership of processes
- Facilitates school partnerships

feedback, reinforcement and behavioural rehearsal, rather than traditional lecture and discussion), the more effective the programme.

Thus, the secret of this crime prevention component is to ensure that life skills lessons cover all the social competency skills and do so using the kinds of classroom management and instruction skills already described (component 1). Essential social competency skills include communication, co-operation, problem solving, stress management, conflict management and self-esteem. Since each requires a vehicle for discussion, they can be grounded in important South African issues such as:

- Gender-based violence
- Democracy and human rights
- Substance abuse
- Sexuality
- HIV/Aids
- Racism
- Diversity issues
- Crime prevention.

Building any kind of dependency on NGOs for providing life skills directly to learners is neither sustainable nor replicable, simply because learners quickly graduate. Having a different NGO intervention for every different life skill is not good strategy either. Curriculum 2005 already includes a Life Orientation learning area. The content, which is being finalised now, covers many of the social competencies already. OBE also emphasises co-operative learning. It is recommended that the CJI support training programmes for educators in the use of OBE-compatible learner support materials for Life Orientation with the aim of increasing the social competencies of learners.

The first strategic objective is to ensure that our educators have life skills since:

• Educators without life skills are a danger to learners and help to reproduce the cycle of violence. Only educators with life skills can ensure that such skills become an integrated part of all schooling as intended by Curriculum 2005.

The first point can be made with reference to gender-based violence. The OSFfunded research conducted by the Public Health Programme established that stereotyping and gender-based violence were such widespread problems among educators that they required GBV workshops as much as the learners (Public Health Programme 2001). There is also the sad statistic in the international literature that 30 percent of rape cases among South African girls between 15 and 19 involved a schoolteacher (Shaw 2001). Just one According to the international literature, developing life skills is a fundamental component of all successful crime prevention strategies (Gottfredson 1996, Shaw 2001). Life skills can help build leaders and turn around identified at-risk youth. Including some extracurricular efforts to identify and develop at-risk youth with such skills is a popular feature of many international programmes. According to Shaw (2001):

"The most successful prevention plans combine programmes, address the entire school population, design special projects to target at-risk groups and individuals and solicit teacher support."

While the expression 'solicit teacher support' might be better expressed as 'build educator skills', the central point is that identifying and targeting at-risk youth in special programmes is a characteristic of some successful international interventions. Among the reviewed organisations, both COPES and Change Moves employ this practice. The Khanya Family Centre also includes a Wilderness Therapy Experience that may benefit at-risk youth.

Targeting at-risk youth in special programmes seems to work best when skilled mentors use sophisticated behavioural management techniques and it can fail altogether if the mentoring is too limited in focus or the mentors are not skilled (Catalano et al, 1998). Professional mentors are expensive. Furthermore, so many South African youth fall into this 'at risk' category that the experience of richer Western nations may not apply here. The South African environment requires affordable, sustainable strategies that do not create NGO dependency. This means:

- Develop community-owned programmes
- Help schools discover their own ethos and motivate them to create the sustainable programmes and projects that develop positive values, attitudes, behaviours and skills among at-risk youth.

In relation to its school and community-based intervention in Bonteheuwel, Change Moves partners with USIKO. This organisation uses similar active learning techniques to develop community-based mentors who then pair up with at-risk youth from the local junior school and high school where Change Moves is working. This youth development programme includes a fairly intense wilderness experience.

Developing a community-based mentorship/leadership programme might be sustainable if it links youth leadership skills to a process that is communityowned. It may also be effective if professionally developed and then retained by the community. An evaluation of such processes might lead to an affordable strategy that can be replicated.

- Plans must be revisable because new problems arise
- Sometimes the learners in the school do not come from the community surrounding the school and this limits the partnerships necessary for success
- Usually the most receptive schools are not those with the most problems
- Forming packs and adopting guides is not sufficient for developing effective, sustainable programmes: a clear policy commitment is needed at the local school level
- Schools need financial support from national, regional and local government for policy development.

This last point may be critical. In the United States these committees are getting long-term funding along with technical training and support (Shaw 2001) while in South Africa:

- The funding is short term
- There is no formal system of technical training and support
- Capacity and time for this is more limited.

Globally and in South Africa, these safety teams and committees do not seem to be stable, predictable structures and it may be that professional planning is required to deal with a problem of the magnitude and significance of children's security. The experience has been sufficiently long (1997-2001) to review these structures and suggest ways to ground this information in a professional, accountable planning process. The lack of expertise within certain schools might become problematic. In one school observed for this report, former vigilantes now affiliated with the CPF maintain 24-hour watches from an office located on school premises as a crime prevention plan.

A variety of community-specific structures are evolving that can be reviewed. For instance, within the CSVR's 40 Schools Project in Soweto, remunerated community volunteers for each school cluster have been added to help sustain and support the safety teams. The best practices section suggests that added structures, especially complex ones, might not be sustainable in schools. Some safety groups are being incorporated into larger plans too. The Health Promoting Schools Project sets up school health teams that include a Violence Prevention Task Force (World Health Organisation 1999, Children First 2001). Like the safety teams, the school health teams are new and have not yet been fully evaluated. Linking school safety to a community development framework with professional planning structures and technical expertise is another alternative.

#### 2. Sports fields and recreational facilities

One of the most common suggestions offered at public meetings in South Africa for addressing violence and crime prevention is to construct recreational facilities. This is based on three ideas: (1) keeping learners busy keeps them away from crime and drugs; (2) it raises self-esteem; and (3) learners need to vent energy. While recreation is important for many health reasons, there is little or no evidence indicating that providing recreational activities prevents violent and criminal behaviour (Gottfredson 2001). This does not mean that such components cannot be part of an intervention that builds leadership through facilitated sports programmes, but a sports facility alone is not good strategy.

#### 3. Instructional or informational programmes

Instructional programmes based simply on disseminating information, whether through lecturing or passing out booklets and materials, has a very weak impact (Gottfredson 1996). This was the experience of more than one NGO in the review and nearly all now train and workshop their materials. For instance, the IPT found that safety manuals designed as stand-alone documents required a facilitation and training programme to be effective.

#### 4. Enforcement and punitive policies

Enforcement approaches based on threats, punitive measures and police raids ('crackdowns' and 'zero tolerance') seem to displace crime and violence without solving the problem. In other words, this strategy might work in a school but not in the community (another good reason for a community development approach). A recent US Study (Kingery 2001) shows a correlation between an increase in suspicions and expulsions in United States schools and uneducated youth taking up criminal lives. Bridges is an example of a South African organisation that draws attention to the failure of punitive approaches in substance abuse cases and advocates their replacement by pro-active approaches that create healthy behaviours.

#### II. Where should the integrated strategy be targeted?

For the design of crime and violence prevention programmes in South African schools, it has been recommended that a best practice strategy focus on developing well-managed classrooms, homes, schools and communities. The linkages between them are also fundamental to the strategy.

It is unlikely that one NGO or organisation can accomplish this. It is more likely that such a strategy requires partners working within an integrated strategy. Location is the key to how integration is achieved because the composition of the strategic components and the organisations available to This concept competes with the community development framework that is older and better established and therefore recommended: increase the capacity of all stakeholders through skills development to shape the whole class/whole school/whole community environment.

Gottfredson (2001) writes, "The overall patterns of results for programmes involving peers in the delivery of services are not promising. Peer mediation programmes are not promising, although they have not been sufficiently evaluated. These programmes are likely to be ineffective interventions when implemented as stand-alone programmes rather than as part of a broader attempt to improve disciplinary practices. Peer counselling interventions for high-risk youths are contraindicated, and studies using peer leaders to lead substance abuse prevention programmes have produced mixed results." The IPT and Bridges

## Section Eleven

### The Feedback Workshop on the Review:

# **Commentary and Further Recommendations**

### Overview

On 28 and 29 November 2001, a workshop was held by the CJI with a view to obtaining feedback on this review. Present were some 30 people representing the eight reviewed NGOs, researchers and other interested parties. The purpose of the workshop was to:

- Further brief participants on the findings
- Solicit responses
- Look for ways to refine the proposed strategy
- Better understand and share best practices.

Both the researcher and the OSF anticipated critiques of the 'best practice' strategy that would lead to refinements but none were offered with regard to the entire strategy or any of its specified components. The participants were provided with all the necessary tools to provide critical feedback: (1) The report had been delivered to each workshop member two to three weeks prior to the meeting; (2) a briefing was offered at the start of the workshop; and (3) a figure outlining the strategy was included in the packets distributed to each of the participants so that they could consider and respond to each component. Furthermore, they were invited to air their concerns in open discussion.

The strategy itself appeared to be considered quite sound. Despite this, the group voiced many concerns and fears about NGOs partnering with one another to implement it. Since the recommended strategy assumes such an approach, this critical issue impacts on the final recommendation in the report. That recommendation is reprinted below for immediate reference (the first sentence refers to the strategy that was outlined in Section 10):

It is unlikely that one NGO or organisation can accomplish this. It is more likely that such a strategy requires partners working within an integrated strategy. Location is the key to how integration is achieved because the composition of the strategic components and the organisations available to deliver depend on this. Therefore, it is further recommended that CJI address this possibility in a workshop and possibly invite organisations to tender for

- School management
- Research
- Parental involvement.

Owing to group consultation on process, it was decided to start out in plenary session rather than going immediately into breakaway groups. The justification for the plenary was that it provided an opportunity for unrestricted feedback. Yet the feedback tended to amplify and support existing strategic components. This again demonstrated an acceptance of the general strategy although there were the aforementioned concerns about how to organise a consortium to undertake it.

The workshop of one and a half days could not accommodate more than four sessions. Since the first would be the plenary, it was decided that school management and parental involvement would be combined. The order of this commentary and further recommendations parallels the workshop discussion as given below:

- 1. The plenary session
- 2. Partnerships
- 3. School management and parental involvement
- 4. Research

Throughout the subsections, the researcher's recommendations can be distinguished from narrative and commentary as they are italicised.

### The Plenary Session

The review had suggested the integration of many NGO strategies. Once streamlined, these could be targeted in an area. Not long into discussion, the idea that CJI could use a tendering process to attract collaborating NGOs that could implement the strategy as a pilot project did not seem immediately feasible. Many participants thought that a tender process would lead to a 'coerced' collaboration for funding purposes. Furthermore, many recommended that partnerships be developed slowly and that the organisations and people involved should be very familiar with one another before embarking on a project involving collaboration. Thus, it seems that the substantive body of the review could encourage this by offering good information on workable strategies but that to move too quickly into implementing a pilot project without further study of the appropriate partnerships could prove problematic.

Generally, participants had much trepidation about working with other NGOs and organisations. Several reported on 'bad' experiences with consortia. The depth of this concern and addressing it resulted in a discussion that concentrated entirely on partnerships even though the session was unformatted and open to any comment. to the inability of NGOs to work together in consortia. This brought the open-ended discussion period around to some ideas on what elements contribute to successful or unsuccessful partnerships. These comments, given verbatim, offer insight into the very cautious approach to partnerships that was being expressed:

- "Our recent consortium experience did not work because the management structure failed, and all three partners pulled out. Proper planning and management are important aspects of holding the partnership together."
- "Good partnerships are not just about having the same agenda; the partners also need to have the same values and approach. It's like a marriage."
- "In our work in the Tygerberg Municipality, we're using a precinct model. The idea is to work in 15 streets at a time, focusing on everything that is happening in that precinct (eg schools, neighbourhood watches, etc). It is significant that it is the official local authority that leads this partnership (ie, the Community Development and Liaison Section of the local authority)."
- "We decided to bring other organisations in, but what is important is that each has to buy into the philosophy of our work. The problem is that these were organisations that were funded from elsewhere and could not sustain their involvement in the project."
- "Working together is certainly something that we can do. The research has already been done by the funders, but then implemented by other NGOs things sent out on tender."
- "The original point that was made regarding how would you find or know about other organisations is important, as this will inform what you think about partners."
- "In our experience, the problem is when one of the NGOs in the partnership is seen as the leader, and has to account for the whole group."
- "It is important to have clarity about what you want from the different partners ... this needs to be spelled out."

Such comments resulted in a suggestion (subsequently made on several occasions) to help resolve this problem by conducting a best practice study, review or report on how partnerships in social crime prevention can work. *Owing to the workshop data reported above and in some details to follow, the researcher follows suit in recommending such a study. While commentary from two different workshops appear to point to a strategy that is sound in logic, based on international experience and befitting the experience of the participants, the idea that an appropriate consortium will automatically evolve to undertake it now seems like a poor assumption. If CJI were to* 

- The Department of Education
- Business.

For instance, indications from the workshop that NGO-led partnerships can be fragile might be verified. Perhaps one should focus on schools or communities and provide them with the resources to build their own partnerships. Such comparisons and considerations might lead to CJI encouraging more predictable and effective kinds of partnership building.

Two other critical questions that pertain to the terms of reference for such a study were also brought up in discussion, including:

- Regional differences in the experience of partnerships
- The role of personalities, leadership and so-called 'champions'.

At the end of this discussion, there was continued dismay that we had in hand a workable strategy but the NGOs present were expressing a reluctance to deliver on it. This was noted by one of the participants:

"The danger is that we've all read the report, and had our discussions and then we go back and do what we do in the same way. This is an opportunity to create new relationships to improve our work."

It was very clear that the review had led to an increased level of understanding as to what was workable strategy. It also demonstrated, without direct intent, that many individual NGO strategies were inadequate or insufficient to really make a sustained difference. Owing to the educational value of the report, all concurred that publishing it was a good idea. This has already been recommended, along with distributing it in wide enough circles within civil society that it might just lead to the kind of consortia that can carry out the recommended strategy. The involvement in the workshop of 30 people with more than half representing the reviewed NGOs was not sufficient to expose the strategy. Publication and distribution is also justified on additional grounds: the document was seen as offering good information on best NGO practice regardless of whether or not the strategy was implemented as conceived.

In concluding this subsection on the plenary, one key problem with the review was clearly defined: It had not fully identified the extent of the problem of partnerships nor sufficiently addressed how this could be affected. However, it was also clear this could not be done outside of independent research on the subject of partnerships. Significantly, no one in this workshop group nor in a later group (convened by the OSF to discuss local government partnerships: Pretoria, 4-6 December 2001) could remember hearing about or seeing a best practice study on South African partnerships in social crime prevention. It is also notable that the strategy was well received at a second and more diverse

- 4. Plans should be based on community-based needs assessments and then tailored to the community.
- 5. Defined and clear roles are needed for each partner (ownership should be clear) and there should be systems for accountability.
- 6. Peer evaluations should be an ongoing part of working in collaboration.
- 7. The partners should have shared goals and values based on trust, and a respect for one another's work (no attempts to dominate one another).
- 8. The benefits of the partnership should be explicit (what are the partners sharing and trading?).
- 9. There must be complete transparency around money issues.
- 10. There should be buy-in from all stakeholders.
- 11. The Department of Education should be included as a partner in any school-based intervention for both credibility and access.
- 12. Some way of evaluating or measuring the impact of the partnership has to be included. Research should include different kinds of evaluations occurring at multiple levels (external, internal and those owing to portfolio or consultancy). This offers different perspectives and engages different kinds of stakeholders and projects.
- 13. It is useful to include many different kinds of role-players such as CBOs, NGOs, government, corporations, academic institutions and others. There are different levels of power relations within that and this has to be carefully examined.
- 14. It is useful to be flexible when developing a partnership with government.
- 15. A key decision-making person or champion is useful.
- 16. A mediation/problem-solving structure must be created in case things go wrong in the partnership.
- 17. Contracts and formal agreements are key to successful partnerships and must include an exit strategy that is not disruptive to the target community.
- 18. New people entering into partnership require some form of induction.
- 19. Partnerships must have a good management structure.
- 20. Those who fund partnerships need to acknowledge the time it takes to set up a partnership; much work has to be done before these are secured.
- 21. There is a shortage of funding and the funding cycle is too short: This is a problem because security is required for a good partnership.
- 22. The different policies in different organisations can create conflicts so these must be examined.

• *The review be published and widely distributed as already indicated.* 

#### Breakaway Discussion 2:

## What are 'best practices' in terms of improving school management and involving parents?

The report-backs from these breakaway groups clearly indicated that partnerships between the DOE, NGOs and even schools and communities require very careful examination in the proposed review. The first review indicated that this was an important partner that was sometimes difficult to engage. Many workshop participants were much more sceptical than the reviewer. Some were completely dismayed and considered the task impossible. For instance, during breakaways one group decided that it would only consider the theoretical side of partnering with the DOE because corruption and incompetence were so extensive that this would not be possible in reality for some time.

The degree of scepticism indicated above is probably unwarranted and in report-back sessions certain members defended their existing partnerships with the DOE. What it does highlight is the need to include partnering with the DOE as a key component within the terms of reference for the proposed review. Field research is recommended for that, and funds should be provided to the researcher to specifically examine this problem with the higher echelons of the Department of Education in Pretoria. The best practices suggested for partnering the DOE (Issue A below) should inform the review and set up some research questions on this issue.

#### Issue A: School Management

Each group considered the issue of school management and parental involvement separately so these will be discussed separately. Below are the 14 key ideas on best practice derived from the report-backs of all the groups on the issue of school management, with duplications eliminated:

- 1. The quality of principals employed must be of a generally higher standard and more efforts must be made to ensure that she or he has the right set of qualifications.
- 2. Each principal must have these qualities:
  - Vision
  - Courage
  - Leadership qualities and training
  - Proactive
  - Fair

through workshops, forums, media and local newspapers, education authorities).

- 13. In dysfunctional schools, undertake an organisational development process in order to lay the foundations for your work. This means starting with a skills audit.
- 14. Concentrate on building the capacity of the teachers to support the intervention that you have done values etc. Train them and provide post-training support.

#### Issue B: 'Parental' or Caretaker Involvement

As with school management, parental involvement was highlighted in the review as an established way to increase safety levels in a school, provide resources, improve the quality of schooling and enable a standardisation of behavioural norms between school and the home. All have been shown to help build resilience to crime and violence. The NGOs concurred based on their independent experiences and therefore supported this as a critical issue for further investigation.

The term 'parents' is problematic. It seems that in many South African communities, not only has the extended family broken down but so has the nuclear family. It is best to refer to 'caretaker' involvement so that many important stakeholders are not excluded from the review. There is no doubt that such caretakers are among the most critical partners in school-based interventions and perhaps the most difficult partner to fully engage. The best practices can help frame the kinds of questions that a researcher or reviewer would ask of groups of parents in the proposed review.

Thirteen independent ideas on best practices for increasing parental involvement were recorded. These included:

- 1. Empower the principal and then the SGB to get parents involved
- 2. Use existing events/channels that work for that school as a basis for getting more parents involved
- 3. Use drama and other interest-generating tools to attract parents
- 4. Market the school to the community to invite interest
- 5. One-on-one contacts or home visits can help enormously (mobilise both parents and educators to do this)
- 6. Be culturally sensitive and design strategies for parental involvement that is place specific
- 7. Understand and engage caretakers at their level of speech and interest (avoid intimidation)

The best practices list with regard to research is outlined below. Fifteen ideas remained after eliminating the duplications between the groups. These are:

- 1. Research should be well planned and built into the project design from the budgeting and proposal stage.
- 2. Research should include baseline studies with clear and defined goals and objectives (know exactly what is being measured).
- 3. External researchers can provide support where NGOs do not have skills.
- 4. Create multiple partnerships for research. It is useful to undertake research from many different perspectives. For instance, forging links with academic institutions can help provide additional research.
- 5. South African NGOs are not very visible at international level and need to present more of their work at international conferences.
- 6. Evaluations should take place yearly and over a significant time period so as to ensure rigorous research that is verifiable.
- 7. Some longitudinal studies are required to establish whether or not specific strategies for school-based crime and violence prevention programmes have worked.
- 8. Research should not only focus on outputs and outcomes but also inform practice.
- 9. All members of an organisation need some level of research skills since good work in social crime prevention is research based.
- 10. The findings of research in school-based crime prevention efforts need to be made accessible to ordinary people. This is accomplished through clear presentations of findings (not steeped in academic jargon).
- 11. Share the workload between many individuals because research is a big task.
- 12. Set up systems that simplify the work for those who are not professional researchers (eg, forms).
- 13. Neither overestimate nor underestimate the quality of the NGO work: measure it instead.
- 14. Strengthen funding applications for research to ensure the job is done properly.
- 15. All NGOs should thoroughly document their strategies and all processes so as to demonstrate what worked and what did not; funding agencies are in a position to encourage this.

One group identified barriers to good research:

• A lack of skills and knowledge within NGOs

## Conclusion

Overall, the actual strategy proposed by the review seems to be on very solid foundations. An additional activity in which the CJI might engage is advocating such a strategy in appropriate forums by distributing the review. One appropriate forum would be to promote it through contacts in the Department of Education. At the same time, abundant evidence has been provided that a second companion study should be undertaken on partnerships in school-based social crime prevention work. There is no evidence that such a study has ever been done and yet this might be the foundation for piloting the strategy. It is recommended that the CJI commission this and use the data provided in this section on the workshop feedback to develop terms of reference. The second review might eventually be compiled into a single edited volume that includes the first review. This should not prohibit the circulation of the existing review, however, since it might be a means of attracting more information, feedback and possibly even a workable proposal. Gottfredson, D.C. (1987) Peer group interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behaviour: a selective review and a new evaluation", Criminology 25: 671-714.

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