

Dangers at School

An Investigation by the Commissioner for Educational Rights

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Foreword

Everything depends upon us, we only need is to want it. And it is not the praise of our spiritual, physical and national assets that will make our nation soar, but the humble recognition of our deficiencies and faults and the their manly remedying. We possess so much Goodness and Nobleness that the magnitude of good can easily detract from the gravity of that which remains to be accomplished
/Count István Széchenyi: Credit/

In the light of our investigation, we continue to regard school as a place where, just as in the adult world, a series of conflicts occur on a daily basis. But they just happen to be of a different kind. Confrontation and co-operation alternate, everything has a stake, small and large. Parents, students, teachers and other school staff sometimes see confrontation and co-operation in the same way, sometimes differently. In consequence, it is the nature of things that the school is a dangerous place, which concurrently must also be a safe environment. After all, there are universal values that must, by all means, be protected.

Education is Hungary's second largest social subsystem, one that affects at least three and a half million people. Being mandatory, it is a compulsory public service from which there is no exit point. It is therefore all the more important that within this subsystem life – the physical and psychological integrity and the safety of the members of the school community – be provided maximum protection.

Based on the analysis of the complaints received and my prior investigations conducted in partnership with the Kurt Lewin Foundation, it has become unequivocally clear that corporal punishment, physical and psychological abuse, and acts perpetrated against personal property violate and endanger human, civil as well as educational rights. The extent and subtle nuances of this abuse are, however, revealed by the findings of this newly published investigation.

Based on our meticulous and circumspect investigation, I posit with confidence that members of the school community hurt one another with words far more frequently than they do physically. We are now aware that the likelihood of school violence gradually increases as we move from grammar school classes to vocational schools. In these different school types, each with its own very distinct culture, students behave differently towards one other, and the same is true to students and teachers. Actually, it is not so striking that already in the seventh grade of Budapest-based primary schools the correlation between school violence and the selected secondary school type for further studies begins to take distinct shape. Nor, perhaps, is it surprising that the character traits of teachers and their students suggestive of violence are of similar magnitude within different types of educational institutions, becoming gradually more distinct as we move from grammar schools through vocational secondary schools to vocational schools.

This study uses numerous interpretations of the psychological concept of violence to help explain the phenomenon of school violence. The study defines violent behaviour as *an intentional – that is not coincidentally occurring – act accompanied by some form of physical, material, or psychological damage and impairment*. Accordingly, violence targets the individual's body, property or psychological integrity. Violent behaviour is intentional, but its goal is not necessarily to inflict damage. (Violence aimed at objects includes attacks on school equipment and buildings.)

Mention here must be made of the difference between school violence and the breach of school discipline. The breach of school discipline undoubtedly signifies the infringement of school norms. Students may be in breach of the school's value system, for instance, by the way they dress, by being rowdy in class, by smoking during breaks, by running around or playing ball in the corridor. The same holds true when they talk back to their teachers, when they challenge them, or, say, when they disrupt class by being noisy. It is still a breach of discipline if such behaviour occasionally tests teachers' authority, hinders them from performing their jobs, or when students intentionally challenge the school's value system. Many teachers are helpless in the face of all this, and therefore feel victimised by students. This kind of student behaviour does not, for the most part, entail physical, psychological or material damage. If it did, it would no longer constitute a breach of discipline but would be considered an act of violence. In short, *all forms of violence and breaches of discipline constitute violation of norms; however, not all breaches of discipline constitute violence*.

I believe violence is a phenomenon with implications that point beyond the school. In consequence, combating violence cannot succeed if waged merely with the means available to the school and solely within this institution's organisational framework. Adopted in 2003, Hungary's National Strategy for Social Crime Prevention serves as a point of departure for combating violence in schools. The national strategy encompasses distinct elements and responsibilities vis-à-vis the domains of teaching, education, and culture. In the aftermath of this investigation, we can begin to craft a national strategy to combat school violence, a strategy that must be in line with the broader strategy for social crime prevention.

Over the past year, our office received numerous petitions reporting a proliferation of violent student behaviour. These reports indicate that nowadays the issue preoccupies many in the field of school education. The majority of those reporting school violence are parents of children abused by their schoolmates, heads of educational institutions requesting help, and teachers who do not know how to handle such situations.

We frequently find that teachers fail to ask for help because they feel embarrassed to admit that they have failed at something. Yet, the very first step could be to acknowledge the fact that teachers wield limited authority, and that they cannot solve all problems. Teachers often tell us that they are defenceless against violence. Admittedly, teachers have no means to combat violence. However, we do not for a moment believe that it is the resources available to educators that need to be expanded. Rather, we need to investigate the issue of whose authority commences where that of the teacher's ends. A large number of professional experts are involved with children or with combating crime, including paediatricians, child psychologists, the police, public prosecutors, prison commanders, criminologists, family and child protection professionals, education counsellors, representatives of parents'

organisations, the members of local governments' educational and social welfare committees, church representatives, the volunteers of anonymous help lines, civil society human rights advocacy organisations, the members of youth organisations, and sports clubs. The resources available to professional experts and helpers listed above must, in the future, be also made available to teachers. Our investigation has confirmed that it is precisely in cases where the need is the greatest that teachers turn to the aforementioned professionals and support organisations for help. This is promising.

We must collectively send the message to teachers that they will not stand alone because help is always available. Obviously, since we have no choice, local co-operation must be expanded and maintained, however laborious work it takes. There is no alternative to collaboration in a democratic environment. Expert professionals can make a major contribution by helping teachers recognise the first signs of crime and violence. After all, teachers are not familiar with how a perpetrator or a victim of a crime behaves. Nonetheless, the police and the prosecutors are. A teacher cannot, under all circumstances, establish contact with the families concerned. But the volunteer of a non-profit organisation can help. Diverse means can be useful in working towards identical goals.

In the near future, neither local government budgets nor Hungary's national budget will allocate more funding to combat violence. However, by partnering, non-profit organisations and public authorities stand a good chance if they apply to the European Union's Structural Funds. Successful fund-raising is even more likely if we apply jointly with Romania and Slovakia and incorporate German and Finnish experiences into our applications. And the applications we write must be superior to those submitted by the British, French or Portuguese... Partnering will not be a quick cure-all. Neither will money. Joining forces could, however, pave the way for discovering good local solutions. For violence comes at a price. We can cart recalcitrant youth to prison, however years later they will apply for welfare assistance because they will not be able to make a living. Or they will commit another crime.

Developing local partnerships could beneficially draw upon Recommendation CM/Rec(2009)10 of the Council of Europe Policy guidelines on integrated national strategies for the protection of children from violence adopted by the Committee of Ministers and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe's Recommendation on local partnerships for preventing and combating violence at school. Another important document is the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly's Recommendation REC 1666 (2004) on the Europe-wide ban on corporal punishment of children. Civil society initiatives could also look to the European Charter for Democratic Schools Without Violence as a model to emulate.

Violence in schools is not a uniquely Hungarian issue. Communities grapple with it worldwide. In our view, the aforesaid European and Hungarian legal standards jointly provide the context for combating school violence in Hungary, on which local agreements and regulations can be built. If all concerned regard both education and combating school violence as a matter of public interest, such agreements will become public policy decisions adapted to local needs and conditions. We advocate the establishment of local partnerships. Public policy at the national level would, then, only have to support conditions conducive to and encouraging the establishment of such collaboration and it needs to respect such local

agreements. We must learn that what makes us democratic is not only that we find good solutions, but that we continually seek new ones.

Prior to the detailed presentation of this research, I must voice my appreciation for all the enormous help and encouragement I have received from those who assisted me in conducting the research and bringing it to fruition. My special thanks are due to teachers and their students, without whose willingness to collaborate, we could not now be making the findings of this research public.

We have received considerable case information and numerous studies to be processed for the purposes of this research from the Teachers' Union and the Teachers' Democratic Union of Hungary. While work on the research was in progress, both unions organised extensive consultations on school violence. Thank you for that.

Over the past year we have debated the issue of school violence at numerous forums. Here I experienced first-hand the openness and helpfulness of teachers, school headmasters, experts, lecturers and researchers, and I have every cause for optimism regarding collaboration. We partnered with the Hungarian Society of Criminology, the National Institute of Criminology, Eötvös Loránd University's Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University's Faculty of Pedagogy and Psychology, Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College of the Reformed Church, the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work of Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai and Max Weber Sociological College, Partium Christian University, Sapientia – Hungarian University of Transylvania, the National Child Protection Methodological Area Service, the Alliance of Hungarian Local Governments, the National Public Education Council, the Public Education Policy Council, and the National Student Rights Council.

Organised by local governments, pedagogical institutes, educational institutions and civil society organisations, we had the opportunity to consult with local experts. These included individuals from Miskolc, Békéscsaba, Sopron, Debrecen, Zalaegerszeg, Nyíregyháza, Kispest, Fót, and Zirc.

The Council of Europe Information and Documentation Centre was our special partner. Its director, Klára Papp-Farkas helped us become familiar with the data and documents of the Council of Europe. Another special partner was the Young Entrepreneurs Alliance with Head Patrik Kovács, who helped us see the field under scrutiny from the perspective of business enterprises. In a decade of collaboration, Dr. György Ligeti, Head of the Kurt Lewin Foundation, has selflessly contributed to my work, and the same holds true to sociologist László András Kósa of the Foundation for Civic Education. Dr. Tünde Mitták, Head of the Education Portfolio of Complex Publishers, has encouraged and spurred me to continue pursuing my endeavours. I am very grateful to them all.

I am also grateful to author János Háy, who wrote a short story entitled "Sick Room" in conjunction with our research and helped us publish it.

I would like to extend my special thanks to the Educational Office staff, Authority Vice President Dr. Erzsébet Adorján Magasitz, the Head of the Department of Public Education Appraisal Programmes László Pongrácz, and Department Head Ildikó Balázs, as well as to

Head of the Public Education Information Department György Salomvári for their major contribution to the research's technical implementation and sampling. We are highly appreciative of the helpful comments by Dóra Várnai and Ágota Örkényi of the National Institute of Child Health. We are similarly grateful to Dr. Mihály Csákó and József Majer for making the questionnaires of their research projects available to us, to Dr. József Gerevich for giving us access to the validated Hungarian language version of the 29-item Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire, as well as to Zoltán Hermann for statistical data. Dr. Zsuzsanna Győrffy and Dr. Zita Retkes provided suggestions as to the improvement of the study. I also wish to thank my co-workers – Dr. Veronika Haász, Dr. Magdolna Őri, Judit Skoda, Dr. Ágnes Szirmai, Dr. Zsuzsa Tomasovszki, Dr. Beáta Viszokai, and Dr. Viktor Árvay, and Dr. Lajos Németh – for their valuable contribution.

I also express a special word of thanks to the fine young sociologists of the DIPA Association for their painstaking and intelligent work.

In conclusion, I would like to say 'thank you' to the members of the Advisory Board, who rendered their opinion on the research, for offering words of wisdom that have drawn my attention to issues of importance, thereby protecting me from making numerous mistakes. The members of the Advisory Board are: Education Department Vice President Dr. Erzsébet Adorjáné Magasitz, expert consultant of the National Institute of Child Health and researcher with the United Nations World Health Organisation Dr. Anna Aszmann, Director of Hungary's National Committee for UNICEF Dr. Edit Kecskeméti, Deputy Director of the National Institute of Criminology Dr. Klára Kerezsi, CEU professor Dr. András Kovács, Education Researcher Dr. Géza Sáska, who oversaw this research, and Eötvös Loránd University professor and Parliamentary Commissioner for Civil Rights Dr. Máté Szabó.

It is my heartfelt wish that the picture presented by this research on violence in secondary schools helps teachers, students, parents, school maintainers and politicians to find, each in their own area of expertise, the most effective means of successfully combating diverse forms of school violence and, ultimately, social conflict.

Budapest, 10th December 2009, Human Rights Day

Lajos Aáry-Tamás
Commissioner for Educational Rights

1. The Goal, Conceptual Underpinnings and Objectives of the Research

Among school dangers, this research addresses the origin of psychological, physical and material harm affecting secondary school teachers and students. It does not address circumstances that cause accidents, or dangers that arise from the condition of buildings.

We regard school as a social space wherein violence is part of teachers' and students' common behavioural culture. The research therefore examines the phenomenon of school violence from the perspective of students in class and from that of their teachers by making a comparison of their image of one another. It maintains equal distance from the actors, and as a result, all parties can be perpetrators and victims of violence. Whether it be student on student or teacher on student violence – we interpret these acts in both directions. A student can suffer from his/her fellow student's or his/her teacher's violence just as a teacher can suffer from that of his/her student's or colleague's violence (the latter case is not examined in the present study).

Teachers and students are permanent members of the school community, albeit occasionally additional members, most frequently parents, also appear on the scene. We only learn of teacher-parent conflicts from teachers, therefore we can only become acquainted with the opinion, probably partial, of one side. The parents of grade 11 students, who are mostly 17-18 years old, show up at school much less frequently than parents of younger children. In consequence, there is a far smaller chance of teacher-parent conflicts arising. In addition, the children of families likely to have confrontations with teachers have presumably already exited the school system by this time, at least the majority. Moreover, a decade of experience accumulated by both parents and teachers likewise wields a blunting effect.

This study, based on numerous interpretations of the psychological concept of violence *defines violent behaviour as an intentional – that is not coincidentally occurring – act accompanied by some form of physical, material, or psychological damage and impairment.* Accordingly, violence targets the individual's body, property or psychological integrity. Violent behaviour is intentional, but its goal is not necessarily to inflict damage. (Violence aimed at objects also includes attacks on school equipment and buildings.)

Mention here must be made of the difference between school violence and the breach of school discipline. Breach of school discipline undoubtedly signifies the infringement of school norms. Students may be in breach of the school's value system, for instance, by the way they dress, by being rowdy in class, by smoking during breaks, by running around or playing ball in the corridor. The same holds true when they talk back to their teachers, when they challenge them, or, say, when they disrupt class by being noisy. It is still a breach of discipline if such behaviour occasionally tests teachers' authority, hinders them from performing their jobs, or when students intentionally challenge the school's value system. Many teachers are helpless in the face of all this, and therefore feel victimised by students. This kind of student behaviour does not, for the most part, entail physical, psychological or material damage. If it

did, it would no longer constitute a breach of discipline, but would be considered an act of violence. In short, *all forms of violence and breaches of discipline constitute a violation of norms; however, not all breaches of discipline constitute violence.*

Otherwise a fine line separates the two phenomena: students fighting in class or during breaks indubitably perpetrate violence against one other, and disciplining teachers regard this as a serious breach of the school code. Another example here to mention is as follows: there have likely been incidents of students talking back or showing stubborn behaviour, thus causing psychological harm to their teachers, who, in consequence, regard themselves as victims of student violence. It makes absolutely no difference even if we know that the *majority* of teachers experience this type of student rudeness and stubbornness merely as breach of discipline, the handling of which is a matter of professional routine.

Precisely for this reason, we examine breach of discipline and violence separately from each other, employing different methods. We regard as violence anything that the actors regard as such, and we study the breach of discipline and the teacher response thereto in four characteristic school situations: disruption of class, talking back, disobedience, and fights during the breaks between classes.

Following the classification of Buda et al. (2008) in examining school violence, we distinguish between *verbal and non-verbal* violence employed in the course of individual deeds and acts of violence. In the table below, we present the deeds representative of these two types of violence, which have been included in the questionnaire intended for students and teachers.

Table 1
The Main Types of Violence

| Type | Examples |
|-------------|--|
| Non-verbal* | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapping on the head, tapping on the head, hitting, slapping, kicking; • Pulling, pushing, pushing around; • Throwing an object at a person, hitting them with the object; • Fight; • Theft; • Damaging property; • Exclusion, excommunication. |
| Verbal | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Irritated speech; • Yelling, screaming; • Swearing; • Commenting, mocking, ridiculing, • Humiliating; • Shaming; • Making somebody freak out |

*The concept of non-verbal violence comprises those acts in which, wholly or overwhelmingly, non-verbal violence dominates, further, it is the accompanying phenomenon of verblity. This is why cases of exclusion and excommunication are included here, which, under a different conceptual system, could be regarded as social violence (e.g. Aszmann, 2003; Currie et al., 2004).

Applying the above-said conceptual framework, the report focuses on identifying forms of violence that occur primarily in secondary school institutions, and explores the types of violence in general as well as in diverse education settings and school types in particular, the course they chart and the frequency of their occurrence.

We interpret the frequency of the occurrence of violent behaviour on the part of teachers and students, the extent to which such acts are perpetrated, endured, and accepted on both the individual and the institutional level.

Factors determining an individual's actions

It is commonly accepted that social and biological differences exist between the sexes. We subject this to scrutiny with respect to students and their teachers.

The primary focus of the research is to investigate the impacts of socialisation within the family in two dimensions.

1. The socio-economic status of students' families. With regard to this, we believe what captures this best is, as is customary, parents,' and primarily the mothers', highest level of educational qualification. In line with accepted sociological conventions, we regard this rough and simple indicator as a characteristic feature of social stratification.
2. Besides students' socio-economic status, we also measure the impact of family conflicts, family intimacy, and family's conflict management culture.
3. We examine students' status within their age cohort, peer relationships, group conflicts, and the impact of peer group values.

Motivation theories studying what drives individual behaviour can provide explanation to the emergence of violent behaviour. Using the Buss-Perry Scale (Buss – Perry, 1992), we can uncover violent traits in the personality.

We anchor the concept of trust, or the lack thereof, associated with the school and with the existing societal order in the space between the institution, family background and personality. We assume that anomic frame of mind co-relates (Kovács, 2005) with the acceptance or use of aggressive methods. The main anomic dimensions examined are as follows: authoritarian frame of mind; trust in the future; trust in institutions and leaders.

The survey of the institutional level

The sample comprises grade 11 grammar school, vocational secondary school and vocational school classes. Since a school, as an organisation, can offer numerous forms of education divergent in number and type, we distinguish between schools with a single profile organisational make-up and schools with a mixed profile organisational make-up. We define schools as possessing a single or pure educational profile in case they organise only a single type of education. A school with a mixed organisational profile is, in effect, an integrated

school, in which other classes engaged in one or several types of education different from that of the class studied are also present. Accordingly, we analyse the differences between grammar school, vocational secondary school and vocational school classes functioning in schools with single and with mixed organisational profiles as follows:

1. Teachers, concerning:
 - Tertiary educational qualifications;
 - Teaching experience;
 - Conflict-management – disciplinary methods.
2. School atmosphere. Student and teacher satisfaction vis-à-vis one another, their school, the education, their general mood.
3. Does early school violence play a role in choosing the type of secondary school? In a survey conducted in grade 7 of Budapest-based primary schools, we gauge the correlation between the type of the chosen secondary school and school violence.

Research foci complementing individual and institutional impacts

In the context of violent behaviour surfacing in schools, we examine how leisure time is spent (watching television, computer games), focus on the role of religion as well as on xenophobia among teachers and student, and, further the co-relation with the violent personality trait measured on the Buss-Perry Scale is assessed.

2. Research methodology

Survey and interviews

The research's basic method is the group survey using our own questionnaire and involving a secondary school and a primary school sample of students, teachers and school administrators, as well as a multiple variant statistical analysis based on the survey. It is necessary to complement this with interviews and their analyses so that we can gauge processes and impacts that cannot be surveyed by quantitative means.

Comparing research findings with other studies

It has already been mentioned that several studies have tangentially addressed our subject. We strive to render our findings comparable with these. Accordingly, we modelled the formulation of our questions and items in the questionnaires on the National Institute of Child Health's HBSC Study; the Latent Juvenile Delinquency Study by the Department of Criminology of Eötvös Loránd University's Faculty of Law and Political Sciences; the 2008 School and Society Study, a collaborative effort by several universities and research institutes led by Mihály Czakó; and the Kurt Lewin Foundation's research entitled Student and Teacher Rights.

Additionally, in the questionnaire prepared for teachers and school administrators we drew upon the questionnaire of the Budapest school survey led by József Mayer, as well as on the school questionnaires of the Trends in International Mathematics and Science (TIMMS) survey conducted by the Educational Office and the National Assessment of Basic Competencies in Hungary.

The TIMMS, HBSC, Latent Juvenile Delinquency, as well as the Student and Teacher Rights studies also contain data from earlier years on certain segments of school violence. Based on these, and in the course of subsequent analyses we aim to establish whether or not the extent of school violence has changed over the past few years.

Linking the database established during the research with other data bases

A) Linking up intuitional, on-site data

The Public Education Information System (KIR), the National Assessment of Basic Competencies and other studies collect tremendous amounts of information. Schools' Education Ministry (OM) identifiers enable us to complement our own institution level data and to link it up with the data of similar earlier studies. Besides the Public Education Information System (KIR) and the National Assessment of Basic Competencies databases, we

plan to study the database resulting from the questionnaire investigating school problems sent out in the course of preparing for the 2006 National Student Parliament.

B) During the 2008 National Assessment of Basic Competencies, students were assigned a unique survey identifier that enables research using the same identifier to link up databases with the Competency Survey's database. Thus, the previous year's Competency Survey data are also available with respect to every single student filling in our questionnaire, if they had, indeed, completed the survey.¹

Status report and the testing of co-relations based on the analysis of multiple databases.

The databases of several of the recent years' surveys relevant to our subject are either available or we have received promises that the database's proprietor will make them available to us. We have been promised access, for the purpose of our analysis, to the 2008 Budapest School Survey; the Foundation for Students' Public Life's recently conducted research among student unions in vocational secondary schools and vocational schools; and the database of the Kurt Lewin Foundation's 2000 research entitled Student and Teacher Rights is accessible on the Foundation's website.²

In the flash report, we primarily showcase – out of the four methods – simple analyses based on the results of the survey. In our analysis of the data, we used cross-chart and variance analyses; and our definition of significant statistical deviation was that a given test's statistic significance level be under five per cent.

When it came to writing the report, the interviews had already been completed. We had also accessed the databases required for comparison and link-up, albeit no analysis has yet taken place.

In the report we analyse the database derived from the responses to student and teacher questionnaires.

Sampling³

The secondary school survey constitutes the main body of the survey conducted with the questionnaire. The secondary school sample (n = 186) is non-proportionally stratified with respect to school type (grammar school, vocational school, vocational secondary school),⁴ and is proportionally stratified with respect to region; that is, we ensure proportional

¹ The survey identifier is unique, it is only the student's school that can connect it with the student's name. Thus, the student continues to remain anonymous to us.

² <http://kurtlewin.hu/mitcsinalunk/tanulmanyok-publikaciok/>

³ See Appendix for details.

⁴ In order to guarantee the appropriate item number with respect to all education types. In the course of analysis we used weighting to compensate for deviation from the given specific population, thereby ensuring that the ratio of schools by education type is in line with KIR data.

inclusion, within each region, of all school types in the sample⁵. In selecting schools, we also factored in the ratio of disadvantaged students attending the given institutions. This was to ensure that the different school types surface evenly in the sample. It was primarily on account of technical challenges regarding data entry that special vocational schools were not included in the sample.

Concerning secondary schools, a randomly selected class, their teachers, the school headmaster and the deputy school headmasters were included in the sample.

Besides the secondary school sample, we had the students, teachers and school headmasters of two grade 7 classes per school in 25 Budapest-based schools fill in the questionnaire.

Teachers included in the sample account for 2.28 per cent of the entire teacher population, while students account for 0.77 per cent of the total student population.⁶

Survey technique and comments

Students and educators were interviewed using a web-based questionnaire. For this, we used the CAWI web-based questionnaire editor and interviewing system.

Students were always interviewed collectively as a group in the classroom; as for teachers and school headmasters, we strove to find a time when we could interview all the teachers concerned together. When this was not possible, we sent the link to the questionnaire to teachers and tried to achieve the best possible response rate by sending out weekly e-mail reminders. (See the next section for the number of respondents.)

When web-based interviewing was not feasible in a participating school, we used hard copy questionnaires.

An appointed survey interviewer supervised the interviewing process. During the interviews, teachers often remained in classrooms; at such times we requested that they fill in a questionnaire simultaneously with the students, and made every effort that they did not walk around room or observe what answers students gave.

We used a method that is relatively new in Hungary (we are aware of one single secondary school research applying web-based interviewing); therefore in this section we provide a brief description of the survey process, as well as the experiences of establishing contact with schools and of conducting the interviews.

We started to establish contacts with schools in early March, with interviewing to be completed in the first week of June.

⁵ Special vocational schools are, by virtue of their special situation, excluded from the sample. The violence in these institutions probably bears special characteristics; thus data collection techniques must likewise radically depart from the main data collection methods of our research.

⁶ Based on the 2007-2008 data of Oktatás-statisztikai évkönyv (Yearbook of Educational Statistics).

Selecting and establishing contacts with schools, preparation for the interviews

We selected schools based on the Public Education Information System database. A problem that arose regarding selection is that instead of actual school locations, the database turned up institution domiciles; further, that the database we received did not provide information regarding whether a school provides services to full-time students, evening school students or students in adult education.

We received the database at the end of February, and started contacting schools in March. Establishing contact and co-ordinating appointments were carried out, with one exception, as is customary in similar research studies. We can link up the database of the School Dangers research with the National Assessment of Basic Competencies Survey database on condition we have access to students' survey identifiers.

Survey identifiers can be produced from students' OM identifier using a so-called survey identifier generator. The survey identifier does not change unless the student requests that it be changed. Generated identifiers can be printed out on small cards, and this way students could write these identifiers in the box located on the questionnaire's first page.

It takes only a few minutes to generate these survey identifiers, and even if schools already used them for last year's National Assessment of Basic Competencies Survey, we found that for several schools this turned into a daunting challenge. Part of the reason could have been that, typically, only a single person (system operator, school secretary, perhaps deputy school headmaster or teacher responsible for the surveys) knows how to actually generate survey identifiers. Admittedly, to safeguard students' anonymity, usually only one person knows the password required for access. However, the software itself is simple to use and, once logged in, practically anyone can generate identifiers.

Refusal ratio

The Office of the Commissioner first contacted schools selected for the research via an official letter. In spite of this, about a quarter of the schools refused participation upon being contacted in person by the instructors. Budapest-based schools and non-public, non-local government schools accounted for the largest number of refusals. These schools usually cited school staff's responsibilities or the many questionnaire research and survey requests as their reason for refusal.

Obviously, refusal can have a distorting affect; after all, we do not possess information whether or not the situation is systematically different (better or worse than average, other types of violence can be found, etc.) at schools that have refused participation. At the same time, it is practically impossible to stave off this potentially distorting effect.

Interviewing students

Schools did not remonstrate against the web-based questionnaire method. And, in almost all cases, the necessary technology for it was also available. In case there were fewer computers than the number of students in a class, we conducted interviewing in more student groups. Paper-based interviewing (conducted in less than 5 per cent of schools) occurred only where Internet access was not available, or when the school administration requested that the interviews take place simultaneously, i.e. students for whom there were no computers fill in hard copy questionnaires.

Occasionally it was a problem that the schools' systems operators did not have confidence in the survey interviewers' computer literacy; there was, for instance, a school headmaster who did not believe that the leaders of the research could really safeguard the data entered online.

Prior to the interviews we informed parents about the research, giving them the opportunity to refuse their child's participation. This was not, however, typical. The survey interviewer provided students with detailed information before they started to fill in the questionnaire and they also received their own survey identifiers from a supervising teacher, which they had to type in online. We requested supervising teachers not to move around while students filled in the questionnaire. We asked them to fill in the questionnaire for teachers in the meantime. Generally speaking, the students were surprisingly co-operative. Almost without exception they tried to completely fill in the questionnaire. We did not notice that they would rush through, clicking on the "I don't know/No response" answer options, or that they would simply surf the Web instead of responding to the questions. The process was considerably nudged along when a few questions evoking mirth periodically cropped up. The good cheer was usually provoked by the fact that some of the questions – obviously – did not prove relevant in every case (e.g. more brutal forms of violence occur only in a few schools; therefore students found questions eliciting information about them quite funny).

Technical problems did occasionally arise (disruption in Internet service, computer crash, sometimes the software requested a password even though it had not been set to do so); however, these issues were successfully resolved on-site. Once the browser reconnected with the Internet and the reload page button was pressed, students could type in their identifiers and continue filling in their questionnaires where they had left off.

Naturally, some classes revealed lack of discipline, while others demonstrated impeccable discipline as they filled in their questionnaires. There were, however, no major problems. One could sense from students' reactions that they found the questionnaire too long.

It is a general phenomenon – observed not only in this research – that respondents are not cognizant of the differences between questions relevant for the researchers; they always have the feeling that we've already answered this question.

It was a problem for students to give their parents' qualifications, and in some cases the response options we provided did not cover all possibilities (for example, children living under shared custody arrangements found it difficult to answer a question about co-habitation).

Students were also hesitant concerning how to answer the question “How serious do you regard it in your school?” if, in their view, the issue did not actually occur there.

Students frequently sought assistance from survey instructors when they did not properly read the instructions about how to fill in questionnaires.

Vocational school students became tired much sooner than their peers in other school types by the time they reached the end of the questionnaire, so they became less able to concentrate on the questions. They, more frequently than others, failed to understand certain concepts or questions. Also, some found using a computer to fill in the questionnaire problematic (for instance not all of them had previously seen a drop-down menu). On average, it took vocational school students far longer to fill in their questionnaires than it did for vocational secondary school and grammar school students.

Survey interviewers did not encounter expressly hostile reactions, albeit occasionally children did think that some items were “stupid questions” or deemed that they lacked some kind of necessary knowledge or that in their estimation there was no straightforward answer to the question. We believe this is natural.

Interviewing teachers and school headmasters

It was, except for one or two schools, impossible to get all teachers in front of the computers at the same time. Our solution to this problem was to send an e-mail to the teachers of the classes in question regarding the research, which included the link to the on-line questionnaire. Accordingly, teachers could fill in the questionnaire not only at school but at home as well. Although this method seemed practical it did, however, come with the drawbacks of self-administered questionnaires. Overall, we attained a far better response ratio than the one typical of self-administered questionnaires. Nonetheless, this was not a real success. We were unable to assume absolute technical control over the information flow because in a number of cases we had to entrust the forwarding of the questionnaire link with the schools that would not release their teachers' email addresses to us.

Summary

Despite problems that arose with respect to the survey process (e.g. schools refusing to participate, teacher passivity in relation to filling in questionnaires) the web-based survey proved viable. Students mostly welcomed computerised filling in. An express advantage of the method is that it shortens the time it takes to create a database since it practically eliminates the coding phase (or significantly reduces the amount of data that needs coding). Accordingly, data cleansing is easier and the delivery of questionnaires does not require time or major logistical efforts. The database can be saved even on a daily basis if need be. Thus, there is no need to worry about major data loss either, and most secondary schools in Hungary possess adequate technology for the use of this method. The likelihood of technical

errors is practically the same or identical as in the case of using hard copy questionnaires for interviews.

3. The sample

Schools (n = 186)

Roughly half of the 186 schools are maintained by county local governments, the Budapest municipal government or urban local (town) governments with county rights; some one-third by town or (town) district local governments, 5 per cent by denominational legal entities, and 7 per cent by foundations.

Table 2
Distribution of schools by maintainer

| | Ratio within sample |
|--|---------------------|
| Counties, Budapest, towns with county rights | 56% |
| Town or town district | 29% |
| Church | 5% |
| Foundation | 7% |
| State-run tertiary education institution, state body | 2% |
| Other | 1% |

Of the classes selected from among the 186 schools for the flash report sample, vocational secondary school classes accounted for 40.6 per cent, vocational school classes for 31 per cent, and grammar school classes for 28.4 per cent.

Table 3
Distribution of selected school classes by education type

| | Ratio within sample |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| Grammar school | 28.4% |
| Vocational secondary school | 40.6% |
| Vocational school | 31.0% |

Within education types we divided schools into “single profile” and “mixed profile” institutions. This means whether besides the chosen education type there existed another

education type in a given school or not. A total of six groups thus emerged encompassing selected classes and their teachers: grammar school classes in a grammar school; grammar school classes in a school also providing a different type of education; vocational secondary school classes in a vocational secondary school; vocational secondary school classes in a school also providing a different type of education; vocational school classes in a vocational school; vocational school classes in a school also providing a different type of education. By using this break-down, we wanted to find out if there was any significance of also including in our sample grammar school, vocational secondary school and vocational school classes that co-exist with classes with a different education type within the same school. It may be problematic that we have no information concerning what percentage ratio the education type of the surveyed students' class accounts for among all the classes of a given grade; and, with respect to teachers, that we do not know whether or not they also teach in other types of education institutions than the type to which the surveyed class belongs.

Table 4

Distribution of classes selected in the schools, broken down by type of education and school type

| | Ratio within sample |
|--|---------------------|
| Grammar school class in grammar school | 20.2% |
| Grammar school class in a mixed profile school | 8.2% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a vocational secondary school | 15.5% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a mixed profile school | 25.1% |
| Vocational school class in a vocational school | 9.0% |
| Vocational school class in a mixed profile school | 21.9% |

The following chart illustrates the schools' distribution by region in the flash report sample. In conducting the survey, we used proportional stratification in the entire sample to ensure that all regions are included in the sample as proportionate to their national ratio.

Table 5

Distribution of schools by region

| | Ratio within sample |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Central Hungary | 22.5% |
| Central Transdanubia | 10.0% |
| Western Transdanubia | 8.1% |
| Southern Transdanubia | 8.4% |

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Northern Hungary | 13.5% |
| Northern Great Plain | 18.0% |
| Southern Great Plain | 19.6% |

Students (n = 4,375)

In the sample weighted by education type and school size, boys accounted for 50.4 per cent, girls for 49.6 per cent of students; 31.4 per cent studied in grammar school classes, 41.4 per cent in vocational secondary school classes and 27.2 per cent in vocational school classes. The average age of students in the sample was 17.88 years (standard deviation: 0.804).

Table 6
Distribution of students by education type and school type

| | Ratio within sample |
|--|---------------------|
| Grammar school class in a grammar school | 22.1% |
| Grammar school class in a "mixed profile school" | 9.3% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a vocational secondary school | 16.4% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a mixed profile school | 25.0% |
| Vocational school class in a vocational school | 7.3% |
| Vocational school class in a "mixed profile school" | 19.9% |

Table 7
Distribution of schools by region

| | Ratio within sample |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Central Hungary | 19.9% |
| Central Transdanubia | 9.8% |
| Western Transdanubia | 9.3% |
| Southern Transdanubia | 8.0% |
| Northern Hungary | 12.6% |
| Northern Great Plain | 20.8% |
| Southern Great Plain | 19.6% |

Teachers (n = 980)

The teacher sample is not a good representation of the teacher population teaching in secondary schools because a sizeable proportion of the teachers contacted could not or would not participate in the research. We do not have precise information as to how the characteristics of those willing to fill in the questionnaire is different from the characteristics of those who did not do so. Also, a different number of educators teach in the classes and they teach in a different number of hours in each class. Moreover, in schools providing several different types of education, each teacher might also be teaching in several different education types at the same time. Accordingly, the definition of “grammar school teacher,” “secondary school teacher”, and “vocational school” teacher for the purposes of this research is: a teacher selected for the sample teaching the class of the given education type.

Sixty-four per cent of the respondents to our questionnaire were women, 36 per cent were men. Grammar school teachers accounted for slightly over one-third of the respondents, vocational school teachers for 20 per cent and vocational secondary school teachers for 42 per cent.

The teachers' average age in the sample was 42.59 years (standard deviation: 10.32); with the male teachers being slightly older (average age: 43.32 years) than the female educators (average age: 42.18 years).

Table 8

Distribution of teachers by the education type of the class they teach and by the school type associated with the class

| | Ratio within sample |
|--|---------------------|
| Grammar school class in a grammar school | 29.3% |
| Grammar school class in a “mixed profile school” | 8.7% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a vocational secondary school | 16.5% |
| Vocational secondary school class in a mixed profile school | 25.4% |
| Vocational school class in a vocational school | 5.5% |
| Vocational school class in a “mixed profile school” | 14.6% |

Table 9

Distribution of teachers by the education type of the class they teach and by the school type associated with the class

| | Ratio within sample |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Central Hungary | 30.2% |
| Central Transdanubia | 10.4% |
| Western Transdanubia | 9.5% |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Southern Transdanubia | 9.6% |
| Northern Hungary | 11.8% |
| Northern Great Plain | 14.9% |
| Southern Great Plain | 13.6% |

4. International and Hungarian research

Hungary boasts with an extraordinarily rich body of psychological literature related to violent behaviour and inter-student school violence. There exists a similarly voluminous body of pedagogical works addressing the issues of how violent behaviour can be prevented and handled. Major school surveys (for example, an international collaborative effort entitled Health Behaviour of School-Aged Children [Aszmann, 2003; Várnai-Fliegau, 2005], the 2008 Budapest survey (Mayer, 2008), and Latent Youth Deviancy [Kerezsi-Parti, 2008]) likewise address the issues of school violence.

The subject is of great interest to the public in Hungary, in Europe, and in the United States alike. In July 2008 a Google web search using the key words 'school violence' returned nearly two million hits in English and in German. and the number of school violence related journal articles doubled between 1996 and 2005 compared with the number in the previous decade (Sáska, 2008a). In the United States of America, numerous centres have been established for the research and handling of school violence, while in Europe an international research team headed by Eric Debarbieux⁷ is engaged in the same work. In 2008 and 2009 numerous conferences addressed the issue.

Besides international studies, we are aware of numerous studies that are not closely related to each other or are only moderately connected with one another and discuss a single aspect (e.g. deviancy, health) but whose data have not been summarised. We also know of a hypothesis, awaiting substantiation, which posits that with secondary education available to the entire population a previously unknown culture of violence has now penetrated the school establishment. That is, the character and extent of violence among youth has essentially remained unchanged (Sáska, 2008b).

Among domestic studies, the National Paediatric Health Institute's "Drugs and Deviancy" (Kököneyi et al., 2003), Erika Figula's (2004) Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County survey, Henrietta Balázs's (2009) Pest County research, the Kölöknet Study (Földes – Lannert, 2009), and the programmes of the Kurt Lewin Foundation (e.g. Ligeti, 2000) merit special mention.

⁷ International Observatory on Violence in School. (<http://www.ijvs.org/1-6035-International-Observatory-on-Violence-in-School.php>)

5. Violence in schools as depicted by leading daily papers

It is common knowledge that the media plays an important role in shaping public opinion, and is, accordingly, itself a political factor. Hence the importance for us to review – if not the entire print media – at least the two largest circulation Hungarian daily papers that significantly contribute to shaping public opinion. In relation to these two papers, we examine if and how they raise the issue of school violence and explore the dynamic of the publication of articles related to this subject.

Besides the upward trend in the number of articles published, the content of these stories also obviously merits closer scrutiny. We are, for instance, also curious whether the press assigns the same priority to all types of school violence and wish to see if the attention is more focussed on surprising, shocking cases, thereby relegating to lower status episodes of violence continually present in everyday school life albeit, in comparison, of negligible importance (and often deemed acceptable and natural). Such cases include teacher behaviour that maintains class discipline by violent means, or students' violent behaviour towards one another.

It follows from the Ombudsman's investigative credo that it cannot extend to – and therefore does not even address – the two politically divergent papers' behaviour in support of, or in opposition to, government or opposition politics. Here we merely note that the frequency of publishing articles on the subject of school violence and providing explanations for its causes are in line with their divergent approach patterns to general domestic policy issues.

Methodology

For the study of the daily press, we used articles published by the dailies *Népszabadság* and *Magyar Nemzet*⁸. Our primary goal was to investigate the increase in the number of articles published (that is, keeping the topic on the agenda) during a specified time period, and we also created an inventory of the specific cases reported by the papers.

In order to prevent the exclusion of a single relevant article, we entered the keyword “school” in the online search box of both daily papers for the period between 1 January 2008 and October 2009⁹. It was from among the articles the search returned that we selected those that might be associated with the topic of school violence. The subject of our research is similar to Tünde Marusnik's (2009) analysis; however, our research spanned over a longer time period, covered fewer papers, and used a different method.

Articles, news items of diverse length assigned to the topic of school violence concerned reports of physical and verbal acts of violence between teachers and students. Also included herein were reports about parents or adult relatives engaged in violent behaviour toward their child's teachers or fellow students. We also selected for inclusion in this list news reports on acts of student violence and crime that occurred outside as well as inside school premises, provided that, according to the article, the parties involved knew each other from school.

⁸ And also their online editions (NOL, MNO).

⁹ Then to complement our search, we also entered the expression “beating of teachers”. However, this produced only a minimal increase in the number of articles (2-3 articles per daily paper in the investigated period).

We also selected for our list articles about foreign cases. Our category of “violence” included shooting, fights, blackmailing, threats, humiliation, damaging property, theft, as well as acts of sexual violence with minors – regardless of whether they were reported as substantiated fact or mere suspicion. We only took into consideration suicide committed by teachers or students if the act was motivated by violence perpetrated or endured in conjunction with school life. We also included lengthier opinion articles if their authors mentioned school violence, beating of teachers, youth violence, even if their main focus was something else like youth crime or, say, the assessment of the performance of the government or the Ministry of Education.

We treated cases separately which were connected to school violence, but the articles associated with them wander off to divergent and unrelated themes. In the case of the Csepel double homicide, most of the articles talked about the research and the criminal procedure, while the strike against the Esztergom school headmaster quickly attained political significance. It is important, however, that these cases influenced the discourse on school violence; therefore not including them would have caused as much distortion as the inclusion of every article.

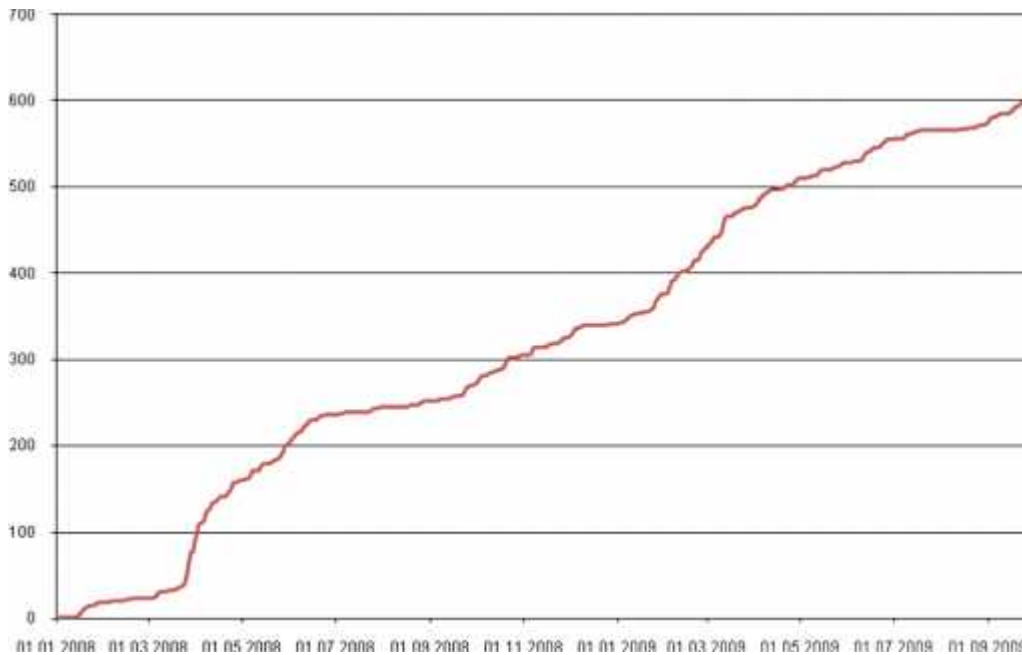
Reporting school violence in the news

The topic of school violence entered general public discourse in the aftermath of media reporting on three consecutive albeit unrelated incidents at the end of March 2008. These cases were not, however, without antecedents. It appears that the script for dishing out school violence in the media had already been written in January. A twelve-year-old Romanian Roma boy threatened people with a knife on Blaha Lujza square and ultimately stabbed a fifteen-year-old boy. A video was shot of the young boy's threats, which was then also shown on television. The newspapers returned to the case several times with editors expressing divergent views of the situation. Furthermore, the number of media stories on the subject of violence associated with children rose in the same way as, subsequently, in the case of a physics teacher beaten up in March.

Based on the chart below, it is easy to identify the time when *physical* violence in schools became a topic of public discourse. We did not even attempt to bring to light what caused public attitude to suddenly become more sensitive to school violence and violence affecting stakeholders. After all, in the previous months, too, the press had likewise published cases that unleashed a media frenzy. What is certain is that something happened in March 2008. We do not have an explanation for this high degree of sensitivity, and neither do we know whether or not they shaped public thinking coincidentally or intentionally. We can only establish the fact that violence – primarily physical – in schools have become the subject of an ever-growing number of press reports. From this date on, the number of violence-related articles rose continuously during the ensuing one-and-a-half years. It recorded a *fivefold increase* in terms of the total number of articles published by the two daily papers. (The number of news items published daily as of the beginning of the studied period is added to those published earlier.)

Chart 1

Increase in number of school violence related articles: the number of articles published in the dailies Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet between 1 January 2008 and 9 November 2009 (cumulative data)



The first incident that hit the headlines occurred on 21 March at the Erdélyi Street Elementary and Grammar School in Józsefváros District (District 8) of Budapest, a neighbourhood inhabited by the Roma. According to a story in the tabloid daily Blikk entitled "*Student terror. Boy beats up teacher*", a sixteen-year-old Roma boy humiliated and kicked his physics teacher, and threatened him with a metal rod and even touched him with it. One of the youth's classmates recorded the incident on his mobile phone, which was then uploaded to YouTube¹⁰, and was also shown in several television news broadcasts. The interpretation of the situation was rendered more complicated by a subsequent statement of the school headmaster, who intimated that in her view not only the attention-seeking youth was responsible for what had happened, but that the teacher's behaviour also played a part in the events. The headmaster claimed that the teacher, having recognised his fault, had actually resigned from his post.

We believe it was a decisive momentum in the appearance of school violence in public discourse that serious leading daily newspapers, who regard themselves as factual, printed a tabloid paper's tabloid news. In doing so, they imparted significant weight and seriousness to what had happened.

A string of stories on the subject was published in close succession. On 21 March, the mayor of Újpest District of Budapest unlawfully banned a fifteen-year-old youth, who had beaten up his teacher *weeks earlier*, from all local government maintained district schools. It was, however, only by this time that the news value of the incident reached importance.

The third incident, likewise in late March, was the case of a Kaposvár girl, who had already previously been disruptive in class, got into fights with her classmates, and this time spat at

¹⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-vz0TBz2n98>

her teacher. She, too, was expelled from the vocational secondary school for commerce and catering.

Further incidents

In May 2008, a Bököny-based boy pummelled a teacher with the fist. The teacher had previously slapped the boy's younger brother. This episode was presented as an example of teacher beatings generally prevalent in schools. During the same month, in Paks a parent attacked his child's school headmaster and teacher. This raised the question of how a school could protect itself in such situations.

Presumably, in the absence of physical violence against teachers newspaper editors subsequently switched to reporting horrendous incidents of violence among students. Secondary school students in Kaposvár used a chisel to beat up their seventeen-year-old schoolmate, who died of the assault. We could read about how students blackmail and commit robbery in school or in its neighbourhood: here older children took money from their younger peers.

The papers published these kinds of news items until the start of the summer school holiday in June; however, some papers kept up a continuous stream of stories on school violence even up to early August. Although no new domestic incident surfaced, certain papers used news of an *American* school shooting to keep the issue of Hungarian school violence on the front burner. The school shooting on 23 September in *Finland* once again triggered publications on school violence. The sensitivity vis-à-vis the issue thus kept alive was further intensified when in October and November students beat up teachers, parents beat up teachers and students beat up students. No articles on the subject were published in December.

Fewer subsequently published stories reported episodes of physical violence against teachers, with the media focus shifting to accounts of cases of rough student-on-student violence.

As early as in January, the year 2009 kicked off with shocking news: two students at a Tiszalök-based boarding school for children with disabilities assaulted and raped a young female schoolmate. A broomstick was thrust in the anus of a 16-year-old boy at the dormitory of the agricultural vocational secondary school in Mátészalka. According to the report of a leading newspaper, "two 10-12-year-old girls assaulted a nine-year-old girl in the lavatory of the elementary school in Fábánháza. To the eyes of several students, they forced the handle of a toilet brush into her vagina." Likewise in January, we read in *Magyar Nemzet* that older students humiliated a kindergartener in the shower area of a student hostel in Almamellék. And in Mohács a teenage girl slapped one of her female classmates. In Karancslapujtő, an elementary school student and his older brother broke the cheekbone of a seventeen-year-old grammar school student. In February students in Kapuvár beat each other up, inflicting concussion on one another, while in Barcs a student stabbed a graphite pencil into a classmate's upper arm. "A student laced a 15-year-old school mate's drink with tranquilliser at a school in Hajdúhadháza", reported another leading paper. A news item triggering general outrage reported that students in Pécs tortured cats.

Then, after a long hiatus, we could once again read reports of violence against teachers. Near Szigetvár, a grandmother got into a slapping brawl and the same happened to a mother in Mándok because her daughter was not cast in a school play. In Makó, two teenagers had a noisy quarrel with the school headmaster, but subsequently it was their parents who in fact hit the headmaster. In District 8 of Budapest a relative attacked a teacher because she rebuked a student who, with several fellow students, wrestled a schoolmate into the snow.

It was still in February when a student in Szentes forcefully twisted his teacher's hand, then pushed her aside because the teacher would not allow him to leave the school. A parent in a primary school in Rakamaz slapped a fourth grade child.

In March, after a boy in Szécsény was reprimanded by his teacher, "in the break after class the boy kicked the 52-year-old female teacher twice in the rib area, then shoved his bag at her", the media reported. And headlines ran as follows: "Youth attacks teacher with a school desk in Kecskemét" "Home-school student assaults deputy headmaster in Valkó". "Parents threaten deputy school headmaster in Pácsa" Student-on-student violence is likewise present among the news of the month: In Komló a fifteen-year-old drunken boy got into a brawl at school, while a boy in Bátorterenyé was beaten up by three of his mates for snitching. Also in March a mobile phone recording of an incident involving a fight and humiliation in Zala having taken place back in January surfaced.

In April the papers reported that "In Mátészalka a 27-year-old man assaulted the employee of a child welfare service, while a 29-year-old Rakamaz man threatened one of the administrators of a primary school forcing her to abandon her duties. As for conflicts among students, in Dunaegyháza older boys hastened to "help" younger boys in a school fight. In Tiszatenyő a first grader kicked a second grader schoolmate in the head.

In May a student beat up another student in Baja. In Salgótarján a parent beat up a teacher. In June in Jászapáti "a mother beat up a teacher for her son's behavioural problems". Towards the end of the year, it came to light that in Kecskemét a young boy's money was regularly taken by his school mates; but he was still better off than the fourteen-year-old girl assaulted by "gypsy girls" in a school yard in Kerepes.

In September a boy beaten up by a body builder type youth in front of his school in Kaposvár had to be taken to the intensive care unit. According to the newspaper report, the perpetrator wanted to retaliate for an offence against her sister. In Orosháza parents got into a fight in front of the school because of a conflict between their children (a new type of school violence: parent-on-parent). Finally, in October, Hódmezővásárhely found itself in the focus of press coverage on violence: a parent assaulted his child's teacher because the teacher pulled his daughter's hair. The teacher also spoke up in connection with the case: she claimed that the young girl was ripping off tree leaves and she just wanted to demonstrate what the tree must be feeling.

The review above demonstrates that all news items in fact report on especially brutal, horrifying and shocking incidents, generally following the script of the "tabloid" genre. It is conspicuous how the two opinion-leading daily papers highlighted the tabloid elements in the topic of school violence, thereby repeatedly depicting a horrific, frightening and

dangerous image of the school world. We do not know, however, whether this editorial approach was driven by these shocking incidents' attention-grabbing prowess or by the potential editors saw in these cases for the public expression of their paper's own values, including their opinion of the government's educational administration.

Analysis of the press alone offers further evidence that school violence has become a major public policy matter. Herein the governing party and the opposition have clashed, in line with their roles, thereby shining light on the previously neglected domain of school violence. In conjunction with the Commissioner of Educational Rights' investigations numerous academic research commenced (Paksi, 2009; Földes – Lannert, 2009). The Education Research and Development Institute organised regional conferences and launched the *"Violence-free and Health Conscious School"* movement. Ferenc Mérei Budapest Pedagogical and Career Guidance Institute organised a *"Day of Tolerance"* featuring Elliot Aronson as its distinguished special guest. And the Minister for Education and Culture established a commission *"For School Safety"* in acknowledgement of the significance of the issue.

6. Violence at school

Below, we discuss the incidence of school violence: student-on-student, teacher-student, and teacher-parent violence, and we also address the issue of verbal as well as non-verbal violent acts.

Student-on-student violence

We surveyed students in May of the 2008/2009 school year. Our questions concerned events that transpired during the eight-month-long period between September and May.

An overview of the individual types of violence reveals that shouting and swearing at each other were the most common acts among grade 11 students. Over half the students (59.9 per cent) said they had perpetrated these acts at least once. A slightly fewer number reported that their peers had acted similarly towards them. And 69.1 per cent of students were actively involved in such a scenario.

Humiliation is another common type of violence (47.5 per cent). Nearly half of the students were perpetrators, victims, and sometimes both.

Social exclusion is the third most prevalent type of violence among students. One third of students are affected. By nature this type of violence involved a higher ratio of perpetrators (over a quarter of students), compared to victims (12.7 per cent).

There is a higher incidence of less aggressive types of physical violence, while the incidence of more aggressive types of physical violence is lower. Accordingly, the ratio of those affected is also lower. During the review period, slightly over a quarter of the students were involved in pulling, pushing, and jostling (26.6%), one in every four or five students in hitting and kicking (18.5 per cent). While even fewer perpetrated acts of throwing things or fell victims to things being thrown at them (16.8 per cent). One in ten students was involved in beatings and fights (9.5 per cent).

People are more inclined to acknowledge falling victim to, than being perpetrators of, theft. Bearing this in mind, we note that one in five students fell victim to theft and some 4 per cent reported having fallen victim to violent robbery. 12.8 per cent of the students acknowledged inflicting damage on objects on school premises.

Table 10
Ratio of perpetrators and victims among student-on-student violence (%)

| Type of violence | Perpetrator | Victim | Ratio of students affected |
|--------------------------------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|
| Shouting, swearing | 59.9 | 56.6 | 69.1 |
| Humiliation | 33.1 | 31.9 | 47.5 |
| Social exclusion | 25.5 | 12.7 | 32.6 |
| Pulling, pushing, and jostling | 18.2 | 17.7 | 26.6 |
| Hitting, kicking | 18.2 | 11.8 | 18.5 |
| Throwing | 10.6 | 12.8 | 16.8 |
| Beating | 7.8 | 3.5 | 9.5 |
| Theft | 3.5 | 21.4 | 22.8 |
| Violent robbery | 1.9 | 3.5 | 4.3 |
| Inflicting property damage | 12.8 | ----- | ----- |

Below, a more in-depth look at committing violent acts follows: we examine the issue of violence in the context of whether a correlation exists between a class's education type – grammar school, vocational secondary school, and vocational school – and the incidence of perpetrating, and falling victim to, acts of violence.

Education type of classes and types of violence

We have found the incidence of perpetrating or falling victim to violence at below or near the average ratio with respect to every type of violent act among *grammar school students*. The grammar school is, actually, the most peaceful place for grade 11 students.

In grammar schools the ratio of victims to shouting, swearing, and humiliation is closer to the average than the comparable ratio is in the case of perpetrators. Overall, however, the ratio of those affected is the lowest in grammar schools.

The incidence of non-verbal violence in grammar schools steadily diminishes in the below-average range as the seriousness of the act increases. Accordingly, an ever-lower ratio of students report falling victim to, or having perpetrated, a given act. Regarding regards social exclusion, the ratio of victims is very close to the average. As for throwing, jostling, pushing, pulling, hitting, kicking, and beating, what we see is that grammar school ratios fall farther and farther from the average. Perpetrators and victims alike become fewer and far between. In other words, the use of "soft" methods is associated with low incidence of non-verbal violence.

Violent acts against property reveal that the ratio of grammar school students admitting to such a deed is not much lower than the ratio reported by students in the other education types. The same holds true to the ratio of those who have already fallen victim to theft or robbery perpetrated by their fellow students. In short, in this area grammar school students can be deemed in line with the average.

In *vocational secondary schools* all types of violence hover around the average mark or are slightly higher. Significantly, however, the incidence of violence in vocational secondary schools is more akin with the figures of vocational schools than with those reported for grammar schools. Accordingly, a distinction could be drawn here between vocational and general types of education.

With regard to both types of violence (shouting and swearing, and humiliation) the ratio of those who claim to be perpetrators is higher than that of those reporting having fallen victim to such acts. Vocational secondary school education reveals the highest ratio of perpetrators and victims alike. This type of violence can, accordingly, be regarded as a characteristic feature of secondary vocational schools.

As for non-verbal violence, the ratio of vocational secondary school students' involvement in less serious acts is a few percentage points above the average. This is a significant difference compared with grammar school students. The ratio of the most serious act of violence, namely beating, is almost identical with the average ratio: the ratio of perpetrators is just slightly above, that of victims, however, is below the average.

In regard to the issue of social exclusion, vocational secondary school students reported falling victim to this type of violence to the same degree as grammar school students. Here, however, perpetrators admitted to their act in a slightly higher ratio than the average for all three types of education.

In terms of acts against property, the ratio of perpetrators of and victims to theft and violent robbery in vocational secondary schools is around the national average.

As regards verbal violence, the ratio of *vocational school* perpetrators is somewhere between the figures for grammar and vocational secondary schools. It is in the vocational school that the ratio of students victimised by verbal violence is the lowest. This surprising result can be explained by that fact that the absence of verbal violence is a characteristic trait of this education type.

Vocational school students reported the highest incidence – for perpetrators and victims alike – of every type of non-verbal violence, except for inflicting property damage. Admittedly, in several instances this does not significantly differ from comparable vocational secondary school figures. Nonetheless, it can be deemed a characteristic trait. Possibly, there is a correlation between the absence of verbal violence and its opposite, physical violence. This correlation is something to be explored in the future. What is certain is that the recourse to physical violence is a characteristic behaviour of this education type.

The findings show that the greatest discrepancy between the ratio of perpetrators and victims is found mostly among vocational school students. In almost every instance more of them report being perpetrators than victims. This may in part be because – as we shall later see – respect for authority and violent personality traits are the most prevalent among them. What is also certain is that vocational school students have powerful negative value

associations with becoming a victim. And this results in the concealment of the given act to a greater extent than in the case of grammar schools.

Verbal violence

The incidence of verbal violence differs significantly by education type. Whereas in grammar schools the ratio of perpetrators is 55.1 per cent, the figures for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools are 64.2 per cent and 58.5 per cent (p=0.000), respectively.

Table 11
Shouting, swearing (%) (Question: During the school year did you shout or swear at another student, and did another student shout or swear at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 59.9 | 56.6 | 3.3 | 69.1 |
| Grammar school | 55.1 | 54.5 | 0.6 | 64.6 |
| Single profile grammar school | 58.9 | 53.6 | 5.3 | 63.2 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 57.8 | 57.1 | 0.7 | 67.8 |
| Vocational secondary school | 64.2 | 60.2 | 4.0 | 72.5 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 63.2 | 61.6 | 1.6 | 72.2 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 64.8 | 59.3 | 5.5 | 72.7 |
| Vocational school | 58.8 | 53.5 | 5.3 | 69.2 |
| Single profile vocational school | 59.5 | 54.5 | 5.0 | 70.0 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 58.6 | 53.1 | 5.5 | 68.9 |
| Total N | 4216 | 4190 | | |

Individual school types also reveal major differences in the extent to which respondents' fellow students shouted at them. The ratio for grammar schools is 54.5 per cent, 60.2 per cent for vocational secondary schools and 53.5 per cent (p=0.000) for vocational schools. Overall, nearly 70 per cent of respondents are affected by this type of violence. Put differently, less than one-third of students are unaffected by this type of verbal violence.

Here we have made a distinction between two types of school organisation: one that only offers classes in a single education type (the education type attended by the respondent students), and the other offering several different (mixed) education types. Accordingly, we differentiate between single profile and mixed profile school organisations. We have found no statistically significant difference with respect to swearing and shouting in any of the three investigated education types.

In the context of the incidence of humiliation, the ratio of perpetrators (p=0.000) and the ratio of victims thereof (p=0.000) in the different education types differ significantly.

Table 12

Humiliation (%) (Question: During the school year did you humiliate or ridiculed another student, and did another student humiliate or ridicule you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 33.1 | 31.9 | 1.2 | 47.5 |
| Grammar school | 27.9 | 32.5 | -4.6 | 44.0 |
| Single profile grammar school | 26.3 | 32.4 | -6.1 | 42.4 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 31.7 | 32.7 | -1.0 | 47.7 |
| Vocational secondary school | 36.5 | 33.4 | 3.1 | 50.5 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 37.2 | 36.7 | 0.5 | 51.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 36.0 | 31.2 | 4.8 | 49.6 |
| Vocational school | 33.9 | 28.8 | 5.1 | 47.2 |
| Single profile vocational school | 30.9 | 31.7 | -0.8 | 46.8 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 34.9 | 27.7 | 7.2 | 47.4 |
| Total N | 4229 | 4194 | | |

27.9 per cent of grammar school students humiliated their fellow students. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is 36.5 per cent 33.9 per cent, respectively.

The ratio of students who fell victim to humiliation is the lowest in vocational schools (28.8 per cent), the highest in vocational secondary schools (33.4 per cent), with the figure for grammar schools (32.5 per cent) in between the two. The ratio of perpetrators in grammar school classes in mixed profile and single profile schools reveals a significant difference ($p=0.047$). The figure for single profile schools is 26.3 per cent, and, at 31.7 per cent, it is even higher for mixed profile schools.

Among vocational secondary school students, the ratio of students who fell victim to humiliation differs more significantly with respect to single profile and mixed profile institutions ($p=0.019$)

Overall, some half of the students are affected by humiliation and the group of perpetrators and victims becomes more distinct than in the case of shouting and swearing.

Non-verbal violence

21.9 per cent of grammar school students engage in exclusionary behaviour. The same holds true to a higher ratio, at 26.1, for vocational secondary schools, and, at 29.1 per cent

($p=0.000$), for vocational schools. The ratio of exclusion shows a correlation with the school type: the figure is 11.6 per cent for grammar schools, 11.8 per cent for vocational secondary schools, and 15.3 for vocational schools ($p=0.000$). One plausible explanation to the significant difference between perpetration and falling victim to this type of violence may be that exclusion is usually a group act, whereas victims are frequently lonely. Further, the high ratio of perpetrators versus victims is indicative of a low level of overlap between the two groups.

Table 13
 Social exclusion (%) (Question: During the school year did you participate in socially excluding somebody, and did your classmates socially exclude you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 25.5 | 12.7% | 12.8% | 32.6 |
| Grammar school | 21.9 | 11.6 | 10.3 | 29.0 |
| Single profile grammar school | 20.4 | 9.7 | 10.7 | 25.9 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 25.6 | 16.2 | 9.4 | 36.6 |
| Vocational secondary school | 26.1 | 11.8 | 14.3 | 32.9 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 23.1 | 11.4 | 11.7 | 30.0 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 28.1 | 12.0 | 16.1 | 34.8 |
| Vocational school | 29.1 | 15.3 | 13.8 | 36.4 |
| Single profile vocational school | 31.6 | 16.4 | 15.2 | 38.5 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 28.2 | 14.9 | 13.3 | 35.6 |
| Total N | 4225 | 4222 | | |

The ratio of perpetrators and victims demonstrates significant correlation with the organisational structure of the school the grammar school classes in question are affiliated with. Social exclusion is rarer in single profile grammar schools, for which the ratio of exclusionary behaviour is 20.4 per cent. At 25.6 per cent ($p=0.033$), the comparable ratio is higher for grammar school classes in mixed profile (integrated) schools. The ratio of victims is 9.7 for classes in single profile schools, and 16.2 per cent ($p=0.001$) for classes in mixed profile schools. A similarly trended difference is revealed among vocational secondary school students. 23.1 per cent of students attending single profile schools engage in socially exclusionary behaviour, while the figure for students in mixed profile schools is 28.1 per cent ($p=0.020$).

The incidence of pulling and pushing, too, reflects a correlation between the ratio of perpetrators and victims and education type. The ratio of grammar school perpetrators is 11.2 per cent, with the figure for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools at 20.9

per cent and 22.2 per cent ($p=0.000$), respectively. The ratio of those grammar school students who undergo violence is 12.5 per cent, with the figure for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools at 20 per cent and 20.4 per cent ($p=0.000$), respectively. Overall, this type of violence affects over a quarter of the students.

Table 14

Pulling, pushing, jostling (%) (Question: During the school year did you push, pull, or jostle another student, and did another student push, pull, or jostle you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 18.2 | 17.7 | 0.5 | 26.2 |
| Grammar school | 11.2 | 12.5 | -1.3 | 16.6 |
| Single profile grammar school | 11.8 | 11.2 | 0.6 | 15.7 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 11.0 | 15.2 | -4.2 | 18.6 |
| Vocational secondary school | 20.9 | 20.0 | 0.9 | 29.4 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 20.8 | 20.6 | 0.2 | 29.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 21 | 19.5 | 1.5 | 29.1 |
| Vocational school | 22.2 | 20.4 | 1.8 | 32.8 |
| Single profile vocational school | 18.3 | 17.5 | 0.8 | 28.4 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 23.6 | 21.5 | 2.1 | 34.5 |
| Total N | 4268 | 4283 | | |

11.2 per cent of grammar school students attending single profile grammar schools were pushed, pulled, or jostled by a schoolmate. The comparable figure for grammar school students attending mixed profile schools is 15.2 per cent ($p=0.042$).

Table 15

Hitting, kicking (%) (Question: During the school year did you hit or kick another student, and did another student hit or kick you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 18.2 | 11.8 | 6.4 | 18.5 |
| Grammar school | 7.9 | 7.8 | 0.1 | 11.2 |
| Single profile grammar school | 8.0 | 7.4 | 0.6 | 10.8 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 7.7 | 8.7 | -1.0 | 11.7 |
| Vocational secondary school | 15.7 | 13.0 | 2.7 | 20.5 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 14.5 | 11.5 | 3.0 | 18.1 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 16.4 | 13.8 | 2.6 | 22.0 |
| Vocational school | 18.5 | 14.7 | 3.8 | 24.2 |
| Single profile vocational school | 17.4 | 14.9 | 2.5 | 23.0 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 19.0 | 14.7 | 4.3 | 24.6 |
| Total N | 4273 | 4287 | | |

In grammar schools, 7.9 per cent of students have kicked or hit a schoolmate. The comparable figure for vocational secondary schools is 15.7 per cent, and for vocational schools 18.5 per cent ($p=0.000$). The ratio of victims (those hit or kicked by a schoolmate) is 7.8 per cent for grammar schools, 13 per cent for vocational secondary schools, and 14.7 per cent ($p=0.000$) for vocational schools.

Within the three education types there is no statistical difference between students in single profile and students in mixed profile schools vis-à-vis being either perpetrators of, or falling victim to, this type of violence.

Table 16

Beating (%) (Question: During the school year did you beat another student, and did another student beat you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 7.8 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 9.5 |
| Grammar school | 3.2 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 3.8 |
| Single profile grammar school | 3.0 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 3.7 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 4.5 |
| Vocational secondary school | 7.9 | 2.9 | 5.0 | 9.3 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 7.2 | 3.1 | 4.1 | 8.2 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 8.4 | 2.8 | 5.6 | 10.0 |
| Vocational school | 13.2 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 16.7 |
| Single profile vocational school | 12.3 | 8.3 | 4.0 | 16.8 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 13.6 | 6.3 | 7.3 | 16.8 |
| Total N | 4271 | 4291 | | |

3.2 per cent of grammar school students beat up a schoolmate during the school year. The corresponding figure for vocational secondary schools is 7.9 per cent, for vocational schools 13.2 per cent ($p=0.000$). 1.5 per cent of grammar school students, 2.9 per cent of vocational secondary school students, and 6.7 per cent ($p=0.000$) of vocational school students were beaten by a schoolmate. Overall, 10 per cent of the respondents were either perpetrators of, or fell victim to, beating (or both) during the school year. There is, however, little overlap between the group of victims and the group of perpetrators.

Concerning students attending single profile and mixed profile schools, there is no difference in the ratio of either perpetrators or victims regardless of the type of education attended.

Table 17

Throwing (%) (Question: During the school year did you throw a hard object at another student or did you hit any other student, and did any other student thrown a hard object at you or hit you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 10.6 | 12.8 | -2.2 | 16.8 |
| Grammar school | 8.0 | 11.1 | -3.1 | 13.5 |
| Single profile grammar school | 8.5 | 11.3 | -2.8 | 13.8 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 7.0 | 10.6 | -3.6 | 12.9 |
| Vocational secondary school | 11.6 | 13.5 | -1.9 | 18.0 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 11.6 | 14.4 | -2.8 | 18.2 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 11.7 | 13 | -1.3 | 17.9 |
| Vocational school | 11.9 | 13.8 | -1.9 | 19.1 |
| Single profile vocational school | 12.0 | 13.6 | -1.6 | 18.6 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 11.9 | 13.8 | -1.9 | 19.2 |
| Total N | 4266 | 4270 | | |

Eight per cent of grammar school students have thrown something at or have hit their schoolmates with a hard object (perpetrators). The comparable ratio for vocational secondary school classes is 11.6 per cent, for vocational school classes 11.9 per cent ($p=0.000$). The ratio of students whose classmates have thrown a hard object at them (victims) is 11.1 per cent for grammar schools, 13.5 per cent for vocational secondary schools, and 13.8 per cent for vocational schools ($p=0.000$). Overall, the ratio of students affected is 16.8 per cent. Among students attending single profile and mixed profile schools there is no difference in the ratio of either perpetrators or victims regardless of the education type they attend.

Violence against property

Table 18

Theft (%) (Question: During the school year did you steal anything on school premises, did anyone steal anything from you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 3.5 | 21.4 | -17.9 | 22.8 |
| Grammar school | 2.4 | 19.1 | -16.7 | 20.2 |
| Single profile grammar school | 2 | 17.2 | -15.2 | 18.3 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.2 | 23.8 | -20.6 | 25.0 |
| Vocational secondary school | 3.4 | 19.6 | -16.2 | 21.2 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 3.4 | 18.3 | -14.9 | 20.3 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 3.4 | 20.4 | -17.0 | 21.6 |
| Vocational school | 5.2 | 26.8 | -21.6 | 28.6 |
| Single profile vocational school | 6 | 25.9 | -19.9 | 26.7 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 4.9 | 27.1 | -22.2 | 29.5 |
| Total N | 4288 | 4268 | | |

2.4 per cent of grammar school students, 3.4 per cent of vocational secondary school students, and 5.4 per cent of vocational school students have admitted to stealing something ($p=0.000$). 19.1 per cent of grammar school student respondents reported that something had been stolen from them. The comparable figure for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is 19.6 per cent and 26.8 per cent, respectively ($p=0.000$).

17.2 per cent of grammar school students in single profile schools fell victim to theft and the comparable ratio for grammar school students in mixed profile schools is 23.8 per cent ($p=0.005$).

Table 19

Inflicting property damage (%) (Question: During the school year did you inflict damage to something on the school premises?)

| | Perpetrator |
|--|-------------|
| Total | 12.8 |
| Grammar school | 12.9 |
| Single profile grammar school | 13.8 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 10.7 |
| Vocational secondary school | 13.7 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 15.4 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 12.6 |
| Vocational school | 11.1 |
| Single profile vocational school | 10.6 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 11.3 |
| Total N | 4281 |

The ratio of students inflicting property damage does not reveal statistically significant differences (11.1 per cent and 13.7 per cent) either in the three education types or, within these education types, between single profile and mixed profile schools.

Violent robbery

1.2 per cent of grammar school students, 1.6 per cent of vocational secondary school students, and 3.3 per cent ($p=0.000$) of vocational students have used physical force to steal something from their schoolmates. The comparable figure for grammar school classes in single profile schools is 0.7, and 2.2 per cent for classes in mixed profile schools ($p=0.018$).

Table 20

Violent robbery (%) (Question: During the school year did you use physical force to take something from a schoolmate, and did anyone do the same to you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 1.9 | 3.5 | -1.6 | 4.3 |
| Grammar school | 1.2 | 2.3 | -1.1 | 2.8 |
| Single profile grammar school | 0.7 | 1.5 | -0.8 | 1.7 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 2.2 | 4.3 | -2.1 | 5.3 |
| Vocational secondary school | 1.6 | 2.7 | -1.1 | 3.6 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 2 | 2.3 | -0.3 | 3.8 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 1.3 | 3 | -1.7 | 3.5 |
| Vocational school | 3.3 | 6.4 | -3.1 | 7.3 |
| Single profile vocational school | 4.3 | 5 | -0.7 | 6.1 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 3 | 6.9 | -3.9 | 7.7 |
| Total N | 4288 | 4286 | | |

2.3 per cent of students in grammar school classes, 2.7 per cent of students in vocational secondary schools, and 6.4 per cent ($p=0.000$) of students in vocational schools have fallen victims to violent robbery. The comparable ratio for single profile classes in grammar schools is 1.5 per cent, while in mixed profile classes 4.3 per cent ($p=0.002$).

Violence between teachers and students

Students and teachers have divergent views of the extent of violence, be it perpetrated or sustained, between teacher and student. Accordingly, this issue must be scrutinised based on the above different perspectives. In the questionnaire, we asked students if a teacher had shouted at them, hit them, etc. during the school year. Also, conversely, we asked students if they themselves had done the same vis-à-vis any of their teachers. In turn, we asked teachers if they had shouted at a student, hit them, etc. during the school year. And, conversely, whether a student had done the same to them. Thus, the two questions are not symmetrical. If a teacher slapped all students in the class, then all the students reported that a teacher had hit them, whereas, in this theoretical case, only one of the teachers was to provide the same response. Therefore, in relation to these types of questions (teacher as perpetrator and student as victim) we took teacher opinion as the low estimate. After all, at least one student was affected. In turn, we took student opinion as the high estimate. In a reverse situation (student perpetrator, teacher victim) the roles are reversed. Naturally, concealing the perpetration of an act or the state of victimhood, or, say, reporting an act without any basis

can cause the correlation between the two opinions to reverse as well. Such a case is physical violence, where students' "bragging" and teachers' "feeling of shame" can be a distorting factor. Here we must also point out that teachers' opinion pertains to all the students in their schools. Students, on the other hand, formed an opinion primarily of their own teachers. In consequence, comparison must only be made with caution. Accordingly, data are not symmetrical with respect to perpetration and victimhood, either.

A majority of students involved in an act of violence hold the view that their teachers are more violent towards them. Teachers tend to see this more or less in a different light. Teachers claim that more students shouted at them or humiliated them than what the students themselves report. This, however, does not hold true to physical violence. Here teachers acknowledge fewer instance of violence than what students report. It is possible that students exaggerate, but it is also possible that teachers are this way defending themselves against being seen in an unfavourable light.

Table 21

The ratio of perpetrators and victims in teacher-student violence, according to students (%)

| Violence | Student perpetrator | as Student as victim | Ratio of students affected |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Shouting, swearing | 15.3 | 34.1 | 38.3 |
| Humiliation | 9.0 | 29.8 | 33.5 |
| Physical violence | 3.8 | 10.2 | 11.4 |

Table 22

The ratio of perpetrators and victims in teacher-student violence, according to teachers (%)

| Violence | Teacher as perpetrator | Teacher as victim | Ratio of teachers affected |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Shouting, swearing | 17.4 | 23.2 | 31.2 |
| Humiliation | 16.5 | 12.0 | 24.0 |
| Physical violence | 2.6 | 1.9 | 3.7 |

Responses reveal that there is verbal violence between teachers and students, but physical violence is very rare.

When it comes to shouting and swearing, both groups regard themselves as victims rather than perpetrators. Thirty-four per cent of the students reported that a teacher shouted at them during the school year, and only 15 per cent of the students (i.e. about half of the above figure) acknowledged shouting at a teacher. However, only 23 per cent of the teachers reported that one of their students had shouted at them, compared to only 17 per cent who admitted shouting at a student. One plausible reason for the discrepancy is that students or teachers who swear and shout react like this to several persons. Another explication might be that the respondents are reluctant to admit that they had shouted at somebody. The ratio of the latter is presumably higher in the case of teachers than in the case of students. Yet another possible explanation is that those in a position of power may find a way to behave

more violently. In order to maintain order and discipline, those in power must take on conflicts as well. In a given situation this can manifest itself as verbal violence, a verbal “flaunting of power.”

Perpetrating acts of humiliation is less prevalent (9 per cent) among students than acts of swearing and shouting. At the same time, the ratio of falling victim to humiliation is barely lower than the ratio of falling victim to swearing and shouting (30 per cent). Congruently with the situation, teachers’ reporting ratio of humiliating a student during the school year (17 per cent) was similar to the number of reported incidents of shouting. On the other hand, they reported a far lower ratio (12 per cent) of having been humiliated by students. Obviously, this situation also follows from the asymmetry of power. Humiliation is unequivocally “offensive” in intent, therefore, in the teacher-student relationship it primarily serves as a teachers’ instrument of violence.

Physical violence – in the teachers’ own view – is a rarer event than its verbal counterpart. Fewer than three per cent of teachers reported that they had pushed, pulled, or hit a student during the school year. And a mere 1.9 per cent fell victim to similar acts. Students reported a similarly low incidence (4 per cent) of perpetrating the same act. At the same time, one-tenth of students claimed that they had fallen victim to physical atrocity perpetrated by one of their teachers during the school year. This, then, is a slightly higher ratio. We can thus put the incidence of teacher-on-student physical violence at somewhere between 2.6 and 10.2 per cent.

It holds true to all the three acts of violence that grammar school students perpetrate the fewest of them against their teachers. The figure is slightly higher for vocational secondary school students, and the highest among vocational school students. Patterns of undergoing teacher-on-student violence is less clear-cut. Compared with grammar school students, vocational secondary school students and vocational school students reported a 10-percentage-point higher number of incidents of undergoing shouting and swearing.

Teacher reports of shouting and swearing at students are the lowest in grammar schools, higher for vocational secondary schools, and the highest for vocational schools. At the same time, humiliation is the most frequent with teachers working in vocational secondary schools (21 per cent), with the two other groups coming in at 7-8 percentage points lower. It is unknown whether teachers are responding to students’ behaviour this way, or, on the contrary, the reverse is true.

Vocational secondary school (and grammar school) students’ sensitivity might be one explanation for this phenomenon. Grammar school and vocational secondary school students alike may deem to certain incidents as “humiliation” whereas vocational school students in the same cases do not. The latter have a lower threshold for remembering shouting and swearing. Another possible explanation is that vocational secondary school teachers are less likely to shout or swear to express their anger. Instead, they prefer and more frequently resort to attack-type behaviour in order to humiliate for maintaining power asymmetry. Vocational school teachers are, on the other hand, less able to use this kind of humiliation in line with their middle class values in a lower social status environment.

Based on student data, the incidence of physical violence shows a gradual upward trend as we move from grammar school through vocational secondary school to vocational school. In fact, as high as seven per cent of vocational school students are perpetrators and 15 per cent are victims. At the same time, teachers did not report divergent ratios for the three groups.

In regard to student-on-teacher acts, grammar school students in single profile schools and grammar school students in mixed profile schools reveal different results. Concerning *grammar school* students attending mixed profile schools, the ratio of the perpetrators of the three types of student-on-teacher violence is higher. In contrast, *vocational secondary school* students attending mixed profile schools have scored a higher ratio than their peers studying at single profile schools only in regard to swearing and shouting. Grammar school and vocational secondary school students studying at mixed profile schools are in a worse situation as victims of physical violence.

As regards teachers, the same division appears to be somewhat significant in relation to shouting and swearing. Teachers in our research working at *grammar school* classes in a mixed profile school are more affected as perpetrators and victims than those in the other group. As regards teachers teaching in *vocational secondary school* classes this only holds true in relation to victimhood. With respect to the two other types of violence, there is typically no difference between the groups.

Below we present detailed data with respect to individual acts of violence according to education type.

Violence between teachers and students from the students' perspective

Verbal violence

8.6 per cent of the grammar school students reported that they had shouted and had sworn at one of their teachers. The comparable ratio for vocational secondary schools is 16.9 per cent, for vocational schools 20.9 per cent ($p=0.000$). In single profile schools, the ratio of grammar school students shouting at their teachers is far lower: 5.5 per cent. The figure for classes in mixed profile schools is 16.1 per cent ($p=0.000$).

Table 23

Shouting and swearing between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you shout or swear at a teacher, and did a teacher shout at or swear at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 15.3 | 34.1 | -18.8 | 38.3 |
| Grammar school | 8.6 | 26.9 | -18.3 | 30.0 |
| Single profile grammar school | 5.5 | 25.1 | -19.6 | 26.7 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 16.1 | 31.0 | -14.9 | 38.1 |
| Vocational secondary school | 16.9 | 37.6 | -20.7 | 42.2 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 14.4 | 39.4 | -25.0 | 42.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 18.5 | 36.5 | -18.0 | 41.6 |
| Vocational school | 20.9 | 37.2 | -16.3 | 42.4 |
| Single profile vocational school | 23 | 37.6 | -14.6 | 43.5 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 20.2 | 37.0 | -16.8 | 42.0 |
| Total N | 4258 | 4174 | | |

14.4 per cent of students in classes of single profile vocational secondary schools shouted at their teacher. The comparable ratio for mixed profile vocational secondary school classes is 18.5 per cent ($p=0.027$).

26.9 per cent of grammar school students reported that their teacher had shouted or sworn at them. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is 37.6 per cent and 37.2 per cent ($p=0.000$), respectively. There are no statistically significant differences between the three education types.

In summary, nearly 40 per cent of the students were either perpetrators or victims of this type of violent act.

Table 24

Humiliation between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you humiliate a teacher or intentionally embarrass a teacher before others, and did a teacher humiliate you, or intentionally embarrass or ridicule you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 9 | 29.8 | -20.8 | 33.5 |
| Grammar school | 6.9 | 32.0 | -25.1 | 34.8 |
| Single profile grammar school | 5.6 | 31.9 | -26.3 | 33.8 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 10 | 32.2 | -22.2 | 36.6 |
| Vocational secondary school | 9.7 | 32.8 | -23.1 | 36.6 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 10.3 | 34.6 | -24.3 | 38.7 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 9.3 | 31.6 | -22.3 | 35.0 |
| Vocational school | 10.5 | 22.7 | -12.2 | 27.2 |
| Single profile vocational school | 11 | 21.5 | -10.5 | 25.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 10.3 | 23.2 | -12.9 | 27.7 |
| Total N | 4256 | 4222 | | |

6.9 per cent of grammar school students reported intentionally embarrassing one of their teachers. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is slightly higher at 9.7 per cent and 10.5 per cent ($p=0.000$), respectively. The two types of grammar schools differ: classes in single profile grammar schools came in at 5.6 per cent, while classes in mixed profile grammar schools scored 10 per cent with respect to the above ratio ($p=0.004$).

Thirty-two per cent of grammar school students reported being embarrassed or ridiculed by one of their teachers. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary schools is 32.2 per cent, and for vocational schools 22.7 per cent ($p=0.000$).

In grade 11, a full one-third of students are affected. That is, one in three students was humiliated by one of their teachers during the school year, or humiliated or intentionally embarrassed their teachers.

Non-verbal violence

1.8 per cent of grammar school students reported perpetrating physical violence against their teachers. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is 3.1 per cent and 7.1 per cent ($p=0.000$), respectively. The two types of grammar schools differ

again. The ratio for classes in single profile grammar schools is 0.9 per cent, for classes in mixed profile grammar schools is 3.8 per cent (p=0.000).

Table 25

Physical violence between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you push, pull, jostle, hit, or throw a hard object at a teacher, and did a teacher push, pull, jostle, hit you, or throw a hard object at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 3.8 | 10.2 | -6.4 | 11.4 |
| Grammar school | 1.8 | 6.7 | -4.9 | 7.3 |
| Single profile grammar school | 0.9 | 4.6 | -3.7 | 4.8 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.8 | 11.7 | -7.9 | 13.3 |
| Vocational secondary school | 3.1 | 9.8 | -6.7 | 11.2 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 2.1 | 7.7 | -5.6 | 8.8 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 3.7 | 11.1 | -7.4 | 12.8 |
| Vocational school | 7.1 | 15.1 | -8.0 | 16.5 |
| Single profile vocational school | 8.5 | 15.9 | -7.4 | 17.7 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 6.7 | 14.8 | -8.1 | 16.1 |
| Total N | 4305 | 4269 | | |

6.7 per cent of grammar school students reported falling victim to teacher-on-student physical violence. The corresponding ratio for vocational secondary school students is 9.8 per cent, for vocational schools 15.1 per cent (p=0.000). The two types of grammar school classes differ from one another: in single profile grammar schools 4.6 per cent of students fell victim to physical violence by one of their teachers, while the comparable figure for mixed profile grammar schools is 11.7 per cent (p=0.000). The same holds true to vocational secondary schools: the same figure for classes in single profile vocational secondary schools is 7.7 per cent. And in mixed profile vocational secondary schools 11 per cent of students fell victim to physical violence by one of their teachers (p=0.018).

Violence between teachers and students from the teachers' perspective

Verbal violence

13.5 per cent of grammar school teachers, 17.4 per cent of vocational secondary school teachers, and 25.1 per cent of vocational school teachers reported that they had shouted or sworn at a student during the school year (p=0.004). The shouting and swearing type of

incidence of student-on-teacher verbal violence reveals a similar trend among teachers in the three different education types. Grammar school teachers reported the lowest ratio of students shouting at them (14.0 per cent), while vocational school teachers the highest (34.3 per cent) ($p=0.000$).

Table 26

Shouting and swearing between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you shout or swear at a student, and did a student shout at or swear at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 17.4 | 23.2 | -5.8 | 31.2 |
| Grammar school | 13.5 | 14.0 | -0.5 | 20.6 |
| Single profile grammar school | 10.3 | 11.0 | -0.7 | 17.5 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 23.8 | 22.9 | 0.9 | 35.7 |
| Vocational secondary school | 17.4 | 26.4 | -9.0 | 33.7 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 14.8 | 20.5 | -5.7 | 28.5 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 19.1 | 30.1 | -11.0 | 36.9 |
| Vocational school | 25.1 | 34.3 | -9.2 | 46.6 |
| Single profile vocational school | 30.0 | 37.3 | -7.3 | 54.0 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 23.3 | 32.8 | -9.5 | 43.7 |
| Total N | 926 | 924 | | |

Teachers in single profile grammar schools less often shouted and swore at students than the educators of mixed profile grammar school classes ($p=0.002$). The ratio of teachers victimised by student swearing at them differed within grammar schools ($p=0.006$) and vocational secondary schools ($p=0.036$).

Table 27

Humiliation between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you humiliate or ridicule a student, and did a student humiliate you or intentionally embarrass you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 16.5 | 12.0 | 4.5 | 24.0 |
| Grammar school | 13.6 | 11.8 | 1.8 | 20.3 |
| Single profile grammar school | 12.6 | 13.3 | -0.7 | 19.6 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 16.7 | 7.1 | 9.6 | 21.7 |
| Vocational secondary school | 20.8 | 12.5 | 8.3 | 28.4 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 26.8 | 9.8 | 17.0 | 35.1 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 16.9 | 14.2 | 2.7 | 24.2 |
| Vocational school | 12.9 | 11.2 | 1.7 | 21.5 |
| Single profile vocational school | 12.2 | 14.0 | -1.8 | 20.4 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 13.2 | 10.9 | 2.3 | 21.9 |
| Total N | 929 | 926 | | |

Vocational secondary school teachers humiliate students the most frequently (20.8 per cent). The comparable ratio is 7-8 percentage points lower for grammar school and vocational school teachers ($p=0.011$). Ratios for vocational secondary school teachers differ depending on whether they teach in single profile or mixed profile schools. A higher ratio of the former teachers reported that they had been humiliated or ridiculed by one of their students during the school year ($p=0.018$).

According to teachers, 11-12 per cent of teachers are victims of humiliation and ridicule by students in all the three school types.

Non-verbal violence

Based on teacher response, physical violence seldom occurs between teachers and students. Teacher-on-student physical violence varies between 2.2 per cent and 3.3 per cent across the three education types. Likewise, the average ratio of 1.9 per cent for undergoing student-on-teacher violence or "teacher beating" seems unanimous for the three types of education.

Table 28

Physical violence between teachers and students (%) (Question: During the school year did you push, pull, jostle, hit, or throw a hard object at a student, and did a student push, pull, jostle, hit you, or throw a hard object at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim | Difference | Ratio of those affected |
|--|-------------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| Total | 2.6 | 1.9 | 0.7 | 3.7 |
| Grammar school | 2.2 | 1.7 | 0.5 | 2.7 |
| Single profile grammar school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 2.5 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 3.5 |
| Vocational secondary school | 2.5 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 3.3 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 1.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 4.2 |
| Vocational school | 3.3 | 3.9 | -0.6 | 7.1 |
| Single profile vocational school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 15.7 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | n/a | n/a | ---- | 3.8 |
| Total N | 938 | 939 | | |

n/a.: non-analysable due to low item number

Violence between teachers and parents

Teachers typically report a low incidence of violence between teachers and parents. According to teacher responses, only parents' testy talk scored higher than 10 per cent. Overall, violence between teachers and parents appears to be negligible compared with student-on-student or student-on-teacher violence. At the same time, lower incidence can also cause major problems. For instance, parents' violent behaviour can encourage students to emulate such behaviour.

Verbal violence

5.4 per cent of teachers reported testy speech vis-à-vis parents. The ratio is slightly higher for teachers teaching vocational school classes (8.9 per cent), and is lower for teachers teaching vocational secondary school classes (3.8 per cent) ($p=0.045$). In contrast, nearly one-fifth of teachers claim that a parent spoke to them testily during the school year.

Table 29

Testy speech between teachers and parents (%) (Question: During the school year did you speak testily to a parent or other relative of a student, and did a parent or other relative of a student speak testily to you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim |
|--|-------------|--------|
| Total | 5.4 | 17.8 |
| Grammar school | 5.4 | 16.0 |
| Single profile grammar school | 5.5 | 16.4 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.7 | 14.5 |
| Vocational secondary school | 3.8 | 15.5 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 1.3 | 11.9 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 5.1 | 17.4 |
| Vocational school | 8.9 | 26.4 |
| Single profile vocational school | 8.0 | 26.0 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 9.3 | 26.6 |
| Total N | 923 | 922 |

Over a quarter of vocational school teachers reported falling victim to parents' testy speech. The comparable ratio for teachers of grammar school and vocational secondary school classes is 15 per cent and 16 per cent ($p=0.004$), respectively. The probability of parental violence is the greatest in vocational schools.

There is no statistically significant difference between single profile and mixed profile schools concerning the ratio of either perpetrators or victims.

Table 30

Shouting between teachers and parents (%) (Question: During the school year did you shout at a parent or another relative of a student, or did a parent or another relative of a student shout at you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim |
|--|-------------|--------|
| Total | 1.7 | 4.0 |
| Grammar school | n/a | 3.9 |
| Single profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational secondary school | n/a | 3.3 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational school | n/a | 5.6 |
| Single profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Total N | 927 | 926 |

n/a.: non-analysable due to low item number

Teachers and parents seldom shout at one another. Only 1.7 per cent of the teachers in the sample reported that they themselves had shouted at a parent or another relative of the student. As for being at the receiving end, 4 per cent of teachers claimed that parents shouted at them. Teachers in all three education types were victims of students shouting at them to the same extent.

Non-verbal violence

Table 31

Pushing, pulling, and jostling between teachers and parents (%) (Question: During the school year did you push, pull, or jostle a parent or another relative of the student, or did a parent or another relative of a student push, pull, and jostle you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim |
|--|-------------|--------|
| Total | 2.1 | 0.5 |
| Grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Total N | 926 | 820 |

n/a.: non-analysable due to low item number

Teachers and parents seldom push, pull, or jostle each other. 2.1 per cent of teachers have perpetrated this act, while 0.5 per cent have fallen victim to the same.

Table 32

Slap between teachers and parents (%) (Question: During the school year did you hit a parent or another relative of the student, or did a parent or another relative of a student hit you?)

| | Perpetrator | Victim |
|--|-------------|--------|
| Total | 1.6 | 1.0 |
| Grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile grammar school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | n/a | n/a |
| Vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Single profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Mixed profile vocational school | n/a | n/a |
| Total N | 927 | 925 |

n/a.: non-analysable due to low item number

The incidence of teachers hitting parents or parents hitting teachers is very low. 1.6 per cent of the teachers reported hitting a parent, with 1 per cent claiming that a parent hit them.

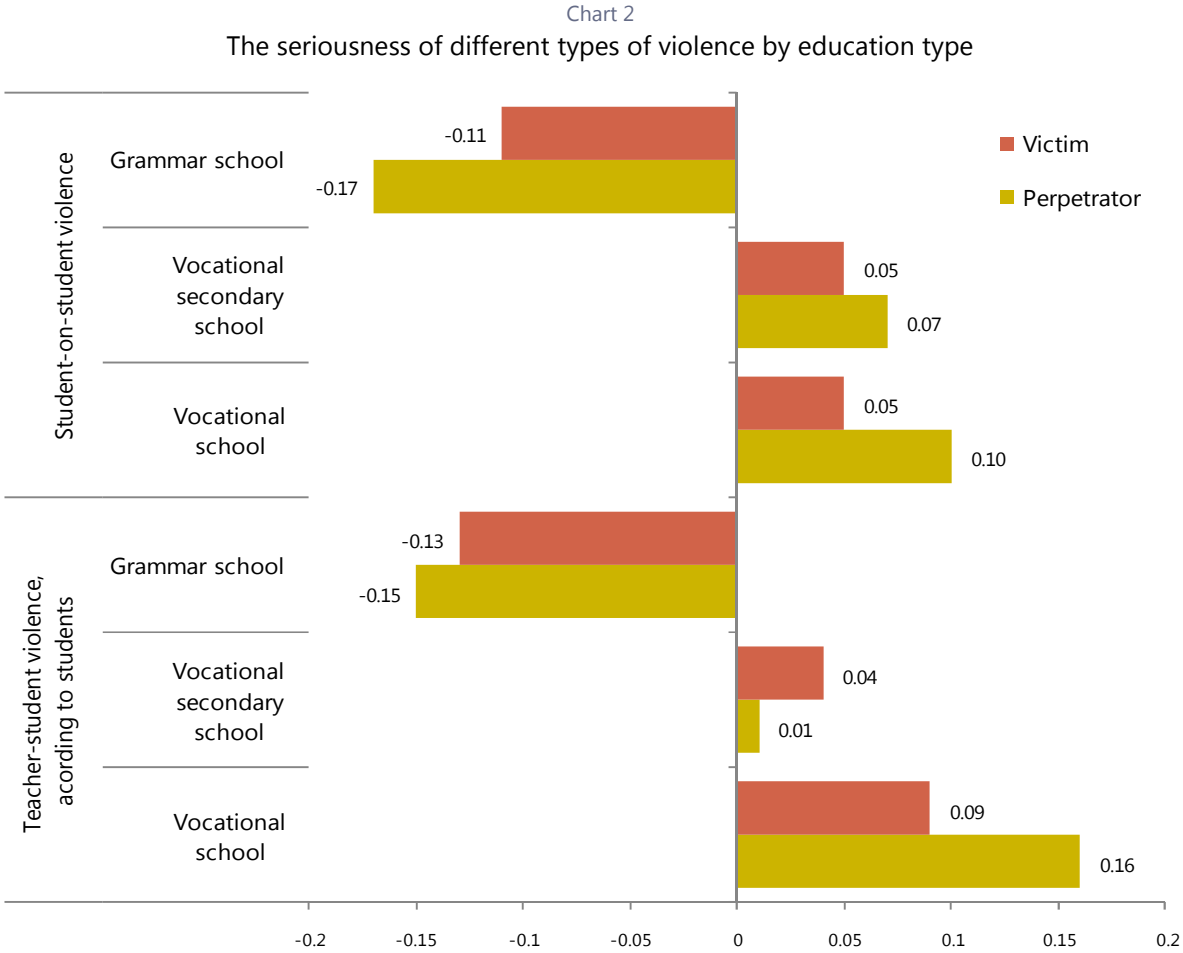
Aggregated indicators

In order to conduct a complex survey of the incidence of violence – and with a view to subsequent analyses – we created principal components out of the different relational violence indicators (student-on-student and teacher-on-teacher violence). Condensed into a single summarised index, these indicators demonstrate the frequency and seriousness of perpetrating and sustaining violence. The average of the principal components is 0, their deviation is 1. Their positive value means that the person concerned is the perpetrator/victim of violent acts with higher than average incidence. A negative value indicates that the respondent is perpetrator/victim of the violent act in question with lower than average incidence.

The findings are in line with the above. Student-on-student violence differs significantly within each individual education type. The incidence of perpetration of violent acts is lower than average among grammar school students and is the highest among vocational school students. However, even vocational secondary school students score higher than the national average. The incidence of victimisation is likewise the lowest in grammar schools. Although it is higher than average for the other two school types, it is characterised, at the same time, by the same extent. As noted earlier, when vocational school students are victimised, this can be coupled with a sense of shame, leading to greater concealment of the violence suffered than in the other two school types.

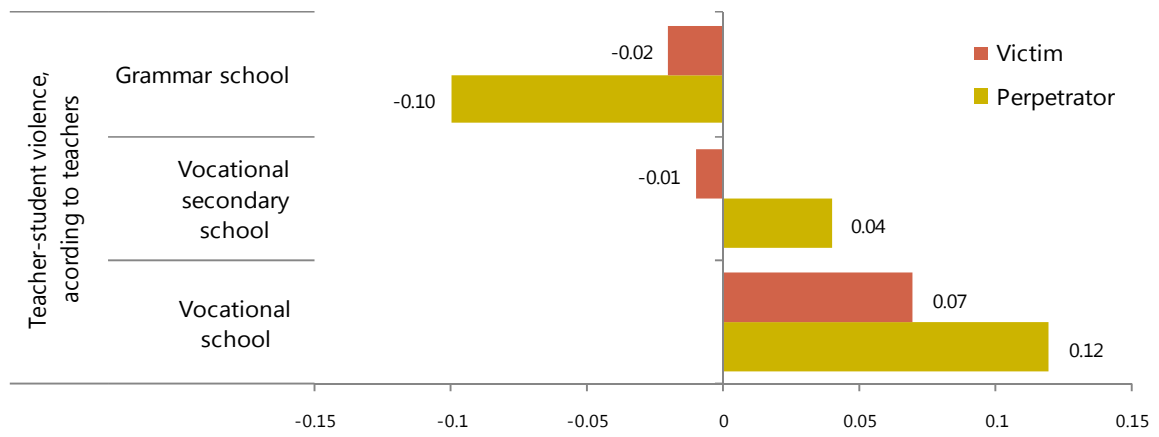
As regards teacher-on-student violence, student opinions suggest that the incidence of perpetrating or sustaining violence is significantly lower than average in grammar schools.

This figure is around average, albeit slightly higher in vocational secondary schools. And the incidence of this type of violence is the highest among vocational school students. There is no statistically significant difference between single profile and mixed profile schools. However, the typical trend seems to be that the incidence of both perpetration and victimisation is lower in single profile schools. (One exception is, for instance, teacher-on-student violence in vocational schools. Nonetheless, even here differences are insignificant.)



Based on the teachers' opinion, the incidence of being victimised by teacher-student violence does not show statistically significant differences across the different education types. However, the incidence of perpetration does. The incidence of perpetration of teacher-on-student violence is lower for grammar school teachers, while it is higher than average for vocational school teachers. Vocational secondary school teachers fall in-between. There is no significant difference between single profile and mixed profile schools.

Chart 3
The seriousness of violence by education type



7. Aggression as a personality trait (trait-aggression)

Aggressive personality trait and the circumstances of a given situation both influence the incidence of violent behaviour (Anderson – Bushman, 2002; Lawrence – Hodgkins, 2009).

Literature on psychology and sociology boasts of countless ways of measuring aggression. For years, the Buss-Durkee Aggression Questionnaire (Buss – Durkee, 1957) was one of the most frequently used scales for measuring aggression. This scale is based on self-reported behaviour. However, this scale exhibited numerous deficiencies and weaknesses. To remedy these, Buss and Perry created a more refined version (Buss – Perry, 1992). This version uses 29 items to measure personality trait aggression (aggression as personality trait.) Besides a total score, respondents' scores can also be calculated with respect to four subscales (physical aggression, verbal aggression, anger, hostility). Countless studies have investigated the questionnaire's validity and reliability (see, for instance, Harris 1997) and these found that the Buss-Perry Scale demonstrates powerful correlation with other scales for measuring aggression as well as with violent behaviour.

Because the test was long, Bryant – Smith (2001) created a shortened version of the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire, which retained 12 of the original items, and another three items per each subscale. The 12 items are as follows:

- Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.
- Sometimes I get furious for no good reason.
- I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things.
- I often find myself disagreeing with people.
- Some of my friends think I'm a hothead.
- I flare up quickly but get over it quickly.
- At times I feel life is hard.
- Other people always seem to give the breaks to me.
- I have trouble controlling my temper.
- I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me..
- I have caused other people to feel intimidated by me.
- There are people who pushed me so far that we finally came to blows.

Using a five-grade scale, respondents had to rate each item in terms of how characteristic the item statement was of them (1 = very uncharacteristic of me, 5 = very characteristic of me). A higher score is indicative of greater aggression.

Using the short form version Ang (2007), for instance, surveyed two samples comprising Singapore school children. The first sample comprised 331 grade 8 students, the second 370 students in grades 5-10. Scores by gender are as follows: boys – 28.34, girls – 28.14 (sample 1); boys – 29.00, girls – 26.76 (sample 2). Gallardo-Puyol et al. (2006) used three Spanish samples in their research: 1. 1,047 volunteers (16 – 75 year olds, average age: 33.34 years); 2. 81 students of the Police School of Catalonia (21 - 40 year olds, average age: 26.48 years); 3. 140 convicts (21 - 68 year olds, average age: 36.06 years). The total scores were 24.97, 18.59, and 27.14, respectively.

Table 33

Character trait aggression among students: Buss-Perry total score and scores broken down by subscale values

| | Total Score | Physical | Verbal | Anger | Hostility |
|--|-------------|----------|--------|-------|-----------|
| Total | 27.27 | 6.27 | 7.33 | 6.81 | 6.98 |
| Grammar school | 26.18 | 5.36 | 7.34 | 6.78 | 6.78 |
| Single profile grammar school | 25.91 | 5.24 | 7.30 | 6.74 | 6.70 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 26.85 | 5.67 | 7.44 | 6.87 | 6.98 |
| Vocational secondary school | 27.08 | 6.37 | 7.24 | 6.70 | 6.86 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 26.65 | 6.23 | 7.16 | 6.47 | 6.87 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 27.36 | 6.46 | 7.29 | 6.86 | 6.85 |
| Vocational school | 28.89 | 7.18 | 7.46 | 7.03 | 7.42 |
| Single profile vocational school | 28.63 | 7.05 | 7.24 | 7.01 | 7.45 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 28.99 | 7.23 | 7.54 | 7.04 | 7.40 |
| Total N | 4032 | 4233 | 4243 | 4272 | 4157 |

The Buss-Perry score shows significant ($p=0.000$) differences among grammar school, vocational secondary school, and vocational school students. Vocational schools produced the highest average score (28.89), grammar schools scored the lowest (26.18). Accordingly, aggression as a personality trait is the most characteristic of vocational schools, and is the least characteristic of grammar schools. Subscale differences are likewise significant ($p<0.05$). Physical aggression and hostility show a tendency similar to the total score and vocational secondary schools have the lowest scores for verbal aggression and anger.

The Buss-Perry total score is higher in the case of mixed profile schools. At the same time, this difference is only significant ($p=0.022$) with respect to grammar schools. Grammar school students attending single profile schools score lower on the subscales than their peers in other single profile schools. However, this difference is only significant with respect to physical aggression and hostility. Vocational school and vocational secondary school students attending single profile schools likewise score lower than their peers in other single profile schools. With respect to both groups, the hostility subscale is an exception. However, these differences are statistically insignificant.

Table 34

Personality trait aggression among teachers: Buss-Perry total score and scores broken down by subscale values

| | Total Score | Physical | Verbal | Anger | Hostility |
|--|-------------|----------|--------|-------|-----------|
| Total | 21.65 | 3.94 | 6.16 | 5.61 | 6.07 |
| Grammar school | 21.09 | 3.86 | 6.00 | 5.45 | 5.94 |
| Single profile grammar school | 21.17 | 3.90 | 6.06 | 5.47 | 5.96 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 20.85 | 3.71 | 5.80 | 5.37 | 5.87 |
| Vocational secondary school | 21.81 | 3.88 | 6.19 | 5.73 | 6.09 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 21.92 | 3.88 | 6.20 | 5.72 | 6.18 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 21.74 | 3.89 | 6.18 | 5.74 | 6.04 |
| Vocational school | 22.36 | 4.23 | 6.38 | 5.67 | 6.28 |
| Single profile vocational school | 22.55 | 4.29 | 6.66 | 5.62 | 6.44 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 22.29 | 4.21 | 6.27 | 5.69 | 6.21 |
| Total N | 892 | 938 | 931 | 941 | 916 |

We see a similar tendency among teachers. The Buss-Perry total score differs significantly among teachers teaching in the three education types ($p=0.030$). Grammar school teachers demonstrate the lowest rate of personality trait aggression (average score 21.09). Second in line are vocational secondary school teachers (21.81), while vocational school teachers revealed the highest rate of aggression (22.36). Examining individual subscales, we only find significant differences with respect to physical aggression ($p=0.004$). Similar rates of physical aggression in grammar schools and vocational secondary schools are significantly surpassed by vocational school teachers' physical aggression. Verbal aggression, anger and hostility subscale scores do not show significant differences among teachers of the three school types ($p>0.05$).

Examining single profile and mixed profile schools within the individual education types we find that the average scores ($p>0.2$) do not show statistically significant differences.

As seen, the results demonstrate that the higher incidence of acts of violence in vocational schools can partly be explained by a higher degree of aggression on the part of the members of the school community.

8. The correlation between the selection of school, social status and aggression

We asked grade 7 students in Budapest-based primary schools in what education type they would like to continue their studies after completing their eight-grade primary school education. Some 8 per cent of the students could not or would not respond this question. 55.4 per cent of the respondents willing to provide an answer chose grammar schools, 37.3 percent vocational secondary schools, and 7.3 per cent vocational schools.

Students wishing to continue their education in a grammar school came from families with higher educational qualifications than those in the two other groups. Some two-thirds of these students had mothers with a tertiary education qualification. The comparable ratio for the two other groups barely exceeds 30 per cent. Students heading for vocational secondary schools typically had mothers with a secondary school qualification, or mothers holding skilled worker’s qualifications. Students opting for vocational schools had the highest ratio of skilled worker mothers.

Table 35

The mother’s highest level of education broken down by their children’s choice of secondary education type (%)

| Choice of secondary education type | 8 years of primary school education at the most | Vocation school qualification | Grammar school or vocational secondary school baccalaureate | College diploma | University degree | N |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------|-----|
| Total | 5.8 | 17.6 | 26.2 | 24.3 | 25.9 | 686 |
| Grammar school | 1.3 | 11.7 | 22.1 | 29.4 | 35.5 | 394 |
| Vocational secondary school | 11.7 | 24.7 | 33.5 | 17.2 | 13.0 | 239 |
| Vocational school | 13.2 | 30.2 | 24.5 | 18.9 | 13.2 | 53 |

Parent’s labour market status likewise reveals a tendency in the choice of school. 87.8 per cent of students who are heading for a grammar school have two parents holding jobs. The comparable ratio for students planning to attend vocational schools is 10 percentage points lower.

Table 36

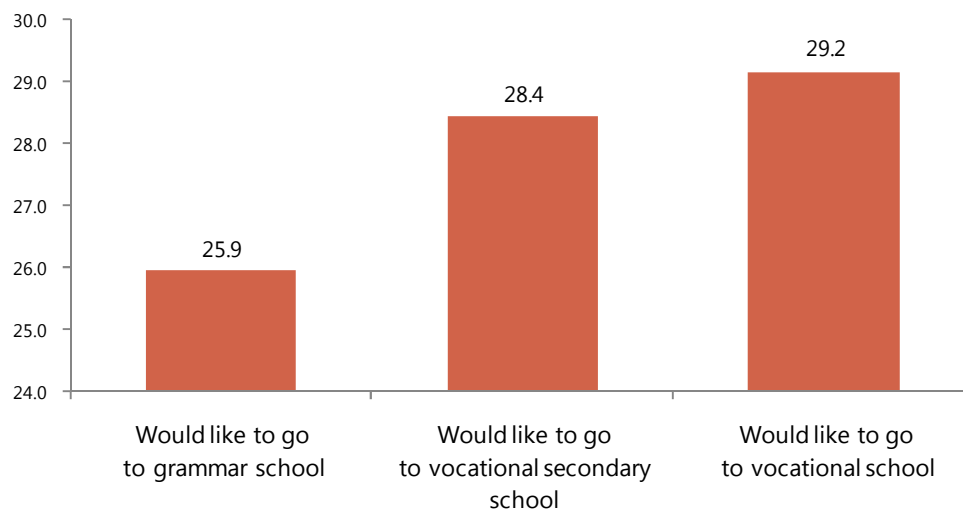
Parents' labour market status by their children's choice of secondary education type (%)

| Choice of secondary education type | Both parents have a job | At least one parent is out of work | N |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----|
| Total | 84.5 | 15.5 | 753 |
| Grammar school | 87.8 | 12.2 | 426 |
| Vocational secondary school | 80.6 | 19.4 | 273 |
| Vocational school | 77.8 | 22.2 | 54 |

A correlation also exists between choice of school and aggressive personality traits. Students heading for grammar schools are the least aggressive: they score 25.9 per cent on the Buss-Perry Aggression Scale. Students choosing vocational schools are the most aggressive with an average score of 29.2 per cent. Aggression, too, has a role in the school system's selection mechanism.

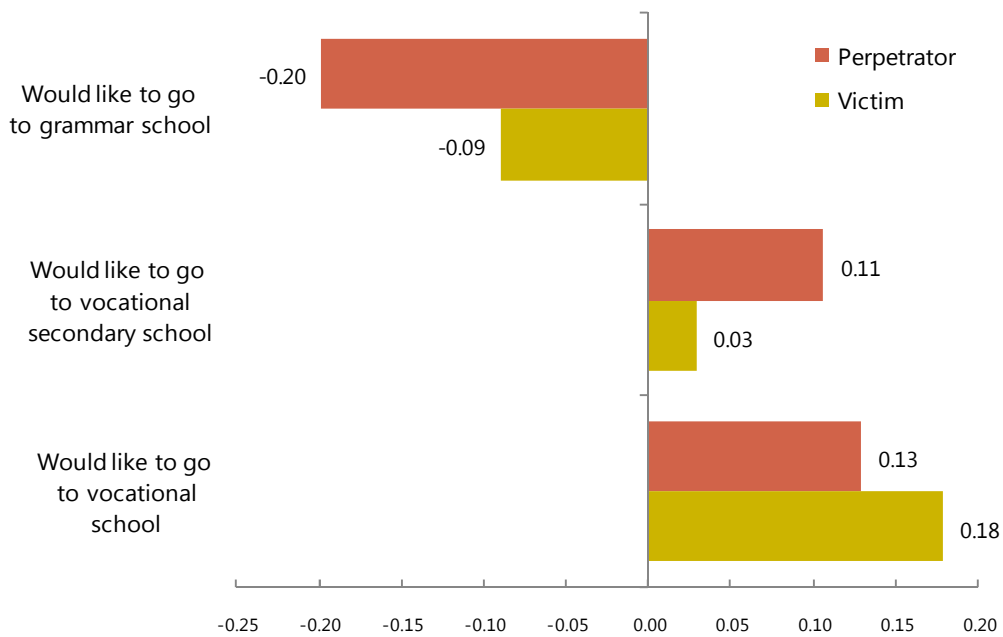
Chart 4

The average Buss-Perry Aggression Scale scores by choice of secondary education type



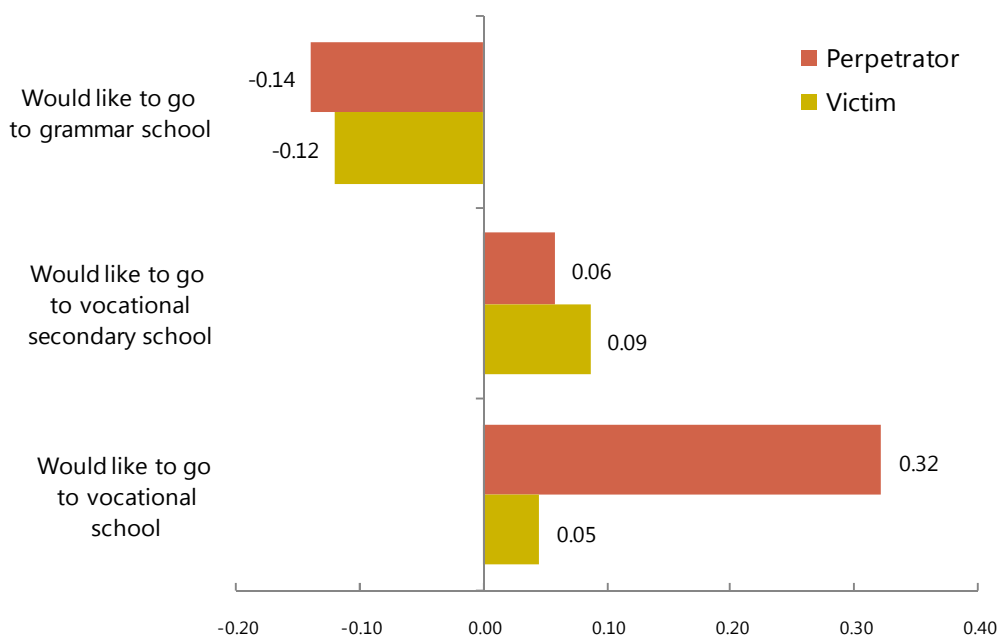
Students opting for grammar schools likewise achieved the lowest score on the scale of perpetrating student-on-student school violence. Perpetrating school violence is more characteristic than average of the cohort of students choosing vocational and vocational secondary schools to continue their education. Scores of victimhood show a similar tendency, albeit there is no statistically significant difference among the three groups.

Chart 5
The incidence of student-on-student violence by choice of secondary education type



The data on teacher-student violence show a similar pattern. Students heading for grammar schools score lower than average on the scale of both sustaining and committing violence. Students opting for vocational schools scored the highest on the scale of committing violence. And, similarly to students choosing vocational secondary schools, their score on the scale of sustaining violence is also higher than average.

Chart 6
The incidence of teacher-student violence by choice of secondary education type



The correlation between the well-known economic, cultural, academic attainment, and social status-related differences (Berényi et al. 2009, Nagy, 2007, Sáska, 1989), this study reveals

differences between the aggression traits of students choosing different education types. This difference may derive from students' different social and family backgrounds. At the same time, vocational schools and vocational secondary schools must grapple with the education of more aggressive students than grammar schools. And this is a significant consequence from the perspective of the issue at hand.

9. School maintainers and school violence

Investigation of violence by type of school maintainer reveals no statistically significant differences with respect to teacher-student violence. That is, the scales of sustaining and committing violence do not differ according to whether a school is operated by a county, the Budapest metropolitan, a municipal, a district local government, a church, a foundation, or any other maintainer. Analysis of the scales of sustaining and committing violence among students results in similar findings.

By contrast, performing the comparison using the scores attained with the help of the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire to uncover aggressive personality traits has led to the following findings. Students in foundation maintained schools scored the highest (28.2 points) on the personality aggression trait scale. Students in schools maintained by a church and other entities scored the lowest (26.5 points and 25.7 points, respectively). This state of affairs can be explained by the education system's selective character, the lack of means, methods and knowledge to deal with "problematic students", the choice of school, and schools' admission policies.

Foundation maintained schools are, to a lesser extent, elite training institutions. To a greater extent they educate problem students grappling with learning difficulties and other problems. Accordingly, the school atmosphere and culture of foundation schools appears to be successful at the prevention of violence. More aggressive students in these institutions encounter situations that "evoke" aggressive personality traits less frequently than average. In other words, compared with conventional educational institutions, foundation schools have a more efficient and effective pedagogical programme for these students.

10. Social status and school violence

Generally speaking, the parents' – and primarily the mothers' – education level is used as a simple indicator of students' social status in education sociology studies. In this study, we also follow this approach. Parent's education level is actually a kind of *indicator*, which signals a student's place in society. Parents with a low education level are largely situated on lower levels of the social scale, while those with high education levels are located on the higher levels. Obviously, this difference also affects the choice of school. Indeed, our research bears out that the mothers of students studying in grammar schools, vocational secondary schools and vocational schools have very different education levels. The differences are significant ($p=0.000$).

Table 37
The mother's highest level of education (%)

| | 8 years of primary school education at the most | Vocational school qualification | Grammar school or vocational secondary school baccalaureate | College level degree | University level degree | N |
|--|---|---------------------------------|---|----------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Total | 12.9 | 31 | 28.9 | 18.9 | 8.3 | 4107 |
| Grammar school | 4 | 19.5 | 28.9 | 31.2 | 16.4 | 1326 |
| Single profile grammar school | 2.9 | 13.5 | 28 | 36.1 | 19.6 | 936 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 6.7 | 33.9 | 31.1 | 19.5 | 8.7 | 389 |
| Vocational secondary school | 9.7 | 33.2 | 34.4 | 16.9 | 5.8 | 1705 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 7.1 | 30.3 | 34.6 | 21.4 | 6.5 | 676 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 11.4 | 35 | 34.3 | 14 | 5.3 | 1030 |
| Vocational school | 29 | 41.6 | 20 | 7.1 | 2.3 | 1076 |
| Single profile vocational school | 27.9 | 44.2 | 19.2 | 5.4 | 3.3 | 276 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 29.4 | 40.8 | 20.3 | 7.6 | 2 | 800 |

16.4 per cent of mothers raising grammar school students hold university degrees. Whereas the comparable ratio for those attending vocational secondary schools and vocational schools is 5.8 per cent and 2.3 per cent, respectively. A similar tendency is also characteristic of mothers with college degrees (7.1 per cent for vocational school students, 16.9 per cent for vocational secondary school students, and 31.2 per cent for grammar school students).

As we move from grammar school students towards vocational school students, there is a corresponding drop in the education level of students' mothers. Vocational secondary school students have the highest ratio of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school level education. The mothers of roughly a third of students (28.9 per cent of grammar school students and 20 per cent of vocational school students) have grammar school or vocational secondary school level education. The reverse tendency holds true to mothers holding a skilled worker's qualification and mothers having completed the eight grades of primary school education. 41.6 per cent of vocational secondary school students, 33.2 per cent of vocational school students, and 19.5 per cent of grammar school students have mothers with vocational qualifications. In fact, a mere 4 per cent of mothers of grammar school students have completed only the eight grades of primary school as their highest education level. The comparable ratio for mothers raising vocational secondary school students is two-and-a-half times higher (9.7 per cent). And it is over seven times higher (29 per cent) for mothers raising vocational school students. The structure of secondary school education mirrors social hierarchy.

If we examine the same correlation by the mother's education level rather than education type, a well-known picture confronts us.

Table 38
Education types by mothers' education level (%)

| Mothers' education level | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| 8 years of primary school education at the most | 10.0 | 31.1 | 58.9 | 100.0 |
| Vocational school qualification | 20.3 | 44.5 | 35.2 | 100.0 |
| Grammar school baccalaureate or vocational secondary school certificate | 32.3 | 49.5 | 18.1 | 100.0 |
| College degree | 52.2 | 37.0 | 9.8 | 100.0 |
| University degree | 63.6 | 29.0 | 7.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 32.3 | 41.5 | 23.2 | 100.0 |

There is an unequivocal separation of the paths of students from the lowest and the highest social strata. The majority of mothers with a tertiary education choose the grammar school. A lower ratio opts for vocational secondary schools that provide a secondary school certificate and some moderate support for continued studies in tertiary education. Only a small proportion of such mothers picks vocational schools. The main tendency in the choice of school is different for mothers with university degrees and for mothers with college degrees. The latter mother's children are not necessarily as unequivocally grammar school oriented as the children of the former in their choice of school. The children of mothers with a lower education level opt for vocational education and in particular for vocational schools, while the children of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school education attend vocational secondary schools.

Some education policies regard integrated education as a way to reduce segregation. They support the idea that different education types be organised within the same school. This enables the mingling of the cultures of students from different family backgrounds and diverse social strata, thus evening out, as it were, social impacts brought from home.

Our research shows that people on the higher levels of the social scale prefer to choose single profile as opposed to mixed profile or integrative education types. They follow the hierarchy of education types, but only with respect to grammar and vocational secondary schools. Such a difference is not observable with reference to vocational schools.

The education level of mothers of vocational secondary school students studying in single profile schools is significantly higher than that of mothers of students in mixed profile vocational secondary schools. There is a similar difference with respect to the two groups of grammar school students, too. The ratio of mothers with tertiary education to students in single profile schools is some 28-percentage points higher than the corresponding ratio of grammar school students in mixed profile schools.

School violence from the students' perspective

Below we first examine student-on-student violence, then teacher-student conflicts from the students' perspective.

Our society would be rather a predetermined one if the social status (measured roughly by education level) of 18-year-old students' mothers showed a correlation with their children's violent behaviour towards the children's schoolmates and teachers. On the whole, no such correlation exists. In other words, students' social status by no means predicates their involvement in acts of school violence. The children of mothers in identical social strata can behave differently, assume different types of behaviour in different education types of schools.

We must make it clear that we do not know how many persons in the 17-18-year-old population attend schools and how many do not. Population census data for the adult population and voluminous research findings show that the children of parents with a lower education level exit the school system early. We must presume that the majority of children of mothers with vocational secondary school education or with a lower education level are no longer in the school system.

Table 39

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with eight years of primary school education as their highest education level, and the incidence of violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, by education type

| | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: perpetrators | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: victims |
|----------------|---|--|
| Grammar school | -0.19 | -0.04 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|------|
| Vocational secondary school | 0.05 | 0.01 |
| Vocational school | -0.01 | 0.02 |
| Total | -0.01 | 0.01 |

There is statistically negligible difference by education type in the behaviour of 17-year-old school children of mothers on the lower levels of the social scale, whose highest education level is the primary school. It does appear, however, that grammar school children from this social stratum commit fewer acts of verbal or physical violence against their fellow students than their peers who chose other education types. They are a distinct minority, accounting for ten per cent of the students in this group. The likelihood of falling victim to student-on-student violence is almost identical in all education types.

By comparison, the grammar school children of mothers with vocational secondary school education demonstrate an identical incidence of perpetrated violence. However, they also seem to be more protected from the violence of their older peers. Accordingly, they account for a higher ratio (20 per cent) of their cohort, and are better behaved than their peers one level lower on the social scale. However, this only holds true with respect to grammar schools. In the other two education types the level of student-on-student violence they perpetrate or fall victim to equals the average for their own social stratum.

Table 40

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with vocational secondary school education, and the incidence of violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, by education type

| | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: perpetrators | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: victims |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Grammar school | -0.23 | -0.14 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.00 | -0.05 |
| Vocational school | 0.07 | -0.03 |
| Total | -0.02 | -0.06 |

There is a statistically significant difference by education type ($p=0.001$) in the incidence of verbal and non-verbal student-on-student violence perpetrated by school children of mothers with vocational secondary school education (no correlation exists with respect to falling victim to the same). The research we conducted in grade 7 of primary school leads us to conjecture that students were *a priori* different in this regard. We do not, however, know whether schools in the different education types have amplified or mitigated this personality trait. It is not causality that we speak of here, but the close co-occurrence between these two phenomena.

We are now aware that the likelihood of violent acts by grade 11 grammar school students from this stratum is most certainly lower compared with their peers' from identical family backgrounds in vocational education and in particular in vocational schools. The research conducted among grade 7 students appears to indicate that the less aggressive children from this social stratum make it to grammar school. The more aggressive pupils end up in vocational secondary education, especially in vocational schools.

32.3 per cent of the children of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school education attend grammar schools; 49.5 per cent attends vocational secondary schools, and 18.1 per cent goes to vocational schools. There is likewise a high correlation ($p=0.000$) between education type and the incidence of school violence, both on the sides of perpetrators and victims.

Table 41

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school education, and the level of violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, by education type

| | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: perpetrators | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: victims |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Grammar school | -0.24 | -0.19 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.10 | 0.06 |
| Vocational school | 0.16 | 0.13 |
| Total | -0.00 | -0.01 |

This social cohort also subdivides into three groups by their violence culture. The least aggressive are grammar school students. Vocational school students are the most aggressive either because they ended up in that school, or because they became aggressive. Falling victim to violence reveals the same pattern. Put differently, the grammar school's protective prowess is the greatest and that of vocational schools is the weakest.

It should be noted that in grammar schools the children of mothers with vocational secondary school or grammar school education are the most reluctant perpetrators of violence. On the other hand, they also the least likely to fall victim to it.

The highest ratio (56.4 per cent) of the children of mothers with tertiary education attend grammar schools, the lowest ratio (9 per cent) vocational schools. There is a significant correlation between school choice and violence on the side of both perpetrators and victims ($p=0.000$, and $p=0.003$, respectively).

Table 42

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with tertiary education, and the incidence of violence the children of the same mothers fall victim to, by education type

| | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: perpetrators | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: victims |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Grammar school | -0.12 | -0.06 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.10 | 0.14 |
| Vocational school | 0.24 | 0.23 |
| Total | -0.01 | 0.04 |

A low ratio (4.9 per cent) of students from the society's upper classes attends vocational school. Likewise, a low ratio (10.0 per cent) of the children of under-educated mothers are grammar school students. The minority coming from the lower levels are the most peaceful of their cohort in the grammar schools. On the other hand, the minority of the children of mothers with higher education levels attending vocational schools, where they mingle with numerous students from undereducated social strata, turn out to be the most violent. The situation of vocational secondary school children of mothers with tertiary education is similar to those of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school education. The students of these two groups are the most violent and are the most likely to fall victim to violence in classes where students are mostly from families with lower education levels. Well-nigh ten per cent (9.4 per cent) of vocational school students are the children of mothers with the highest education level; and 20 per cent of their mothers have completed grammar school or vocational secondary school education. In short, this group scores the highest on the aggression scale.

Teacher-student violence from the student's perspective

We have shown how diverse education types correlate with student-on-student and student-on-teacher violence, both on the sides of perpetrators and victims. The incidence of both of these acts is the lowest in grammar schools and the highest in vocational schools. From the perspective of students with different social backgrounds in school classes of different education types, the overall non-verbal (i.e. mostly physical), physical and verbal student-on-teacher and student-on-student violence – both on the sides of perpetrators and victims – likewise shows an identical pattern. This is in line with the selection of students, but is present to different degrees in different education types.

The incidence of teacher-student school violence by education type

The data for 17-year-old students from the lowest layers of the social scale show no significant correlation between education type and student-on-student or student-on-teacher violence either on the sides of perpetrators or victims.

Table 43

The incidence of violence perpetrated against teachers by the children of mothers with eight years of primary school education, and the level of teacher violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, based on student opinion

| | Student-on-teacher verbal and physical violence | Teacher-on-student verbal and physical violence |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Grammar school | -0.18 | -0.01 |
| Vocational secondary school | -0.02 | -0.02 |
| Vocational school | 0.13 | 0.01 |
| Total | 0.05 | 0.00 |

Grammar school children whose mothers have completed eight years of primary school education show very low levels of student-on-teacher violence.

There is a modest correlation ($p=0.017$) between student-on-teacher violence with the education type of the given class in the case of grade 11 students whose mothers hold vocational secondary school education. (There is no significant correlation in the incidence of teacher-on-student violence.) In short, grammar school students from this type of background are the least likely and vocational secondary school students are the most likely to perpetrate student-on-teacher violence in their schools. Compared with the incidence of violence perpetrated against their classmates, there is far lower incidence of student-on-teacher violence in grammar schools, with the same incidence being nearly identical in the two other education types.

Table 44

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with grammar school or vocational school education against their teachers, and the level of teacher violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, based on student opinion

| | Student-on-teacher verbal and physical violence | Teacher-on-student verbal and physical violence |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Grammar school | -0.20 | -0.20 |
| Vocational secondary school | -0.06 | 0.00 |
| Vocational school | 0.18 | 0.35 |
| Total | -0.06 | 0.00 |

Grammar school teachers are the safest from student-on-teacher violence in the case of students coming from the lowest levels of the society, mainly those whose mothers have grammar school or vocational secondary school education. By contrast, vocational school teachers face a higher than average danger of student-on-teacher violence.

A close correlation exists between the incidence of student-on-teacher and teacher-on-student violence among students coming from social backgrounds where mothers have grammar school or vocational secondary school education. With respect to both, a decrease in violence from grammar schools toward vocational schools is obvious. Where there is violence, it exists as violence in both directions. Further, it sheds light on the state of affairs in vocational schools that the children of mothers with grammar school or vocational secondary school education report expressly strong teacher violence. They probably have serious conflicts with their teachers and vice versa.

Table 45

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with tertiary education against their teachers, and the level of teacher violence which the children of the same mothers fall victim to, based on student opinion

| | Student-on-teacher verbal and physical violence | Teacher-on-student verbal and physical violence |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Grammar school | -0.13 | -0.09 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.06 | 0.14 |
| Vocational school | 0.53 | 0.11 |
| Total | 0.00 | 0.01 |

7.3 per cent of students with mothers with tertiary education attend schools providing vocational training. This group is ostensibly not as homogeneous as it might include students with both high and low incidence of student-on-teacher violence.

The vocational school students with mothers holding tertiary education – who presumably reject the values prevalent in grammar schools and perhaps even in primary schools - are particularly violent vis-à-vis their teachers. Though, still not to the extent that holds true to their peers in this education type with mothers holding grammar school or vocational secondary school education.

Table 46

The incidence of violence perpetrated by the children of mothers with tertiary education, and the incidence of violence the children of the same mothers fall victim to, by education type

| | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: perpetrators | Student-on-student verbal and physical violence: victims |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Grammar school | -0.12 | -0.06 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.10 | 0.14 |
| Vocational school | 0.24 | 0.23 |
| Total | -0.01 | 0.04 |

Student reports of teacher-on-student violence and falling victim to violence by fellow students reveal a more or less identical picture. It is necessary to provide an explanation why vocational secondary school students consistently report a higher incidence of being victimised by violence versus the perpetration of the same act. One possible explanation is that vocational secondary school students did not embark upon the grammar school path of education leading directly to university studies, and do not accept, or find it hard to accept, their vocational secondary school status. However, they present themselves as non- or moderately violent, preferring the adoption of the role of the victim. It is contrary to the situation of vocational school children of mothers with grammar school, vocational secondary school and tertiary education, who comprise the most violent groups compared with their vocational school peers coming from social strata of an identical level of education.

11. Teachers' qualifications and professional experience

Gender distribution by school type

The majority of educators teaching grade 11 students are women. Nonetheless, a class's education type fundamentally determines whether a male or a female educator teaches the class participating in our investigation ($p=0.000$).

Table 47
The gender distribution of teacher respondents (%)

| | Male | Female | N |
|--|------|--------|-----|
| Total | 36.1 | 63.9 | 890 |
| Grammar school | 27.9 | 72.1 | 341 |
| Single profile grammar school | 27.3 | 72.7 | 260 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 28.8 | 71.2 | 80 |
| Vocational secondary school | 38.3 | 61.7 | 373 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 47.6 | 52.4 | 147 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 32.3 | 67.7 | 226 |
| Vocational school | 47.2 | 52.8 | 176 |
| Single profile vocational school | 54.0 | 46.0 | 50 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 45.2 | 54.8 | 126 |

Men account for a mere 27 per cent of grammar school teachers. Their ratio is higher, 38.3 per cent, in vocational secondary schools. And nearly half (47.2 per cent) of vocational school teachers are male. In other words, schools with a vocational profile have a marked masculine character. Presumably this is because some of the trades taught involve manual activities traditionally regarded as "male" jobs: these trades are not taught by women. The feminisation of the grammar school career path means that only one in three or four grammar school teachers are men, and these men mainly see women around themselves. This might have an impact on the way they express their violence. As we will see later, it may well occur that neither female teachers nor students engage in physical violence, nevertheless, they do get involved in verbal aggression.

Essentially, there is an equal ratio of male and female teachers in both single and mixed profile grammar schools. The same does not, however, hold true to education types offered in vocational secondary schools ($p=0.003$). The ratio of male teachers is 32.3 per cent in mixed profile vocational secondary schools. It is higher, 47.6 per cent in single profile vocational secondary schools. Female teachers account for a higher ratio of educators in integrated or mixed profile schools than in their single profile counterparts. This might be explained by the fact that some mixed profile vocational and vocational secondary schools also offer grammar school and/or primary school education, which latter ones are staffed by

far more female teachers than men. Although female teachers also account for a higher ratio of educators in vocational schools located in mixed profile school environments than in single profile school environments, this difference is insignificant.

The incidence of male and female violence among teachers

Here we wish to reiterate that teachers' opinion on violence extends to all of the schools' students, and not just to the students in the surveyed classes. Teachers' responses reveal that male teachers are more likely to act violently towards their students. And female teachers appear less likely to do so, however, the difference is not significant. By contrast, students who act violently towards their teachers certainly make no distinction by gender. There is a similarity with students in this area: female students, too, are less violent than their male peers. On the other hand, the difference between students' behaviour is far more striking. They do have women's gender role in common with female educators. However, the teaching profession slightly overrides all this.

Table 48
Teacher-student violence by gender, from the teachers' perspective

| The teacher's gender | Teacher-on-student verbal and physical violence | Student-on-teacher verbal and physical violence |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Male | 0.10 | -0.08 |
| Female | -0.06 | -0.06 |
| Total | -0.00 | -0.00 |

p=0.018, p=0.207

Students make no distinction between male and female teachers in terms of violence directed at them.

As the teachers see it, the incidence of violence against their own students is lower than average in grammar schools and is the highest in vocational schools. At the same time, within the given education type, male and female teachers are, in their own view, equally violent towards their own students, with no significant difference in their behaviour. The incidence of student-on-teacher violence does not, according to the teachers, depend on education type and its incidence is low.

The teachers' qualifications

Statutory provisions govern teachers' terms of employment, which are binding on schools

Article 17 (1) e) of Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education stipulates that in grade 9 of secondary school and above, educators must hold a *university level teacher* qualification in the appropriate subject to teach the given subject and an appropriate teacher's qualification in the case of the subjects of arts, physical education, and crafts–practical studies.

There are, however, teacher jobs for which any education level, including the college diploma, will suffice. Point i) of the aforesaid Act sets forth that in vocational secondary schools and

vocational schools, teachers conducting vocational practical subjects are required to hold a *teacher's* qualifications appropriate to the subject taught, or a tertiary education qualification appropriate to the subject taught. And the same holds true in grammar schools with respect to teachers who prepare students for entering the job market by teaching theoretical and practical classes.

It comes as no surprise that 98.8 per cent of the grade 11 teachers surveyed hold tertiary education qualifications. Neither is it surprising that the ratio of teachers with college (versus university) diplomas is higher in vocational educational institutions. Teachers' educational qualifications differ by the class's education type ($p=0.000$). Teachers with university degrees work in grammar schools. Teachers with college diplomas or lower level qualifications teach in vocational schools. This discrepancy is just as responsible for forming a hierarchy as we saw with respect to the parents' education level above.

Table 49
Respondent teachers' education level (%)

| | University degree | College diploma | Qualification level lower than college diploma | N |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|--|-----|
| Total | 76.2 | 22.6 | 1.2 | 979 |
| Grammar school | 91.9 | 7.9 | 0.3 | 372 |
| Single profile grammar school | 94.6 | 5.1 | 0.3 | 287 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 82.7 | 17.3 | 0.0 | 85 |
| Vocational secondary school | 77.5 | 21.7 | 0.8 | 410 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 81.4 | 18.6 | 0.0 | 162 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 74.9 | 23.8 | 1.3 | 248 |
| Vocational school | 43.9 | 52.1 | 4.0 | 197 |
| Single profile vocational school | 31.3 | 60.1 | 8.6 | 54 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 48.6 | 49.1 | 2.3 | 143 |

91.9 per cent of grammar school teachers hold a university degree. The ratio for vocational secondary school and vocational school teachers is 77.5 per cent and 43.9 per cent, respectively. The difference cannot be attributed merely to practical training. After all, the ratio of college diplomas is far higher (52.1 per cent) for vocational school teachers than for their vocational secondary school and grammar school peers (21.7 per cent and 7.9 per cent, respectively). It is only in vocational schools that teachers with a qualification level lower than a college diploma account for more than one per cent of educators (4 per cent).

The teaching staff of integrated or mixed profile schools shows a similar diversity. Presumably, the constraint of providing teachers with a set minimum number of classes to

teach per week compels school managements to assign teachers with college diplomas to classes where the law would otherwise not allow so. As regards grammar schools, there is a significant difference ($p=0.002$) between single profile and mixed profile schools. The ratio of teachers with university degrees in grammar school classes in mixed profile schools is lower (82.7 per cent), while that of those with a college diploma is higher (17.3 per cent) compared with the corresponding ratios for single profile grammar schools (94.6 per cent and 5.1 per cent, respectively). Presumably, these schools also offer vocational secondary school and primary school education, since a college diploma is sufficient for teaching in institutions of these education types. A similarly trended, albeit not significant, difference is apparent in vocational secondary school classes in integrated profile schools. Here, presumably, teachers' education level is lower than in vocational secondary schools comprising only vocational secondary school classes, which is probably due to the fact that these integrated profile schools also offer vocational school education. Vocational school data, too, appear to substantiate this supposition. This is the case despite the lack of a significant difference in teacher education levels between single profile and mixed profile schools. A tendency seems to unfold whereby teachers with higher professional qualifications teach in vocational schools that also offer grammar school or vocational secondary school education.

We have found no difference in teacher-on-student violence or in student-on-teacher violence either by gender, school type, or education level (university degree or college diploma). In short, none of the above are factors that would boost differences. In this regard, there is actually no difference between college and university education. Or if there still is, then the prevailing culture in schools overrides it.

Teaching experience

Education type correlates with the number of years working in teaching jobs ($p=0.006$). The table below demonstrates that whereas grammar school teachers have, on average, been in the profession for 18.13 years, vocational secondary school teachers have a lower average of years on the job (15.83). Vocational school teachers are positioned somewhere in-between: they have been teaching for an average of 16.57 years. The most extensive teaching experience has accumulated in grammar schools. And, presumably, this also contributes to a more efficient handling of school violence. This, too, is a factor in grammar schools' lower incidence of violence.

There is no significant difference between single profile and mixed profile schools in this regard.

Table 50
The experience of respondent teachers

| | Average of years in teaching jobs | N |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Total | 16.8 | 969 |
| Grammar school | 18.1 | 362 |
| Single profile grammar school | 18.6 | 277 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 16.6 | 85 |
| Vocational secondary school | 15.8 | 410 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 16.0 | 162 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 15.7 | 248 |
| Vocational school | 16.6 | 197 |
| Single profile vocational school | 16.0 | 54 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 16.8 | 143 |

The level of professional experience and the incidence of teacher-on-student and student-on-teacher violence

Based on the number of years on the job, we divided respondent teachers into four groups of equal-size. We define teachers with shorter than 9 years of experience as being at the beginning of their career. The second group comprises teachers with 10-16 years of experience. The third group of teachers has 17-25 years under their belt. And the last group consists of teachers with over 26 years in the profession and is composed of about the same number of educators as the former group.

Table 51
The teacher-student violence scale by professional experience, from the teachers' perspective

| Number of years in teaching jobs | Teacher-on-student verbal and physical violence | Student-on-teacher verbal and physical violence |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 0-9 | 0.10 | 0.08 |
| 10-16 | 0.07 | 0.10 |
| 17-25 | -0.06 | -0.03 |
| Over 26 | -0.11 | -0.15 |
| Total | 0.00 | 0.00 |

$p=0.09$, $p=0.03$

There is no correlation between teacher-on-student violence and teachers' experience in the field. There is, however, correlation between student-on-teacher violence and teaching

experience. This is what explains, albeit to some extent, teachers' violence status. Neither their gender, their tertiary education level (university degree or college diploma), nor even the education type in which they teach correlates with their violence status. It is solely the number of years teaching in school that counts. In other words, probably the experience and knowledge – perhaps characteristic of the profession – that has been acquired individually and in the teaching staff, as well as the authority vis-à-vis their students established over years, provided that teachers' culture does not fundamentally change during decades spent in teaching jobs. For we cannot determine whether younger teachers represent a different type of culture than their older colleagues, or whether they are at the beginning of their professional-methodological socialisation.

It certainly appears that the advantage of experience acquired during the years in the profession vis-à-vis prevention of student-on-teacher violence is the most characteristic of grammar schools and of vocational schools the least. The same is not clear among education types with respect to teacher-on-student violence. Grammar school teachers with 10-16 years of experience appear to be in a significantly better situation than their colleagues in the two other education types. Teachers at the beginning of their career everywhere report higher than average teacher-on-student and student-on-teacher violence.

12. Interpersonal relationships and violence

The correlation between interpersonal relationships and violence has been examined in several contexts in our research. In the following, we present a few of these contexts.

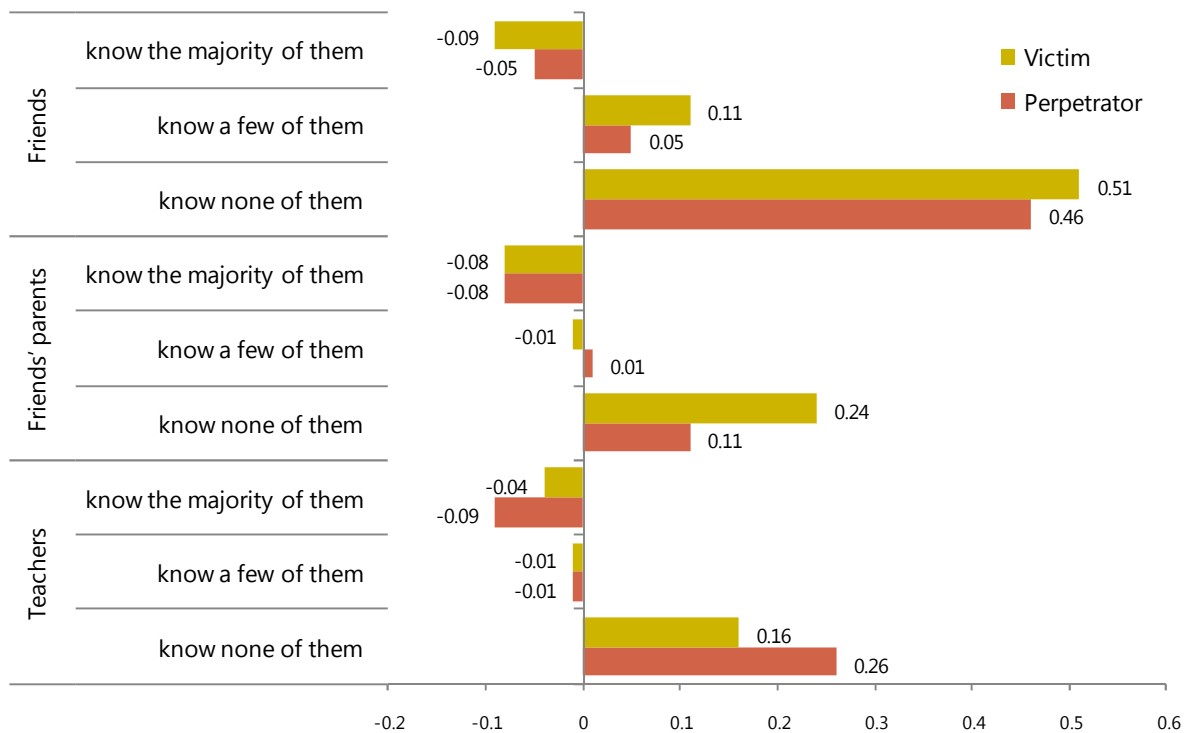
Family control

One cannot overemphasise the importance of parental supervision (Coleman, 1998) when analysing school violence (Herrenkohl et al., 2000). In our questionnaire we asked students if the parents knew their friends, the parents of their friends and their teachers. The socio-cultural relations prevalent at home are reflected in the interest parents take in their school children's social environment. Of these three aspects of acquaintance, knowing friends is what particularly matters. In families where they tend to monitor whom their children befriend, such attention entails a strong chance that school violence is prevented. Students whose parents are not acquainted with any of their friends are much more likely than average to sustain student-student violence at school, and are equally inclined to commit such acts. At the same time, the occurrence of both committing and sustaining violence significantly diminishes if the parents know a few of the friends.

In case the parents know the teachers and some of the friends' parents this decrease the instances of violence to a close to average rate among the students with regard to both committing and sustaining violence. These data suggest that acquaintance between the teachers and the parents functions as a preventive factor primarily in respect of committing violence, and the relationship with friends' parents first of all protects students from sustaining violence.

Student-teacher violence is apparently not related to being familiar with the parents of one's friends, while similarly to student-student violence, knowing the friends and the teachers curbs the rate of both committing and sustaining violence.

Chart 7
Relationship between parents' interest in the social environment of their children and inter-student school violence



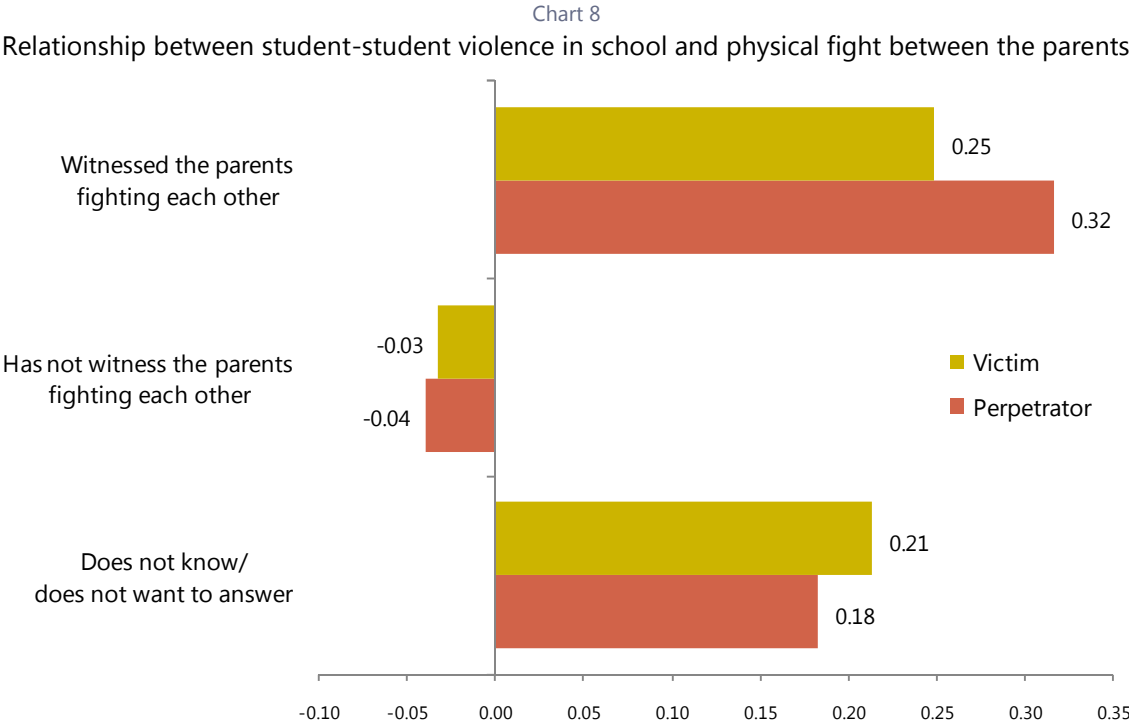
On the whole, the relationship between education type and the control exercised through parental attention seems to become stronger as we proceed from vocational schools to grammar schools. The parents of grammar school students are the most likely to be familiar with the majority of the above three groups, while parents not knowing any of them tend to be those of students enrolled in vocational schools. Acquaintance with the children's friends and the parents of those friends or maintaining contact with the children's teachers are mainly inherent in the culture of families of higher social status with a better socio-economic background, while these ties are weak or absent among the parents of students at vocational schools. The greatest difference can be observed in the relationship with teachers: 18.1 percent of the parents of vocational school students know none of the teachers of their children, while only 5.3 percent of grammar school students reported this to be the case. On the other hand, the proportion of parents familiar with the majority of the teachers is 27.3 percent in the former group and 38.0 percent in the latter one.

The culture of conflict management in the family

The effect of the patterns and norms acquired in the family has relevance not only in terms of the forms violent behaviour takes, but also in the case of conflict management techniques. The more so, because due to the special characteristics of adolescence, parent-child conflicts are inevitable; nonetheless, their intensity, resolution or unresolvedness determines the degree of frustration in children: their self-esteem and self-confidence just as much as their sociability.

One of the strongest indicators of the culture of conflict management in the family is how parents handle their conflicts and if they engage in a physical fight as a last resort. Where this has happened – i.e. the children have seen their parents fighting physically –, the child will display a higher level of violence. Children not having witnessed a physical fight between their parents have a tendency below average to commit a violent act against their peers in school and also become victims of such acts less often than average, while respondents claiming to have seen their parents engage in a physical fight scored higher than average on both scales of violence. The majority of those refusing to give an answer did not respond presumably on account of traumatising or because they were protecting the image of their family, since, similarly to the latter group, they too reveal a higher than average rate of sustaining and committing violence.

The same correlation appears when examining student-teacher violence. Students having seen their parents physically fighting will behave more violently towards their teachers and more often report being the subject of violent acts committed by their teachers.

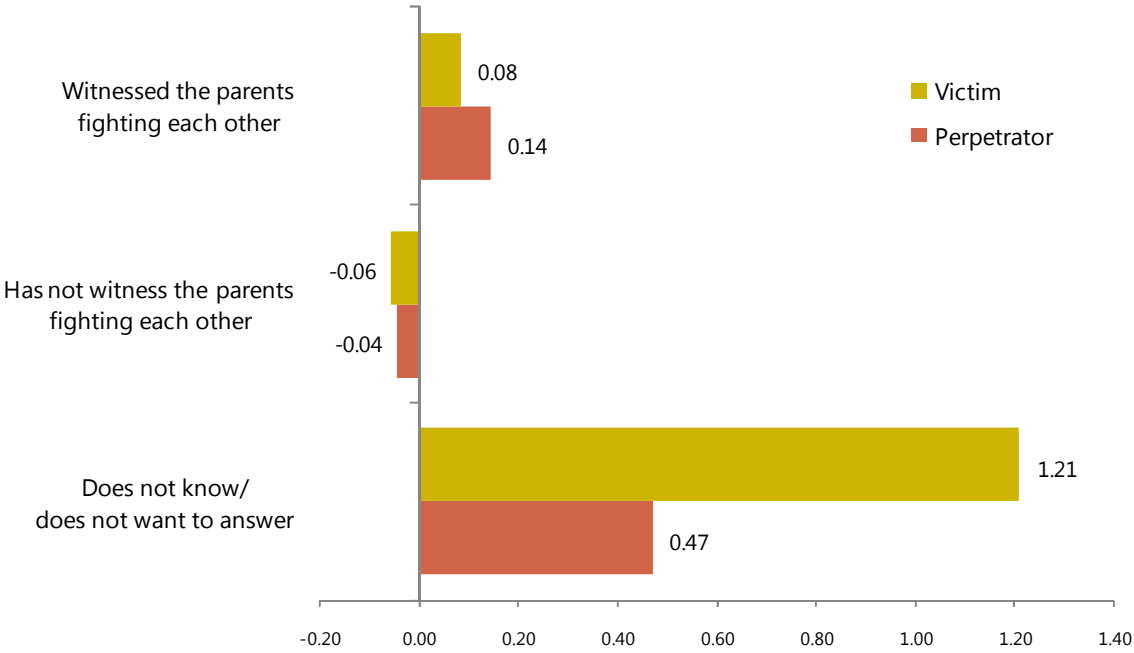


The ratio of students who have witnessed a physical fight between their parents differs across the three types of education the students attend. 10.9 percent of vocational school students, 7.9 percent of students in vocational secondary schools and 7.1 of grammar school students belong to this group. The proportion of those refusing to give an answer shows a similar distribution: this rate is the highest among vocational school students and the lowest with grammar school students. Here again, the connection between the conflict management culture of parents, the education type selected and the socio-economic background of the family are the primary defining factors.

The results are very similar in the case of teachers except that we suspect the protection of the family image and the private sphere to be the cause of refusing to answer the related

questions, as those unwilling to give an answer have scored the highest on the scales of both committing and sustaining violence. The difference between the aggression index scores of those witnessing a physical fight between the parents and those not seeing their parents fighting each other is less sharp than in the case of students, indicating that this effect diminishes over time, yet it is still present after years and decades.

Chart 9
 Relationship between student-teacher violence in school and physical fight between the parents, based on the answers provided by teachers



Some 9 percent of teacher respondents saw a physical fight between their parents in their childhood years. This ratio reveals no difference across the three education types. This is not at all surprising as it is hard to assume that during one’s teaching career childhood traumatisation would influence the selection of workplace, i.e. education type. Rather, this kind of events has a selective effect during childhood and adolescence in respect of further studies.

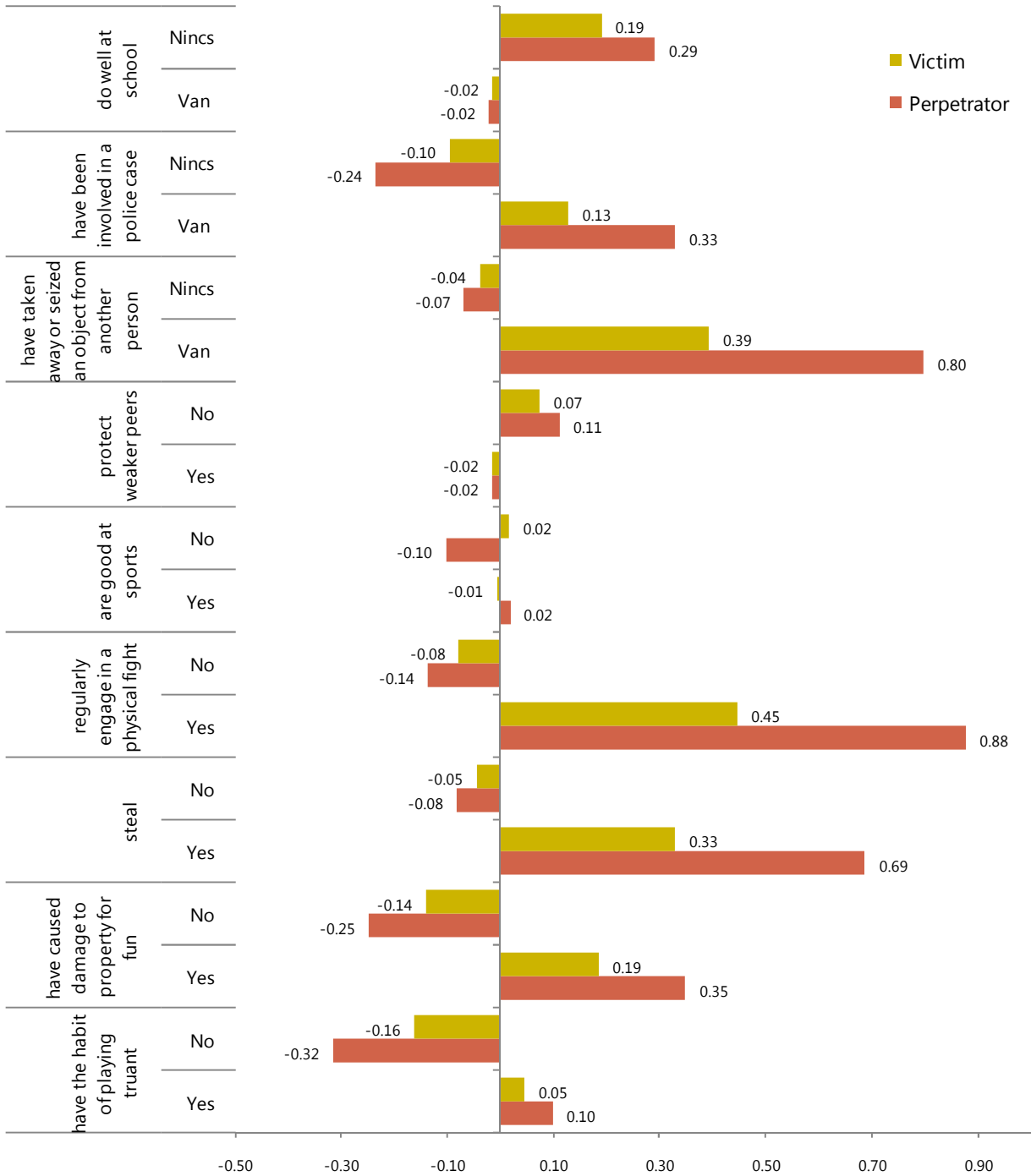
Peer relationships

The number of friends a school children has is an important protective factor in avoiding becoming a victim of violence (Buda et al., 2008; Mihály, 2003), whereas violent friends pose a serious risk. As the chart below shows, the tendency to become a victim is higher for students whose friends include peers who regularly engage in physical fights, have committed robbery, steal, have caused damage to property for fun, have the habit of playing truant or have been involved in a police case than in the case of students not having such friends. The difference between the two groups in terms of perpetration is even more striking, that is, violent friends constitute a risk factor mainly in respect of committing violence; however, they also increase the occurrence of becoming a victim. Friends who protect weaker peers or do well at school represent a preventive factor.

Chart 10

Relationship between student-student violence in school and the acts and character traits of students' friends

Do you have any friends who



The results are similar when looking at student-teacher violence. Students with violent friends behave more aggressively towards their teachers as well, and they claim to be more vulnerable to teacher violence, which in many cases may be a reaction to students' behaviour. Having violent friends is most typical of vocational school students, while grammar school students have the fewest violent friends. One of the greatest differences emerges with regard

to friends who regularly engage in physical fights: 9 percent of grammar school students, 15 percent of students attending vocational secondary school and 19 percent of vocational school students have such a friend.

13. School climate and violence

Besides aggressive personality traits, violent behaviour is influenced by circumstances and the characteristics of one's real life situation (Lawrence, Hodgkins, 2009). With regard to school violence this means that beyond aggression, which is seen as a personality trait of students, there are other elements associated with the school – with the peers, teachers and even the building –, the total of which constitutes the school climate and which can facilitate or curb violence. The same is true to teachers.

According to several studies, the occurrence of violent acts is to a large extent determined by the quality of the school climate and students' level of attachment to the school. Reis et al. (2007) have concluded that there are decreases in violent behaviour if students like being at school, enjoy the classes, feel strongly attached to the school and the like. Teachers' approachability – i.e. if students can discuss their problems with their teachers – may also inhibit violent acts committed by students. An analysis by Brookmeyer (2006) shows that school climate and students' attachment to their school function as a kind of protective factor against violent behaviour.

In our study we asked both the students and the teachers to evaluate their level of satisfaction with their school. The answers were rated on a five-grade scale. A higher value indicates greater satisfaction.

School climate as seen by students

Students' satisfaction with their teachers, classmates, the school and the building itself was surveyed with the help of questions.

The nature of the relationship between the students in a class is an essential component of the school climate: how well the students get along with their classmates, how much they can cooperate and how secure they feel with them. In this respect, there is significant difference ($p=0.008$) between grammar school, vocational secondary school and vocational school students. The responses to the question "How well do you get along with your classmates?" suggest that grammar school students get along the best with their classmates and students in vocational schools are the least likely to do so. Class climate in this sense is the worst in vocational schools and the best in grammar schools. Moreover, classmates in supposedly elite grammar schools that provide only one type of education get along better than their grammar school peers enrolled in schools which also offer other types of education ($p=0.001$).

Table 52
Student satisfaction with the school climate (on a scale of 1 to 5)

| | How well do you get along with your classmates? | How much do you like going to school? |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| Total N | 4332 | 4344 |
| Grammar school | 4.13 | 3.36 |
| Single profile grammar school | 4.18 | 3.42 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 4.01 | 3.22 |
| Vocational secondary school | 4.07 | 3.01 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 4.10 | 3.06 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 4.04 | 2.98 |
| Vocational school | 4.01 | 2.90 |
| Single profile vocational school | 3.97 | 2.87 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 4.02 | 2.91 |
| Total | 4.07 | 3.09 |

In the survey of school climate, on the whole, students scored the lowest on the question exploring the general attitude towards the school (How much do you like going to school?). Grammar school students like going to school the most and students in vocational schools like it the least. There is a marked difference between the classes in this respect depending on education type ($p=0.000$). It is remarkable that difference can only be detected between the two types of grammar school: students in schools offering only grammar school education prefer going to school a lot more than their peers who attend a school which provides more than one type of education ($p=0.002$).

In addition to class, a frequent component of school climate research is the survey of emotional ties with the school. It is needless to explain that students are more closely tied to their class than their school, although the two things are interrelated. In line with the above, as regards school popularity, it is rather grammar school students who like going to school and they are the ones to get along the best with their classmates. Vocational school students, on the other hand, get along with their classmates significantly better than they do with the school.

It has no bearing on school popularity whether a student attends a school which provides solely vocational education or a school where vocational education is only one of the education types available. However, when looking at the same education type in the two kinds of grammar school, students in single profile grammar schools, attended by the social elite, seem to like their school more ($p=0.002$).

It is worthwhile taking note of an underlying relationship. Although it is well-known that students are more strongly attached to their classmates ("they get along better with them") than their school, there is a major difference in this respect depending on the type of education: the main difference between grammar school students and vocational school

students is that the former more like going to school, whereas the latter rather do not like going to school.

It is first and foremost grammar school students who deem their teachers fair; students in vocational schools and vocational secondary schools are of a less favourable opinion of their teachers (p=0.000).

Table 53
Student satisfaction with teachers (on a scale of 1 to 5)

| | To what extent is it possible to talk with your teachers in private? | Satisfaction with the quality of instruction | How fair are your teachers? | How important is students' well-being for the teachers? |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------|---|
| Total | 3.67 | 3.52 | 3.20 | 3.12 |
| Grammar school | 3.68 | 3.68 | 3.31 | 3.18 |
| Single profile grammar school | 3.72 | 3.76 | 3.34 | 3.20 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.60 | 3.50 | 3.24 | 3.12 |
| Vocational secondary school | 3.61 | 3.48 | 3.13 | 3.03 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 3.65 | 3.60 | 3.19 | 2.98 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 3.58 | 3.40 | 3.09 | 3.06 |
| Vocational school | 3.74 | 3.39 | 3.17 | 3.19 |
| Single profile vocational school | 3.83 | 3.53 | 3.39 | 3.13 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 3.70 | 3.34 | 3.09 | 3.21 |
| Total N | 4262 | 4340 | 4322 | 4301 |

Ratings of teacher fairness seem to depend on culture, and the term can acquire different meanings across the various types of education. It has been demonstrated before that violence between students and teachers is the highest in vocational schools and the lowest in grammar schools, yet when considering schools offering one type of education, both grammar school and vocational school students rate teacher fairness at an identically high level, although the level of violence statistically varies between these two types of education.

We looked at the possibility of establishing personal relationships with the teachers as another element of the school climate as perceived by the students. We asked the students to what extent it was possible to talk with their teachers in private. Albeit there is little variation between the averages of the three types of education, the differences are significant

. Teacher fairness and approachability are apparently interrelated aspects. This is confirmed by the fact that it was vocational school and grammar school students who found it the easiest to talk with their teachers in private, while according to students in vocational secondary schools this was more difficult. If we consider the above from a pedagogical perspective, it seems that education is intensive – although with a different content – in these two types of education with their substantially different structures and cultures.

The question inquiring about the quality of instruction is meant to assess students' appreciation of the culture and work of teachers. The scores on this question indicate student satisfaction, namely, the extent to which the teachers and the school meet their expectations, and in particular: the degree to which students' values coincide with teachers' and the school's activity. Considering this issue, grammar school students are again the ones to be the most satisfied, while students in vocational schools are the least satisfied ($p=0.000$). The fact that it is vocational school students who like going to school the least and are the least satisfied with the quality of instruction does not necessarily imply that there is a causal relationship between these two findings, as it may well be that their negative opinion about the quality of instruction is not grounded in reality, rather it serves to legitimise their denial of the school culture.

It is worthy of notice that students attending single profile schools are in all cases more satisfied with the quality of instruction ($p=0.000-0.005$). This could be a valid argument against schools integrating different types of education: dissatisfaction with the work of the teachers is higher in all education types, no matter whether such opinion is substantiated or not.

As regards the condition of the school buildings, grammar school students are again the ones to be the most and vocational schools students to be the least satisfied ($p=0.000$). Vocational school and grammar school students in single and mixed profile schools were the ones to have given significantly differing opinions of the condition of school buildings.

In sum, it can be established that the most favourable rating of school climate was given by grammar school students, whilst students in vocational schools and vocational secondary schools were the ones with the most negative opinion in certain respects. On the other hand, except for the quality of instruction and some of the ratings provided by grammar schools, no significant differences emerge between mixed and single profile schools.

Rate of violence and student satisfaction

From among the aforementioned factors that determine school climate, the opinion about teacher fairness shows the strongest correlation with committing and sustaining student-student and student-teacher violence. Those who are more likely than average to regard their teachers to be fair commit fewer violent acts. Students who are of a positive opinion about their teachers' fairness believe that such teachers are less inclined to offend them; this relationship is the strongest of all. It may be that there are students who deem the acts of their truly violent teachers rightful and therefore do not consider such acts to be violent, while students who are of a bad opinion of their teachers conceive these same acts to be hostile.

Teachers who take the well-being of their students in school seriously and who frequently ensure an opportunity to talk with their students in private are less likely to become the target of student violence than those acting in a contrary way.

A high rate of student satisfaction with teachers' work (i.e. the quality of instruction) and a strong affection for one's school lessen the occurrence of school violence, however not to the same extent. The relationship between satisfaction with teachers' work and the absence of violence is stronger than one's attachment to the school.

Obviously, those who strike the right note with their schoolmates are probably in a good social position in the class and less frequently fall victim to their schoolmates' violent acts. The link between violence against teachers and schoolmates and violence committed by teachers is much weaker; nonetheless, it does exist.

Table 54
Relationship between violence and the school climate as perceived by students (correlation coefficients)

| | Perpetration of student-student violence | Undergoing student-student violence | Perpetration of teacher-student violence | Undergoing teacher-student violence |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| How fair are your teachers? | -0.218** | -0.126** | -0.222** | -0.327** |
| To what extent is it possible to talk with your teachers in private? | -0.133** | -0.096** | -0.157** | -0.251** |
| How well do you get along with your classmates? | -0.062** | -0.264** | -0.073** | -0.094** |
| How much do you like going to school? | -0.142** | -0.139** | -0.154** | -0.170** |
| How important is students' well-being at school for the teachers? | -0.189** | -0.127** | -0.188** | -0.287** |
| Satisfaction with the condition of the school building | -0.164** | -0.106** | -0.158** | -0.176** |
| Satisfaction with the quality of instruction | -0.197** | -0.135** | -0.211** | -0.285** |

** sig < 0.01

Note: High values achieved at a specific dimension of school climate indicate the positive judgment of the given factor and thus reflect a more favourable school climate.

Both verbal and non-verbal aggression is lower in schools where students are of good opinion of the school climate with respect to the dimensions examined.

Teacher satisfaction with the school climate

School climate affects the behaviour of teachers as much as it does that of their students. Nonetheless, from the teachers' point of view school climate and its quality are defined according to different criteria than they are in the case of students.

The satisfaction of teachers was measured in several dimensions. On the whole, and perhaps not surprisingly, they tend to be the most satisfied with their own work, i.e. the quality of instruction (on a 5-grade scale this dimension scored 3.72). This is followed by their satisfaction with the school infrastructure (3.58) and the extent to which their opinion concerning the operation of the school is taken into consideration (3.40).

Although teachers are much satisfied with their own work, they seem to be dissatisfied with their students' abilities (3.00), as if there was merely difference but no correlation between these two aspects. Let us compare the opinion of teachers with that of the students. Although – for reasons not requiring an explanation – students are a lot less satisfied with their teachers' work (-0.13 and -0.28 points) than the teachers themselves, yet – with the exception of the supposedly most disappointed students in mixed profile grammar schools – differences between their ratings persist across the various education types.

Teacher satisfaction with the quality of instruction ($p=0.000$), the consideration of their opinion ($p=0.015$) and the abilities of students ($p=0.000$) seems to vary according to education type. Teachers in grammar schools are apparently more satisfied with these three elements than their colleagues in vocational schools. The relevance of education type is a lot less pronounced with regard to satisfaction with the quality of instruction and the influentiability of managerial decisions.

Out of the three above dimensions the difference observed in education type primarily affects teachers' rating of students' *abilities*. We can say that teacher satisfaction with students depends heavily on the education type in which they teach.

On a five-grade scale, teachers of grammar school classes awarded 3.88 points for the quality of instruction in the school, while those teaching in vocational secondary school classes and vocational school classes gave 3.65 and 3.55 points, respectively. In terms of education type, teachers perceive a lot sharper differences in students' abilities, which anyway are rather difficult to describe. Students' abilities scored 3.57 in the case of teachers of grammar school classes, the same figure being 2.78 and only 2.36 with teachers of vocational secondary school classes and vocational school classes, respectively.

This can be assumed to reflect a general scale of values possessed by teachers in the grade 11: the range of abilities of grammar school students serves as the standard, as compared to which the children enrolled in vocational schools appear to possess worse abilities, while their differing abilities and skills seem to be disregarded.

Table 55

Teacher satisfaction with the school (on a scale of 1 to 5): How satisfied are you with...

| | students' abilities? | the quality of instruction? | the extent to which your opinion concerning the operation of the school is considered? | the school infrastructure? |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Total | 3.00 | 3.72 | 3.40 | 3.58 |
| Grammar school | 3.57 | 3.88 | 3.52 | 3.49 |
| Single profile grammar school | 3.69 | 3.91 | 3.57 | 3.51 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 3.15 | 3.78 | 3.34 | 3.46 |
| Vocational secondary school | 2.78 | 3.65 | 3.30 | 3.65 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 2.94 | 3.73 | 3.43 | 3.70 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 2.67 | 3.60 | 3.22 | 3.63 |
| Vocational school | 2.36 | 3.55 | 3.37 | 3.60 |
| Single profile vocational school | 2.33 | 3.71 | 3.30 | 3.52 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 2.38 | 3.49 | 3.49 | 3.63 |
| Total N | 965 | 955 | 937 | 955 |

The fact that the abilities of students in single profile grammar schools were significantly rated higher than those of students in mixed profile grammar schools (3.69 and 3.15 points on average, respectively) is indicative both of the scale of values held by the teachers participating in the survey and their familiarity with reality. A similar variation can be noted in the case of vocational secondary schools, except that in this case the correlation is less distinct. Teachers are again more satisfied with the abilities of students in single profile institutions.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that teachers may prefer single profile vocational secondary schools also because – as they see it – these institutions are likely to host students with better abilities. Several possible explanations can be offered to this finding, as we do not know if, in addition to the students pursuing vocational secondary studies, the mixed profile vocational secondary school in question is attended by grammar school students or vocational school students and whether the teachers surveyed teach classes of different education types. It may be that the teachers concerned mainly teach classes of vocational secondary education and consider the abilities of students pursuing vocational secondary studies better or worse in relation to grammar school students. Nonetheless, another potential explanation is that besides classes of vocational secondary education these teachers also teach vocational school students and believe that the latter have worse abilities. Teachers this way become dissatisfied with the students of the school due to the negative experiences they accumulate through such comparisons.

No significant correlation can be detected between the single or mixed profile nature of vocational schools and the rating of students' abilities. Teachers regard vocational school students' level of abilities to be low across all education types, no matter if they attend a mixed or a single profile school.

Education type seems to have no relevance to the evaluation of school infrastructure, there is no significant difference here. Similarly, there is no difference between the degree of satisfaction with the quality of instruction along education type in mixed or single profile schools.

From the point of view of the teachers, the quality of relationship with colleagues and students constitutes an important element of the school climate. The question is how satisfied teachers are with these relationships.

Table 56

Teacher satisfaction with relationships within the school: How satisfied are you with...

| | your colleagues (1 to 10)? | your students (1 to 10)? |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Total | 4.38 | 7.86 |
| Grammar school | 4.35 | 8.04 |
| Single profile grammar school | 4.34 | 8.11 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 4.38 | 7.81 |
| Vocational secondary school | 4.35 | 7.84 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 4.33 | 7.87 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 4.36 | 8.83 |
| Vocational school | 4.48 | 7.55 |
| Single profile vocational school | 4.52 | 7.64 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 4.47 | 7.52 |
| Total N | 966 | 958 |

Teachers seem to be basically satisfied with the quality of their relationship with both their colleagues (4.38 on average) and their students (7.86 on average).

There is no difference between the various education types in terms of the quality of the relationship with students; however, there is no significant correlation between the two, either. The quality of the relationship with colleagues slightly depends on the type of education ($p=0.042$). No difference is revealed between mixed and single profile schools in this respect, and no significant correlations can be detected.

The last element of the assessment of school climate focuses on the extent to which teachers like their profession and workplace.

Table 57
Teacher satisfaction with their work and school (on a scale of 1 to 5)

| School type | How much do you like teaching? | How much do you like being at school? |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Total | 4.39 | 4.18 |
| Grammar school | 4.42 | 4.26 |
| Single profile grammar school | 4.43 | 4.32 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 4.36 | 4.06 |
| Vocational secondary school | 4.40 | 4.13 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 4.35 | 4.16 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 4.43 | 4.11 |
| Vocational school | 4.34 | 4.11 |
| Single profile vocational school | 4.40 | 4.02 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 4.32 | 4.15 |
| Total N | 974 | 962 |

A typical characteristic of the teaching profession could be that teachers prefer teaching (4.39) to being at school (4.18). Education type has no considerable effect on the extent to which teachers like teaching, thus we can conclude that neither grammar schools, vocational secondary schools nor vocational schools are filled with teachers who claim to teach by necessity or feel this profession does not suit them. Nor can it be stated that there are more apathetic teachers with professional burn-out in vocational schools who do not like their profession than in grammar schools. This certainly does not mean that they are indeed good at their profession; rather, it simply indicates that basically they feel fine in their role as teachers.

Popularity of the teaching profession is generally perceivable, but no significant correlation with the choice of education type exists (0.05). Teachers of grammar school students prefer being at school to a somewhat greater extent than those who instruct vocational secondary school and vocational school students. On average, teachers in single profile grammar schools like being at school more (4.32) than their colleagues in mixed profile grammar schools (4.06). No such difference can be detected with respect to the other two education types.

Rate of violence and teacher satisfaction

There is a correlation between teachers' view of the school climate and the rate of violence committed or sustained by them. This correlation, however, is usually weaker than the one revealed in the case of students.

Any verbal or non-verbal aggression committed or endured by teachers is less likely to happen if they think their students demonstrate great abilities, are satisfied with the quality of instruction in the school and if they are expected to form an opinion in matters affecting their school. Teachers have greater authority in prestigious schools, where they teach students with good abilities whose achievements probably gain recognition, thus the chance of committing or sustaining violence is lower among such teachers, while in schools at the other end of the scale, where teachers' words are not taken seriously and they think their students lack talent, the likelihood of violence is high.

A good climate among the teaching staff – which can be described by satisfaction with the colleagues – does not correspond with the rate of violence committed by teachers or committed by students against teachers. Consequently, teachers behave differently towards the teaching staff and the students, but it is also possible that teachers use dissimilar standards when rating their colleagues and their students in their answers.

Teachers who, according to their own opinion, maintain good relationships with their students are not likely to fall victim to violence by students and vice versa: where such a relationship is bad, the rate of violence by students increases. It should be highlighted that the above is based on teachers' opinions, so teachers who believe to cherish a good relationship with students may not consider it to be violence what teachers in a bad relationship with their students would term as violence; or with the fewer occurrences of violence teachers may regard their relationship with students to be better. This is exactly the same as seen above in the case of students' relationship with their classmates and their opinion of their teachers. This causal relationship is no doubt bidirectional.

Even though it is a fact, the connection between appropriate school infrastructure and sustaining violence is not necessarily of a causal nature. The level of infrastructure may function as an index: where this index is good, other 'indicators' of the school are good too. On the other hand, an orderly environment and the appropriate infrastructure may encourage students to adopt a behaviour that matches such surroundings, as the theory of broken windows claims.

Table 58

Relationship between the school climate as perceived by the teachers and violence (correlation coefficients)

| | Perpetration of teacher-student violence | Undergoing teacher-student violence |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| Satisfaction with students' abilities | -0.139** | -0.162** |
| Satisfaction with the quality of instruction | -0.120** | -0.224** |
| Satisfaction with the to extent to which teachers' opinions concerning the operation of the school are taken into consideration | -0.124** | -0.111** |
| Satisfaction with the infrastructural conditions of teaching | -0.081* | -0.179** |
| Satisfaction with the relationship with colleagues | -0.029 | -0.039 |
| Satisfaction with the relationship with students | -0.050 | -0.190** |

** sig < 0.01, * sig < 0.05

Note: High values achieved at a specific dimension of school climate indicate the positive judgment of the given factor and thus reflect a more favourable school climate.

The three elements that define school climate – teacher satisfaction with their students' abilities, the quality of their own and their colleagues' teaching activity and the extent to which teachers' opinions are taken into account in school decisions – are the dimensions a high rating of which correlates both with teacher violence against students with poor abilities and student violence targeted at teachers. Presumably, these three elements capture the general quality of the school climate.

Overall, it should be stressed that, based on the opinion of teachers, a favourable school climate decreases primarily the rate of student violence directed against teachers, which is somewhat in contradiction with what has been established in the case of students, that is, a good school climate is more likely to curb the rate of violence committed against peers. This is easy to interpret: respondents define good school climate according to their own criteria. In such schools, teachers feel more secure with their students, while students express a similar opinion in connection with their teachers and are less violent with their schoolmates. In a good school, even if 'good' is interpreted in different ways, both parties can feel safe.

14. Anomy, respect for authority and school violence

Among students and teachers, we explored the relationship between the lack of trust related to the school and the existing social order, the rejection of social order and school violence. We assumed that *anomic disposition* was related (Kovács, 2005) to the acceptance and use of violent means. Anomy was grasped with the help of two dimensions, the respect for authority, and the degree of trust in institutions and leaders as well as in a positive vision of the future and future itself.

As regards the students, we assumed that the more trust students have in their teachers and in the values the school mediates, and the more they accept teachers' authority and identify with the objectives the school sets for them, the less likely they are to resort to the means that are deemed illegitimate by the school, including violence. We approached teachers in a similar way.

The indicators of respect for authority and trust in the future as well as trust in institutions and leaders, through which anomy is expressed, were developed by calculating main components. In the majority of cases we used three variables for the development of our indicators, the only exception being teachers' trust in the future, where we applied two items. The variables used for the creation of the specific main components are as follows.

In the case of students:

Variables of the main component "respect for authority":

- Every group needs a resolute leader;
- I respect the majority of my teachers;
- It is better if a dispute between the students is resolved by the teacher.

The main component "trust in the future" consists of the following 3 variables:

- If I do well at school, I'll be successful in life;
- I know what I want to achieve in life;
- All things considered how satisfied are you with your prospects for the future?

The main component "trust in institutions and leaders" comprises the 3 variables below:

- School rules make no sense at all;
- School rules are only enshrined on paper, but no one observes them;
- Eventually it is always the stronger party who is right in an argument.

In the case of teachers:

Variables of the main component "respect for authority" are as follows:

- Every group needs a resolute leader;
- The most important virtues children must acquire are obedience and respect for authority;
- It is better if a dispute between the students is resolved by the teacher.

Variables of the main component "trust in the future" are the following:

- Things are going in the right direction in my school;
- All things considered how satisfied are you with your prospects for the future?

Variables of the main component “trust in institutions and leaders” are the following:

- School rules only hinder my work;
- School rules are only enshrined on paper, but no one observes them;
- Important positions in my school are filled by competent persons.

The variable average for each of the main components created in the way detailed above is 0, with a standard deviation of 1. Values in the positive domain indicate a more marked presence of the given characteristic. Thus, for instance, a positive value recorded for the main component “respect for authority” marks a stronger respect for authority, and a negative value reveals the lack or a lower degree of respect for authority.

Students

In the case of students, the value recorded for the main components of respect for authority, trust in the future and trust in institutions differs significantly across education types ($p=0.000$ in all three dimensions). This suggests that grammar schools, vocational secondary schools and vocational schools are dominated by different cultures. It is primarily grammar school and vocational school students who differ from one another.

Table 59

Students’ respect for authority and trust in the future, in institutions and leaders

| | Respect for authority | Trust in the future | Trust in institutions and leaders |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Total | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Grammar school | -0.056 | 0.054 | 0.121 |
| Single profile grammar school | -0.063 | 0.089 | 0.181 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | -0.039 | -0.031 | -0.021 |
| Vocational secondary school | -0.023 | -0.078 | 0.016 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 0.002 | -0.052 | 0.058 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | -0.041 | -0.096 | -0.011 |
| Vocational school | 0.108 | 0.059 | -0.173 |
| Single profile vocational school | 0.116 | 0.038 | -0.077 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 0.105 | 0.066 | -0.206 |
| Total N | 4123 | 4170 | 4219 |

(Note: higher values signify the stronger presence of the given attitude.)

Grammar school students, similarly to their peers in vocational schools, have trust in the future and have more trust in institutions and leaders compared with the judgement of the

other two groups. At the same time, the degree of respect for authority is lower than average among them. In schools with only grammar school education, trust in the future ($p=0.037$) and in institutions ($p=0.000$) is even higher than in schools which provide grammar school education besides other education types. Vocational school students are characterised by the acceptance of authority, the lack of trust in the future and massive distrust towards institutions and leaders. A typical feature of students in vocational secondary schools is that they have the least trust in the future. With respect to the other dimensions, they are posited between grammar school students and the students of vocational schools. Neither in terms of respect for authority nor as regards trust in the future is there any difference between single and mixed profile schools.

Anomy and violence among students

Our assumption has been confirmed: the rate of violence advances with the increase of anomy – through faltering trust in institutions and a growing feeling of uncertainty about the future –, both in terms of committing and sustaining violence. (Both scales correlate negatively with the rate of aggression.)

Out of the three variables, trust in institutions and leaders reduces the chance of becoming an aggressor the most: those with more trust in institutions commit violent acts against their schoolmates and teachers less often and are also less likely to become victims themselves.

The relationship between respect for authority and violence takes a similar direction, albeit it is of a less intense nature. Those with stronger respect for authority tend to exhibit less fear towards their teachers and schoolmates, and, likewise, they are less inclined to insult those around them. (Respect for authority is in a negative correlation with the occurrence of committing and sustaining violence.)

From among the three dimensions examined, trust in the future exhibits the weakest ties with committing and sustaining violent acts.

Table 60
Relationship between anomy, respect for authority and violence among students (correlation coefficients)

| | Perpetration of student-student violence | Undergoing student-student violence | Violence against teachers, according to students | Undergoing teacher violence, according to students |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| Trust in institutions and leaders | -0.221** | -0.128** | -0.178** | -0.198** |
| Trust in the future | -0.081** | -0.099** | -0.118** | -0.106** |
| Respect for authority | -0.144** | -0.070** | -0.134** | -0.201** |

** sig < 0.01

Anomy is hence in a positive relationship with the rate of committing violence and becoming a victim. Due to the limitations of our research, the table above does not reveal any causal

relationships. However, according to our hypothesis, the underlying cause and effect could be different in the case of committing and that of sustaining violence. Presumably, the victims of violence have less trust in their environment and the future, while the perpetration of violence may well be motivated precisely by this lack of trust (as well).

Teachers

As with students, for teachers there are also three different cultures, i.e. in grammar schools, vocational secondary schools and vocational schools, and there is close resemblance between the attitude of students and teachers.

The average value registered for the main components of respect for authority and trust in institutions and leaders differs considerably among the teachers of the three school types ($p=0.000$).

It may well be that the way teachers and students interpret respect for authority varies across grammar schools, vocational secondary schools and vocational schools. Teachers of grammar schools are the least characterised by respect for authority, while teachers showing the greatest respect for authority are to be found in vocational schools, which shows a similar picture just like in the case of vocational school students. Single profile grammar school teachers' respect for authority lags considerably behind that of teachers in mixed profile grammar schools ($p=0.000$), which is in agreement with their students' attitude.

The degree of trust in institutions and leaders is basically identical in vocational schools and vocational secondary schools, but is substantially lower than that witnessed in grammar schools, similarly to the perception of trust expressed by the students of grammar schools and those enrolled in vocational education.

Table 61

Teachers' respect for authority, trust in the future and trust in institutions and leaders

| | Respect for authority | Trust in the future | Trust in institutions and leaders |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Total | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Grammar school | -0.250 | 0.095 | 0.162 |
| Single profile grammar school | -0.385 | 0.126 | 0.215 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 0.177 | -0.005 | -0.008 |
| Vocational secondary school | 0.135 | -0.045 | -0.105 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 0.046 | -0.009 | -0.070 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 0.194 | -0.067 | -0.128 |
| Vocational school | 0.209 | -0.073 | -0.100 |
| Single profile vocational school | 0.156 | -0.092 | 0.031 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 0.229 | -0.066 | -0.149 |
| Total N | 867 | 881 | 915 |

(Note: higher values indicate the stronger presence of the given concept or phenomenon.)

The degree of trust in the future can be considered to vary across the different school types only at a significance level of 10 percent ($p=0.097$). The order is as follows: grammar school teachers, teachers in vocational secondary schools and vocational school teachers. The latter have the least trust in the future. Unlike their students, who exhibit a higher than average trust in the future. This is typical of this education type.

Anomy and violence among teachers

Our assumption has proved to be true to teachers as well. Anomy and violence go hand in hand.

Just like their students, teachers' trust in the institution has the greatest effect on violence. The correlation is in the negative, thus the lesser extent teachers trust their institution and leaders, the more often they become violent or victims of violence.

As regards the other indicator of anomy, i.e. trust in the future, this correlation is also negative and of a similar magnitude. Teachers who have more trust in the future are less likely to commit violent acts and less often become the target of such acts. Here again, we assume the reasons already mentioned with reference to students to account for this correlation: victims become anomic and those unable to trust institutions, leaders and the future are more liable to resort to means other than the accepted norms. The causal relationship may thus be inverse in these two cases.

Table 62

Relationship between anomy, respect for authority and violence among teachers (correlation coefficients)

| | Perpetration of teacher-student violence | Undergoing teacher-student violence |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Trust in institutions and leaders | -0.169** | -0.124** |
| Trust in the future | -0.146** | -0.133** |
| Respect for authority | 0.093** | 0.014 |

** sig < 0.01

It needs to be stressed that contrary to what has been experienced with students: the relationship in the case of respect for authority is positive. This means that teachers focusing more on authority display a more violent attitude and they more often commit violence against their students.

This can be explained by the different positions held in the system of power relations. In Hungarian schools, there are clear hierarchical power relations between teachers and students. Hence teachers' respect for authority represents the acceptance of their own leading role and position of power as well as their attempts to make these accepted, while for students respect for authority means the recognition of their own 'subordination'. In the former case, the higher values scored for the main component of respect for authority may imply a factor that 'legitimises' violence, in the latter case such values have a contrary effect. However, no such relationship is revealed with regard to sustaining violence. This can be due to the fact that students will not allow themselves to behave violently towards such teachers or teachers will not provide an opportunity for students' violent behaviour. On the other hand, another possibility is that higher scores for the respect for authority mask teachers' idea that sustaining violence is a sign of weakness, something which should be kept in secret and must not be disclosed, as this would contradict their image of the school and of their own position.

15. Rejection of minority groups and violence

Several studies are devoted to the phenomenon of xenophobia in public education (Csákó, 2000, 2009; Murányi, 2006; Murányi-Szabó, 2007). We assume that xenophobia and antipathy towards minority groups can lead to violence also in schools.

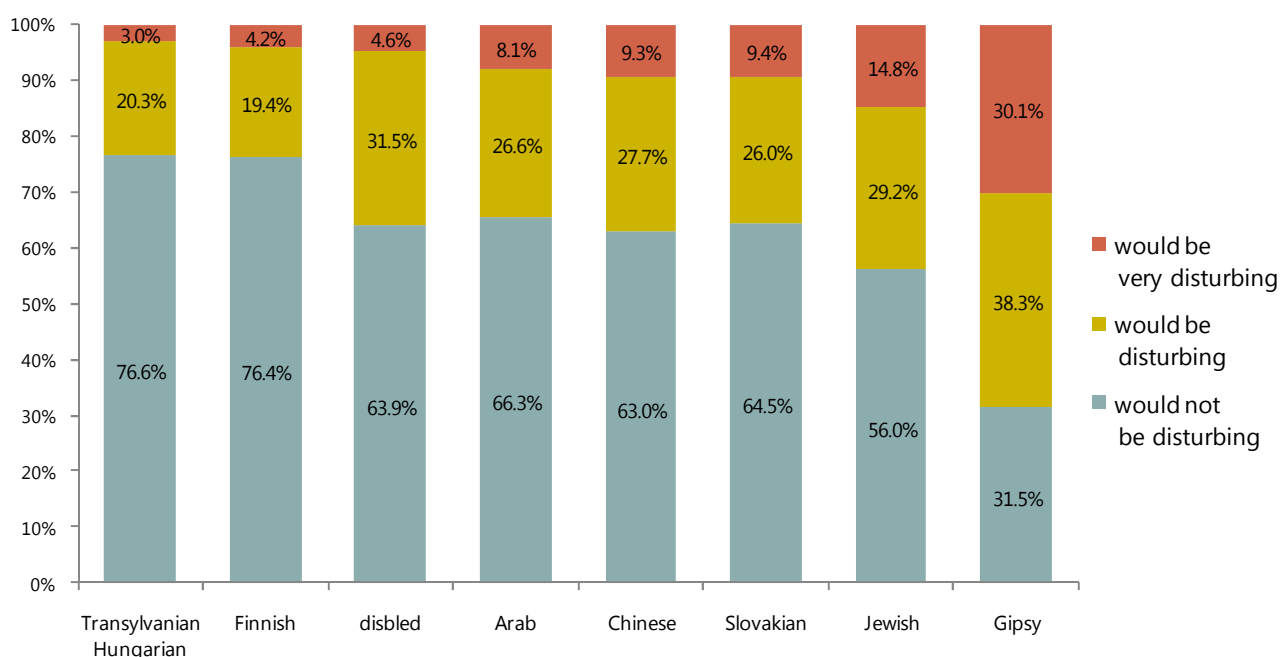
We examined the relationship between xenophobia and violent behaviour among students and teachers in the customary manner. We asked students how much it would trouble them if they were to sit next to an Arab, Gipsy, Transylvanian Hungarian, Chinese, Slovakian, Jewish or disabled student in class. Teachers in turn were asked how much they could tolerate as a colleague or headmaster a person who belongs to a minority or ethnic group.

Xenophobia and violence among students

Students showed the most negative attitude towards Roma people. Less than one third of them (31.5 percent) responded that it would not disturb them at all if they were sitting next to a Roma student and about the same ratio of students (30.1 percent) claimed that it would deeply disturb them. The second target of xenophobia are Jews. 56 percent of the students would not mind having a Jewish classmate, whereas 14.8 percent of them would find it very disturbing.

Chart 11

The subject of xenophobia: ratio of those accepted and those rejected to sit next to



The other end of our imaginary scale is occupied by Finns, Hungarians living across the borders and disabled people; students were the most tolerant towards of these people, the

ratio of those who absolutely rejected them was merely 3 percent and 4.2–4.6 percent, respectively.

We applied the three categories introduced by Endre Sik and his associates for studying xenophobia in Hungary in order to examine students' rejection of minority groups (Csepeli et al., 1998). 26.5 percent of the students would not mind at all having a member of any of the above groups to sit next to. In the following, they will be referred to as 'tolerant'. However, at the other end of the scale, 10.4 percent of the students claim to be disturbed by the presence of all the above groups without any exception. They will be referred to as 'intolerant'. The ratio of 'hesitant' students, who are between the above two extreme student groups, equals 63.1 percent: they named one or more of the above groups as troubling to sit next to.

With respect to xenophobia, students in vocational schools had the sharpest opinion, out of the three types of education the proportion of intolerant and tolerant students is the largest in these schools. The opinion of grammar school students is not that polarised. The ratio of hesitant students is high, whereas the number of those who accept everyone and those who reject everyone is low.

Table 63
Education type and attitude towards minority groups (percent)

| | Tolerant | Hesitant | Intolerant |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Total | 26.5 | 63.1 | 10.4 |
| Grammar school | 19.3 | 73.9 | 6.8 |
| Vocational secondary school | 25.4 | 64.0 | 10.7 |
| Vocational school | 36.4 | 49.5 | 14.1 |

Vocational school students are clearly the most tolerant of the largest minority group, the Roma people, while grammar school students are the most intolerant. It is noteworthy that the greatest aversion to the Roma can be experienced where there are not any Roma people around: more precisely, in grammar schools and vocational secondary schools where the proportion of Roma people is 1.7 and 3.3 percent, respectively. Conversely, in vocational schools where the ratio of Roma students is 10 percent, the rate of acceptance is the highest. Supposedly, the intolerant attitude among students who will conclude their studies with a secondary school baccalaureate is shaped by the lack of direct experience and the social difference developed in their minds.

Table 64

Relationship between education type and aversion to Roma people (excluding data supplied by Roma students) (percent)

| | Tolerant | Hesitant | Intolerant |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Total | 28.9 | 39.9 | 31.3 |
| Grammar school | 20.1 | 45.9 | 34.0 |
| Vocational secondary school | 28.1 | 38.8 | 33.1 |
| Vocational school | 41.8 | 33.7 | 24.5 |

Our list has already made it evident that not all of the various groups in respect of which we inquired about rejection on the part of the students can be classified as ethnic groups, yet in a way they all constitute minorities in Hungary. Summing up the answers received under one main component we may conclude that intolerant attitudes seem to point in one direction, *that is, those who are intolerant of one ethnic group will be more readily inclined to reject other minorities as well.*

In the following, this main component measuring xenophobia will be used as the basis of comparison, where the positive values reflect greater than average xenophobia while the negative values represent less than average xenophobia.

Rejection of minority groups and violence

In several respects, xenophobia, which is approached in three ways, seems to stand in a positive correlation with violence, in particular with committing and, to a lesser extent, with sustaining violence.

Committing student-student violence positively correlates with the intolerant attitude towards minorities, too, which means that students who are more xenophobic are more likely to become aggressors than their tolerant peers.

1. Sustaining violence shows a weak but positive correlation with the rejection of minorities, that is, those who are more intolerant more frequently become victims of violence in student-student and teacher-student conflicts.
2. Xenophobia also implies violent personality traits, meaning that the individuals who are more intolerant of minorities scored higher on the Buss-Perry aggression questionnaire.

Table 65

Relationship between xenophobia and violence (correlation coefficients)

| | Xenophobia |
|--|------------|
| Buss-Perry score | 0.152** |
| Perpetration of student-student violence | 0.225** |
| Undergoing student-student violence | 0.140** |
| Student violence against teachers, according to students | 0.136** |
| Teacher violence against students, according to students | 0.111** |

** sig < 0.01

Xenophobia and violence among teachers

The attitude of teachers towards strangers or foreigners is demonstrated by the extent to which they are willing to accept a member of any minority group as their colleague or headmaster.

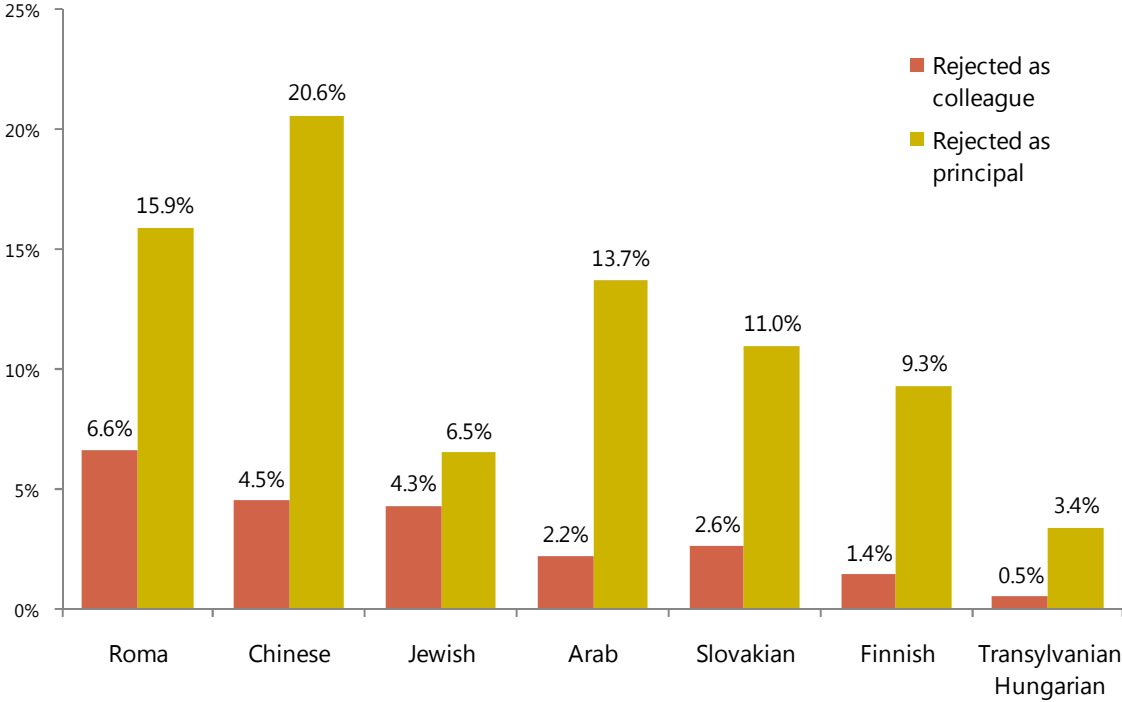
Teachers were less willing to accept foreigners as headmasters than as their colleagues. Hungarian teachers would accept a Chinese, Roma or Arab headmaster the least, and out of the minorities listed above they would be the happiest with a Transylvanian Hungarian or Jewish teacher as the headmaster of their school. In other words, the latter two groups are the least rejected. Every fifth teacher could not imagine having a Chinese headmaster, and a Roma headmaster would be unacceptable for 15.9 percent of the teachers. On the other end of the scale, the majority would accept a Transylvanian Hungarian as the school headmaster, with only 3.4 percent being against it, and almost twice as many teachers, 6.5 percent would reject Jews. According to the literature, the degree of rejection is certainly higher in reality than reported, therefore these data should be considered only as careful estimates.

Although under the Hungarian laws a headmaster should have a teacher qualification, the ideas about their person and role as well as the expectations towards them are different from the notions concerning colleagues, whom teachers meet every day in the staff room. This difference is shown by the other scale: Roma, Chinese and Jewish colleagues are the least wanted in the school; however, it should be stressed that the rate of rejection should again be viewed as an approximate estimate.

Albeit to a different degree, it is apparent in every group that teachers are more reluctant to accept minorities for a headmaster. These results suggest that the hierarchical relationships within schools and the different skills required to fill the two positions strongly influence the extent of acceptance, considering, in particular, an appropriate command of the language and familiarity with the system of education governance. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the smallest difference emerges in the acceptance as a headmaster or colleague concerning Jews and Transylvanian Hungarians, who are not considered as an ethnic group,

but rather as a minority, 'other' group, which is closer to the majority both in terms of language and culture. Even the refusal of Roma people only comes second, slightly overtaking the rejection of Arabic people, while the Roma were the least wanted as colleagues. While the rate of the refusal of Arab and Slovakian people as headmaster or colleague is five- to sixfold, the rejection of the Roma is less than threefold.

Chart 12
Rejection of specific groups among teachers

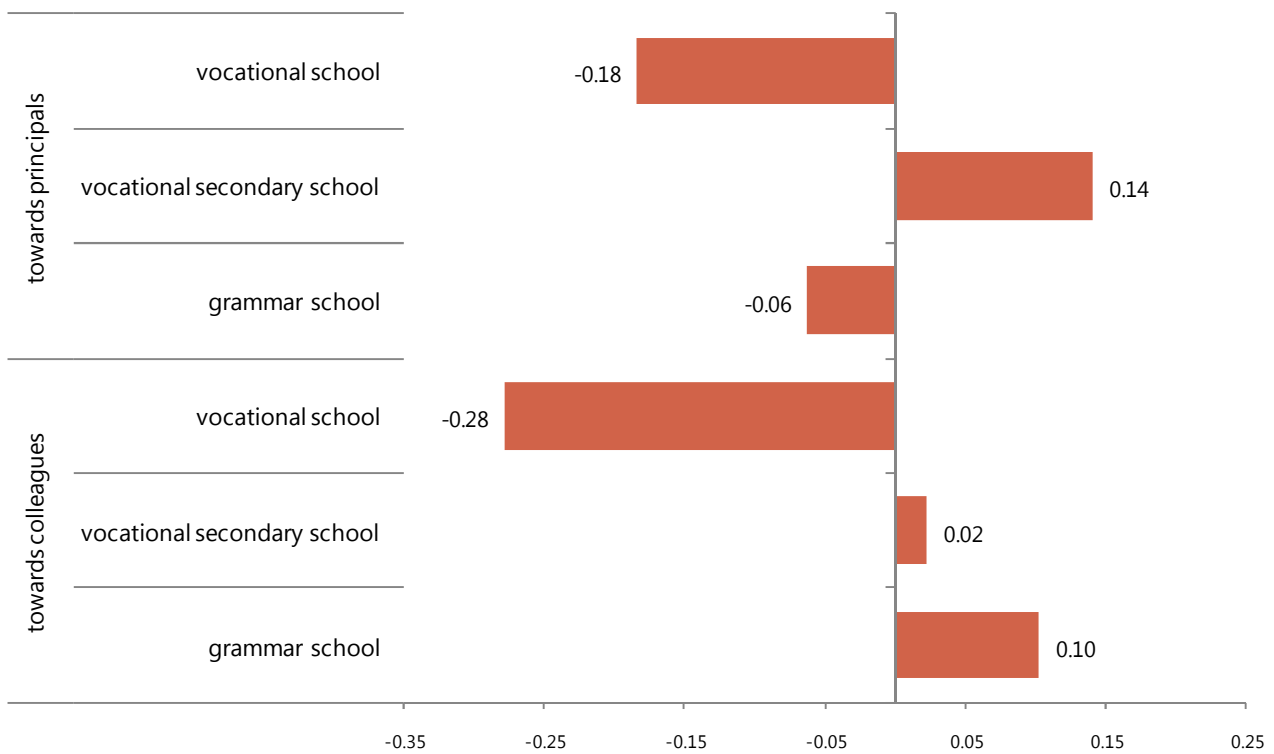


As shown above in the case of students, we have created similar main components to measure teacher attitudes towards minority groups, with the exception of one element: the group of "Transylvanian Hungarians" had to be discarded as it would not match any of the main components.

One of the major conclusions of the research is that students' and teachers' cultures tend to correspond with one another within the same education type. This is also the case here. With teachers, it is again those in vocational schools – as is the case with students – who are the most tolerant of minorities, both in the position of colleagues and headmasters.

Grammar school teachers seem to be the most intolerant and their community has the most exclusive system of values, yet with regard to the issue of the headmaster they are preceded by teachers in vocational secondary schools. Currently, no explanation to this has been identified.

Chart 13
Rate of xenophobia per education type



In the case of teachers, no relationship between violence and the rejection of minority group colleagues or headmasters was found in respect of either violent personality traits or in terms of committing and sustaining violence.

According to our data, there is no correspondence between teachers' xenophobia and their violent behaviour towards students.

16. Popular assumptions about the causes of violence

One can encounter a number of opinions in Hungarian and international public life alike according to which a high level of aggression can be explained by deteriorating morals and the lack of religious faith (Mihályi, 2004). This argument assumes that religious people are less aggressive than their irreligious counterparts; consequently, religion also protects individuals from, or at least mitigates, violence in schools. We are also aware of opinions which define the media as the source of (school) violence, and would therefore rate television broadcasts accordingly. Finally, according to the third popular view, violent computer games are primarily responsible for the development of such a disposition in children, and children become aggressive also in school owing to the effect of such games. We merely attempted to examine whether these assumptions are grounded in reality, that is, if there exists a relationship between the lack of religious faith, the time spent watching television or playing computer games and violence. It should be noted that even if we did manage to reveal some kind of a connection, the current state of our research would not permit the establishment of any causal relationships.

Religion and violence

With respect to religion, we examined whether the respondents were members of a religious community, and if so, how often they attended the community's services. Being part of a community with an extensive web of relationships (Landau et al., 2002) can influence the rate of aggression, and where this happens in a religious context, it may even further curb committing violent acts. The question to be explored here is whether belonging to a religious community and the simultaneous acceptance of the values inherent in religion correlate with the occurrence of violence.

24.9 percent of the students polled reported themselves to be a member of a religious community. 41.5 percent of those claiming themselves to be a member of a religious community (10.4 percent of all respondents) attend the service of their religious community more than once a month, 43.9 percent of them (10.8 percent) less often and 14.7 percent (3.7 percent) never do so. 30 percent of the teachers surveyed reported themselves to be a member of a religious community and 53.3 percent of them (16 percent of all respondents) go to church more than once in a month, 41.6 percent of them (12.5 percent) less often and 5.1 percent (1.5 percent) never do so.

Based on the opinions of students and teachers, it can be stated that belonging to a religion and active participation in the religious community's life show no correlation with violence. Taking into account the scores achieved on the Buss-Perry questionnaire, which measures aggressive personality traits, and with reference to committing and sustaining violence, none of the groups of students and teachers can, with certainty, be considered more aggressive than the other groups.

However, belonging to a religious community and the choice of education type do correlate. From among the students in grade 11, grammar school students have the highest ratio of students affiliated with a religious community (31.6 percent), while this proportion is the lowest among students in vocational secondary schools and vocational schools (21.0 and 21.5 percent, respectively). The situation is the same with teachers: 40.7 percent of grammar school teachers, 31.7 percent of teachers in vocational secondary schools and 30.6 percent of vocational school teachers belong to a religious community. However, neither in grammar schools nor in vocational secondary schools is there any difference in the rate of violence against students in terms of acts committed by a student or teacher who belongs to a religious community or by a student or teacher who does not belong to any religious community. Students in both groups exhibit the same average level of violence characteristic of the given education type. According to our data, religious faith in the case of vocational secondary schools does not protect students from their peers; on the contrary, students who are members of a religious community are more likely to become victims compared with their non-religious schoolmates. There is no such difference in grammar schools or vocational schools.

Television and violence

Following the general supposition, we assumed that students who spend more time in front of the television were more aggressive than those who spend less or no time at all watching TV. To substantiate our assumption, we asked students in grade 11 how many hours a day they spent in front of the box.

Watching television, DVDs and videos (below, for reasons of simplicity, we will refer to these activities as watching television) is a frequent activity, 93.8 percent of the students spend more or less time watching television, and there is no variation in this respect across the different education types. The time they devote to this activity, on the other hand, reveals greater differences.

Almost half of the students in grade 11 (42.5 percent) watch television for two to three hours a day, and this ratio is somewhat lower among grammar school students (38.6 percent) and slightly higher among students in vocational secondary schools (45.5 percent).

Table 66

Average number of hours students spend watching television, DVDs and videos per day (percent)

| | None | 0.5 to 1 hour | 2 to 3 hours | 4 hours or more | N |
|-----------------------------|------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|------|
| Total | 6.2 | 31.9 | 42.5 | 19.4 | 4208 |
| Grammar school | 7.4 | 42.0 | 38.6 | 12.0 | 1339 |
| Vocational secondary school | 5.4 | 30.3 | 45.5 | 18.7 | 1750 |
| Vocational school | 5.9 | 22.3 | 42.5 | 29.2 | 1119 |

p <0.001

One third of the students spend only half or one hour in front of the television, with grammar school students taking the lead and vocational school students being the last in this category. Vocational school students devote more than four hours to this activity on a daily basis, that is, they spend more time doing this activity than grammar school students.

The question is whether watching television has any effect on school violence. Overall, the time spent doing this activity and student-student violence exhibit a significant correlation: as a main trend it can be stated that the more time one spends in front of the TV the more likely it is that one gets more violent.

Table 67
Relationship between watching television and student-student violence

| How many hours a day on average do you spend watching television, DVDs and videos? | Perpetration of student-student violence | Undergoing student-student violence |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| None | -.06 | .05 |
| 0.5 to 1 hour | -.11 | -.08 |
| 2 to 3 hours | -.02 | -.01 |
| 4 hours or more | .22 | .13 |

p < 0.001

Committing and sustaining violence among students are characteristic especially of those who watch television a lot, i.e. more than four hours a day. Compared to them, those spending less or no time watching television are less aggressive, while those spending 2 to 3 hours in front of the screen exhibit an average level of aggression.

This correlation, however, does not represent a causal relationship, because even though increased television viewing may increase aggression, a reverse correlation could also hold true: the more aggressive students tend to spend more time in front of the screen.

There is nothing to suggest that the potential of television to increase aggression would have a selective effect, thus theoretically it is impossible that there were differences between violence against teachers and violence directed at students. This is also valid as a main rule: the time spent watching television and committing violence are closely connected; those spending more than four hours watching television are the most aggressive.

Table 68
Relationship between students' TV viewing habits and teacher-student violence, according to students

| How many hours a day on average do you spend watching television, DVDs and videos? | Student violence against teachers | Teacher violence against students |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| None | 0.13 | 0.14 |
| 0.5 to 1 hour | -0.10 | -0.05 |
| 2 to 3 hours | -0.05 | -0.05 |
| 4 hours or more | 0.20 | 0.12 |

p < 0.001

However, there are some contradictory elements in this correlation. Students with a low rate of involvement (6.2 percent), who claim never to sit in front of the television, are more aggressive towards their teachers than towards their peers. Could there be two kinds of mutually exclusive cause and effect relationships between watching television and aggression? Perhaps, but it is unlikely.

Computer games and violence

Half of the students (47.7 percent) play computer or console games, but the majority does not. Grammar school students do so the least, while students in vocational secondary and vocational schools do so the most frequently. There is a sharp difference in the use of computer games between the education types of vocational and general education.

Table 69
Do you play any console or computer games? (percent)

| | No | Yes | N |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|
| Total | 52.3 | 47.7 | 4166 |
| Grammar school | 64.7 | 35.3 | 1331 |
| Vocational secondary school | 46.6 | 53.4 | 1737 |
| Vocational school | 46.4 | 53.6 | 1098 |

p < 0.001

Based on their own account, grammar school students play computer games less often, and even those who engage in this form of entertainment spend less time playing such games. It is striking that it is vocational school students who spend the most time, more than four hours playing such games.

The frequency of the use of computer and console games and the time spent playing them are closely related to the education type students are enrolled in in grade 11.

The time spent playing computer and console games and school violence seem to correlate. It seemingly appears that those who spend more time playing – presumably – violent games are themselves more aggressive. Nonetheless, the non-justifiability of this causal relationship cannot be overlooked, since it cannot be decided whether students vent their aggression in front of the computer or become aggressive because of these games. It is likewise probable that these two phenomena increase violence in students by mutually amplifying each other's effects.

Table 70
Computer games and violence among students

| How many hours a day on average do you spend playing computer games? | Perpetration of student-student violence | Undergoing student-student violence |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| None | -.16 | -.13 |
| Half an hour | -.02 | -.04 |
| 1 hour | .09 | .17 |
| 2 to 3 hours | .29 | .18 |
| 4 hours or more | .41 | .36 |

$p < 0.001, p < 0.001$

Those who play four hours or more commit more violent acts than average against their schoolmates, and at the same time they also sustain such acts more often than average. Students who never play such games are the least likely to get involved in these acts. Since it is vocational school students who play the most, they are the most aggressive.

The relationship between the degree of teacher-student violence and computer games is of the same direction and intensity as it is in the case of violence among students.

Overall, we can say that the general assumptions about the "lack of religious faith and the cause of aggression" are ungrounded, but there is some truth in the notion that students who spend longer time, more than four hours, in front of the screen or playing computer and console games are more aggressive than average. However, it is unknown if inherently aggressive students are like this or, alternatively, if they become like this owing to increased amounts of watching television or playing computer games.

17. Teachers' use of disciplinary methods

The use of disciplinary methods which differ in form and severity is an integral part of school life, and should obviously not be regarded as violence. In this respect, only *wilful infliction of harm* is considered aggression. Teachers resort to disciplinary measures with such intention only in extreme situations, which cannot be explored with the help of questionnaires. Consequently, the possibility of teachers causing wilful harm to students has been excluded in our analysis of disciplinary practice at school. Nonetheless, disciplinary actions undoubtedly involve an aspect of power against students who violate the school code. This is where our question is rooted: What are teachers' responses to students' violation of the school code and what methods do they use to maintain discipline and order in class and the school?

This is a rather complex issue as both violation of the code and its context are very diverse (Fodor, 2000; Mihály, 2005; Herman et al., 2009) and so are teachers' reactions to the various instances of violation. In spite of this, based on our research results the following can be safely concluded.

In general, events inciting disciplinary action are the least common in grammar schools and occur the most frequently in vocational schools. From among the disruption of class, talking back, disobedience, defiance and physical fight during the breaks between classes, disruption of class is the most common phenomenon in all education types. The situation is different when it comes to fights during the breaks. While in grammar schools, the majority of the teachers and students believe that such acts never happen in their institution, in vocational schools merely around a quarter of the teachers and one eighth of the students are of the same opinion.

Teachers claim to discipline primarily by having a talk in private with the student or by giving a quick retort. Students, on the other hand, think that their teachers' principal method of disciplining primarily include reseating disorderly students, sending them out of the classroom, notifying the parents of misbehaviour in the school report book, having students perform oral tests and test papers or giving a fail mark.

Taking into account the answers provided by the students, there seems to be a serious gap between teachers' acts and answers, especially in cases when the measures taken are prohibited by law or contradict widely acclaimed pedagogical standards.

Based on the corresponding answers of teachers and students, it can be concluded that teachers seldom use physical violence as a possible way of disciplining.

Apparently, teachers are more likely to deem the school to be an orderly place free from acts of violation than their students.

Based on our data, the disciplining profiles of grammar schools, vocational secondary schools and vocational schools more or less differ from one another. Compared with the other

education types, disciplining in grammar schools tends to rely on soft methods which are based on verballity, and teachers distinguish between the assessment of conduct and that of academic progress. However, this is less typical of vocational secondary schools, where, compared to average, it more often happens that teachers give fail marks to combat discipline problems. In vocational schools, it is more frequently that teachers send students out of the classroom, summon the parents for consultation and in fact far fewer of the teachers resort to disciplinary methods that are tied to the assessment of academic performance. Teachers in vocational schools principally respond to the breach of discipline immediately on the spot, while in grammar schools the use of disciplinary methods tends to occur at a time and location other than the circumstances when and where the breach has been committed.

Disciplinary methods and the interpretation of the context of disciplining

There are diverse ways for teachers to ensure that the school code and the standards of personal interactions are accepted and adhered to, since the vast majority of such issues belong to the domain of pedagogy and are therefore not regulated by education-related statutory provisions. However, the possible proceedings against those violating the school code are defined in the relevant pieces of legislation at different levels. Some disciplinary and retributive measures and acts applied in schools – for example physical violence and sending students out of the classroom – are formally and explicitly prohibited by the Public Education Act, whereas verbal aggression¹¹ is in principle not excluded from the range of legal disciplinary methods. According to Article 10(2) of Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education, *“The personality, human dignity and rights of children/students shall be respected, and protection has to be provided for them against physical and mental violence. Children and students may not be subject to corporal punishment, torture or cruel and humiliating retribution or treatment.”*

Schools must regulate in their school code and code of operation and organisation the way they give effect to statutory rights and obligations. Although students’ unions have a right of veto in issues that concern the students, school codes and codes of operation and organisation are adopted by the teaching staff (as per Article 40(9) of the Public Education Act), and therefore these documents primarily reflect the values of the management of the school. Thus, instead of specifying the standards and practices to be observed in schools during everyday education activities, the law only provides orientation with respect to such issues.

The formal consensus of the teaching staff represented in schools’ legal documents does not necessarily imply that each and every teacher in the same school will give identical responses to the same type of violation. All the more so, because the teaching staff approves of the manner in which its own decisions will be implemented and enforced by a majority vote. For

¹¹ According to Article 10(2) of Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education, “The personality, human dignity and rights of children/students shall be respected, and protection has to be provided for them against physical and mental violence. Children and students may not be subject to corporal punishment, torture or cruel and humiliating retribution or treatment.”

these reasons, the subject of our survey is not the legislative background of disciplinary methods or the compliance with legal regulations but to identify common disciplinary methods that teachers use in typical situations at school.

Interpretation of available data

Teachers and students were both asked about the use of various disciplinary methods. One should reckon the considerable difference between the two positions. While students' responses concern the disciplinary methods used by all of their teachers, teachers give an insight into the practice they themselves pursue in the different classes at school. In other words, students' responses cannot be associated with any specific teacher, which means that it is only in extreme cases that the mentioned use of a certain disciplinary method is characteristic of one teacher and not of all the teachers who instruct that class. Furthermore, it is only students' responses that can be considered representative, while those of teachers cannot because teachers were not surveyed during class, hence their voluntary contribution should not be regarded as a random set of responses. This makes the *mechanical* comparison of data impossible, especially where a third party becomes involved in the disciplinary procedure. As the students concerned may not be aware that their teachers have discussed the case of violation with one of their colleagues. This can mostly explain why 26.7 percent of the teachers claimed to have consulted their colleagues, while only 13.8 percent of the students were aware of the same.

When interpreting data, it should be kept in mind that even though the questions addressed to teachers concerned the conscious decisions they make to maintain discipline, i.e. these questions in principle relate to facts, their answers do reveal certain tendencies in their attitudes (direction). Comparing students' and teachers' accounts, it seems obvious that teachers are reluctant to speak of the use of disciplinary methods that are prohibited by law or contradict generally acclaimed pedagogical standards. Consequently, our research would underestimate the use of such methods and would overestimate the occurrence of the permitted methods if it only reckoned with teachers' responses.

For this reason – and despite the various reservations –, it is useful to compare the standpoints of students and teachers in order to contrast the perspectives of the two views: What are the means that are evaluated identically by both parties, who find themselves in a hierarchical relationship in a disciplinary context, and what are those methods they view differently?

When interpreting figures, one should bear in mind that in order to answer our questions it is sufficient for teachers to notice only one instance of violation, whereas questions including the phrase 'lately' will result in a higher rate of perception of violation. In other words, the data do not reflect the frequency of such situations but rather they indicate their occurrence or non-occurrence in schools.

In our research, we did not at all attempt to reveal the reasons and the motivation behind the choice of disciplinary measures as our research method is unsuitable for this purposes. Thus it cannot be established whether or not teachers use disciplinary methods that are adequate

in terms of professional criteria and if they are successful in handling the given acts of violation. (Further research is necessary to examine and assess this issue.)

Research method

Disciplinary offences present teachers with a conflict situation since they represent the order in a school which they ought to protect, and they are the ones who formally or informally sanction those who violate the school code. Therefore, we have formulated our questions in a way so that we could take into account the values held by teachers.

We have established four widely known situations in which it is very likely for teachers to resort to a disciplinary method.

Teachers and students were asked questions with identical content (see the Annex for the questionnaires): *What do you do or, in the case of students, what do your teachers do:*

1. if a student regularly disrupts the class by talking, making noises or in any other way?
2. if a student regularly talks back during classes?
3. if a student disobeys and defies your (the teacher's) instructions?
4. if two students have a physical fight during the break?

The options associated with various school situations as well as their total numbers are more or less different, primarily due to the limited length of the questionnaires. As a consequence of this, the sample of students had to be divided into two groups (in a random fashion per class); thus one group was asked questions 1 and 3 and the other group was requested to answer questions 2 and 4. The options in all cases included "No such act has happened lately in our school" and "Teachers do nothing".

When selecting school situations, it was essential to also portray physical and verbal violence and that these situations could be arranged in an order on the basis of the degree of violation.

The table below shows the options associated with the different situations from among which students and teachers could select their answers.

Table 71

List of disciplinary methods included in the questionnaires with reference to the different situations (the + sign denotes our inquiry about the given method)

| | | Situations | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| | | Disruption of class | Talking back during classes | Defiance | Fight during the breaks |
| No such act happens | | + | + | + | + |
| Teachers do nothing in these situations | | + | + | + | + |
| 01 | They have a talk with the disorderly student after class | + | + | + | + |
| 02 | They separate the disorderly students from the rest of the class or reseat them | + | - | - | - |
| 03 | They retort back at the disorderly student and try to settle things verbally | - | + | + | - |
| 04 | They give additional assignments to the disorderly student | + | + | - | - |
| 05 | They turn for help to the class master or other colleagues | - | - | + | - |
| 06 | They notify the parents of the misbehaviour or enter a note in the disorderly student's school report book | + | + | + | + |
| 07 | They refer the disorderly student to the headmaster | - | + | + | + |
| 08 | They summon the disorderly student's parents for consultation | + | + | + | + |
| 09 | They hit the desk with an object or focus the attention of the disorderly student in some other way | + | - | - | - |
| 10 | They send the disorderly student out of the classroom | + | + | - | - |
| 11 | They give the disorderly student an oral or a written test | - | + | - | - |
| 12 | They yell or shout at the disorderly student | - | - | + | - |
| 13 | They give a fail mark to the disorderly student | + | + | + | - |
| 14 | They throw the chalk at the disorderly student | + | + | - | - |
| 15 | They rap the disorderly student on the head or pull his or her ears | + | + | - | + |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | They exclude the disorderly student from school programmes | + | - | - | + |
| 17 | They propose that the disorderly student be expelled from school | - | - | + | - |
| 18 | They throw a hard object at the disorderly student | - | + | - | - |
| 19 | They slap the disorderly student on the face | + | + | + | + |

The current situation on the basis of the teachers' responses

The occurrence of breach of discipline

The most important questions referred to what kind of breaches of discipline and violations of the school code teachers observed in their school, what kind of breaches occurred generally irrespective of education type and what violations could be associated with a specific education type.

According to teachers, the most common challenge is when students keep talking and make noises during the class, that is, when they hinder teachers in their work, which is actually a kind of malfunction in the student and teacher relationship. Almost all teachers (89.3 percent) mentioned this phenomenon, and no significant difference has been detected between the various education types.

That is not so in the case of talking back. This form of breach of discipline is observed by two thirds of the teachers in grammar schools and more than eighty percent of vocational school teachers. Data relating to students' defiance appear to be fairly similar. This, among others, means that there is a strong correlation between education type and talking back and defiance.

Table 72

Has the following happened lately in your school?, broken down by education type and according to the teachers (percent)

| | Students disrupt the class by talking and making noises | Students regularly talk back to the teacher | Students defy teachers | Students fight during the breaks |
|-----------------------------|---|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grammar school | 88.3 | 67.3 | 65.4 | 27.3 |
| Vocational secondary school | 89.2 | 73.4 | 74.1 | 45.6 |
| Vocational school | 91.6 | 81.7 | 87.6 | 71.7 |
| Total | 89.3 | 72.8 | 73.5 | 45.1 |
| p | 0.493 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

As regards fights during the breaks, there is a clear difference between education types as clearly shown by teachers' responses. While 72.7 percent of grammar school teachers are not even aware of any physical fight taking place during the breaks, this ratio equals 54.4 and 28.3 percent in their colleagues' responses in vocational secondary schools and vocational schools, respectively. It is important to note that in respect of the frequency of breach of discipline, the answers of teachers and students do not totally contradict each other (albeit they indicate fairly smaller differences: 37.0, 26.9 and 16.2 percent). Thus, it can be safely concluded that the occurrence of physical violence is clearly determined by the education type students are enrolled in.

Naturally, due to their position at school, students know of a lot more disciplinary offences committed by their peers than their teachers do, and teachers may have a different opinion of the same act compared with that of students, or teachers may not even be notified about acts, as, for example, in the case of disorderly conduct during the breaks.

Table 73
Differences between the perception by students and teachers, broken down by education type and according to the students (percent)

| | Students disrupt the class by talking and making noises | Students regularly talk back to the teacher | Students defy teachers | Students fight during the breaks |
|-----------------------------|---|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grammar school | 8.7 | 25.9 | 27.3 | 37.0 |
| Vocational secondary school | 8.8 | 21.6 | 21.6 | 30 |
| Vocational school | 5.2 | 13.1 | 8.8 | 16.1 |
| Total | 8.1 | 21.6 | 21.5 | 30.3 |

Higher values in the table above indicate the extent to which teachers are *less likely* to experience breaches of discipline in school relative to the perception by their students.

Students' and teachers' opinions are the closest with respect to actions that disturb students in focusing their attention in class, especially in the case of the disruption of class. Compared with students, teachers are the least aware of the events during the breaks as the majority of them stay in the staff room during these periods.

Teachers tend to be more factual than their students when interpreting breach of discipline, talking back and defiance (i.e. students seem to overrate the significance of their acts) or they depreciate students' actions undermining their authority, as a result of which students regard the frequency of such violent acts as more significant.

Grammar school teachers are the least likely to be aware of fights between the students during the breaks, data in this case suggest a certain conscious 'blindness to violence' or one

which can be traced back to flaws in the organisation of educator supervision during breaks. In other words: this phenomenon is a lot more frequent than teachers seem to imagine.

Proceeding from grammar schools to vocational schools, teachers tend to have a more accurate picture of the breaches of discipline. Vocational school teachers' perception of the frequency of situations requiring disciplinary action is closer to that of their students unlike the opinion of their colleagues in grammar schools. This is because in schools where fights are an everyday reality, teachers are more aware of the existence of this type of violation than in institutions where it happens only occasionally. Undertaking the risk of excessive generalisation, we claim that where there is more trouble more attention is paid to what is going on during the breaks. And vice versa: where the established idea of a peaceful school prevails among the members of the teaching staff, the existence of physical violence, which seldom happens between the students, is more likely to remain a secret.

The fact that in their answers students report a kind of passivity on their teachers' part confirms this claim. Out of the four situations listed above, students described teachers as considerably passive in the case of making noises during the class (8.9 percent) and talking back regularly (6.9 percent), while only 1 to 2 percent of the teachers mentioned conscious indifference to these problems. Contrary to those schools where disruptive acts and violation of the school code often happen, in schools where such acts rarely occur teachers will be less inclined to react to a breach of discipline. Accordingly, the rate of indifference of grammar school teachers is markedly higher compared with their colleagues in vocational schools ($p=0.000$). At the same time, disruptive acts during classes seem to show a similar pattern.

Teachers were asked to evaluate on a five-grade scale the extent to which disruption of the class represents a grave problem for them (a score of 5 indicates the highest severity of the problem in their interpretation). Grammar school teachers rated the problem of class disruption at a value of 2.71, and those in vocational secondary schools and vocational schools gave ratings of 3.31 and 3.50, respectively. (With respect to the other three disciplinary contexts, no relationship between education type and teacher passivity has been identified.)

Disciplinary methods used by the teachers

Apparently, teachers barely use physical violence: mentions of throwing the chalk or a hard object at students, rapping them on the head or pulling their ears and slapping them on the face are at the survey's margin of error. Based on teachers' responses, these means of disciplining as well as threatening with expulsion from school are not used against 17 to 18-year-old students who breach the school code. According to the teachers polled, the rating of academic progress does not serve as a form of punishment for behavioural problems, only 1.6 percent of the teachers claim to have given a fail mark for the violation of the school code.

As teachers claim, out of the options listed above they use the verbal means of disciplining the most often: in the majority of cases they have a talk with the students concerned after class should they disrupt the class (53.3 percent), talk back (50.7 percent) or defy them (38.6 percent), and resort to the same means if they see students fighting each other during the break (35.1 percent ratio of mention). These talks involve a dialogue between a teacher, who

represents authority, and a student, who is subordinated to the teacher, with the ultimate aim of preventing any further breach of discipline and making the student accept the school code which, at the same time, increases the authority of the teacher.

One customary way of disciplining students who engage in a physical fight during the break is to entrust the selection of the disciplinary action to the headmaster (22.3), in which case the school hierarchy itself exerts a disciplinary effect. However, the class master or the teachers who instruct the class concerned may proceed differently against those engaged in fights compared to those who are not personally acquainted with the 'rebellious ones'.

Reporting misbehaviour and notes addressed to the parents in the school report book are disciplinary methods used in response to violations of the school code during classes (22 to 27 percent occurrence). These methods are less commonly used to sanction fights on the corridors (4.6 percent), presumably due to the reasons mentioned before, and because fights are a more serious breach of discipline than what teachers can settle within their own powers. Teachers' third most generally used disciplinary method (10 to 15 percent) is summoning the parents for consultation or threatening to do so.

Besides having a talk after class, the most frequent method to restore order in class (45.3 percent) is to reseat students who are talking or making noises during the lesson or giving them extra assignments (30.0 percent). Another way to maintain order is when teachers produce a loud sound to disrupt students' whispering, for example by hitting the desk with an object (11.6 percent). The above picture has been drawn on the basis of occurrence, that is, on the opinion of the teachers, according to which they seldom resort to illegal disciplinary methods, for example, they rarely send students out of the classroom or give a fail mark. 7 to 9 and 2 to 3 percent of the teachers mentioned these methods in the case of disruption of class and talking back, respectively.

Teachers handle talking back in diverse ways: they seem to use the broadest arsenal of disciplining to sanction this type of violation. In addition to having a talk after class, riposte, a quick retaliatory reply is the most frequent disciplinary measure (45 percent). Teachers try to restore the asymmetrical relationship between teacher and student verbally – which is supposedly accompanied by an appropriate facial expression and posture –, which the students attempt to undermine by talking back. Talking back incites the greatest activity compared with other violations of the school code: a higher proportion of teachers tend to report this misbehaviour to the parents, summon the parents for a consultation or send students who talk back out of the classroom (9.6 percent). Furthermore, it is in this case that the highest number of teachers give a fail mark as a form of sanction (3.3 percent).

Table 74
The use of disciplinary methods in various situations (percent)

| | | Disruption of class | Talking back during classes | Defiance | Fight during the break |
|--|---|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| No such act happens | | 10.7 | 27.3 | 26.5 | 54.9 |
| Occurrence of the use of disciplinary methods | | Disruption of class | Talking back during classes | Defiance | Disorderly conduct during the break |
| Teachers do nothing in these situations | | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.4 |
| 01 | They have a talk with the disorderly student after class (08) | 53.3 | 50.7 | 38.6 | 35.1 |
| 02 | They separate the disorderly students from the rest of the class or reseat them(05) | 45.3 | - | - | - |
| 03 | They retort back at the disorderly student and try to settle things verbally (02) | - | 45.0 | 39.1 | - |
| 04 | They give additional assignments to the disorderly student (11) | 30.0 | 20.3 | - | - |
| 05 | They turn for help to the class master or other colleagues(13) | - | - | 26.7 | - |
| 06 | They report misbehaviour or enter a note in the disorderly student's school report book (01) | 23.5 | 27.4 | 21.9 | 4.6 |
| 07 | They refer the disorderly student to the headmaster (06) | - | 7.4 | 8.2 | 22.3 |
| 08 | They summon the disorderly student's parents for consultation (12) | 10.4 | 14.5 | 13.1 | 10.9 |
| 09 | They hit the desk with an object or focus the attention of the disorderly student in some other way(09) | 11.6 | - | - | - |
| 10 | They send the disorderly student out of the classroom (03) | 7.0 | 9.6 | - | - |
| 11 | They give the disorderly student an oral or a written test(04) | - | 9.3 | - | - |
| 12 | They yell or shout at the disorderly student (10) | - | - | 6.2 | - |
| 13 | They give a fail mark to the disorderly student (07) | 1.6 | 3.3 | 2.6 | - |
| 14 | They throw the chalk at the disorderly student (14) | 0.9 | 1.2 | - | - |
| 15 | They rap the disorderly student on the head or pull his or her ears(17) | 0.6 | 1.2 | - | 0.4 |

| | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 6 | They exclude the disorderly student from school programmes (18) | 0.7 | - | - | 1.0 |
| 1 7 | They propose that the disorderly student be expelled from school (15) | - | - | 0.5 | - |
| 1 8 | They throw a hard object at the disorderly student (16) | - | 0.5 | - | - |
| 1 9 | They slap the disorderly student on the face (19) | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.3 |

Teachers mentioned defiance against them and talking back with approximately the same frequency. In both cases the rate of the occurrence of mention of having a talk after class is 12.1 percentage lower than in the case of the other disciplinary methods. In statistical terms, there is no other difference between the rest of the disciplinary methods inquired about.

Due to editing reasons, a teacher shouting at the students as an option was only offered in this situation (defiance), consequently there is nothing to compare these data with, thus all we can say is that 6.2 percent of the teachers polled mentioned to have shouted at their students.

The above results were outlined based on the teachers' opinions, while the students will almost infallibly provide a different picture, although both parties are actors in the same situation. In what follows, the question is: to what extent these parties see the use of disciplinary methods the same way or differently.

Teachers' use of disciplinary methods as seen by the students

Naturally, teachers and students see and perceive the same situation in different ways. Although the data supplied by the teachers and students are not comparable due to methodological reasons, by simply contrasting the *direction* of the two opinions, we can identify those disciplinary methods the use of which are mentioned by teachers and students with a different frequency, i.e. ones which are viewed differently. In case teachers and students indicate the use of the given disciplinary method with corresponding frequencies, this indicator can be deemed more realistic than if their opinions reflect considerably different rates of occurrence.

The method is simple: we calculate the difference of the ratio of mention of the specific disciplinary methods in teacher and student responses. The difference between the two data will then appear as percentage points: the greater the difference between the ratio of teachers' reporting a specific practice and the ratio of students who encounter the same disciplinary measure, the higher the positive percentage point obtained in the calculation. This means that teachers resort to the given disciplinary action more often than reported by the students; and where the situation is contrary to this, the same value is in the negative. The margin within which values were considered identical was arbitrarily defined as 10 percentage points. The cases in which this margin is exceeded are regarded as a dominantly teacher-specific (+) or student-specific (-) assessment of the situation.

Table 75

Differences between the occurrences of the use of teachers' disciplinary methods in teachers' and students' responses (percentage point)

| | | Situation | | | |
|--|---|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| | | Disruption of class | Talking back during classes | Defiance | Fight during the break |
| No such thing happens | | 8.1 | 21.7 | 21.5 | 30.3 |
| Occurrence of the use of disciplinary methods | | Disruption of class | Talking back during classes | Defiance | Disorderly conduct during the break |
| Teachers do nothing in these situations | | 8.1 | 6.9 | 3.0 | 3.1 |
| Teachers mention these more often | They have a talk with the disorderly student after class (08) | 36.7 | 30.3 | 30.4 | 21.5 |
| | Separate the disorderly students from the rest of class or reseat them (05) | 19.6 | - | - | - |
| | They retort back at the disorderly student and try to settle things verbally (02) | - | 16.5 | 19.3 | - |
| | They give additional assignments to the disorderly student (11) | 15.5 | 3.6 | - | - |
| | They turn for help to the class master or other colleagues (13) | - | - | 12.9 | - |
| Ratio of mention is roughly the same | They exclude the disorderly student from school programmes (18) | -0.9 | - | - | -0.9 |
| | They slap the disorderly student on the face (19) | -0.9 | -0.6 | -0.9 | -0.3 |
| | They rap the disorderly student on the head or pull his or her ears (17) | -1.5 | -1.3 | - | -0.3 |
| | They throw a hard object at the disorderly student (16) | - | -2.6 | - | - |
| | They summon the disorderly student's parents for consultation (12) | -5.9 | -2.6 | 1.4 | -3.5 |
| | Propose that they be expelled from school (15) | - | - | -3.3 | - |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | They hit the desk with an object or focus the attention of the disorderly student in some other way (09) | -8.6 | - | - | - |
| Students mention these more often | They throw the chalk at the disorderly student (14) | -9.9 | -6.7 | - | - |
| | They report misbehaviour or enter a note in the disorderly student's school report book (01) | -2.5 | -7.2 | -5.5 | -10.3 |
| | They yell or shout at the disorderly student (10) | - | - | -11.2 | - |
| | They refer the disorderly student to the headmaster (06) | - | -11.2 | -7.9 | -2.9 |
| | They give the disorderly student an oral or a written test(04) | - | -17.4 | - | - |
| | They send the disorderly student out of the classroom (03) | -12.3 | -17.6 | - | - |
| | They give a fail mark to the disorderly student (07) | -16.5 | -18.6 | -12.4 | - |

In the school situations surveyed, teachers were more likely to report of the use of verbal disciplinary methods while the role of such means, especially the role of talking to the student concerned after class, was deemed less significant by students. Compared with the teachers' mention, the occurrence of riposte as a reaction to talking back, disobedience and defiance is less frequent according to students.

In view of this, it seems that teachers exaggerate the frequency of the use of verbal methods in their answers. In fact, it is not very probable that students fail to realise the meaning of teachers' responses, their intentions or when they become involved in a dialogue after class with the aim of disciplining and educating. It is not impossible – though this idea should be confirmed or discarded by further surveys – that the high occurrence rate of teacher responses conceals a self-image of an educator who maintains the hierarchy between teacher and student with the help of soft methods.

A possible but hypothetic explanation for the teacher-specific difference in the answers of teachers and students concerning the separation of disorderly students or reseating them, which qualify as a teacher reaction to the disruption of class, is that teachers give an account of the method used in all classes of the school, whereas separation is more typical in the lower classes, and thus students in grade 11 have slightly more faded memories of such acts.

Teachers who participated in the survey reported the use of disciplinary methods that either contradict the image they are to maintain or are prohibited by legal regulations less often than the students. Apparently, teachers responding to our questionnaire are well aware what

expectations they are expected to fulfil and what they should not do, yet based on students' answers it seems that the teachers nonetheless act otherwise.

According to the students, they are more often sent out of the classroom and more frequently receive a fail mark or are called on to take an oral test with the aim of disciplining than what teachers report. Based on students' answers, throwing the chalk at students also forms part of teachers' discipline repertoire, a method which teachers have failed to mention.

The situation is the same as regards referral to the headmaster, especially in the case of talking back. Students reported a higher occurrence here than their teachers. We suspect that teachers view this form of disciplining as a sign of their lack of pedagogical means and helplessness, therefore this method does not suit the positive image of a competent teacher. (Certainly, this assumption is also to be confirmed.)

Disciplinary measures the occurrence of which is rated identically both by the students and the teachers are placed in the middle part of the table. The table above demonstrates that, in their own views, teachers barely deploy physical violence to maintain discipline, and this claim mainly corresponds with that of their students. Albeit, according to students, the occurrence of physical sanctions is somewhat higher, it essentially is at the same level as what the teachers claim. Thus, it can safely be concluded that teacher violence against students is fairly rare in secondary education.

Disciplining profile by education type

According to students, teachers use the same disciplinary methods, albeit to a different extent, in the various education types for restoring order in the class and for curbing fights during the breaks. This allows for drawing up a kind of disciplining profile of the schools.

In the following, only those disciplinary methods will be considered which are equally used in grammar school, vocational secondary school and vocational school education but at significantly different extents. The disciplining profile of an education type consists of elements that show a considerable diversion relative to average in either direction and contain data about the disruption of class, talking back, defiance against teachers and fight during the break. These data and findings are listed in the above order below.

Disruption of class

According to students, teachers in grammar schools first of all separate students who make noises during the class or the teachers themselves make noises by hitting the desk or raising their voice in order to recapture their students' attention. At the same time, compared with the average disciplinary practice in secondary education, grammar school teachers are less likely to report misbehaviour to the parents in the school report book, send disorderly students out of the classroom or give a fail mark as a disciplinary action. Grammar school teachers will rather not take notice of disorderly conduct in situations where their colleagues in other secondary school classes would.

Table 76

What do teachers usually do if a student regularly disrupts the class by talking, making noises or in any other way (percent)?, according to the students

| Disciplinary measure used against disorderly students | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total | p |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book | 22.8 | 28.7 | 26.7 | 26.0 | 0.000 |
| Separate them from the rest of the class or reseat them | 29.7 | 25.1 | 21.7 | 25.6 | 0.000 |
| Hit the desk with an object or secure students' attention in some other way | 23.1 | 21.4 | 15.1 | 20.2 | 0.000 |
| Send them out of the classroom | 14.3 | 19.7 | 24.2 | 19.3 | 0.000 |
| Give a fail mark | 12.0 | 21.5 | 19.8 | 18.1 | 0.000 |
| Give additional assignments | 15.6 | 16.4 | 10.2 | 14.5 | 0.000 |
| Throw the chalk at them | 11.7 | 11.6 | 8.4 | 10.8 | 0.009 |
| Summon their parents for consultation | 9.2 | 9.5 | 13.2 | 10.4 | 0.001 |
| Do nothing | 10.3 | 8.4 | 5.0 | 8.1 | 0.000 |
| Rap them on the head or pull their ears | 1.5 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 2.1 | 0.001 |
| Exclude them from school programmes | 0.7 | 1.7 | 2.4 | 1.6 | 0.004 |
| Slap them on the face | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 0.000 |

Legend: Numbers in red indicate significantly higher than average occurrence, blue denotes significantly lower than average and black represents around average occurrence.

Teachers in vocational secondary schools are the most likely to enter notes in the school report book, thereby report misbehaviour and give a fail mark or assignments for disciplinary purposes.

Compared with their colleagues in vocational schools, there are more vocational secondary school teachers who send the students disrupting the class out of the classroom and more often summon the parents. On the other hand, due to reasonable causes they do not resort to giving assignments as a form of punishment nor do they turn to the slightly violent act of throwing chalks at students, which are more common to the teachers in grammar schools and vocational secondary schools.

Although students rarely report teachers' use of disciplinary methods of a harsh physical nature, even these few cases tend to be more frequent in vocational schools.

Talking back

In grammar schools, teachers mainly immediately 'retort back' at students who are talking back to restore their authority, summon them for a talk after class or punish them with extra work and assignments, but it is also typical of them to give a fail mark.

Table 77

What do teachers usually do if a student regularly talks back during the class?, according to the students

| Disciplinary measure used against disorderly students | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total | p |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Do nothing | 9.2 | 7.0 | 4.3 | 6.9 | 0.000 |
| Retort back at them and try to settle the issue verbally | 31.7 | 28.5 | | 28.5 | 0.001 |
| Send them out of the classroom | 25.9 | 26.2 | 30.3 | 27.2 | 0.021 |
| Give them an oral or written test | 27.9 | 28.0 | 23.4 | 26.4 | 0.010 |
| Give a fail mark | 18.8 | 23.7 | 22.8 | 24.9 | 0.003 |
| Have a talk with them after class | 23.3 | 17.8 | 21.7 | 20.4 | 0.001 |
| Refer them to the headmaster | 17.1 | 18.0 | 21.1 | 18.6 | 0.025 |
| Give additional assignments | 18.9 | 18.5 | 11.4 | 16.4 | 0.000 |
| Summon their parents for consultation | 16.1 | 11.5 | 17.1 | 14.4 | 0.000 |
| Throw the chalk at them | 8.9 | 8.5 | 5.9 | 7.9 | 0.009 |
| Hit the desk with an object or secure students' attention in some other way | 2.0 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 0.012 |
| Throw a hard object at them | 2.0 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 0.012 |
| Rap them on the head or pull their ears | 2.2 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 0.040 |
| Prefers to skip the answer | 1.5 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 1.6 | 0.030 |

Legend: Numbers in red indicate a significantly higher than average occurrence, blue denotes significantly lower than average and black represents around average occurrence.

Teachers in vocational secondary schools are more likely than average to prefer student assignments when disciplining students who talk back: they give a fail mark and extra assignments as a form of punishment. They are the least willing to cooperate with the parents of students who talk back; probably they think that dealing with such situations falls within their pedagogical competence.

Considering the answers provided by the students, teachers' disciplinary responses to talking back in vocational schools are not predominantly characterised by the use of student assignments that presuppose class participation as these teachers are the most inclined to send their students out of the classroom, refer them to the headmaster or summon the parents for consultation.

Whilst in their responses students only gave a rating of 2.5 percent to occurrences of their teachers pulling their ears or rapping them on the head, even these few instances are considerably more likely to happen in vocational schools, which is also rendered probable by the high number of students refusing to give an answer.

Disobedience, defiance

Students' answers suggest that as regards disobedience and defiance against teachers, unlike their colleagues, teachers in grammar schools primarily apply verbal techniques: they 'take disobedient students off the peg' and have a talk with them. Even though reporting misbehaviour in the school report book is a common disciplinary method, this reaction is less typical of grammar school teachers, just as sanctioning with marks and referrals to the headmaster are.

Table 78

What do teachers usually do if a student disobeys or defies them?, according to the students

| Disciplinary measure used against disorderly students | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total | p |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book | 24.5 | 30.4 | 26.0 | 27.4 | 0.000 |
| Retort back at them and try to settle the issue verbally | 22.5 | 20.9 | 14.9 | 19.8 | 0.000 |
| Refer them to the headmaster | 9.7 | 18.8 | 15.2 | 15.0 | 0.000 |
| Give a fail mark | 9.7 | 18.8 | 15.2 | 15.0 | 0.000 |
| Ask the class master or other colleagues for help | 14.8 | 14.8 | 11.2 | 13.8 | 0.007 |
| Discuss their problems | 10.1 | 7.0 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 0.006 |
| Propose that they be expelled from school | 2.4 | 4.0 | 5.2 | 3.8 | 0.001 |
| Do nothing | 3.6 | 3.1 | 1.9 | 3.0 | 0.038 |
| Prefers to skip the answer | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 0.024 |

Legend: Numbers in red indicate a significantly higher than average occurrence, blue denotes significantly lower than average and black represents around average occurrence.

Teachers in vocational secondary schools use the widest range of disciplinary measures in this situation. Compared with the average, more of the teachers in vocational secondary schools notify the parents in the school report book, they are the most likely to order disobedient students to see the headmaster and use a fail mark in cases of behavioural problems. However, it is the least common for teachers in vocational secondary schools to discuss the matter with the students having breached the school code.

Vocational school teachers have two characteristic reactions to defiance and disobedience other than the usual: proposing expulsion from school and that uncommon slap on the face.

Fights during the break

Teachers give the same disciplinary responses to fights during the break; however, the prevalence of such responses is different in the various education types. A common pedagogical culture of disciplining is the most uniform in this situation, with respect to the three school types. In all education types, the most common practice is to involve the school headmaster and the parents in the resolution of the matter, reporting misbehaviour in the

school report book, while reconciling the parties is somewhat less frequent, and to curb physical violence through physical means is a rare event.

Table 79

What do teachers usually do if students have a physical fight during the break between classes?, according to the students

| Disciplinary measure used against disorderly students | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total | p |
|--|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Refer them to the headmaster or notify the class master | 16.7 | 26.1 | 33.6 | 25.2 | 0.000 |
| Summon the parents for consultation | 12.6 | 16.6 | 20.6 | 16.4 | 0.000 |
| Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book | 10.8 | 14.8 | 20.4 | 14.9 | 0.000 |
| Have a talk with the disorderly students and try to reconcile them | 10.2 | 12.9 | 18.5 | 13.6 | 0.000 |
| Rap them on the head or pull their ears | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 0.027 |
| Slap them on the face | 0.1 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.6 | 0.002 |
| Prefers to skip the answer | 3.2 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 3.1 | 0.045 |

Legend: Numbers in red indicate a significantly higher than average occurrence, blue denotes significantly lower than average and black represents around average occurrence.

It has been already stated that fights during the breaks are the least common in grammar schools and therefore the disciplinary methods mentioned are also less often used. In vocational schools, teachers are considerably more inclined to deploy all the disciplinary methods available.

The disciplining profiles of schools

Summing up the above actions according to occurrence – and not according to their frequency –, it can be seen that grammar school teachers principally use verbal and indirect means as a disciplinary measure and what they have in common with teachers in vocational secondary schools is that they punish students by giving extra assignments. It is the disciplinary measures employed by the teaching staff of vocational secondary schools that resembles the traditional pedagogical culture the most: reporting misbehaviour in the school report book, blending the assessment of academic progress and that of conduct, and the exploitation of the disciplinary power of the headmaster's authority are frequent measures in this setting. According to the students, the disciplinary methods of vocational school teachers are different and tougher than in the two other education types. They are the most likely to send their students out of the classroom for behavioural problems and it is them who summon the parents for consultation the most often. Perhaps because many of these institutions operate as mixed profile schools, teachers' disciplinary culture in vocational schools also include reporting misbehaviour in the school report book and referring

disorderly students to the headmaster, which are common actions in vocational secondary schools.

Table 80

Typical disciplinary methods in the different education types, according to the students

| | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school |
|---|--|--|---|
| Methods applied <i>more frequently</i> than average | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reprove the disorderly student orally ○ Speak with the student after class ○ Reseat the disorderly student ○ Hit the desk with an object or achieve silence in some other way ○ Order the completion of extra assignments ○ Passive disciplinary behaviour on the part of the teachers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Give a fail mark to the disorderly student ○ Order the completion of extra assignments ○ Refer them to the headmaster ○ Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Send them out of the classroom ○ Summon the parents for consultation ○ Refer them to the headmaster ○ Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book ○ Propose expulsion ○ Reconcile the fighting parties ○ Use light physical means for disciplining |
| Methods applied <i>less frequently</i> than average | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Give a fail mark to the disorderly student ○ Summon the parents for consultation ○ Send them out of the classroom ○ Report misbehaviour or enter a note in the school report book ○ Refer them to the headmaster ○ Propose expulsion ○ Reconciliation of the fighting parties ○ Use light physical means for disciplining | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Discuss the disorderly student's problems ○ Summon the parents for consultation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reprove the disorderly student orally ○ Ask the class master or other colleagues for help ○ Active disciplinary behaviour on the part of the teachers ○ Throw the chalk at the disorderly student ○ Hit the desk with an object or achieve silence in some other way ○ Reseat disorderly students ○ Order the completion of extra assignments ○ Give disorderly students an oral or written test |

Similarly to the disciplinary methods used, the absence of certain measures is also characteristic of education types. Education culture in grammar schools distinguishes between conduct and academic progress when it comes to disciplining. This culture resolves

disciplinary issues within the framework of the teacher's authority: it does not rely on the authority of the headmaster, does not summon the parents and does not notify the parents of certain acts of their children in the school report book – at least not as often as teachers in other education types do. This is because there is a personal relationship between the student and the teacher. The possibility of using physical power does not even arise. Compared with their grammar school colleagues, teachers in vocational secondary schools will not summon the parents for consultation; nonetheless, there is a considerable difference between the teachers of these two educational institutions in one field: vocational secondary school teachers do not discuss the problems with their students. Teachers in vocational schools sparingly use light disciplinary methods mostly based on verbality.

18. School violence, in-service teacher training and teachers' relationships with professionals and the administrative authorities

After an overview of the forms of violence and the discipline methods used by teachers, we see it proven that verbal and physical violence and disciplinary offences in schools increase gradually if we proceed from grammar schools to vocational schools. The question is how this pattern is mirrored by teachers pursuing in-service training and what possibilities they have during their work to consult professionals about the problems encountered, to attend case study groups, to request the revision of their activity and the like.

Over the past five years, two fifth of the teachers enrolled on some kind of in-service training courses where the issue of handling school conflicts was discussed.

Basically, the distribution of teachers doing in-service training follows the pattern of violence in secondary schools. In schools where the rate of verbal and physical violence is the highest (vocational schools), more teachers reported to have attended such training courses, while their number was lower in schools with lower rates of aggression (grammar schools and vocational secondary schools). 35.5 percent of grammar school teachers, 42.4 percent of teachers in vocational secondary schools and 52.2 vocational school teachers enrolled on training courses of this kind ($p=0.001$).

Table 81

Distribution of teachers having pursued in-service training courses in the past five years during which the issue of conflict management was also discussed (by education type, expressed in percentage)

| | Enrolled on such a course | Did not enrol on such a course | N |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| Total | 41.9 | 58.1 | 948 |
| Grammar school | 35.5 | 64.5 | 366 |
| Single profile grammar school | 35.4 | 65.4 | 281 |
| Mixed profile grammar school | 38.8 | 61.2 | 85 |
| Vocational secondary school | 42.4 | 57.6 | 394 |
| Single profile vocational secondary school | 42.6 | 57.4 | 155 |
| Mixed profile vocational secondary school | 42.3 | 54.7 | 239 |
| Vocational school | 52.2 | 47.8 | 188 |
| Single profile vocational school | 42.6 | 58.0 | 50 |
| Mixed profile vocational school | 57.2 | 42.8 | 138 |

Attendees of in-service training courses are first of all teachers who claim to have been victims of physical and verbal violence by their students more often than average. Courses dedicated to the management of school conflicts are more likely to be attended by victims of student violence, which may in itself predetermine the climate of such courses.

Table 82

Teacher-student violence and enrolment on in-service training, according to the teachers

| Have you taken any in-service training courses over the past five years where the topic of school conflict management was discussed? | Student violence against teachers | Violence committed by teachers |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Yes | 0.15 | -0.04 |
| No | -0.11 | 0.04 |
| Total | 0.00 | 0.00 |

$p < 0.001, p=0.219$

With regard to violence against students, teachers taking courses dedicated to the management of conflicts at school are not different from their colleagues who did not embark on such a course during the past five years. Contrary to being a victim of school violence, there is no difference in terms of commission of violence between teachers having

attended and teachers not having attended such courses. It is not typical of teachers having enrolled on in-service courses dedicated to conflict management that they would commit violent acts against their students more or less often than average.

Sustaining student violence, as seen before, depends on education type. In the light of this, it is particularly interesting that from grammar schools, where the rate of violence is lower than average, it is mainly teachers having suffered some injury that attend these courses. No difference of this kind can be detected among teachers in vocational secondary schools, and in the case of vocational school teachers this difference is a barely perceptible one.

Among teachers who have suffered violence, those working in single profile grammar schools exhibit the greatest awareness in deciding to learn how to manage violence, but the same attitude can be observed – though in a much less discernible manner – in the case of single profile vocational secondary schools and vocational schools. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that teachers from single profile vocational schools with a higher aggression index who have enrolled on these courses are again the ones who regard themselves as victims of student violence. This weak correlation indicates that there may have been many more who have suffered violence, but have not yet enrolled on any in-service training course of the sort.

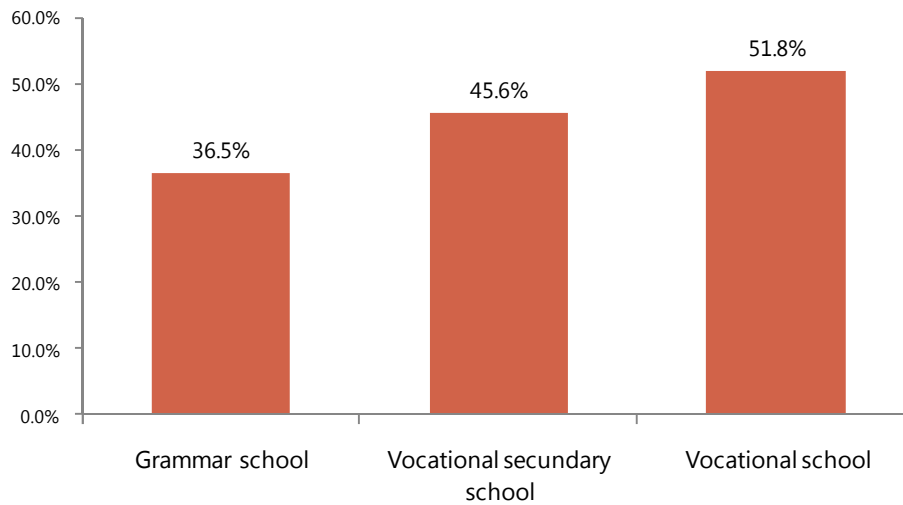
Sustaining verbal or physical violence committed by students is one of the motivating factors for teachers to participate in-service training, which is influenced by the sensitivity threshold to violence in the given education type. In grammar schools, where the chance to suffer violence from students is the lowest among all education types, there is a relatively higher ratio of teachers out of the few to embark on a conflict management course than where this kind of threat is higher.

Teachers' relationships with professionals and the authorities

43 percent of secondary school teachers can consult a professional to discuss problems encountered during their work. The most teachers who responded that they could consult a professional about arising problems work in vocational schools (51.8 percent), while this ratio is the lowest for grammar school teachers (36.5 percent).

Chart 14

Possibility for teachers to consult a professional about the problems that emerge during their work



This by far does not mean that the needs are met, nor does it imply that these needs are in fact real. All we can safely say is that institutional assistance – as teachers claim – is primarily available to those who work in schools where dangers are the greatest in number and the widest in range. The possibility of professional consultation follows the pattern of the problems experienced emotionally and in reality. This is no coincidence.

Table 83

Number of full- or part-time specialists, child and youth welfare workers, physical therapists, family care workers, child and youth supervisors, nurses, social workers available for full-time education programmes in your school in the 2008/09 academic year, by education type (percent)

| | No | Yes | N |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|
| Grammar school | 55.4 | 44.6 | 570 |
| Vocational secondary school | 59.6 | 41.4 | 659 |
| Vocational school | 48.4 | 51.6 | 533 |
| Total | 54.6 | 41.4 | 1762 |

p=0.002

Source: KIRSTAT database, Ministry of Education and Culture

Vocational schools are the best equipped with professionals to help teachers and students; expertise and assistance are pooled in these institutions exhibiting the highest rate of school violence. In this respect, vocational secondary schools are in the worst situation out of the three education types.

Class masters, teachers, psychologists and education counsellors

We asked the 129 class masters who completed the questionnaire if they had contacted another person or organisation to solve the problems of the students in their class: the friends of the students, specialist teachers at the school, the school psychologist, a social worker, the child welfare agency or the local government. Teachers promoted an active and

positive image of themselves; merely 3.7 percent did not contact any of the listed persons or institutions: they probably solve the problem themselves or remain passive. The majority of the class masters (82.6 percent) consulted a colleague about a student, and some one third of them talked with the friends of the problematic student or the school psychologist. The child welfare agency and the local government were contacted by a quarter of the teachers, and every eighth class master from among the respondents consulted a social worker. Class masters primarily rely on cooperation with their colleagues and cooperation among the teaching staff is the general way in which the problems caused by students are addressed; nevertheless, teachers claim to often involve the friends and the classmates of the problematic student (35.8 percent) in the resolution of the problem.

The likelihood of contacting social professionals is somewhat lower: child welfare agencies and local governments were contacted by a quarter of the teachers, and every eighth class master from among the respondents consulted social workers.

No difference could be identified in terms of the three education types and the partners the class masters involved chose to discuss their problems with; there is, however, only one exception. Significant – in a statistical sense – differences cannot be found mainly because of the small sample size; however, based on the data the following trends can be identified.

- Class masters communicate with the friends of the problematic student to the same extent in all three education types. Class masters in all education types rely on the classmates and friends, and with their help they try to influence the students who cause the trouble and problems. Apparently, this is a generally used pedagogical method.
- Almost all class masters in grammar schools have consulted a colleague in the teaching staff about their students, in the other two education types this ratio is lower. A possible explanation for the varying tendencies for teachers to consult colleagues could be that the practice of looking after the students is different, albeit it is significant in all the three education types, as even in vocational schools where the intensity of cooperation is rather weak three quarters of the class masters have consulted a colleague about a problematic student.
- Class masters in vocational secondary schools are more likely than average to consult the school psychologist.
- On the other hand, child welfare agencies and social workers are primarily contacted by class masters in vocational schools. In both cases, we can assume that these different ratios are mainly due to the higher number of problematic students.
- Class masters in vocational schools are the most inclined to contact a representative or officer of the local government (the maintainer of the school) to discuss student-related problems. Apparently, class masters in vocational schools think that they are unable to cope with the problems through their own means or have abandoned any further attempts to this end. Whatever their behaviour, there is an explanation: the most aggressive students in grade 11 can be found in this education type and the cultural gap describable by the distance between the parents' qualifications and the teachers' university degrees is the widest in this type of education.

Table 84

Consultation with other organisations and persons in an attempt to tackle student-related problems (percent)

| Have you ever contacted the following due to student-related problems in your class? | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total |
|--|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Subject teachers | 94.1 | 80.0 | 74.3 | 82.6 |
| A friend/friends of the student | 35.3 | 35.0 | 37.1 | 35.8 |
| School psychologist | 26.5 | 42.5 | 20.0 | 30.3 |
| Local government* | 14.7 | 17.5 | 51.4 | 27.5 |
| Child welfare agency | 23.5 | 20.0 | 34.3 | 25.7 |
| Social worker | 8.8 | 10.0 | 17.1 | 11.9 |
| Have contacted none of these | 2.9 | 5.0 | 2.9 | 3.7 |

* $p < 0.001$

The role of the class masters is different from that of other teachers: class masters consider the interest of the whole class and see students who pose a problem for them in this context, and, at the same time, they also bear greater responsibility for the students in their class than their colleagues. The role of class masters include the sensitive task of caring about the students' soul and personality, they too are expected to provide some kind of protection for students against stigmatisation. The situation is the contrary in vocational schools. Compared with class masters, quite many subject teachers refer their students to the above specialist services. Teachers instructing the given classes exhibit a 16.4 percentage point higher activity than class masters. Cooperation here is a lot less characteristic than in the aforementioned other two education types; however, it may well be that this is because we face incomparable and independent school cultures with their own distinctive structures.

Referral to the school psychologist or an education counsellor may also assume a selective as well as disciplinary and retributive aspect (Erőss – Kende, 2008). Referral to the school psychologist is a common practice especially among class masters in vocational secondary schools as they are the most inclined to resort to this method compared with the subject teachers. Teachers who have referred their students to a psychologist on more than three occasions work, for the most part, in vocational schools, as this is where the number of students violating the school code is the highest.

Table 85

Have you already referred a student to the school psychologist or the education counsellor in this academic year? (percent)

| | Grammar school | Vocational secondary school | Vocational school | Total |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| No | 80.6 | 69.9 | 63.6 | 72.7 |
| Yes | 19.4 | 30.1 | 36.4 | 27.3 |
| Yes, one or two times | 16.0 | 25.9 | 26.6 | 22.3 |
| Yes, three or more times | 3.4 | 4.2 | 9.8 | 5.0 |

$p < 0.001$

The steep rise spanning between grammar schools and vocational schools cannot be explained by assuming that there are differences between the three education types rooted in biological facts which should and could be remedied by psychological methods. It appears to be a more credible explanation to consider the phenomenon of school violence as a means of school and social selection and to provide a social-political rather than psychological interpretation of the related social mechanisms.

It should suffice to recall the conclusions in a previous chapter: Students who display a violent attitude already in grade 7 tend to continue their studies in vocational schools. This group will form the regular clients of psychologists' and counselling networks referred with the aim of providing support or even discipline and punishment.

The rate and the direction of violence committed and sustained by teachers – with the exception of enrolment on in-service training courses – is not related to whom teachers select as a cooperative partner from among the options listed above.

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Annex

Detailed description of the method and process of sampling

Study population

Target population:

- A) Hungarian secondary schools in the 2008/09 academic year.
- B) Grade 11 students in Hungarian secondary schools in the 2008/09 academic year.
- C) Teachers of grade 11 students in Hungarian secondary schools in the 2008/09 academic year.
- D) Primary schools in Budapest in the 2008/09 academic year.
- E) Grade 7 students in Budapest-based primary schools in the 2008/09 academic year.
- F) Teachers of grade 7 students in Budapest-based primary schools in the 2008/09 academic year.

Sampling frame:

For A, B and C: the list provided by the Public Education Information System (KIR) on Hungarian secondary schools (broken down by site). Based on the data of KIR, N = 2533 in the 2008/09 academic year.

For D, E and F: the list provided by KIR on primary schools in Budapest (broken down by site). Based on the data of the KIR, N = 472 in the 2008/09 academic year.

Type of sampling: stratified, two-step systematic sampling

Primary sampling unit: schools

Final sampling unit: classes

Observation unit: students and teachers

Sample size for secondary schools: n = 186 institutions, one class per institution and the teachers of the given class as well as the school management; for primary schools, n = 25 institutions, two classes per institution, teachers of the given classes and the school management. Sample size of students for secondary schools: n = 4263, for primary schools n = 995. Sample size of teachers for secondary schools: n = 855, for primary schools n = 111.

Secondary school sample

Step 1

Selection of secondary schools by stratification per region and education type (grammar school, vocational secondary school, vocational school, special vocational school) combined with a systematic sampling based on the ratio of disadvantaged students in the schools.

Stage 1

Schools have been grouped into strata according to education type.¹² Schools from the specific strata were not selected in proportion to their population so that the sample size necessary for analysis could be ensured for each stratum.

Mixed profile institutions are featured in more than one stratum, according to the educational tasks they perform.

The frequency and relative frequency of specific education types in the sample and in the population

| | Sample size | Sample distribution | Distribution in the population |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Grammar school | 65 | 32.26% | 28.41% |
| Vocational secondary school | 60 | 34.95% | 40.64% |
| Vocational school | 61 | 32.80% | 30.95% |

Stage 2

Within the specific strata, proportionally stratified groups have been created by region¹³ so as to ensure the geographical representativeness of the sample.

The regional frequency and the relative frequency of specific education types in the sample and in the population

| GRAMMAR SCHOOLS | N | Sample distribution | Distribution in the population |
|--------------------------------------|----|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Budapest | 15 | 25.00% | 21.33% |
| Central Hungary (excluding Budapest) | 5 | 8.33% | 7.04% |
| Central Transdanubia | 5 | 8.33% | 8.95% |
| Western Transdanubia | 4 | 6.67% | 6.94% |
| Southern Transdanubia | 5 | 8.33% | 9.36% |
| Northern Hungary | 8 | 13.33% | 13.28% |
| Northern Great Plain | 10 | 16.67% | 18.31% |
| Southern Great Plain | 8 | 13.33% | 14.79% |
| Total | 60 | | |

¹²This way the same school can be included in more than one stratum.

¹³ Budapest has been included as an individual unit.

| VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS | N | Sample distribution | Distribution in the population |
|--------------------------------------|----|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Budapest | 7 | 11.48% | 11.63% |
| Central Hungary (excluding Budapest) | 3 | 4.92% | 5.26% |
| Central Transdanubia | 6 | 9.84% | 11.36% |
| Western Transdanubia | 5 | 8.20% | 7.66% |
| Southern Transdanubia | 8 | 13.11% | 11.63% |
| Northern Hungary | 9 | 14.75% | 15.05% |
| Northern Great Plain | 12 | 19.67% | 19.48% |
| Southern Great Plain | 11 | 18.03% | 17.91% |
| Total | 61 | | |

Stage 3

Within the specific strata, schools have been arranged in an order reflecting the ratio of disadvantaged children studying in the institution¹⁴. This was followed by taking a systematic sample.

The sampling interval has been defined as follows:

$$I_i = \frac{N_i}{n_i}$$

| VOCATIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS | N | Sample distribution | Distribution in the population |
|--|----|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Budapest | 10 | 15.38% | 18.00% |
| Central Hungary (excluding Budapest) | 3 | 4.62% | 5.70% |
| Central Transdanubia | 8 | 12.31% | 10.62% |
| Western Transdanubia | 6 | 9.23% | 9.63% |
| Southern Transdanubia | 7 | 10.77% | 10.06% |
| Northern Hungary | 7 | 10.77% | 10.97% |
| Northern Region of the Great Hungarian Plain | 10 | 15.38% | 15.82% |
| Southern Region of the Great Hungarian Plain | 14 | 21.54% | 19.20% |
| Total | 65 | | |

¹⁴ Insti

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The first item included in the sample has been randomly selected from the interval between 1 and I_i (indicated as V), then the rest of the items have been added in the order of the sampling interval:

$$V + I_i; V + 2 \cdot I_i; \dots; V + (n_i - 1) \cdot I_i$$

This method ensures an equal probability of inclusion for the specific institutions within a stratum.

Step 2

Selection of the classes to be surveyed within the selected institutions by simple random sampling.

From among the grade 11 classes of the same education type of the schools included in the sample, one has been randomly selected. For each institution in the sample, we have defined the sequential number of the class that was to be surveyed for the given number of classes in the grade in question. Regional instructors have selected the class to be surveyed in line with the above.

The questionnaires have been completed by all the students and teachers of the class surveyed as well as by the school headmaster and the vice headmasters.

Selection probabilities

The probability for secondary schools to be included in the sample (P_j) is the same within each stratum:

$$P_j = \frac{n_i}{N_i}$$

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The probability of a student to be included in the sample (P_j) in a given stratum is inversely proportional to the number of classes in grade 11 (O_j).

$$P_j = \frac{n_i}{N_i} \cdot \frac{1}{O_j}$$

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The probability for a teacher to be included in the sample depends upon the number of classes he or she instructs in grade 11, and overall it is approximately inversely proportionate to the number of teachers in the given school. Consequently, the exact probability can only be defined on an item-by-item basis. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to describe the probability for teachers to be included in the sample relative to the number of teachers in the given school.

Primary school sample

Step 1

Selection of schools in Budapest by stratification per education type (primary school, 6- or 8-grade grammar school) combined with systematic sampling.

Stage 1

Schools have been stratified according to education type (primary school, 6- or 8-grade grammar school). Schools from the specific strata were not selected in proportion to their population so that the sample size necessary for analysis could be ensured for each stratum. Institutions operating primary school as well as 6- or 8-grade grammar school classes have been included in more than one stratum according to the tasks they perform.

The frequency and relative frequency of the specific education types in the sample and in the population

| | Sample size | Sample distribution | Distribution in the population |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Primary schools | 17 | 68.00% | 85.97% |
| 6- or 8-grade grammar schools | 8 | 32.00% | 14.03% |

Stage 2

Within the specific strata, the institutions have been arranged in random order, which was followed by taking a systematic sample.

The sampling interval has been defined as follows:

$$I_i = \frac{N_i}{n_i}$$

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The first item included in the sample has been randomly selected from the interval between 1 and I_i (indicated as V), then the rest of the items have been added in the order of the sampling interval:

$$V + I_i; V + 2 \cdot I_i; \dots; V + (O_i - 1) \cdot I_i$$

This method ensures an equal probability of inclusion for the specific institutions.

Step 2

Selection of the two classes to be surveyed within the selected institutions by simple random sampling.

From among grade 7 classes of the same education type in the schools included in the sample, two have been randomly selected. For each institution contained in the sample, we have defined the sequential number of the classes to be surveyed for the given number of classes in the grade in question. Regional instructors have selected the classes to be surveyed in line with the above.

The questionnaires have been completed by all the students and the teachers of the classes surveyed as well as by the school headmaster and the vice headmasters.

Selection probabilities

The probability for primary schools to be included in the sample (P_j) is the same within a stratum:

$$P_j = \frac{n_i}{N_i}$$

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The probability of a student to be included in the sample (P_j) in a given stratum is inversely proportionate to the number of classes in grade 7 (O_j).

In schools where there is only one class in grade 7:

$$P_j = \frac{n_i}{N_i} \cdot \frac{1}{O_j}$$

In schools where there are two or more classes in grade 7:

$$P_j = \frac{n_i}{N_i} \cdot \frac{2}{O_j}$$

Where N_i is the population size of the given stratum and n_i represents the number of items in the given stratum to be included in the sample.

The probability for a teacher to be included in the sample depends upon the number of classes he or she instructs in grade 7, and overall it is approximately inversely proportionate to the number of teachers in the given school. Consequently, the exact probability can only be defined on an item-by-item basis. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to describe the

probability for teachers to be included in the sample relative to the number of teachers in the given school.

Supplementary sample

The first and the second supplementary samples of secondary schools contain the institution preceding and following the selected school, therefore, schools that may quit the survey are substituted in the sample with similar schools that satisfy the criteria concerned.

In the case of primary schools, the supplementary sample has been selected from the narrowed population using the method for sampling.

Weighting

Sample of students

Deviations from the population and different probabilities of inclusion have been corrected by subsequent stratification.

Each institution in the primary school and secondary school samples has been assigned an institutional weight for adjusting deviation from the population due to education type.

Distribution of the specific education types in the population and in the weighted database indicating institutional weights

| | Distribution in the population | Weight | Weighted distribution |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| Grade 11 | | | |
| Grammar school | 28.41% | 0.88 | 28.41% |
| Vocational secondary school | 40.64% | 1.16 | 40.64% |
| Vocational school | 30.95% | 0.94 | 30.95% |
| Grade 7 | | | |
| Primary schools | 14.03% | 1.26 | 14.03% |
| 6- or 8-grade grammar schools | 85.97% | 0.44 | 85.97% |

Diverging probabilities for students to be included in the sample – as a result of the different number of classes in the selected grades – has been adjusted by the quotient of the number of classes operated in the selected grade and in the education type of the given institution and the average number of classes in the population of the corresponding education type. The values of the class weight range between 0.33 and 1.79.

The final weight has been defined as the product of the institutional weight and the class weight. This value was between 0.31 and 1.90. Due to the application of class weights and institutional weights, weighting resulted in a different sample size; nonetheless, the size of the weighted samples (secondary schools: 4375, primary schools: 923) differs from the original only to a minimum extent.

Sample of teachers

Diverging probabilities for teachers to be included in the sample – as a result of the different number of classes in the selected grades – has been adjusted by the quotient of the number of classes operated in the selected grade and in the education type of the given institution and the average number of classes in the population of the corresponding education type. The values of the class weight ranged between 0.33 and 1.79.

In the next step, based on the data contained in the Educational Statistics Almanac of 2007/2008, the sample of teachers for secondary schools has been weighted in accordance with the ratio of full-time teachers employed in full-time education. The value of the weight variable ranged between 0.43 and 3.19. For primary schools, such data were not available, therefore the institutional weight established for the sample of students has been applied.

The final weight has been defined as the product of the institutional weight and the class weight. This value ranged between 0.14 and 5.72. Due to the application of class weights and institutional weights, weighting resulted in a different sample size; nonetheless, the size of the weighted samples (secondary schools: 980, primary schools: 105) differs from the original only to a minimum extent.