School violence and Gender

Perceptions of pupils and school staff in one school in Belgrade/Serbia

Author: Katarina Radojkovic
Supervisor: Helena Johansson

Abstract
Title: School violence and gender – Perceptions of pupils and school staff in one school in Belgrade/Serbia
Autor: Katarina Radojkovic

This thesis aims to describe and analyze the problem of violence among pupils and its connection with gender. The main aim is to explore how gender roles are connected with the use of violence among pupils, through a social constructionistic perspective. Power inequalities are also a great factor for creating violent situations and happenings. That is why I also investigated power relations between the genders in the school. Another aim of the study was also to investigate how UNICEF s program "School without violence" was accepted in the school.

The research was conducted in one primary school in Serbia. The qualitative method was used in this research. The research was based on two main techniques: focus group interviews with pupils and individual interviews with school staff. Through the qualitative method I got to know the pupils and school staffs inner thoughts and perceptions towards the phenomenon investigated. Observations were made on the school to get to know the environment.

The interviews and observations demonstrated that boys and girls use different types of violence and that the violence they use is strongly connected to their gender roles. Boys have a greater access to physical violence which they see as a resource for producing hegemonic masculinities. Boys' violence gets more attention in the schools as it is seen as most visible.

Girls use psychological violence as it is more accepted to their gender. Girls' violence is the violence that gets less attention from school staff as it is described as invisible and difficult to handle.

Girls being violent and dominant were seen as "sluts" and "bimbos" from their peers. Being physically violent in school as a girl was in this way riskier for the girls because they got easier labeled.

Keywords: School violence, bullying, gender, masculinity, femininity, power, pupils

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge and thank all those who where involved in the completion of this research project

This research would have not been possible if Dr. Jelena Zajeganovic-Jakovljevic did not get interested in my profile from the first beginning, while I was searching for a field placement. Through an internship of 3 months at UNICEF my research area turned into reality.

There are a number of persons and institutions that have been very helpful in the success of this research. I want to give my special thanks to UNICEF and SIDA that have made my period of research abroad possible and more than interesting. UNICEF with its excellent staff Dr. Jelena Zajeganovic-Jakovljevic, Dragana Koruga, Dragana Jovanovic, not only excellent but very helpful and friendly. SIDA for its financial support through my period abroad, through their scholarship MFS (Minor field studies). The Institution of Psychology in Belgrade, professor Dijana Plut and Dragan Popadic, my volunteers students Filip and Hanna.

I want to thank all the children and school staff in the school where I made my research, thanks for your honest participation. Special thanks to the school pedagogue and psychologist that helped me around.

My thanks to my supervisor Helena Johansson that has always answered my questions very quickly and that has been giving me professional guidance during the whole research process. A warm thanks to Ing-Marie Johansson that has been very helpful and friendly during the whole master program and that has been doing her job as a program coordinator in an outstanding way.

A thanks filled with love to my dear Rickard, mother and grand mother that have been supported me in different ways during this period. Thank you for the emotional support and encouragement and the constant believes in my abilities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Reading the news on internet the 16 of April with the horrible massacre at the Virginia Tech University in U.S gave me a really bad feeling and a shock of how this was possible. There were 32 students killed and reading the news the day after where it says that the murder was a 23 year old student going on the university made me even sadder. My first thought while writing this thesis was is this case of someone who was bullied or feeling really bad in the school. And the worst part was that this case was even worse than the shootings in columbine high school in the U.S. My thoughts has been going around and around how could this happen again. In the end it showed that the student that killed the other students was bullied and had psychological problems that he did not get help for. Do not the schools or universities have some kind of policies for their student's well-being or some peer supporters that could have helped this student? This incident made me realize even more how important it is for schools and universities to have help for bullying among students.

When violence among young people occurs in such an extreme form like death and injuries of young people, the experience of other countries teaches us that this is only an extreme manifestation of a serious and prevalent social problem.

Violence is a phenomenon that we can see in our society everyday. Within the area of social work this is one of the main problems social workers have to work with. Violence towards children, violence towards women and youths that behaves violently. Social workers work with this theme everyday around the whole world.

Violence in school settings is a great problem around the whole world and Olweus [1] is the famous researcher who started these investigations in Norway and in Sweden. Violence in school settings is not a social workers greatest concern but it should be, according to the UN s Convention of the Rights of a Child, article 19. The child spend most of his or her time in the school setting and that is why it is so important that it will be a great experience and a safe place for the child. In article 19 it says that:

> States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative,
> social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of
> physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent
> treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while
> in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has
> the care of the child

According to UNICEF, Sweden was the first country to ban all corporal punishment. A few years ago Serbia banned it as well but according to Serbian people it still exists in some rural schools. Common sense tells us that if we are going to teach the children how to communicate in non-violent ways it is of great importance that adults in schools are good models for this behavior.

---

[1] Olweus Dan: Professor at the research Centre for Health Promotion at the University of Bergen, Norway. He is one of the major exponents in bullying and the inventor of the Olweus bullying prevention program.

Violence among pupils is usually defined as bullying and within the last decade the phenomenon of bullying has been recognized as a serious problem for the quality of school life among children. Violence and bullying in schools is a social problem with consequences for both the perpetrator and the victim and for society. Reducing the size of this problem is both an important and very hard task.

In Serbia, UNICEF was the first organisation to take this question seriously and to work on preventing bullying. They started a national campaign on this issue in year 2005. UNICEF have together with Ministries of Education and Sport, Health, Labour, and Employment and Social Policy, and expert teams, started a program "School without Violence". The main purpose of the program is to decrease and prevent violence among school children in Serbia (www.unicef.org/serbia).

This study is also a cross cultural study with the author coming from Sweden but with a background from Serbia. I have the knowledge of the Serbian language but no knowledge about the Serbian welfare system and society. During this research I always got questions like how was it in Sweden, how our schools in Sweden work and so on. Trough the whole research process I had to make comparisons to the Swedish school and welfare system, because of all the questions I got.

Studying violence in a country like Serbia I think it is of a great importance to know which wars and conflicts the country have been in. Wars and violent happenings affect the whole population of a country and especially children in many different ways. You will now get a short overview over the wars and conflicts that have been going on in Serbia.

1.2 Serbia and the former conflicts
Serbia is a located in the south east of Europe and has a population of approximately 9.5 million. Belgrade is the capital city and has a population of approximately one and a half million (www.landguiden.se).

Serbia belonged to the former republic of Yugoslavia which broke up in year 1992 after war with the other countries that was in the republic. The war between Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia started in 1991 and ended in 1995. This war is usually called "The war in former Yugoslavia". The war was characterized by bitter ethnic conflicts between the citizens of the former Yugoslavia. The war was horrible during its first year, it took more than ten thousands victims and over two millions of people were forced to escape from their homes (www.wikipedia.org).

All the countries have according to international crime investigations committed serious crimes against the human rights, against civilians and against captured enemies in the war camps. The war included ethnical cleaning of human beings. Serbia has been more blamed for violating human rights than the other countries. The peace and conflict resolutions were ongoing until 1997 which ended in the so called Dayton agreement. The civil wars ended with poverty, massive economic disruption and with continual instability

across the territories where the worst fighting occurred. The wars were the bloodiest conflicts on European soil since the end of World War 2 (www.wikipedia.org).

The conflicts in the province Kosovo (1996-1999) became a war in the 1999 in Serbia. The war in Kosovo ended with NATO interventions against Serbian forces with mainly bombings. The bombings in Serbia lasted for 79 days and after that UN and KFOR have stand for the security in Kosovo. Today there are ongoing discussions between the Serbian government and UN about Kosovo's status (www.wikipedia.org).

The wars in the 1990: s and the NATO bombings have contributed to the fall of the Serbian welfare system. During the fall 2000 one third of the population lived below the poverty line. Today it is better but the Serbian government has not been able to fill the help that was provided from international organizations and humanitarian help. The war has left a lot of criminality in the country, human trafficking, drugs, and weapons. (www.landguiden.se).

The conditions that resulted from the war in the former Yugoslavia such as isolation, international sanctions and the like have had a damaging impact on the ability of the family and society as a whole to protect children from various kinds of violence and abuse. The incidence of child abuse and neglect of children increased significantly during the war and in the post-war period. The numbers of abused and neglected children registered by the centres for social work was increased sharply, 256 cases in 2001 and 973 cases in 2002 and these figures are only the "tip of the iceberg" (UNICEF, 2004).

1.3 Problem area
Many children in Serbia are victims of abuse, neglect, violence and exploitation. No official data is available, and there is no official reporting mechanism. A research made 2006 within the program "School against violence" where 54 schools attended the research showed that 24 percent of the pupils have experienced bullying or repeated violence in the school (www.unicef.org/serbia). This is a great number if you compare it with Sweden. A Swedish report on school children's health from 2000/2002 showed that about 5 per cent of the school children say that they have experienced repeated bullying and violence (www.fhi.se).

According to UNICEF schools should be a safe and enabling environment. However, it is becoming more and more evident that this is not always the case. Children are increasingly being exposed to violence and violence in school is a concern to children and to parents, not only in Serbia but also in other countries. Humiliated, isolated, and beaten children suffer permanent damages, and the aggressors are often seen as leaders instead of children with misbehaviour. (www.unicef.org/serbia)

Bullying is damaging not only to the children involved but, also to the school environment. Prevention programs should try to stop bullying but also improve school-life quality. Prevention through the promotion of a school culture which blames violence and supports respect and co-operation seems to be a real challenge for all the professionals who work with children in the school (Svensson, 2000).

1.4 Purpose and Research questions

The purpose of the study is to examine the children's and school staff perceptions towards violence one year after being in the program. It also seeks to describe and analyze the problem of violence among pupils and gender. The main purpose is to explore the gender patterns through a social constructionist perspective and see how the creation of gender roles is connected with the use of violence in the school. Power inequalities are also a great factor for creating violent situations and happenings.

That is why I also want to investigate power relations between the genders in the school. Another purpose of this study is to analyze the prevention program through the diffusion of innovation theory. If the program is innovated it means that according to this theory there will be a behavior change when it comes to have a non-violent approach towards others in the school. The underlying purpose of the study is to prepare recommendations for improving the gender components of the UNICEF program.

Given this purpose the study was focused on the following research questions:

- What are pupils and school staff's perceptions of school violence in the "School without violence" program?
- How do pupils and school staff view upon violence in schools connected to gender?
- Have the pupils and school staff accepted the program and do they think that it works in their school?

1.5 Cross-cultural study

This study can be defined as a cross-cultural research based on the fact that the author lives and is born in Sweden and those who are participating in the study lives in Serbia. I have knowledge of the Serbian language which gives me a good start in this research because through the language I can understand things that I have studied on a deeper level.

Both these countries have their own special welfare systems and cultures that are different from each other. Serbia is usually defined as a country under transition, where its welfare system is going under different reforms. Sweden is usually much known in Europe for having a great welfare system and a social security net that covers almost all groups of people.

Doing a cross cultural study means in this context comparing two systems in the meaning of society, culture, welfare, education, and other things existing in the both countries. During the whole research process I as a researcher compared both consciously and sub consciously the two different cultures of thinking and living. The research can also been seen as cross-cultural because I am analyzing the empirical material through western theories about violence and gender.

2. RESEARCH AREA AND CONCEPTS

To get an understanding how bullying, violence in schools and gender has been looked upon during the last years you will now follow a chapter on earlier research and theoretical concepts made in the area. The first area is bullying were I will define the concept bullying and look more deeply into earlier research. The second area is gender and school violence and the third area is prevention programs against bullying.

2.1 Defining bullying and violence

According to Olweus (1993 in Roberts Jr., 2006) bullying is an exposure to long-term, repeated negative actions on the part of one or more persons. Bullying is often a combination of verbal and physical aggressions and aggravations directed from the bully/ the perpetrator towards the bullied/the victim. Negative actions that the bully is taking towards the victim can be defined as that the action is purposeful and that it intended to injure or make the victim uncomfortable. Bullying involves both physical and psychological components. Olweus (1993 in Roberts Jr., 2006) defines direct bullying as physical and verbal insults and indirect bullying as psychological, social exclusion and social manipulation.

The definition of violence UNICEF gave to the pupils and school staff within the program "School without violence" was defined as both physical and psychological. Physical violence they explained as aggressions that involved physical contact like fights, kicks, bumps, punches, hitting, pushing and touching private parts of pupil's bodies without consent. Psychological violence was defined as both verbal and non-verbal components. The verbal violence is related to: teasing, insults, verbal sexual harassment, saying dirty words, calling names and threatens. The non-verbal is a discreet form of violence which means exclusion and isolation of the victim as well as the spread of rumors.

2.1.1 Different findings in bullying research

Swearer, Tams (2003) and Nansel, Haynie, Simons-Mortons (2003) found that pupil's involvement with bullying and/or victimization happens in almost 70 per cent of the cases during their middle school years (6th, 7th and 8th grades). This earlier research is of importance because I am conducting my research in the middle school classes. It shows that the majority of bullying acts occur in classrooms, hallways, gym and after school. Swearers et al (2003) research also showed that certain pupils are more likely to be victims of bullying because of their personality, physical characteristics and family background factors.

In bullying behavior it is possible to identify three groups: the perpetrator or bullies the victims and those who are victims and perpetrators at the same time are called bully-victims (Nansel et al, 2003). According to Valliancourt, Hymel and Mcdougalls (2003) research on bullying it shows that the bullies often have a high status and a lot of power in their peer groups. The bullies are also viewed as more physically and relationally aggressive, and some bullies were also seen as leaders.

Nansels et al. (2003) research on the connection of bullying and victimization with middle school adjustment found that taking part in bullying of others or being a victim of bullying were risk factors for poorer adjustment to middle school, the youths showed really bad adjustment later in the middle school even if they had good grades before.

Stattin (1995, in Svensson, 2002) reports that those children engaging in acts of violence often have disturbed relationships with their parents and usually spend a little of their free time at home. In families with conflicts and violence between parents, a hostile attitude is created and the children grow up and learn aggressive ways of interaction.

2.1.2 Consequences of bullying
Being bullied by peers in childhood is a stressful experience and there are a several risk factors of being bullied. Bullying and victimization appears to give very negative consequences not only at the time they occur in a pupil's life but also it seems to affect them in the future.

For the bullies it is shown that potential long-term negative effects include an increased risk for becoming involved in delinquent and criminal activity. Victims of bullying are more at the risk of symptoms like depression, low self-esteem as adults and so on (Olweus 1993 in Swearer, 2003). A research made by Newman, Holden and Deville (2005) found that the victims of bullying can have a lot of stress symptoms in the future such as isolation and victimization.

2.1.3 International research on violence in schools
This research is of importance because it shows that the problem of violence in schools exists over the whole world. Pinheiro (2006) in his report states that in all countries children spend most of their time in educational settings. In these settings children are at a higher risk of being exposed to violence but also these settings may teach them violence. Violence performed by teachers and other school staff with or without law approval still exists in many countries. This violence includes corporal punishment such as beating, humiliations in forms of psychological punishment and sexual violence. Pinheiro concludes that corporal punishment is a common practice in many schools in a large number of countries.

Pinheiro (2006) observes that violence in schools is mostly in the form of fighting and bullying among the pupils. He found out that bullying is related with discrimination against pupils from poor families or ethnically marginalized groups. The report also showed that bullying is mostly common in verbal form but physical violence also takes place. Pinheiro indicates that sexual violence also occurs in educational setting in forms of violence against girls by male teachers and classmates but violence also occurs against lesbian, gay bisexual and trans-gendered young people in many states and regions.

2.2 Bullying and violence connected to gender

To specify the connection between gender and violence it is important to clarify how I will look upon gender in this research. It is also important to see what earlier research has shown when it comes to this area, to get a pre-understanding.

2.2.1 Gender as a concept

Because different societies have different views the on the concepts sex and gender, I will now describe how gender is defined in this study.

Nowadays gender is a well known concept around the world. During the 1980: s this term came into the Swedish vocabulary to symbolize the differences between the sexes. By using this concept gender you can easier talk about masculinity and femininity without interfering the biological differences. The most feminist researchers agree up on that gender is culturally and socially created and that power imbalances create the imaginations that we have about masculinity and femininity (Ambjörnsson, 2004).

Looking at gender through the social constructionist perspective you look at the making of gender as a process in which parents, school, society and the child are all contributors. Gender is constructed through everyday social interactions with one other, we actively do gender it is not something one is or has (Boyle, Marshall and Robeson 2003).

2.2.2 Findings on school violence and gender

A research made by Yubero and Navarro (2006) found that girls use more indirect forms of violence and boys use more direct forms of violence. The researchers concluded that differences in creating gender roles can help us understand the differences in girl's aggression and boy's aggressions. When it comes to girls direct aggression is penalized in contrast boys receive stimuli that cause them to demonstrate aggression in creating masculinity. The researchers also observed that boys can use indirect aggression to hurt their peers and that girls and their use of indirect forms of aggression can escalate to direct forms. They think that the reason for this is that gender identity is in a process of change and for this reason young people are learning to use forms of aggression that are non-normative to their genders.

Another research made by Salmivalli, Kaukianen and Lagerspetz, (2000) studied if gender and type of aggression or violence mattered. They found that verbal and physical aggressions were most clearly associated with the social rejection of girls. It showed that the more a girl is physically and /or verbally aggressive the more she gets rejected by both boys and girls. In the case of boys it was the same when it came to verbal but not to physical aggression. Aggression was in general connected with social rejection; the more aggressive a pupil was the more likely he or she was to be rejected by peers. The research also showed that boys tolerated more indirect bullying than girls did.

2.2.3 Creating masculinities and femininities in the school context

Earlier researches examine school as a main institution for the production of masculinities and femininities. It has also explored the relationship between sexualized

forms of violence and harassments, particularly in its role of producing masculinities in the school. Sexualized violence is not included in the concept making of bullying in school environments. It has also showed that when research on sexual harassment has been studied it has primarily been studied in the secondary school not in the primary school (Renold, 2002).

Epstein, Kehily, Mac an Ghaill and Redman´s (2001) ethnographic study of primary school children's play found that football and fighting became a measure of success for boys in the school context, but also a way of creating masculinity. The football exclusion of girls and the self exclusion was a way of showing or creating femininity among the girls. Boyles et al. (2003) study of children's play at break time showed that most of the children where doing gender when they choose to play in the same gender groupings. Boyles et al. noticed some changes in the gender norms when girls joined the boys to play football. She also found out that boys where more physically active during the breaks and more openly competitive and often more aggressive.

Renolds (2002) research in a primary school observed that sexual harassment from boys to girls was commonly formed to show superiority over girls through sexually abusive and aggressive language. Verbal insults usually centered on a girls sexual status and the physical harassment circled around bra-pulling and pushing. The research found that most of the gendered bullying and harassment was conducted within same-sex peer groups. Girls were positioning other girls and boys positioning other boys as outsiders and it also showed that girls were bullying "failed males".

2.3 Prevention for combating violence in schools

One aim of this study is also to explore how the pupils have accepted the anti- bullying program and if they think that it helped to stop violence in their school. To get an understanding for how these programs can be structured one of the most known anti-bullying methods and the UNICEF s program will be presented below.

Anti-bullying programs generally contain some general elements. They recognize the need for the school community and especially the teaching staff to be aware of the prevalence and the seriousness of the problem. The elements and initiatives should also be co-coordinated at different levels; the school, the classroom and the individual pupil. Some programs also use anonymous questionnaires completed by pupils and school staff. This to provide reliable data of the prevalence that has been going on in the school. Programs that work against bullying usually include both preventative and intervention procedures (Rigby, Smith, Pepler, 2004). Earlier research shows that there is a lack of evaluations made on these different anti-bullying programs (Svensson, 2002).

2.3.1 The Olweus method
This method is the basics of almost every anti-bullying program that has been constructed. It aimed to achieve an improved understanding of the bullying phenomenon, engaging parents and teachers to prevent it. The program was evaluated and considered as successful in Norway (Olweus, 2004).

The UNICEF s prevention program was build up on the Olweus method which is a method where it is important to create a warm and positive environment in the school and also one of involvement and positive interest. One important aspect of the program is identification of behavior that is considered unacceptable. The preventative work is carried out at three different levels: the school, the class and the individual pupil. The program has four goals: the first is to achieve an improved understanding of the bullying phenomenon for example carry out surveys about bullying, the second is to get teachers and parents actively involved in the project, the third is to develop clear rules prohibiting bullying and the fourth is to give protection and support to the victims (Olweus 1993 in Svensson, 2002). UNICEF has built their program on this method and to get an overview over the program view (Appendix 1).

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

While there are several theoretical perspectives used in social work on this subject, I will in this chapter give you the definitions of the theoretical perspectives that I am going to analyze my empirical results from.

3.1 Social constructionism

In this research gender roles and the creation of violence and power will be seen from a social constructionist perspective that is why I think it is important to define what this perspective means.

Social constructionism takes its stand points in four main statements. The first statement is a critical standpoint towards taken for granted knowledge the things that we do not reflect over.

> Social constructionism insists that we take a critical stance towards our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world (including ourselves). It invites us to be critical of the idea that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us, to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world (p.3, Burr 1995)

The second statement is that how we understand the world is bound to historical and cultural context, rather than being universal. Whether one understands the world in terms of men and women, urban and rural life depends where and when in the world one lives. In example, we can see changes even within the time period of the last fifty years or so with radical consequences for how parents are advised to bring up their children (Burr, 1995).

Thirdly knowledge is seen as being constructed in social interaction between people. Truth then can be thought of as the current accepted way of understanding the world at a particular time and place. The forth standpoint in this perspective is that knowledge and social action go together. This can be seen as different constructions of the world entail certain patterns of social action while excluding others. These constructions are bound up with power relations (Burr, 1995).

3.2 Gender and power as a process of socialization

My second theoretical perspective in this study is socialization. In this thesis stereotypes of women and men in the society will be seen as the final product of a socialization process.

The socialization process in becoming a man or a woman will be seen as it starts from the day that we are born. The new born child has a biological sex but no social gender. Growing up the child learns models of how appropriate behavior is to one sex or the other. Certain agencies of socialization the family, the media, the peer group and the school are models for this behavior. The ones that have social power in the society are the ones that decide what behavior belongs to the norm (Connell, 1987). This is of great importance when it comes how violence is constructed in the gender aspects.

Not only are our family's big socialization agents but also the culture and society that we live in. The society's role as a socialization agent is for example creation of certain laws that are in favor for women or men, the culture that we belong to how is open it is for changes in the gender roles. The ones in the society that have created these norms are the ones that have owned the social power and looking into history the ones that have owned this have been men.

According to Connell (1995) men are usually the ones in the society that has power over different things. Men have power over the salaries and that is why they in rich capitalist countries have incomes that are double the women's average incomes. Men are more likely to hold state power, for instance men are ten times more likely than women to hold office as a member of parliament. Men have also historically had the power over the violence issue.

Mills (2001) states that within institutional patterns of gender relations shaping the current gender order you will find violence. It is violence of suppression and oppression and of power over others. It is a violence that suppresses the action of girls and women, and other marginalized boys and men. It is violence where the ones that are far away from the gender norm experience lives with fear as a part of their daily life reality.

Connell (1995) argues that the power relations that shape this patriarchal gender order are clearly not only a politics of struggle between masculinity and femininity. There is a gender politics within masculinity as well and this politics plays its role in subordinating and dominating women and girls.

3.3 The Power perspective
Studying gender and violence in a school context you can also see a lot of power relations in that institution. In this thesis there will be a lot of constructed power relationships for example the power relationship teacher to a pupil and the relationship between a boy and a girl.

In society we always describe different people or groups of people as having more power than others. In the school context the teacher is seen as more powerful than the student. These power inequalities are constructed among us people and we use these inequalities in different ways. For example a teacher can use his or her power over the student to have them under control which means to make them listen to what they say. Power inequalities in society have always created actions of violence through history, "the strongest survive" is a common expression to show who is having the power and that is why it has become more important for people to become more powerful.

One much known social constructionist Michael Foucault, describes as gaining power is something that you gain trough knowledge. Foucault (1972 in Burr, 1995) writes that he does not see power as a possession that you have but it is something you can gain through certain measures. Therefore he describes that gaining power is acting in particular ways to claim resources and control. To define the world or a person in a way that allows you

to do the things you want is to exercise power. According to this perspective the power to act in particular ways for example to control or to be controlled depends on the knowledge's currently prevailing in the society. For example to construct the world in terms of who are "sane" and who are "mad" brings a power inequality between those groups. For Foucault knowledge is power over others which mean the power to define others (Burr, 1995).

According to Foucault (1972 in Ambjörnsson, 2004) the use of power has changed through history. Before people used weapons, threats and so on to gain power but nowadays this power is created through individuals that by themselves tries to fit into the society. This adjustment to normalization by individuals does not happen with threats, but instead we hear messages that you will be happier if you are following the norms.

3.4 Violence as a manifestation of gender

Studying violence and its connection with gender it is of importance to see how masculinity is connected with violence. Girls are also violent even if they are not stereotyped to be in this way. It is also of great importance to understand the girls violence and its connection with femininity. In agreement with Mills (2001) I think that the concepts of masculinity, as well as the concepts of femininity are social constructions and they stereotype the expected normal behavior for men and women.

3.4.1 Hegemonic masculinity and violence

Hegemonic masculinity can be seen as the norm of masculinity in a society. Connell (1995) explains that as the status and interpretations of hegemonic masculinity are affected by factors as class, ethnicity, age and sexuality. Hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to women and subordinated masculinities. The subordinated masculinities are seen different in different cultures. Connell (1995) indicates that the signifiers of masculinity in Western societies have showed to be power over sport, work, alcohol, men and women.

Mills (2001) argues that the school is as research shows a major institution where the masculinization is produced and reproduced. Sports are one major thing in school that is mostly focused on boys. These sports tend to be those which glorify the strong, tough, aggressive and competitive and violent boy. Females who move into this traditionally male areas experience more barriers including sexual harassments and bullying.

Research in bullying shows that boys are the ones that use physical violence. They have been seen as the owners of this type of violence (Mills, 2001, Artz, 2004). Mills (2001) observes that in order for men to keep violence as its possession women must be constructed as being unable to use violence. He also indicates that denying women the property of violence can work to maintain the male dominance over women and it so called as masculine power and feminine powerlessness.

Another useful link between masculinity and its power over violence in our society's is for example keeping the women out of front line military action, male homosexuals out of armed services, restrict corporal punishment in schools to males and excluding girls

from playing typically violent male sports. In most societies in the world violence has been masculinisized and schools in their organization serve as a powerful gendering and violencing agent (Mills, 2001).

It is also clear that masculinity and violence has a connection when it is clear that the primary perpetrators of rape, domestic violence, war and other crimes of violence have been men. However it is clear that the connection is problematic if is seen as being natural. The "naturalization" of that masculinity is a link to violent behavior, can lead to dismiss boys and men's act of violence. It will be an acceptance from the society that "boys will be boys" and they will explain the violent behavior with this rather than to look at one individual's bad behaviors in the society (Mills, 2001).

3.4.2 "Authorized" femininity and violence

Femininity is stereotyped in the most societies as taking care of the family, being dependent on someone, being sensitive and fragile. A girl/woman that is being dominant and aggressive is seen as different, she is not getting an "authorized" femininity.

Girls are also stereotyped to be physically and emotionally weak, girls that use violence are officially explained as girls who behave like boys. Research has found that girls who respond violently to different pressures do it in another way than boys. In bullying research they have found that girls are the ones that use psychological and relational violence in the school. Miller and White (2004) explain that gender shapes the girls use of violence. They are concluding that girl's violence is produced within the context of gender inequality. Even if only a small number of girls are being arrested for committing violent acts it is very good to try to understand their violent behavior as well.

Girl's violence can be described from different perspectives, from one perspective it can be seen as the girls are trying to win power and break the stereotypic view of women. Form another perspective it can be describes as girls fight other girls to defend their sexual reputation or their connection to a boyfriend .Girls fight for male attention and for the ''pretty power'' (Artz, 2004).

Mostly girl's violence has been explained as a power imbalance between females and males, along with their stereotypes of women as weak and their negotiating of gender roles.

> To understand girl's violence we must take into account the impact of these features of their environments. This means examining how young women negotiate within gender-stratified settings, and how they accommodate and adapt gender inequality in their commission of violence (p.170, Miller and White, 2004)

Artz (2004) concludes that violent school girls struggle with sexual objectification and mistrust. They make bonds and relationships with other girls and even other boys to gain alliances of power.

3.6 Diffusion of innovation
The diffusion of innovations is a research tradition that looks at how innovations (new products or behaviors) are adopted by a community or a group of people. This theory is useful when you want to analyze a program that promotes a new behavior.

One of the important findings of Diffusion research is that the adoption of new ideas in a community usually follows a curve that looks like an S see (Appendix 2).

This theory helps to explain why an innovation is adopted more quickly or not. Diffusion is a special type of process of communication by which an innovation in the form of new ideas, practices or behaviors is spread among members of a society. The steps of change according to this theory are going through the following steps in adopting an innovation:

1. Knowledge/awareness of the innovation
2. Formation of an attitude toward the innovation
3. Decision to try the innovation
4. Trial of the innovation
5. Confirmation of the new behavior

It is known in this research tradition that media are suitable for individuals in the step awareness of an innovation but when it comes to attitude formation media begin to lose its power and person to person communication becomes more suitable. At the levels of the decision to try, trial and confirmation, person to person communication is necessary. The reason for this is that while the decision to try an innovation and make a personal change commitment is determined largely by the reactions of the people who are closest to us, especially our peers (Rogers, 1995).

People can learn new knowledge from outside experts but they decide only to try a new behaviour when they see it is possible and acceptable for their peers; people who are just like them. Diffusion of innovation theory says that the ideal change agent is the person who can influence others to change; it is a person who is exactly like the other community/group members except for the innovation. In example the ideal person to promote non-violent behaviour in school for pupils is a pupil from that school who is accepted and who does not use violent behaviour (Rogers, 1995).

4. METHODS

This chapter presents the methodological characteristics of the study. Issues of methodological perspectives, methodological design and limitations are described and discussed.

4.1 Methodological approach

With the purpose of answering my research questions I selected a qualitative approach to get to know the pupils and school staffs inner thoughts and perceptions toward school violence, bullying and gender. I was interested in how the pupils thought and discussed in a group, therefore qualitative method by way of interviewing groups of children seemed to be an appropriate method. Usually young adolescents form their perceptions and thoughts in groups because this is how they spend time with their friends. As Kvale (1996) observes the knowledge gained through interviews gives us understanding of human situations and interactions. A qualitative study also seeks to cover both a factual and a meaning level, and it also aims to describe specific situations and action sequences from the interviewee's life worlds.

The negative aspect with choosing the qualitative research method is that I could not get data from which generalizations could be made. The use of an interview to gain knowledge can be criticized as not being scientific enough (Kvale, 1996). That can be argued to the personal interaction that affects the situation between the interviewer and the interviewee. During my interviews I tried to have a small interaction in the discussions I only gave the questions when the discussions about one theme were ending. However this research is in the field of social science and the aim of this research is to gain knowledge about the human behavior.

I think that my method of choice has given me trustworthy results that reflect on how group's of boys and girls in one school in Serbia thinks and how they express their perceptions towards school violence and gender. If I instead had chosen to conduct individual interviews with the children it would have been a risk that opinions and thoughts that reflects the group had been left out.

4.2 Data collection

The process of collecting data was based on three main techniques; focus groups interviews, individual interviews and observations as a way to seek validity through methodological triangulation. Secondary data as well as theoretical perspectives relating to the subject were also collected to gain in-depth analysis and therefore an understanding of the findings.

4.2.1 The observation

The observation method I used was focused on the interaction among pupils during break times and classes. I observed the occurrence of violence situations physical and psychological and I also observed the presence of adults among pupils during breaks. Another observation focus where also how the children constructed gender on the breaks and during the classes and how the school staff constructed gender order in this school. This method was good to explore the environment that these pupils were in everyday.

According to May (2001) observation demands for the researcher to spend a great deal of time in the surroundings and to secure and maintain relationships with people that you normally would not have contact with.

> Observation guides us to some of the important questions we want to ask the respondent, and interviewing helps us to interpret the significance of what we are observing […] (s.159, May 2001)

I also used observation of the environment to get a picture of how the climate in the school was.

4.2.1 The Interviews
Before I started with my main research I conducted a pilot study on a similar group of pupils that I was supposed to have in my research. The pilot study was made with the purpose to get clarity in which questions in the interview guide that needed to be more developed and at the same time try how my method of choice would bring the information I was searching for. From the results of the pilot study I changed the structure of the themes in the interview guide and changed the order of some questions as well. I also decided to change the performance of the interviews where I focused on that every one that wanted to speak should get the right to do it.

There were two different interview guides formed for this study. One interview guide for the focus groups with the children and one interview guide formed for the school staff (Appendix 3). The different interview guides were designed regarding the groups of respondents and all of them included: introducing questions, specifying questions and direct questions.

The focus groups interviews with the children where conducted by me as a researcher and one observer (student from the institution of psychology) that helped me explain things that children said that I did not understand and that was writing down some notes on the group interaction during the interview. The observer was originated from the country and was living in Belgrade. The observer also helped me with up holding the structure of the focus groups interviews, letting everybody come to speech in the group discussions.

According to Cronin in (Gilbert, 2001) a focus group is a group interview or a group discussion. This group meets together to discuss a particular topic which is defined by the researcher. A facilitator guides the discussion between the participants. Cronin claims that the focus group discussion enables the researcher to explore the participant's experiences and views on a specific topic. According to Kitzinger and Barbour in (May, 2001) the participants in focus groups are more encouraged to talk to one another and give each other explanations of why they think in a certain way.

It was also important not to make the groups to big or to small, for this interactive study. To have a time limit when it came to interviewing children was another important aspect, because they could not sit for a very long time. I interviewed 8 children in one focus

group and every interview occasion took one hour which I thought was fine to keep the conversations and discussions alive.
The interviews were conducted during lecture time in a room that was private so the children could feel comfortable and relaxed.

The individual interviews were held by me but I had help from a volunteer to translate some difficult terminology and expressions. The interviews with the school staff lasted about 40 minutes each and were also held in this private room.

All the interviews and observations were registered in field notes, tape recorded and transcribed verbatim into written text for their analysis.

4.3 Sampling
The report is based on an empirical sample with 6 focus group interviews including 8 children in each group and 4 individual interviews with professionals.

I interviewed three groups of girls and three groups of boys and the interviews were made in 6, 7 and 8 grades this because earlier research shows that bullying occurs most in this age. Totally I used 12 grades for interviews and totally there were 48 pupils participating in these interviews, 24 girls and 24 boys. I choose a strategic sample where I took four girls from one sixth grade and four girls from another sixth grade the same was done with the boys as well. I did the same thing in the 7th and 8th grades. I went inside the classrooms and asked pupils if they wanted to participate, it was voluntarily. The purpose was to get a mixed group as possible but to have the same age in every group. I wanted to have opinions from as many grades as possible and that was why this mixture of grades was made. The research was conducted in a city central primary school in Belgrade. The school is very developed and can be compared with any European school.

4.4 Analysis
According to the research questions, the theoretical contributions and the techniques designed to collect empirical data, the analysis was based on the following categories. The interviews analysis was based on meaning of condensation and meaning of interpretation. Through meaning of condensation I tried to abridge the main ideas expressed by the participants. In the same way through the second method I tried to go beyond what was directly said (Kvale, 1996). By using earlier research, concepts and theories I analyzed my material.

According to Becker in (May, 2001) you have to go through different stages when analyzing the observation material that you collected. At the first stage the researcher should seek problems and concepts within the school setting. The meaning of this stage is to put the phenomena observed into a theoretical framework. The second stage is to check and count on what events are typical and spread in the school setting, this by seeing how this events appear among the pupils. The third stage is to "construct a social model of the system". In my research I analyzed the observed material through a theoretical framework, which means that I only got to the first stage due to the time limit.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were taken through all the research steps. I took into consideration the principles of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity (Kvale, 1996). Before starting the research project I informed the schools principal and some other staff about the project then I sought consent from the school, parents and the children themselves (Appendix 4). It was easier for me to get consent because this research was a part of the UNICEF program "School without violence". The school, parents and the children had already given their consent to participate in this program.

Before starting the interviews with the children I informed them of the purpose of the study, their voluntarily participation, the importance of that what is said during the interviews will stay in the room and their anonymity. I also informed them that I was the only person that was going to listen to the interviews and after listening to the interviews I would destroy them. Only pupils that voluntarily wanted to participate in the research were chosen. The same information was given to the school staff as well and only the ones that wanted to take a part in the study were interviewed.

I did not want to reveal the schools or the participants name because I do not want to expose them for any harm or exploitation.

4.6 Reliability and validity

A research can be said to be reliable if similar results would be obtained by others using the same questions and the same sample. Questioning reliability is questioning wheatear results would be the same if research would be repeated (Kvale, 1996). It is related to issues like: leading questions during the interview process, the data transcription and the interpretation of the subjects answer.

In order to deal with the problem of the leading question mainly during the interview process I tried to create a comfortable atmosphere and an open and honest communication. In order to increase my research's reliability I used an observer during my focus group interviews which I had discussions with after the interview was finished to check if we understood the same main things. I also used an interview guide that was constructed to assure myself not to miss any questions of importance for the study. Before I started with my first focus group interview I made a pilot study. The pilot study was also made to raise the reliability of the study.

To seek validity it requires a permanent work of questioning, checking and analyzing not only the practical and theoretical significance of the research problem but also the methodology and techniques designed, the results and their interpretations (Kvale, 1996). In my research I was using different methods so called triangulation to get a better validity in the study.

To get a higher level of validity I gathered information through interviews this to get a real picture of the participant's life worlds. I also used the same interview questions in all the interviews to get better validity. This has also been strengthening through a good theoretical ground in this research. I have caught my participant's thoughts and opinions and tried to give a nuanced picture of the participant's life worlds I have focused on both the typical and on what is significant. By carefully describing the research process I have also strengthen the research's validity.

4.7 Limitations
The effectiveness of the prevention program used in the school cannot be evaluated in this thesis, as it is hard to investigate if school violence has decreased in this school due to the program. This would be hard because even if the violence in one school have not decreased the pupils may have learned something from it and started to form different perceptions towards violence. To measure the programs effectiveness in one school I would have to make a research in another school in the same area that have not been into the program and there was not time for this.

Me as the researcher had to encounter some language barriers during the interview situations as I know the participants original language but not living there, I am not updated with the latest slang words and common expressions that are used by the children. Interviewing the professionals I missed some hard words and terminology that I did not understand.

The sample size and the school chosen is not representative of the entire population in Serbia and this may affect the generalizability of the findings. The chosen school is chosen because of its modernity and level of development which can hopefully be a representative school for Serbian standards in the future.

5. EMPIRICAL RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to present the results and to provide a descriptive analysis and interpretation of the data collected with supportive transcript quotations from the interviewees. The aim is not to create some new theories and concepts but to show pupils perceptions to the phenomenon and to analyze the material through already existing theories and concepts.

My research is a complement to the earlier research by reporting and analyzing what pupils in a primary school in Belgrade think about violence, its connection with gender and the program "School without violence". The research has a aim to throw a light on pupils perceptions and in that way make their voices heard and hopefully be able to give a in-depth picture of these pupils reality

5.1 Description of the primary school in Belgrade
The Serbian primary school system is compulsorily and it is divided in two parts the 1-5 and the 6-8 grade. The school where the study was conducted is a very high status school in Serbian socio-economic terms. Children that live in the central parts of Belgrade go to this school. It is said that a lot of the pupils parents are very high educated on an academic level and that there are mostly upper class children that are going in the school. The school it self has an image where they describe themselves as the best school in Belgrade. The school is very big with 1400 pupils and the pupils are divided into two shifts where half of the pupils go in the first shift and the other half in the second. The school has divided their pupils into two shifts to decrease the number of students going to school at the same time, but mainly for having less conflicts and bullying in the school. The atmosphere in school is very competitive according to the pupils, teachers and other school staff and it is very pressuring to gain good marks. The pupils get marks from the second grade in all topics and there is also a mark for behavior in the school. This mark does not affect the other marks and it is based upon a judgment of the pupil's overall behavior in the school and it is set by the class teacher.

The school also has two security guards that are sitting in front of the school entrance and that you have to talk to before entering the school. They claim that the school needs this security because of its location in Belgrade. They indicated that they had persons entering the school that could endanger their pupil's lives. The pupils are not allowed to leave the school building during the school time without a teacher's written permission. For me coming from Sweden this was a new phenomenon, I have never met security guards in a Swedish school before.

5.2 Observations in class and on breaks
I made observations in six classes: Math, biology, English and three physical classes. I also made observations during break times. The main findings from the observations in physical classes were that the boys were separated from the girls. During all three classes, the boys had a male teacher and they were outside playing football and the girls were inside in the gymnastic hall, doing physical exercises with a female teacher. Compared to the boys' classes, the girls were more strictly observed from their teacher. The girls had

to follow the teacher's orders all the time while the boys played football freely. They were told only once when there was a fight between two boys during the football game. The boys were also more verbally aggressive while they were playing football compared to the girls who were not even allowed to talk to each other during the physical classes.

During the more theoretical classes the boys were the ones that were louder and did not listen to the teachers. The teachers usually focused more on the boys to calm them down and asked them questions all the time as a technique to keep them under control. I could clearly see during the classes that the boys were verbally aggressive towards each other while girls were quieter and calmer. What I also observed was that the children needed to stand up when they got a question and they were not allowed to call the teacher by name

In accordance with earlier researches (Boyles et al., 2003 and Epstein et al., 2001) I found that the teachers were holding up the stereotypic way of looking at gender. Through a process of historical and cultural constructions they were showing that girls is supposed to be calm and quiet and it is allowed for boys to be noisy and aggressive. I found that the school is a great institution for creating stereotypic gender roles, where the girls have less freedom than the boys. The relationship between the pupils and the teachers is also very authorial, which means that the pupil need to show great respect towards the teachers as observation showed. Understanding the results found through a power perspective, this is created so that the children will feel who is having the power in the school. To have respect for the older ones is very important in the Serbian school environment it is also a way to show power and where the pupils place is. The school as an institution is a great creator of different power relations.

During the breaks there were no teachers outside to watch the children play even if I was told that there should be at least one teacher out during the big break. There were many children outside in the garden on a very small area and a lot of physical and psychological violent actions could be observed. I could also observe that the boys dominated the school yard and that they were the owner of the football games. The girls were mostly inside the school walking around in the corridors arm in arm. The boys hanged out in bigger groups than the girls which created groups of dyads and triads. Understanding this through earlier research made by Boyles et al. (2003) it showed that the children constructed their own gender when they choose to play in the same gender groupings. The school is also a producer of gender stereotypic behavior when they for example only gave the boys access to the football.

5.3 Meaning of school violence and bullying for pupils according to gender
To get a gender perspective of how violence and bullying is constructed, you will first get to know the girls perceptions and then the boys perceptions of it.

5.3.1 Girl's bullying and perceptions of school violence
The results presented are from three focus group interviews with girls from 6, 7 and 8 grades. The forms of violence that they could identify that existed in their environment was psychological violence, verbal violence, physical violence, fights, quarrels, stealing

from one person, threatening, bad words. Also hurting someone emotionally was something that the girls discussed about.

> I think that violent behavior is when someone is trying to hurt you and scare you on purpose. (Girl from 6 grade)

Understanding the girl's perceptions of violence it is very clear that they learnt these concepts along with the program. During the girls discussions it showed that they could define the differences between the different types of violence. The girls also knew what you could define as violence and how to recognize it, so the learning purpose of the program is good.

Most of the girls thought that the psychological violence was worse than the physical violence and that it existed more in the school and especially among the girls. There were some girls that thought that physical violence was worse just because they thought that they got used to verbal and psychological violence in their everyday school environment.

> I think that it is worse with psychological violence because there is a lot of it and it is not nice to be teased for some things every day for a long time. Physical violence, I do not think there is so much in our school. It is more of a play when for example the ones that goes in the eight grade hits someone. (Girl 7 grade)

This girl discussed in the quotation above that the psychological violence is worse, because she experience it much more than the physical. This is in accordance with Artz (2004) earlier research, which suggests that girl's bullies tend to use name calling, gossip and rumors. Being a girl makes you in this way a victim of psychological violence as you spend most of your time with other girls.

Many girls expressed that psychological violence is a great problem between girls.

> Once I had a problem in my class I was friend with two girls. Then I did not like the two girls so I stopped being with them. After that they started to exclude me out of all groups. No one of the girls wanted to be with me just because I did not want to be friends with them. They said very ugly things about me. After a while I found a new friend and then they stopped this behavior. They totally wanted to exclude me I am not sure why. (Girl 6 grade)

This can be seen as that the girls use their relational power to hurt or exclude someone. According to Artz (2004) when girls show aggressions they need to create bounds of alliances and use their social intelligence to convince other girls to think the same as them to get power over other girls.

The girls also discussed that it is much harder to notice psychological violence, because it is often invisible and the perpetrator usually has support from others. Roberts Jr. (2006) indicates that this violent behavior is typical gender behavior among girls. It is defined as indirect bullying and it is a great problem among girls. He also states that indirect bullying among girls relies heavily upon a psychological process, with an emphasis on

relating to communicating with others. Looking at girls' violence through the perspective of socialization girls will only use the "tools" which they have been raised to from their families and society historically. Connell (1995) and Roberts Jr. (2006) observes that girls have been raised and encouraged to hold back their aggression and to express frustrations in more acceptable ways.

Many of the girls thought that bullying between girls existed because of jealousy at each other. They discussed that girls bullied other girls because they were jealous and that they wanted to posses something that this particular girl had. Interpreting this phenomena of jealousy, through a power perspective these girls bullied other girls to gain power over them. The methods that they used for gaining power were spreading rumors and gossiping. Understanding this through a social constructionist perspective they put the bullied girl in a position where they gained power over her, through their constructions about her. As Foucault in Burr (1995) means when he is talking about defining others in such way that we want, that is to exercise power.

The girls could see that a different form of violence appeared among the boys. They saw that boys were more physically violent. Some of the girls thought that this violence was as a purpose for boys to be though and cool in front of their friends. They thought that the boys were in great need of being seen in this way from their peers. Looking at this trough the perspective of masculinity, boys need to show their masculinity by their use of physical violence.

The girls' thoughts about why someone behaved violently were that the person had some problems. The problems could differ but mostly they thought that the person had some kind of family problems. This is also what Stattin (1995 in Svensson, 2000) research suggests that the perpetrators of violent behaviors are the ones that usually have problems with their family relation. Looking at the girls' thoughts about someone that is being violent through a social constructionist perspective their thoughts reflects the societies and how adults talk about violent children as "problematic".

The girls also thought that the older pupils were usually the ones that behaved most aggressive in the school. The older ones in a school are through a power perspective seen as the ones that got power and interpreting their statements this can be seen as the ones that got the power is the ones that can use violence.

The girls could not see that physical violence existed among girls in their school. But there were some girls that experienced that outside the school.

> I was in a disco one time and there was a girl there and she behaved
> very violently towards me. She just jumped on me and kicked me with
> her stiletto shoes in my stomach. I called the guard and he helped me.
> She had luck that my dad was not there or he would probably hit her
> very hard. The girl had also weapons with her she was really crazy.
> (Girl 7 grade)

This can be understood as a change in the typical gender behavior norm when it comes to violence and girls. According to Artz (2004) it could be seen as the girls use physical violence to make a change and negotiate for a gender role where girls have more power and is not being seen as "powerless". The girl that was violent also had weapons which can be seen as a measure for gaining power. What also is said behind the words is that if someone hits you it is okay to behave violently back or ask for help from an adult that can be violent back towards the person that has violated you.

All girls thought that if someone would hurt them in any way physically or psychologically it was okay to hit back or plan an action of giving back with the same thing. There was an "eye for an eye" and "tooth for a tooth" mentality among the girls. Revenge seemed to be the sweetest part among the girls, and understanding this mentality it is hard to say that it has changed after the program. The purpose of the program is to learn non-violent behavior and communication. The children's revenge behavior can be seen as a construction of the violent reality they have been living in and the socialization process where they have learned from their parents, society and culture that it is okay to fight back if someone is mean to you.

A lot of the girls would also try to ignore a bullying behavior in the beginning but if they thought that it was too much they would in the very end report it to the pedagogue and or the psychologist. To report a violent action was seen as a weakness among the girls, it would mean that the person that is trying to hurt you has succeeded. The Success would mean that the person that bullied you had finally got the power over you.

5.3.2 Girl's perceptions on gender and school violence
Some of the girls had also experienced violence from the boys, both psychological and physical. One girl had experienced sexual harassments from a boy in school:

> There is one boy in our school that behaved very disgusting he touched
> my private parts of the body and it was horrible. I told my Dad and he
> came to school and talked with that boy and since that time he does not
> do these things anymore (Girl 8 grade)

According to Bhattacharyya (1994 in Mills, 2001), harassment is usually common where there is a power imbalance between groups. For example men can harass women, whites can harass blacks, straights can harass gays, it has shown that the harassed group suffers from social disprivilege. Mills (2001) discuss that the ability of boys and men to demonstrate their power over girls and women means that they can defend their own image of masculinity. In accordance with Mills the boy can see this action as his right, because he thinks he has supremacy over the girl. Sexual harassment is one of the primary means by which boys/men can use their power over girls/women.

The girls in the eight grades also discussed about another girl in one of the other 8 grades that had to leave the school because she was sexually harassed from some boys. One of the girls thought that it was unfair that she had to leave. Most of the girls thought that she behaved very freely towards the boys in the school and that she behaved like she wanted to be touched by the boys in a way, because she did not say no. The girls were blaming

the other girl for behaving freely towards the boys and their discussion about her were that this girl was bad and that she behaved like a "slut". Mills (2001) states that girls that are being sexually harassed at school are under a process of oppression and power abuse. The girls in this study are blaming their own gender for these happenings and are re-positioning this girl so that they can put themselves in a better hierarchically order but also to gain power. The girls statements and judgments about this girl that was sexually harassed indicates that they are oppressed when it comes to their own gender.

When it comes to the girls relationship with the boys in the school they all say that they mostly don't spend time with the boys. They usually spend time with the girls and that normally they hang out in pairs. This is a typical female stereotyped behavior among the girls in the school, constructing their own gender which also Epsteins et al. and Boyles et al. researches has shown.

All the girls also discussed that the boys were the ones that behaved most physically violent in the school. The girl's discussions about why the boys were mostly the ones that behaved violent were that they thought that girls learn how to communicate much earlier than the boys and that the girls learn that it is not okay to fight for a girl. They thought that boys from early age learnt violent behavior, they played with guns, violent videogames and the parents allowed them to fight more.

The girls also discussed that they have learnt traditional gender roles at home and in the school.

> Girls learn since they are small that they need to be housewives and that they should serve the man and that this is how their life will be (Girl 8 grade)

> A teacher told me once that I should behave in a certain way just because I was a girl. She told me that I should wear a skirt but I do not like to wear a skirt and she even talked with my mother about this. You can be a real girl even if you do not like to wear a skirt. I do not know why the teacher had to speak about this with my mother (Girl 8 grade)

Not only are the girls constructing stereotypic gender behavior among themselves in the school but they are also very affected by the teacher's behavior and how they construct the girl's gender in school. The teacher in this case sets limits for girls' gender behavior. The parents set also limits for the girls' gender by telling them how their life as girls is supposed to be.

The girls also talked about that if a girl were physically violent she was probably a bit more "slutty" and loose than a girl that did not fight. The girls thought that "good girls" do not fight. Thus "good girl" femininity can only be constructed in relation to other groups of girls like "sluts" Their discussions about that a girl is a "slut" if she behaves violently is constructed so that the girls are not stepping outside their gender norm behavior. The girls are very harsh towards their own gender; this can only be seen as the girls are socialized into this behavior. According to Mills (2001) if a girl is being violent in a physical way she is not given "authorized" femininity.

The girls have taken the view on violent girls from their close society.

> I think there is a difference it looks worse when a girl behaves
> violently. A girl should behave more like a lady but a boy it suits him
> more to fight (Girl 6 grade)

> Girls have more limits than boys. I think when a girl starts to fight
> physically she also starts to behave more like a boy (Girl 8 grade)

Girl's fights were not acceptable among peers it was seen as something very bad and deviant from the gender norm. They thought that this was not a girl thing to do. There also existed a double moral in the girl's thoughts about violent behavior among girls. They thought that they should have the same rights to behave as freely as the boys behaved in the school but at the same time they were thinking very badly about a girl that behaved in a more violent or "male" way as they expressed.

> We have girl in our class that is a great student and she is very gentle
> and all the teachers says that we should behave more like this girl, but
> we can not all be like ballerinas. I do not know but it is as boys and
> girls come from two different worlds (Girl 6 grade)

> Our teacher told us that we should not play football because it is not a
> girl thing to do, but we told her just because we like football we do not
> want to sit and watch we want to participate. It is me and my friend that
> likes to play football. The teacher wants us probably to dress properly
> and to sit there with ponytails and be nice (Girl 6 Grade)

These statements can be seen as that the girls want to step out and take more freedom. They want to have more rights and to take more space. It is like they want to reconstruct their gender order. But at the same time they have earlier discussed that some things are not for girls and that a girl should behave like a "lady". The girls probably feel that they want more freedom in the school environment but they have learnt other things from home and from the school which gives them this "double morality". This could also been seen as that the girls are under a pressure of unspoken power.

The girls discussed how it was looked upon not belonging into the gender order, they were not so positive about it, they did not like if a girl behaved like a male, but they thought it was even worse if a boy behaved in a "feminine" way. They talked about a boy that had a lot of bullying problems in the school because he acted in a more "feminine" way. According to Mills (2001) sex based harassments or harassments on the basis of being a girl or a boy is common in primary schools, were constructing hegemonic masculinity and "authorized" femininity is strong.

Other things that the girls could notice were for example that it was not legitimate for a boy to hit a girl physically but it was okay for a girl to hit a boy. Understanding the discussion that the girls had through the masculinity perspective, a boy that hits a girl is seen as lower in the order of hegemonic masculinity. The boy would be seen as a weak from other boys in the school.

5.3.3 Boy's bullying and perceptions of school violence

The results presented are from three focus group interviews with boys from 6, 7 and 8 grades. The boys defined different forms of violence that occurred or may occur in the school environment. Violent behavior for them meant bullying, psychological violence, physical violence, fights, threatening, teasing, verbal abuse, quarrels. They also noticed some situations were some pupils wanted to pay some of them to be their friend.

According to these statements the boys could define all these different types of violence existing in their school. Understanding their perceptions of violence, I could see that the have learnt this concepts from the program "School without violence", because they were saying them in a way that showed that they have learnt this in the school.

Some of the boys thought different from the others they thought that teasing someone or hurting someone psychologically were not violence. They could not see this as violent behavior; violence for them only meant physical aggressions.

> I only think that fights are violent behavior. I only think that a real fight
> is what you can count as violence. (Boy 8 grade)

They could relate to the different form of violence but some boys thought that only physical violence could count to the "real" type of violence and that the other forms that they have learnt is not "really" violence. Mills (2001) argues that maintaining the physical violence as a male thing is upholding of the hegemonic masculinity among the boys. Physical violence is related to the boy's fights as a way of showing their strength and status in the group and also as a way of showing their power over girls. Violence is seen as a major component of normalized masculinity performances and it is linked with the idea of physical superiority over women and other men.

One boy told that he thought provocation in the meaning of teasing led to physical forms of violence among boys:

> Provocation is horrible for me anyway; if a boy provokes me I will hit
> him. I do not know how to react in another way I can never give back
> with words I can only fight back. I think I learned it from my brother
> (Boy 7 grade)

This expression can been seen as this boy have not learnt how to handle his aggressions except one way which is seen as the real male way and that is to fight physically. According to Mills (2001) to show physical power over others is a way of upholding the hegemonic masculinity in the school context. Also to make people afraid of you, showing that you can use violence is a way of showing power. The masculinity perspective states that to have power over other men or a boy represents a true competition where "the best man wins". Mills indicates that the creation of masculinity is seen as most "glorious" when it represents domination over other men or boys. This form of masculinity is very evident and known in most western schools. Looking into the theories about socialization, boys are raised to be more physical and outwardly expressive of aggression.

Some of the boys thought that psychological violence was the worst form of violence that existed in the school.

> I think that psychological violence makes you depressed. You can not do anything, you can not concentrate, you can not sleep, study or go to the training (Boy 7 grade)

> Girls are the masters of psychological violence. I think they enjoy when they see someone that suffers (Boy 6 grade)

Even if most of the boys saw physical violence as a "male thing", some thought that the psychological violence was worse. They thought that this affected the whole person very negative and that it was harder to make it stop. A fight was over in ten minutes but they thought that psychological violence could last for longer time and affect you more as a person. By referring the psychological violence to being girls violence they continued to maintain a masculine image and resisted engaging in any behavior that made them vulnerable to accusations of not being a man enough.

The boys discussed that they were more physically violent than the girls because they were stronger and because they had different hormones. This naturalization of the connection between masculinity and violence is clearly evident by those comments. This is also socially constructed where the boys through their surroundings learnt how they should be and behave. Mills (2001) argues that boys who believe that violence is both their right and a way of demonstrating their masculinity use it partly to advance their gender identity in their own and others eyes.

The younger boys noticed that the older boys were more aggressive towards them in the school. According to the power perspective this is common when power and violence goes hand in hand. The ones that are older is the ones that have power in the school and having power means that you can use violence whenever you want because the ones that do not have power can not hurt you back.

Boys discussions of the reasons for behaving violently were that the family had some problems but most of them discussed that a violent boy needed to show off in front of his friends, or be accepted by a group of peers. This "showing off" with violence points at violence as a measure for constructing masculinities.

The boys would rather try to solve a problem of bullying by themselves than to seek help from someone. They would also try to ignore the violent behavior in the beginning and give back to the person that violated them after a while. The boys described that usually solving the problem of bullying, ended with a physical fight between the boys and this fights lead to an automatic contact with the school psychologist or the pedagogue. This shows that the visible physical violence between boys is the type of violence that school staff reacts on. What is also said from the boys is that giving back with violent behavior was the way of solving a case of bullying.

To give back with violence is not what they have learnt during this program and this is a sign of that the boys have not accepted the new non-violent behavior approach maybe because it does not fit with their constructions about their own gender

5.3.4 Boy's perceptions on gender and school violence
The boys described their physical violent behavior as something always existing among the boys.

> Boys being more violent than girls is coming form the Stone Age,
> when the people have to protect their territories and the man fought and
> the women took care of the children and the food (Boy 7 grade).

This can be seen as a socialization process where the male gender through history has been described as the powerful and stronger one. Mills (2001) states that gendering processes are never finished they begin at birth and end at death.

The boys could see their own fights as a friendly matter, they fight and then they are friends. The boys experienced other boys fighting in school every second day. The boys thought that the girls also were violent towards each other they were always gossiping and lying things about each other. The boys thought that the girls were the masters of psychological violence and that they often fought with words.

> Me and Peter always fight in school physically but we do it and then
> we are friends, it happens every third day. But we always are friends
> after these fights; the boys are somehow closer to each other than the
> girls. If I would start a fight with a girl I think it would have been going
> on for years but a fight with a boy we just hit each other and then after
> 5 minutes we are friends again. (Boy 6 Grade)

The boys also stated that it is okay for girls to hit them while it is not okay for a boy to hit a girl. This is also the creation of the typical gender norm, if a boy hit a girl he was seen weaker among his peers. A boy hitting a girl was seen as less masculine he was not "man enough".

All of them agreed upon that physical violence was more common among boys but some of them have witnessed one or two fights between girls. Girl's fights were not seen as "real" fights from the boys it was more seen as a "try" to show their physical strength and the fights were seen as "cat fights". According to the boys the girls did not really hit each other when they fought; they only scratched each other and pulled each others hair. Interpreting their constructions of girls fights as not real fights, were because the boys wanted to keep the physical fight as a "male thing", which girls normally do not have access to. By explaining girl's fights in this way they construct the female's use of physical violence as powerless.

The boys also noticed that clothes, how you looked and where you came from were important for not getting bullied in the school. Not belonging to the norm had bad consequences for a pupil this because it creates power imbalances were the ones closer to the norm have greater power.

> I was wearing this (points at his clothes) and there were some children
> that told me that I was a swot, and they asked me if this was my swot
> school uniform. I just looked at them from above so they would not feel
> that they hurt me then I just turned my back on them and left but I did
> not tell anyone about this situation (Boy 6 Grade)

This boy tried to show his power over the ones that bullied him for his clothes by not giving the bullies any attention.

When it came to boy's relationship with the girls in their class and school, some of them did not spend any time with the girls and some did. Most of the boys only hanged out with other boys, in this way according to Boyles et al (2003) they were constructing masculinities in the school by choosing to be friend with the same gender.

A couple of boys said that they have experienced psychological violence from a girl. The girls were also described as untrustworthy and tricky from the boys. This construction from the boys can be seen as that they also wanted to show that they could be victims of violent behavior as well.

The boys discussed that if a boy is violent he had his reasons but if a girl is violent it only looks very bad. Miller and White (2004) argues that when analyzing the relationship between "doing gender" and "doing violence", this means it is also necessary to examine the ways that power imbalances between males and females holds back and control girl's ability to use violence. They conclude that gender may be used as a resource for accomplish or avoiding violence.

The boy's thoughts about how girls should be were that she should not be violent in any way; they should not always try to be in the center of the attention, they should be more shy and reserved. These constructions are made by the boys as a way of holding the girls under control and not letting them take any power when it comes to domination. These constructions are upholding the normative gender order in their school.

> Girls destroy their beauty if they behave violently but boy's violence is
> in our nature (Boy 7 grade)

> It has always been like this that girls gossip more and spread rumors
> about each other they love to do this and boys fight (Boy 8 Grade)

Some of the boys did not think that girls should behave like "bimbos". A "bimbo" according to them was a girl being dominant and which wanted to be in the center of a group all the time. Constructing these labels and imaginations of girls, the boys only contributes to the process where the girls that have power will be oppressed. These constructions are also what hold back girl's abilities of being dominant and outgoing. This can also been seen as the boys are using power towards the girls because according to Foucault in (Burr, 1995) power is to define a person in a way that allows you to do the things you want.

Boys also seemed to use social constructs such as "bimbos," to justify violence by linking it to beliefs about gender roles and in this way they were carrying on gender role conformation which particularly supports male dominance.

The boys supported the traditional way of thinking when it came to gender roles.

> I think that it is natural for the man to work and for the woman to be at home. In my home situation it is not like this because my parents are divorced. I think that most women are not at home nowadays because of the economical crises in Serbia both women and men have to work. (Boy 7 grade)

Understanding the boys thoughts about gender roles through the masculinity and socialization perspective. They have learned that work is significance for masculinity and that women being home and taking care of the family was significance from femininity. The traditional way of thinking about gender is constructed through a process of socialization where family, school, and society takes part.

One boy said that the girls always told the teacher if they touched their private parts of their body. This boy was actually confessing a matter of sexual harassments that he took part in, and by saying that the girls always told the teachers he justified his actions that the girls should not tell because it was his right to do this. This boy did not think that touching another person's body with out consent was wrong. He thought that it was okay for a boy to touch a girl as a way of showing hegemonic masculinity and supremacy over the girls.

5.4 Experiences of violence from school staff according to gender
During the interviews I tried to explore the types of violence that occurred in this school. Not only did violence among the pupils occur but it also showed that the pupils thought that the school staff did not have appropriate behavior towards them.

5.4.1 Girls experiences of violent behavior from school staff
Some of the girls have experienced violence from teachers and the security guards in the school. Most of the experienced violence from the teachers was verbal abuse or embarrassing statements that hurt them. None of them did experience any physical violence from school staff.

Some of the girls had practiced humiliation in front of the whole class from the teachers.

> I had a problem with one teacher in this school. I told her that I wanted to participate in a language competition, but she told me that I should not go there and make a shame of myself and then she told me to do something with my life. She offended me with these comments all the time (Girl 7 grade)

> I know that there are some teachers that do not like children just
> because they have low marks and then they behave very badly towards
> them, they press the pupils a lot. For example once I had problem with
> a teacher and all my classmates noticed that the teacher was always
> pressing me, she always behaved very badly towards me, and she told
> me that I was the worst girl (Girl 6 grade)

The girls discussed that there are some teachers that tell pupils that they are stupid all the time and they thought that this could hurt someone really bad in the end. Being psychologically violent towards pupils in the school as a teacher, only shows that the teachers are misusing their power.

The girls also discussed that there is one female teacher that always behaves more violently towards the boys, she always hits them with her diary on their heads. Looking at this trough a power perspective this teacher which already has got a lot of power is abusing it by using violence towards the boys.

Many of the girls have experienced the security guards at the school as violent, because they scream and run after pupils all the time. The security guard is a sign of power in the school he is the one letting everybody in and out, understanding their violent behavior they are showing power through violent behavior. The security guards in the school and the teachers that use violence are not good models for the children in the school, especially when the school is in an anti-violence program.

5.4.2 Boys experiences of violent behavior from school staff
The boys discussed that the girls had more privileges in the school, when it came to violent behavior. They thought that the teachers were harsher towards the boys than the girls in the school. Many of the boys had also experienced that the teachers gave them lower grades in the behavior grade even if they did the same thing as a girl. The teachers in the school may see the girls as the weaker gender as a way of holding up the gender norm in the school.

> I think that the teachers think that we the boys are the ones that bullies
> and that we are immature (Boy 8 Grade)

> I think that the girls have more privileges in the school the teachers
> allows them to do so much more than the boys. I think especially the
> male teachers give girls more help and support (Boy 7 Grade)

The boys have experienced that some teachers in the school have behaved in a violent way towards them. Most of the boys have experienced that the teachers has screamed at them and dragged them out of the classroom. The boys discussed about a male teacher known in the school for having a violent approach towards the children. The boys have heard that he once, tried to strangle a boy in the school.

Using this type of violence towards the pupils where you as a teacher already have a higher position in power it only shows that you as a teacher are trying to gain more power

by using violence as a method. The boys were the victims of physical violence from the teachers in the school.

The boys have also observed that some male teachers do not behave properly towards the girls.

> I heard one teacher saying to a girl that she would probably get a stripper when she became grown up (Boy 8 Grade)
>
> I think that teachers in this school make big differences when it comes to boys and girls for example. I think that some male teachers behaves like pedophiles, my girlfriend told me that once she came to a written test in a skirt an that she asked this teacher about some questions. The teacher gave her the answers and he gave her a five mark in this topic (Boy 7 grade)

According to Mills (2001) men's sexual harassments towards girls/women is a great tool for showing superiority, but being a teacher and saying this to a pupil is an extreme form of power abuse.

5.5 School staff perception of school violence and gender among pupils
To get an overall understanding of the phenomena bullying in this school I thought it was important to have the perceptions from the school staff as well, to see if their experience was the same as the pupils. The results in this part will be presented from four individual interviews with school staff.

The pedagogue and the psychologist are mainly working with bullying problems in the school. The teachers should also work with these issues according to the program "School without violence". The teachers should recognize the problem try to solve it with the pupils in their class or report it to the psychologist or the pedagogue if they feel that the case is too complicated for them. The psychologist and pedagogue will in this empirical description be called as social workers so they can get anonymity in this research.

The social workers and the teachers discussed that verbal abuse and psychological violence was a big problem among the pupils. Pupils that said bad words to each other, that lied, spread rumors about each other and that tried to exclude each other.

They observed that they recognized differences in violent behavior among the pupils. They observed that girls in the school used psychological violence in the way that they gossiped, made up lies; excluded girls that they did not like. They noticed some fights between some girls but that happened maybe every second year. They saw that the boys swore and cursed to each other more and that they fought. The social workers and teachers observations are in accordance with Yuberos and Navarros (2006) research about bullying and gender, where they found these differences.

Both the teachers and the social workers in the school stated that since entering the program, girls bulling has become more visible and in the beginning of the program, it

seemed as the violent behavior among girls was accelerating in the school. They all concluded that it has just come up to the surface and that girls bullying has existed all the time. They just did not notice it, because the girls did not report to them and because it was an invisible problem.

According to Roberts Jr. (2006) bullying among girls has been termed as relational aggression and has been viewed with much the same foolish neglect as with boys. For example as the statement "boys will be boys" with girls' violence it has been said that this is the way girls solve their problems. That is why the school staff noticed this difference entering the program where "girls violence" (psychological violence) is defined as well. Defining violence makes people aware that violence can appear in different forms.

Both the social workers and the teachers said that they knew that psychological violence is a great problem in the school and that this kind of violent behavior is harder recognize because it is invisible for adults working in the school. The most common of violent cases that comes into the social workers office is physical violent cases where boys have been fighting. They thought that boys violent problems was easier to solve than girls. Constructing the girls bullying problems as more invisible and complicated they are creating girls use of violence as deviant. They say that they know that psychological violence is occurring most and still they construct this behavior as invisible.

The social workers described that they worked with mediation among the pupils but they thought it was really hard to work with that kind of method with the girl's violent behavior. Interpreting this through a social constructionist perspective they construct the girls problems as complicated, which also becomes the truth to them when they are trying to work with them.

The teachers also worked with physical violence in their classes. They all indicated that they worked less with psychological violence. They recognized that the bullying that is among the girls is harder to work with because it is invisible and not direct. By constructing the girls' problem as more difficult and invisible they are making a difference between the genders.

> I think that it is easier to solve problems between boys you only need to know who hit who and why and then you solve the problem, but with girls it is more complicated. It is like they say that she told me that bla bla bla and she told me that and my mother said this, it is so much gossiping. You can not know in which moment it becomes violent behavior and it is harder to follow their stories. (Teacher)

According to their descriptions it is clear that the social workers and teachers in the school have a problem with girls bullying they do not know how to handle it or how to solve this "invisible" problem. It seems that situations of exclusion and spreading bad rumors are hard conflicts to solve. This makes the girls more victims of bullying because adults in their school can not help them to solve their conflicts and bullying. It is also clear that the social workers and teachers in the school are more focusing on the boy's

problems and seem to take the girls problem in the second hand when they say that their problems are invisible. Constructing the boys' problems as more simple and girls as more complicated is creating a distance and inequality between the genders.

The social workers could also observe that there was some sexual violence in the school. These kinds of cases were not seen as sexual violence from them but more as curiosity and getting to know the opposite sex.

> I think that the boys like to touch and to pinch that is how they get in contact with the girls they would like to have girlfriends but they do not know how to behave. I am sometimes wondering what they are learning at home from their parents. We have to learn them what is okay to do and what is not (Social worker)

Living in a society and culture where stereotypic gender behavior is seen as the norm and where the norm is a strong hegemonic masculinity, there is no wonder why they do not recognize these pinches as sexual harassments. They are used to that the man/boy are the powerful one and that he can justify his violent behavior in the way he wants. Not taking this behavior as sexual harassments is the same thing as giving an okay for the boy's to have power over the girls.

The social workers in the school stated that the teachers are not physical violent towards the pupils but the teachers use more verbal abuse towards the children and it is not a secret in the school. According to the program the teachers that use verbal abuse are not good models for teaching children non-violent behavior.

The social workers concluded that 90 per cent of the children that behaved violently in the school also had family problems. They also indicated that this school is very competitative and that the parents put a lot of pressure on their children, pressure which can make the children violent in the school.

The teachers discussed that in the cases of bullying it is important to work with the parents as well to teach them that violent behavior in school is not allowed. All of the school staff said that many parents teach their children that it is okay to fight back in school if someone is mean to you. Interpreting this it seems like an impossible task to teach the children non-violent behavior in the school, when their parents teach them that violence is okay.

When it came to punishing the pupils for violent behavior the teachers used the behavior mark to do this. A bad behavior in the school meant a mark decrease. The social workers and teachers could see that in the 70 per cent of the cases boys got a decrease in this mark. They observed that the girls almost never put themselves in those situations as the boys. They thought that girls used their social intelligence to get away from the decrease in this mark. They started to cry and come up with the most amazing stories while the boys just accepted it.

> Girls are weaker and sensitive boys are the opposite. I think that the
> teachers are a bit harsher towards the boys for example if a girl does
> something bad they will say that lets wait until tomorrow and if she
> changes we will not decrease her mark. But when it comes to boys they
> decrease their mark immediately. We as teachers are more sensitive to
> the girls. (Teacher)

These constructions that they have about girls and boys are withholding the stereotypic gender order, where violence is a part of the hegemonic masculinity. By talking about boys and girls in this way they also teach the pupils how they are supposed to be and what right behavior is for a girl and a boy. By only decreasing the boys behavior marks they construct the boys as more violent than girls.

One problem that they all could identify in the school is that they could see that pupils were entering conflicts easier than before; they think it only reflects the society.

> It has been wars here and there is a lot of violent happenings in the
> families, the rules and the laws does not work in the society […] there
> is also a lot of violence with in the family that we do not work with to
> stop. The courts does not take this cases seriously, the centers of social
> work does not work with these problems there is no care in the society
> about violence and violent behavior (Social worker)

> We here in Serbia has gone through a lot of things […] fathers have
> been in war and you can not expect them to behave normal towards
> their children. They brought bombs at home and guns and so on and the
> children have seen this violence. The mentality of the men are that it is
> o.k. for a boy to fight because we here in Balkan has always been in
> some kind of war and it is good for a boy to fight so he will not become
> a homo (Social worker)

When they discuss that the society has made this generation of children going to primary school in Serbia more violent because of the conflicts and wars. This is a signal that violence only creates more violence, and that it is important to work with the problem on a structural level as well. UNICEF (2004) argues that in countries that had been exposed to economical crises and poverty and where an uncertain political climate prevails it has shown that the rate of violence among young people is more prevalent. Interpreting the discussion that Serbian mentality is that "it is good for a boy to fight so he will not become a homo", only indicates that the hegemonic masculinity is strongly connected to violence in the Serbian society.

The social workers are have a hard time to solve all the conflicts and bullying in school, they think that the teachers could need more education in conflict resolution and try to work more with bullying in their classes. They also would like to involve the peer team more in trying to solve conflicts among pupils. The problem is that the peer team has not been successful in their school. Nobody has put notes in the "box of trust" and no one seeks help from them when it comes to cases of bullying and conflicts. The social workers are also a bit worried about if the peer supporters are enough educated for

working with these problems. But they all agree that they believe that children are better to solve problems for children when it comes to bullying among pupils.

5.6 The programs acceptation among pupils and school staff
To analyze if the program has been innovated/accepted in the school, you will now read a sequence of how the program "School without violence" has been accepted/innovated in this school.

5.6.1 The innovation of the program among the pupils
Most of the girls liked the idea of the program but they were not so sure that it was accepted in their school. They discussed that the pupils did not take the program seriously. Some of the girls thought that the workshops made for this program were "childish". They could also see that the creation of rules that they created in their class were not followed. The peer team was not so popular either; they would not seek help there if they had any problem. They thought that discussions about this topic are important and that they would learn more through discussions with other pupils in other classes as well. They could also observe that some teachers in the school did not take this program seriously. The children also had a hard time to believe that you could stop violent behavior in the school.

The boy's discussions about the program were that it is good idea but they do not think it works in the reality. They could all see it because since the programs beginning they wrote some class rules on how they should behave and no one has followed them. They have also met some negative responses on the program from a couple of teachers. They could really not understand how a program like this can make change or stop violent behavior in the school. They also thought that the program should contain more physical activities in example having a box sack where someone that is angry can hit on. They also suggested that more work needs to be done with the parents. They also have not understood the point with the peer team and its function. They saw the peer team as a "swot" team, where only the good ones can be in. They also had thoughts about that this program may work better in the younger grades.

According to the diffusion of innovation theory the children have not innovated the program and adopted the new behavior in their school. The question why they did not innovate it, is probably because the new non-violent behavior has not been accepted by the main innovators at their school the "Opinion leaders" (Appendix 2).

When it comes to the question of the peer team they have not been so popular among the pupils. The children that were supposed to work with the pupils when it came to changing behavior were according to this theory wrongly chosen. If the behavior is going to change among the pupils they will have to vote for a peer that they think will be able to change and affect the other pupil's behavior in the school. They will have to include their "Opinion leaders" in the peer team, so that this new behavior will be accepted. It seems like the pupils that are in the peer team now are only the "Innovators" and not the "Opinion leaders".

According to Diffusion of innovations, if the opinion leaders among the children in the school are not the ones that are promoting this new behavior it will never be accepted.

Both boys and girls concluded in the end that the teachers have not changed much towards them even if they are in the program; they still use bad words towards them. The teachers are the innovators in this program, they are the ones that are supposed to promote for non-violent behavior in the school according to UNICEF s program. If the innovators have not accepted the innovation by them selves they can not be used as innovators, other ways need to be found.

5.6.2 The innovation of the program among the school staff
All the teachers and the social workers in the school thought that the program is very good. They noticed that they have learnt a lot from this program. They could observe that not all of their colleagues have accepted the program but most of them had. They saw this program as something that could make their work easier in the future. They concluded that the ones that did not care about working with bullying were the ones who are the older generation in this school.

The main effect that the social workers could observe in the school was that now it was more legitimated to seek help if pupils have experienced any kind of violent behavior. They also noticed that girls have started to report their bullying problems more.

They concluded that this work against violence needs to be continued and that they need more support and education on how to work with bullying in the school. They indicate that work against bullying and violence is something new in their school and to notice real changes it would take a couple of years.

According to the diffusion of innovation theory the school staff seemed to have innovated the program among them. Although they seemed to have innovated the program some of their colleagues still behaved violently towards the children. A "real" behavior change in the school among school staff has not appeared yet but it probably will in the soon future. This because it seems as the "Opinion leaders" in the school among the adults has accepted this and it is just a matter of time before the others will. Their changing agent has been a mentor that is a psychologist that UNICEF has educated for this program. Their changing agent is a person that they can relate to, it is a grown up that has working experience from the school. According to this theory the right changing agent is picked for the adults in the school.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Boys, girls and school staff identified different forms of violence in their school environment. Bullying and violence was negatively related to both well-being and satisfaction in the school. The girls, some boys and school staff discussed that verbal abuse and psychological violence were a big problem among them.

Many pupils and all the school staff mentioned that entering the program "School without violence" has made them aware of the psychological violence. Before they entered the program they were so used to the verbal and psychological violence that they did not identify it as violence.

Looking at violent behavior and its connection with gender there is a difference between girls and boys use of violence. Girls, school staff and some boys discussed that the psychological violence was the worst and that it mostly existed among the girls.

Girls violence were described as indirect and invisible. Girls use of violence were observed as relational aggressions which had a goal to exclude one person out of social relationships. Girls' use of violence was also described as spreading rumors, lying and gossiping. Their use of violence can be explained as an expression of that girls have been raised and socialized into this way of showing their aggressions.

The school staff experienced girls' violence as more difficult to handle and that it was harder to recognize it. In this way I can say that a special attention needs to be put on the girl's use of violence. The attention need to be put on how to recognize it, prevent it and how to solve their conflicts. I think that in this way the girls are just as aggressive as the boys and what is more important is that their uses of violence are often invisible for adults in the school.

Boys violence were described as direct and practical. Boys showed their aggressions through physical violence and verbal abuse. Boys constructions about their own use of violence were that they wanted to maintain the physical violence as a "male thing". In this way they were holding up the hegemonic masculinity. A boy hitting a girl was not seen as a "man enough", this because the boys constructed the girls gender as weaker and powerless.

The physical violence was also explained as boys violence from their peers and school staff. The boys explained their use of violence with physical superiority over the girls, hormones and history.

Boys are also the ones that are seen as most "visible" aggressive in the school. The boys are usually the ones that get punished for their bad behavior in the school. In this school boys represent 70 percent of the ones that get their behavior mark decreased, this also constructs the boys as the most violent.

The difference between boys and girls use of violence in schools was rather large and could be interpreted as an expression of masculinity construction as suggested by Connell and others (Connell, 1995, Mills, 2001, Artz, 2004).

The discussions of violent boys also explained why girls are not as physically violent as boys. Aggression and dominant violent behavior were two major things in boy's construction of masculinity. Physical violence among boys could be interpreted as a resource in the production of hegemonic masculinity.

Girls being violent and dominant were seen as "sluts" and "bimbos" this was seen from both boys and girls. This re-positioned the girls unfavorably, indicating that they displayed the wrong sexuality and femininity. This view also helped to disqualify girl's effort at achieving toughness. To get an "authorized" femininity you could not show any signs of aggressions as a girl. Being physically violent in school was in this way riskier for girls than boys as it can not be used as the same strategy as for boys to gain power.

In early adolescence is the relationship between boys and girls change. Boys and girls can not longer be friends and play as they used to. A boy touching a girl in an inappropriate way was not seen as sexual harassments but more as exploring the opposite sex and curiosity.

The girls were blaming the girls for being to loose or not be able to say no in a correct way when these sexual harassments occurred in their school. They were being harsh towards their own gender, which according to Mills (2001) was a sign of oppression. A boy stated that girls always tell if they touch their private parts of the body. All these views were built up on social constructions where the man has got a lot of power seeing it from a historical perspective.

The boys and girls described how they usually grew up with very traditional gender roles images. The girls had more limits due to their gender. During the interviews it was clearly seen that they felt unequally treated but they could not describe how. There existed a double morality among the girls. They thought that they should have the same right as boys, but at the same time they judged girls that stepped outside their gender norm.

Most of the children saw the gender inequalities as something biological that you could not change and it is just the way it was since the worlds beginning. These stereotypic images create a power imbalance between the genders.

Both boys and girls thought that bullying was a measure for gaining power over someone. Not belonging to the gender order, created situations of bullying among the pupils. In accordance with Foucault's power perspective in Ambjörnsson (2004) the boys and girls creates their identities by adjusting themselves to the existing norms in the society.

The reasons for boys and girls differences between how they view and use violence are rooted in cultural and social influences rather than in physiology. According to Connell (1995) boys and men have been owner of the violence during history. Boys and men's physical violence must be recognized as a construction to keep the existing gender orders in the society and which makes the physical violence as a property of the hegemonic masculinity. I am also concluding that girls are just as violent as boys but in other ways which has become normative according to their gender.

It is important not to accept violent types of games between boys just because it is seen as their way of playing. It is also important not to accept gossiping and exclusion among girls because it is viewed as in the female nature. It is easy giving these explanations as it means that it is natural and that you can not to do anything to change these behaviors because it is in the human nature. Being aware that this is socially constructed behaviors, where individuals, institutions and communities have constructed this. You also know that you can work with decreasing these inequalities and power imbalances between the genders.

How do we know if an innovation has happened? It is simple; we observe that a group or community has adopted a new practice. The differences of innovations is seen among pupils and school staff, this is due to "train the trainer" model that UNICEF has got in this program. The mentor of the program "School without violence" is educating all the school staff in one school and then the teachers are supposed to educate the pupils. According the diffusion of innovation theory this is a great model when it comes to innovation of the school staff as they can identify themselves with this mentor, but when it comes to the children it the wrong changing agent is picked. I think for the program to be innovated by the pupils it needs to be a change in the persons that shall promote the non-violent behavior to them. It is also important that these persons are having a non-violent approach.

If we compare the two countries Serbia versus Sweden when it comes to the problem of bullying, Sweden has worked with this issue for a much longer time. In Sweden the anti-bullying work started in 1995 and has been going on at different levels in the society. In April 2006 the Swedish school minister set a new law when it came to bullying and other anti discriminatory behaviors in school. The law says that every school in Sweden is responsible for their pupil's well being and that all anti-discriminatory behavior when it comes to gender, ethnicity and other harassment is forbidden. Every school has the responsibility to have a "plan of equality". The school can be sued for not having helped a pupil that has been bullied or harassed and every school need to have preventative measures against bullying.

In Serbia UNICEF has just started to implement these programs in schools that voluntarily want to participate in the project. Serbia has a far way to go when it comes to the problem of bullying and gender equality but they are on the right way starting with this program in schools.

The Serbian people have experienced a lot of structural violence with wars and conflicts and this has left a lot of poverty, exclusion, injustice and inequality in the country. To develop a culture of peace and non-violence approach will therefore take a long time. To educate the children in schools about equality and non-violence is the most important task UNICEF and other organizations have to work with. I also think that it is important to start to engage the schools more in these questions and to put this in the school curricula.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Violence prevention programs are mostly gender neutral but they must include clear strategies that are specific to the circumstances of girls bullying. It has shown that psychological violence it is a great problem in schools and that it mostly occurs in between the girls. It has also shown that this kind of violence gets ignored and that it is difficult to solve from the school staff and children's point of view. The boy's physical violence is the type of violence that gets recognized in the school and that is taken more measures against. The importance to do something creative out of these differences between girls and boys is more than essential.

Trying to handle violence in schools simply through school rules such as banning violence is unlikely to have a long–lasting deep effect. Instead as Connell suggests that awareness of how violence contributes to orders of power and gender needs to be explained. Also when it comes to sexual harassments, Robinson (2005) advice that schools intervention strategies should go beyond the actions themselves. Interventions should deal with gender identities and especially with the constructing of masculinities in school, where alternative ways for boys to create their gender identities should be suggested. Adults in the school also contributes to the construction of gender inequality and violence, this because they are immersed in the same gendered power relations as the pupils.

Young people, parents and professionals need to reconsider their beliefs about gender roles and the role of violence in gender identity. Schools have a unique opportunity and even a responsibility to address the issue of school violence and beliefs linking masculinity with violence. Schools force contact between young people in a way that most environments do not. To abridge these problems when it comes to gender inequality and violence Mills (2001) states that it is important to have discussions with the children about this in school. To open up for discussion and show new ways of re-constructing the gender orders. One idea is to explore how it is to change gender roles or having discussions on how the children and teachers look up on other girls/women and other boys/men. The most important thing to work with in the school context is equality between human beings.

To open up for gender role discussion and equality will not give a direct effect in equality between the genders. Hopefully the effect will be seen in the future when the children that learnt in school about gender equality and non-violent communication, will teach their children. This effect will also be an investment for the future society, as equality is an important factor for peace and development.

This research has also shown that it is very important to focus on educating the teachers in non-violent communication, because they have acted violently towards the children as well. The teachers also need to be educated in gender equality; they seem to think very gender stereotypic according to the children's and their own description. They are seeing that girls are supposed to be in a certain way and that boys should be in a certain way. By having this perspective on the genders, the teachers put the girls in a lower position than

the boys. They see the girls as the "weaker" gender, which creates power inequalities among the pupils. A deeper investigation into how teachers and other adults in school contribute to the constructions of gender and violence has implications for prevention as well.

I think it is also very important to make an evaluation on the programs effect by continuing the work with asking those actors who are involved in the everyday school life.

The programs should have a more participatory approach were the pupils can take responsibility. It is of great importance to empower and give the pupils the power on how they want to work with this problem. In a institution such as school where the pupils are exposed to power from teachers and other grown-ups they need to feel empowered and know that what they think and say matters as well. To empower is to create a smaller distance between the ones that normally decide and the ones who do not.

Due to the lack of innovation among these pupils in the school this could be seen that the changing agent is wrongly picked to educate these pupils towards a behavior change. The pupils would probably best accept the program and the new behavior/innovation according to the theories if the changing agent were more close to them. A teacher educating these pupils in non-violent behavior is probably the worst changing agent. To have a teacher to educate them about violence and non-violent behavior is wrong because it puts them in a power relation where the teacher is the one that knows the best and it puts the pupils in a lower position. The pupils may have a hard time relating to the teacher as a grown up talking about this issues.

References

Ambjörnsson F. (2004), *I en klass för sig. Genus, klass och sexualitet bland gymnasietjejer* [In a different class. Gender, class and sexuality among high school girls] Stockholm, Ordfront

Artz S. (2004): Violence in the School Yard, School Girls Use of Violence In: *Girls Violence, Myths and Realities.* Alder C. and Worrall A. (ed), State University of New York Chapter 8

Boyle D.E, Marshall N. L. and Robeson W.W. (2003), Gender at Play: Fourth-Grade Girls and Boys on the Playground *American Behavioral Scientist* 46, 1326-1345

Burr.V (1995), *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, London , Routledge

Connell R.W. (1987), *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics,* Stanford, University of Stanford Press

Connell R.W. (1995), *Masculinities*, 2 nd ed, Berkeley Los Angeles, University of California Press

Epstein D., Kehily M., Mac an Ghaill M. and Redman P. (2001), Boys and Girls Come out to Play: Making Masculinities and Femininities in School Playgrounds *Men and Masculinities* 4, 159-172

Gilbert N. (1997), *Researching social life*, SAGE Publications London

Kvale S. (1996), *Interviews, An introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Thousand Oaks, California, SAGE

May T. (2001), *Social Research: Issues, methods and process*, Open University Press

Mills M. (2001), *Challenging Violence in Schools. An Issue of Masculinities*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Miller J. and White N.A. (2004) Situational Effects of Gender Inequality on Girls Participation in Violence In: *Girls Violence, Myths and Realities.* Alder C. and Worrall A. (ed), State University of New York Chapter 9

Nansel T., Haynie D. and Simon-Morton B. (2003), The Association of Bullying and Victimization with Middle School Adjustment In : *Bullying, Peer Harassment and Victimization in the Schools. The next generation of Prevention* Elias M. and Zins J.(ed), The Haworth Press, 45-62

Newman M.L, Holden G.W. and Delville Y. (2005), Isolation and the stress of being bullied *Journal of Adolescence* 28 (3), 343-357

Olweus D. (2004) The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program: design and implementing issues and a new national initiative in Norway In: *Bullying in schools: how successful can interventions be?* Smith P.K, Pepler D. and Rigby K. (ed), Cambridge University Press Chapter 2

Pinheiro P.S (2006), *Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children*, United nations General Assembly

Renold E. (2002) Presumed Innocence: (Hetero)Sexual, Heterosexist and Homophobic Harassment among Primary School Girls and Boys *Childhood* 9, 415-434
Roberts Jr. (2006), *Bullying from both sides. Strategic Interventions for working with bullies & victims*, London, Corwin Press

Rigby K., Smith P.K. and Pepler D. (2004) Working to prevent school bullying: key issues In: *Bullying in schools: how successful can interventions be?,* Smith P.K, Pepler D. and Rigby K. (ed), Cambridge University Press Chapter 1

Robinson K.H (2005) Reinforcing hegemonic masculinities through sexual harassments: Issues of identity, power, and popularity in secondary schools. *Gender and Education* 17(1), 19-37

Rogers. E.M (1995), *Diffution of innovations*. 4 th ed., New york, Free Press

Salmivalli C., Kaukiainen A. & Lagerspetz K. (2000), Aggression and sociometric status among peers: Do gender and type of aggression matter? *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 41, 17-24

Svensson R. (2002), *Tackling violence in Schools. A Report from Sweden.* http://www.gold.ac.uk/connect/reportsweden.html

Swearer S., Tam P. (2003) Perceptions and Attitudes Toward Bullying in Middle School Youth. A Developmental Examination Across the Bully/Victim Continuum In: *Bullying, Peer Harassment and Victimization in the Schools. The next generation of Prevention* Elias M. and Zins J.(ed), The Haworth Press, 63-80

UNICEF (2004) *National Plan of action for children*

Valliancourt T., Hymel and Mcdougalls (2003) Bullying is Power. Implications for Schools-Based Interventions Strategies In: *Bullying, Peer Harassment and Victimization in the Schools. The next generation of Prevention* Elias M. and Zins J.(ed), The Haworth Press, 157-176

Yubero S. and Navarro R. (2006), *Students and Teachers* Views of Gender-Related Aspects of Aggression *School Psychology International* 27, 488-512

WebPages:

- www.unicef.org/serbia, (2007-01-29)
- www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm, (2007-02-04)
- www.landguiden.se, (2007-05-01)
- www.fhi.se/shop/material_pdf/skolbarnshalsovanor0312.pdf, (2007-05-01)
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yugoslav_wars, (2007-05-01)

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

The prevention program "School without violence"
The inclusive and educational programme that UNICEF implemented in some schools in Serbia is tailored for pupils, teachers and parents, with the aim to promote a healthy way of living and assist in creating a safe, inspiring and happy environment for children to learn and grow. The program has following objectives:

1. Increase the level of awareness about bullying among children, school staff, parents and the local community
2. Increase the level of knowledge about the ways to act and mechanisms of activity in the school
3. Motivate the wish to participate in the activity and changes among all the staff. children, parents and other actors in the society
4. Create a support and protection network for the victims and the children who show violent behaviour
5. Include children, staff, parents, professionals and the local community in the process of changing behaviour and the creation of a different climate in and outside school (www.unicef.org/serbia)

The following activities are carried out within the programme:

➢ **T**raining and support to teachers and school staff about prevention and management of violence in school.
➢ **E**ducation to children about non-violence, tolerance, and peer support, programs for both the aggressors and the victims.
➢ **C**ooperation with parents, and inclusion of the Parents Council
➢ **C**reation of a protective and functional network in the community.
➢ **C**urricular and extra-curricular activities for children, teachers, parents and community (according to the school interest and possibilities) including various peer initiatives, promoting sport and recreation, etc.
➢ **D**istribution of education material to teachers, children and parents.
➢ **S**etting new rules in the school, and learning from successful conflict resolution

The programme represents a model of "Response of the entire school" where the majority of children (both victims and perpetrators of violence and abuse) benefit from improved conditions and local school laws, procedures and rules. The program goes through tree phases were the first one is the learning phase were everyone learns about bullying and the second phase is creating an inner network in the school that will work more specific with the bullying problems and the third is to try to engage the local community in these issues (www.unicef.org/serbia).

The program starts with the school signing a memorandum of understanding that they are entering the program, and then it starts with that all the children, teachers and school staff get to fill in anonymous questionnaires. The school also gets one mentor trained by UNICEF and that is supposed to help the program start in the school, the program is built upon "train the trainer" model. After the questionnaires are finished the school gets a report of their current bullying situation in the school, this is presented from the mentor of the program. Later on the mentor starts to educate the teachers and school staff about bullying, how to recognise it and how to prevent it. The teachers get also different materials which they will have to present in their classes to the pupils. The teachers are supposed to have eight workshops with each class. The second step is to start to construct a peer team which will continue with this education. The peer team/supporters shall continue to do 12 more workshops. The peer team is supposed to help the pupils in he school with bullying problems The third step is to create a local network for working against the bullying problem in the municipality.

Appendix 2

Typically, a few people adopt the idea at the beginning, but the adoption proceeds relatively slowly at first, and the pace does not increase until a "critical mass" is reached, when somewhere between 13 – 20 per cent of the community has adopted the idea. At that point, the S curve turns more sharply upward, as many people appear to adopt the idea in a short time. As the percent of new adopters approaches 100, the rate of adoption slows again, and the last few percent of the population adopt the idea slowly, or not at all (Rogers, 1995).

The reason the curve of Diffusion has this shape is the different categories of people who typically adopt an innovation at different times, and the influence they have on others. Diffusion research also found there is remarkable consistency in the types of people who adopt early or late (Rogers, 1995).

The S curve and the adopter categories
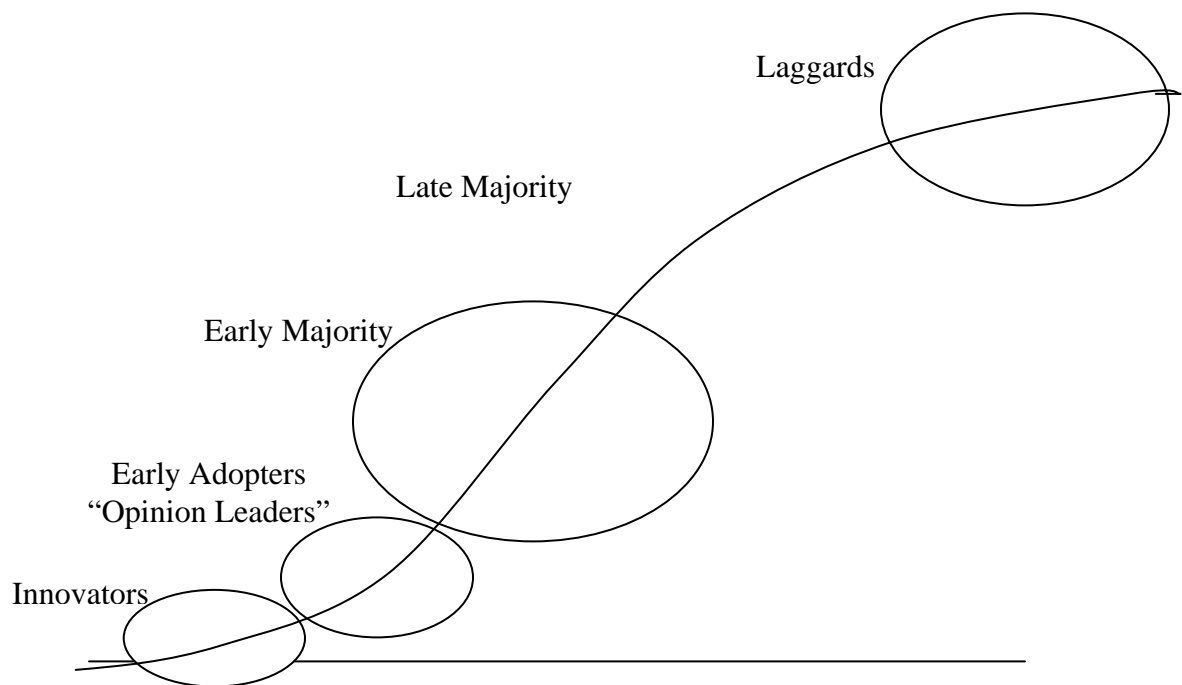
(Rogers, 1995)

Innovators: The earliest people in any community to try something new are called Innovators. However, they are not usually the people who can persuade others to adopt a new behavior, simply because they are so different. Innovators are often people who have been influenced by customs from outside, who have traveled or had a lot of contacts outside their society. They are useful in helping others become aware of the innovation, but other people do not often copy them (Rogers, 1995).

***Early Adopters*:** The second group of people to adopt an innovation is called Early Adopters. These individuals are forward thinking, but still inside the norms of the society, and once they adopt a new product or behaviour, others will follow. Diffusion research calls them the "Opinion leaders." Opinion leaders are not usually the formal leaders of the community, but they are people other people listen to and look to as examples. Once this key group has adopted an innovation, others will follow. The Early Adopters cause the innovation to rise over the threshold of 13 – 20%, so that a more rapid rise follows (Rogers, 1995).

***Early Majority*:** The large group of people who follow the example of the early adopters is called the Early Majority (Rogers, 1995).

***Late Majority*:** The Late Majority follows the Early Majority, adopting after the innovation rather late, well after the majority of the people in the community.

***Laggards*:** This group of very late adopters or non-adopters is the last to change their behaviour. They may have different reasons, including special religious beliefs, special cultural norms, or very limited means that make them cautious about change. Some will never adopt the innovation (Rogers, 1995).

Appendix 3

Interview guide for the focus groups with children

1. **Violence/Bullying**

   - How do you feel in your class/school? What do you like most of your class/school What do you dislike?
   - What is violent behaviour to you? What do you thin is the reason for violent behaviour?
   - Is bullying a problem in your class or school?
   - Is there any adults in the school that are behaving violently?
   - How do you react when some classmate tells you a dirty word or tease you? How do you feel?
   - What would you do if you or another person would get bullied in school?

2. **Gender and violence**

   - How is your relationship with your boy/girl classmate?
   - How is a girl/boy supposed to be or behave in the school? How is a girl/boy not supposed to be or behave in school?
   - Who do you think behaves most violently in your school boys or girls? Why do you think it is in that way?
   - Do you think that boys and girls violence use of violence differ? If you think that explain in what way it differs?
   - Is it o.k. for a girl behave violently towards a boy? Is it o.k. for a boy to behave violently towards a girl?
   - What do you think about boys that are violent? What do you think about girls that are violent?
   - Has anyone of you experienced violence in your school from a girl or a boy? Explain in what situation and what happened?

3. Prevention
   - What do you think about the program which is going on in your school and that is working against violence?
   - Do you think that the program can help to stop violence and bullying in your school?
   - Have anything changed in your school since the programs beginning? If it did what was the best about it? If it did not do you have any suggestions for what could be done better to stop violent behaviour in your school?

Interview guide for the professionals

1. What is violent behavior for you?
2. What do you do and how do you react if you notice that a pupil is exposed to violent behavior in our school? Violent behavior from a peer? Violent behavior from a colleague?
3. Who are commonly the victims and the perpetrators of violent behavior?
4. What situations of violent behaviour happen more often? In these situations who participates mostly girls or boys?
5. What do you think about differences and the similarities in violent behaviors among boys and girls? What do you think is the reason for the differences or the similarities?
6. How do you think that girls should be/behave in the school? How do you think that boys should be/behave in the school?
7. What effect do you think that the program "School without violence" has been having in your class or school?
8. Have you noticed any change in the behavior among pupils? Boys? Girls? Colleagues?

Appendix 4

Letters for Consent and Information

<div align="center">

Informed Consent

</div>

My name is Katarina Radojkovic and I am at the moment an intern at the UNICEF office in Belgrade. I am going to make a research at your school about the program "School without violence" that UNICEF has started in your school. I am going to interview the children about their attitudes and thoughts of violence connected to gender in schools and also about what they think about the program. The purpose of the study is to get to know the children's attitudes towards violence after one year in the program "school without violence" and also to come closer to their thoughts about violence connected to gender in schools.

This research project is a part of our education in the International Masters program in Social Work at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. In order to insure that our project meets the ethical requirements for good research we promise to adhere to the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether he or she will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

The interview will be recorded as this makes it easier for us to document what is said during the interview and also helps us in the continuing work with the project. In our analyze some data may be changed so that no interviewee will be recognized. After finishing the project the data will be destroyed. The data we collect will only be used in this project.

You have the right to decline answering any questions, or terminate the interview without giving an explanation.

You are welcome to contact us our supervisor in any case you have any questions either by e-mail or by phone.

Student at Gothenburg University/Intern at the UNICEF
Katarina Radojkovic, katarinaradojkovic@msn.com, 064-3232229

Supervisor at University of Gothenburg, Sweden
Helena Johansson, Helena.Johansson@socwork.gu.se

Contact person at the UNICEF
Jelena Zajeganovic-Jakovljevic and Dragana Koruga
Project Officer, Young Peoples Health, Development and Participation
UNICEF Belgrade

Information to the children/Informacija za decu

Cao!
Ja se zovem Katarina Radojkovic, ovde sam da uradim jedno istrazivanje u vasoj skoli u vezi programom Skola bez nasilja. Ja sam inace student u svedskoj i studiram na fakultetu tamo, ali trenutno sam ovde da uradim ovo istrazivanje za UNICEF i to je isto deo moga diplomskog rada.

Ono sto ja danas zelim da saznam je sta devojcice i decaci misle o programu Skola bez nasilja i sta mislo o nasilju u skoli. Zato sam vas zvala ovde da bih uradila jedan grupni intervju sa vama sto ce da traje sat vremena . Mozda ce neki od vas da misle da su neka od pitanja privatna i teska da se odgovore, ali ako vam neko od pitanja ne prija ili necete da odgovortite, bolje odustanite od tog pitanja.

Zampamtite da nikad ne treba da odgovorite na jedno pitanje ako ne zelite. Ali, ja bih vas stvarno zamolila da odgovorite sto iskrenije i otvorenije na pitanja da bih ja mogla da saznam kako mladi ljudi svarno razmisljoju o ovim pitanjima. Vasi odgovori su mnogo vazni za mene i mogli bi da pomognu deci u drugim skolama.

Informacije koje u ovoj sobi budemo diskutovali i pomenuli ostaje poverljive, odnosno, medju nama i nece se pominjati nicija imena. Ne smete da pricate drugima sta ste diskutovali ovde na intervjuu jer to nije fer prema drugima u ovoj grupi. Ja zelim da snimam ovaj intervju ali to je samo da bih mogla bolje razumeti sta vi meni kazete i zato sto ne mogu da stignem da zapisem sve sto kazete tokom intervjua. Vasa imena nece biti objavljena u radu jedino bi bilo dobro da mi kazete u koje odelenje idete.

Da li imate nekih pitanja u vezi sa ovim sto ste procitali?