EFFECTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE ON LEARNERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN KASARANI DISTRICT, NAIROBI COUNTY

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C50/CE/12013/2007

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

MAY 2012
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Effects of gender-based violence in primary

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DECLARATION
This is my original research project which has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Sarah Fedha Barasa
C50/CE/12013/2007

Sign ........................................ Date 8/6/2012

This project has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all the children who continue to suffer gender-based violence in silence.
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, my appreciation goes to my supervisors, Dr. Grace Wamue-Ngare of Gender and Development Studies, Kenyatta University and Dr. Leah Wanjama of Inoorero University. I am particularly very grateful to them for their extraordinary advice and guidance they gave me without any reservations. I would also wish to convey my sincere gratitude to the head teachers of Kasarani primary schools for allowing me to interact with their pupils and teachers. I also thank the DEO Kasarani District for the cooperation he gave me. Last, but not least, my gratitude goes to the Director of City Education for granting me permission to research within Kasarani District of Nairobi County.
ABSTRACT

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the Kenyan Constitution proclaim that children are to be protected from any kind of harm, violence or abuse. Despite the legal provisions and efforts to reduce and eliminate violence against children, particularly girls, violence and abuse are widespread in Kenya - taking place at home, in schools, and in the community at large. Cognizant of the prevalence of violence against school pupils, this study examined the effects of school-related gender-based violence in Kenya. The study sampled pupils and teachers from primary schools in Kasarani District of Nairobi County. Data were collected using questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussion guides, analyzed using frequency distributions percentages. The study results indicate that school-related gender-based violence is an extremely grave problem. 9.6% of the respondents reported that they had been sexually assaulted at one time within the school environment by way of fondling their body parts, assaulted by both male and female perpetrators. 53% agreed that they had undergone one way of psychological abuse or the other, while 75% had suffered physical violence. The results further revealed a significant disparity in reporting patterns of each form of violence. These were influenced by several variables; reporting acts of sexual abuse for instance was influenced by the taboo surrounding matters of sex and fear of reprisals from the perpetrators. The findings also demonstrated that sexual abuse by teachers was also more widespread than the teachers themselves cared to admit. Consequently, both boys and girls suffered adverse effects on their learning experiences, their health and well being. This study concludes that there was overwhelming evidence that boys and girls continue suffering as a result of GBV albeit in silence and that there is a notable absence of attention to this issue in policy making, which is a critical strategic entry point if the effects of GBV on pupils are recognized. This study recommends that GBV prevention efforts must address the gender norms while response interventions should encompass reporting and referral procedures alongside health care psychosocial assistance, security and legal justice for victims.
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ACRWC</td>
<td>Africa Charter on the Right and Welfare of the Child</td>
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<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<td>DEVAW</td>
<td>Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education For All</td>
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<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Infections</td>
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<td>SRGBV</td>
<td>School-Related Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>UNCRC</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Education Fund</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>VAW</td>
<td>Violence Against Women</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Gender-Based Violence – Refers to any form of or act of violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, girls, men and boys on the basis of gender.

School-Related Gender-Based Violence - It includes any form of violence or abuse that is based on gender stereotypes that target students/pupils on the basis of their sex. It includes, but is not limited to, rape, unwanted sexual touching, unwanted sexual comments, corporal punishment, bullying and verbal harassment.

Sexual abuse – Sexual abuse in children is defined as all activities of adults who use children for their gratification. It refers to bodily contact of all sorts including fondling, genital stimulation, oral and/or anal as well as vaginal intercourse. Some people extend the meaning to include suggestive behaviour, sexual innuendos or exhibitionism. Such behaviour is included because it concerns adult sexual behaviour that involves a child and these events are undoubtedly unpleasant and may have damaging emotional consequences on the child.

Gender Analysis - The process of examining roles, responsibilities or any other situations with regard to women and men, boys and girls, with a view to identifying gaps, raising concerns and addressing them; investigating and identifying specific needs of girls or boys, women and men for policy and programme development and implementation.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The concept of gender-based violence means violence inflicted or suffered on the basis of gender differences. However, this concept is commonly used to mean violence against women (VAW). The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women of 1993, Article 1, defines the term 'violence against women' as, any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (UNESCO, 2009).

Nevertheless, the concept also applies to boys, since groups of boys are also affected by violence because of their gender. An understanding of how socially constructed gender identities lead boys to use violence to resolve conflict is helpful in looking for solutions to prevent violence. The use of the concept of gender-based violence is relevant in any study on violence against children, because gender cuts across other categories, such as poverty, caste, social class, race, culture and disability. Gender-based violence encompasses other descriptions of violence, but it is framed in broader terms with the understanding that the causes and solutions to violence are at once personal, political, economic and social, institutional and interpersonal (Moser, 2001).

An analysis of the global persistence and even escalation of violence in all areas of life, including homes, communities, institutions, and armed conflicts, reveals that the vast majority of people who are affected by the decisions made and the actions carried out by those in power (largely men) are children and women. For example, children constitute
almost half of the 27.4 million refugees and the 30 million displaced people worldwide. The World Health Organization estimates that 150 million girls and 73 million boys are sexually assaulted each year, many of these acts occurring on the way to or at school (WHO, 2006).

A national study in South Africa found that teachers carried out 32 per cent of reported child rapes (African Child Policy Forum 2006a). Fifty per cent of respondents in one Malawi study said that their private parts had been touched without permission, by teachers or male students, and that they had been subjected to various forms of violence by male teachers, including sexual abuse, forced relationships, beatings, and severe punishments (OCHA 2006). Pakistan’s Minister of State for Religious Affairs reported that 2,000 complaints of sexual abuse by clerics in religious schools had been registered in 2003 (Raza 2004; Murphy 2005). A study in Nepal found that 9 percent of children had experienced kissing of sensitive parts, oral sex, or penetration. Eighteen percent of the perpetrators of this sexual abuse were teachers (United Nations, 2005).

While a regional consultation in Latin America found that girls in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, and Nicaragua experienced sexual coercion by teachers, including threats that their grades would suffer if they failed to cooperate (United Nations, 2005). In Brazil, 9 to 12 per cent of girls from grades 5-12 had experienced sexual violence or rape near schools (Abramovay and Das Graças Rua 2002).

Burton’s 2005 study in Malawi, which looked at violence in schools and in the home, found that boys experienced “significant” levels of sexual violence (forced penetrative or non-penetrative sex, oral sex, or forced touching of genitalia/breasts). Both girls and boys are raped, sexually assaulted, abused, and sexually harassed by their classmates and even
teachers. A number of studies in Africa have documented cases of school girls who leave school, or skip particular classes because a certain teacher has sexually molested them (Chege and Mat'I, 1997). A study conducted in sub-Saharan Africa found out that 30% of male and female pupils had experienced some form of sexual abuse in the previous year, with no difference in reporting (Bandawe and Foster, 1996). 67% of girls in a Botswana-based study on violence reported harassment and teasing by teachers (Rosseti, 2001). A Ugandan study showed that 98% of pupils across five districts experienced physical violence, with 28% of that violence occurring in school (Naker, 2005). In the same study, more than 98% of pupils reported experiencing emotional violence, with 21% of incidents occurring in school.

A qualitative study in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, found that bullying and attempted rape were factors explaining low female enrolment rates and high dropout rates from primary schools. There was public awareness and concern about this, but many families and schools felt helpless to bring about change (Brock and Cammish, 1997).

African Rights, a UK-based NGO, reported that sexual violence against girls in schools is 'an extremely grave problem' in many African countries. The report further discusses a series of sexual abuse incidents perpetrated by male pupils/teachers as well as outsiders against female pupils from primary schools to universities (Hallam, 1994:4).

Sexual abuse by teachers was also identified in the African Rights report and was believed to be 'more widespread than most institutions care to admit' (Hallam, 1994:2). Abusive acts ranged from sexist jokes and innuendos to pressuring pupils to engage in sexual relations. The promise of good grades or the threat of failure was used by some male teachers to achieve sexual relations with male or female pupils. In some instances, pupils engaged in
sexual relations with teachers for money. School administrators often dismissed such cases by blaming the pupils or simply encouraging them to ‘stay away’ from the teachers who are harassing them. In some countries, incidences of teacher sexual abuse were brought forward by male pupils who resented grading system that favored teachers’ ‘girlfriends’ and included punishment for male pupils who approached these female pupils (Hallam, 1994:3).

According to Chege and Mati (1997), even the experience of commuting to and from school, may differ for girls and boys. This was demonstrated in a study conducted in Kenya – Nairobi which revealed that girls faced comparatively greater risks of sexual abuse than boys before and after school as they commuted in public service vehicles. This is due to the fact that the vehicles were overcrowded and in the event of harassment, adult commuters failed to intervene. In some cases women teachers are themselves victims of gender-based violence with the perpetrators usually being male students and male staff members including some male head teachers (Teni-Atinga, 2005). Perhaps the most shocking and dreadful case to receive international media attention was probably the massacre of 19 school girls and the rape of 71 others by boys at St. Kizito school in 1991 (Heisse et al, 1999)

In Kenya, the Children’s Act of 2001 clearly states that every child shall be entitled to protection from physical and psychological abuse and any other form of exploitation including sale, trafficking or abduction by any person. A child shall be protected from sexual exploitation and use in prostitution, inducement or coercion to engage in any sexual activity, and exposure to obscene materials. Despite the enactment of the Sexual Offences Act 2006, which carries penalties of up to life imprisonment for rape, (although actual sentences are usually no more than ten years), very little has been achieved towards tackling the war against sexual violence and other forms of abuse.
The rate of prosecution and completed cases also remains low because of cultural inhibitions against publicly discussing issues of sex, victim’s fear of retribution, slow and inefficient criminal justice system and unavailability of doctors who could provide the necessary evidence for conviction (Republic of Kenya 2008). In the rural set ups, and in many cases in Kenya, most sexual violence cases are settled outside the formal legal system. Out of the cases of sexual offence reported at hospitals, only 50% of them are likely to be taken to court, 10% of the cases reach first hearing while the rest of the GBV cases never reach the first hearing due to withdrawal by the complainant (Bennell et al., 2000). In most communities traditional methods are preferred because of compensation. Punishment for rape and defilement varies depending on the nature of sexual assault and the age of the survivor. In some communities, if a man touches a girl inappropriately without her consent, he is ordered to buy her new clothes while defilement attracts a more severe punishment. The perpetrator is fined and ordered to pay a number of cows, goats, money or new clothes to victim depending on the community’s preference. He can also be given corporal punishment by the local administrators.

According to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted in September 1990 and ratified by 193 countries), both girls and boys have the right to a good quality education that respects their human dignity and promotes the development of their potentials. They also have the right to be protected from all forms of violence, abuse, exploitation and neglect. The Kenyan Government ratified the UNCRC in 1991 and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child in the same year, to meet this demand. It also enacted the Children’s Act in 2001 and the Sexual Offences Act in 2006 to protect the rights of the child. Thus, the protection of children’s rights to belong, grow, access healthcare, education and other
services is enshrined in the country's official legal and policy documents including the Constitution (Barone, 1997).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and a significant number of international and regional human rights instruments have affirmed the universal right to education for all. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) more specifically tackles discrimination against the girl child. It particularly obligates the countries involved to "take special measures in respect to female, gifted and disadvantaged children to ensure access to education for all sections of the community" (World Health Organization, 2002).

Despite such consensus, much remains to be done to increase gender parity in girls' and boys' education. In 2003, gender-based violence in schools was considered a significant obstacle both to achieving the education for all (EFA) goals, and to reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS. Not only are large number of girls and boys denied the right to education, but many who attend school receive their education through under resourced and over-crowded classrooms, poorly-trained or untrained teachers, and emotional and physical abuse through bullying, insults, physical punishment and sexual harassment and abuse. This hinders both girls' and boys' participation in education (UNESCO, 2003).

However, the challenge that most countries face is how to translate these commitments into action. It has been observed that violence against boys and girls takes place in the wider context of patriarchy, gender-based discrimination and poverty. For boys and girls around the world, exercising their right to education is a very risky enterprise. They are at risk in the community, in the family, on the journey to and from school, in the school grounds, in the
classroom, etc. In school, violence takes the form of aggressive sexual behaviour, intimidation and physical assault by older boys, sexual advances by male teachers, corporal punishment and verbal abuse, etc, (Chege, 2006).

Determining the extent of violence against children in schools and other education settings poses considerable challenges in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The nature of power relations between children and the perpetrators of violence as well as the fear of reprisals makes reporting a risky undertaking for children. Further, the availability of evidence on violence against children in schools is uneven. Many schools lack mechanisms to document and report such violence. Yet violence in schools can affect access to schooling, attendance, participation, and performance among both boys and girls. WHO (2006) study on the violence against children observes that while children may be exposed to danger on the way, to and from school, much more disturbing is the recognition that when they are at school, they encounter further violence. The main aim of this research was therefore to investigate the effects of GBV on learners.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Although there are no global data on the prevalence of school-related gender-based violence, the literature reviewed in this research indicates that physical, sexual and psychological abuse in and around schools is a worldwide problem. However, schools are paradoxically both the location where a significant amount of GBV takes place and an institution that potentially can play a key role in preventing the same. What is more disturbing is that as pupils experience GBV within learning environments, this is not the only thing they have to deal with. Constant pressure from parents to perform, weak reporting channels within the school, fear of stigmatization and reprisal from the perpetrators coupled with the authoritarian school
culture, are likely to force pupils into a culture of silence and conformity. The school culture tolerates GBV to the extent that it has become an integral and institutionalized part of school life, to be regarded as ‘normal’ or ‘inevitable’. This way children learn that violence is legitimate, making GBV an acceptable standard pattern of behaviour. Despite the critical importance of addressing school-related gender-based violence; there is a limited understanding of both the depth and magnitude of such violence and the causes and consequences on children. This research therefore sought to explore the effects of GBV on both boys and girls in primary schools in Kasarani District.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The main objective was to explore the effects of gender based violence on pupils in primary schools in Kasarani district of Nairobi County.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the forms and causes of GBV on primary school children in Kasarani District.
2. To establish the effects of GBV on pupils in Kasarani District.
3. To analyze the mechanisms put in place in schools to address GBV in Kasarani District.
4. To suggest effective strategies to address GBV in primary schools.
1.4 Research Questions

The research sought to answer the following questions.

1. What are the forms and causes of GBV in Kasarani schools?
2. What are the effects of GBV on pupils in Kasarani schools?
3. What are the mechanisms that have been put in place to address GBV in schools in Kasarani District?
4. What strategies can be adopted to deal with GBV in primary schools?

1.5 Research Premises

1. GBV among primary school children in Kasarani takes various forms.
2. Respondents will agree to give information on GBV.
3. Mechanisms for reporting GBV by pupils are ineffective and weak.
4. GBV greatly impacts negatively on pupils in Kasarani.
5. There are effective strategies that can be put in place to deal with GBV in primary schools.

1.6 Significance of the Study

International campaigns aimed at increasing access to schooling worldwide have led to unprecedented numbers of children attending school in recent years. As more students attend school, what happens in and around school becomes more of a concern. Pupils experiencing harm on the basis of their sex is emerging as a systemic form of violence and this violence is having an adverse effect on students' learning experiences and health. Estimates indicate that almost half of all female pupils and a sizable number of male students experience some form of sexual violence in the educational context. Gender violence impacts both on the health and educational status of pupils, whether they are affected directly as victims or
indirectly as bystanders. The consequences of GBV include a lack of motivation among pupils, failing grades, absenteeism, and increased numbers of dropouts (Gorgen and Chanke, 2000).

Eliminating gender-based violence is even more urgent in the face of the AIDS pandemic because adolescents, particularly girls, have a higher risk of infection than other age groups. GBV therefore, has a dual impact on children, increasing both their risk of educational failure and negative health consequences such as physical injury, pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/AIDS), or emotional/psychological ill-health. They also lose self-respect and dignity and can develop a range of post-traumatic stress symptoms such as depression, aggression, violence, loss of self control and self motivation (Brown, 2000). The findings of this study should therefore help inform the policy making process with regards to effective strategies that can be adopted in dealing with GBV in primary schools with a view to creating a safe school environment for both boys and girls.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the study

1.7.1 Scope

The study focused on the effects of GBV on primary school children in Kasarani District of Nairobi County. It was limited to mixed public day primary schools. The research design was a descriptive cross sectional study (interaction with the participants was only done once, and therefore no follow-ups were made). The study therefore covered the period between August 2011 and February 2012.
1.7.2 Limitations

- Data could only be collected during school days. The teachers' strike that preceded the opening of the schools was an impediment since the research had to be conducted a week later from the schedule. Consequently, appointments could not be obtained easily. Data was collected mostly after school learning hours.

- Some pupils in the sampled classes were too young to comprehend the questions. This was corrected after a pretest was conducted.

- Respondents had to rely on memories of their past experiences and events, creating a likelihood of recall bias.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
Although GBV is a wide topic, this literature review focused on the main themes that emerged throughout the review. These themes are: Forms of GBV prevalent in schools, causes and effects of GBV on learners, policy and legal redress of GBV and intervention strategies. Even though this literature review presents these themes in a variety of contexts, this research primarily focused on their application in relation to GBV and its effects on school children.

2.2 Forms of GBV
Gender-based violence manifests itself in various forms and involves a variety of perpetrators from intimate partners and family members to strangers and institutional actors such as teachers, police and soldiers. GBV takes the form of sexual, physical and psychological violence. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that at least one in every five of the world’s female population has been physically or sexually abused at some time in their lives (WHO, 2002). According to Heise et al., (1999), gender-based violence is a phenomenon of epidemic proportions prevalent in many families, institutions, communities, societies and cultures across the globe. Many women and girls to a lesser degree, men and boys, either directly experience or face the consequences of some form of GBV in their lifetime.

Gender-based violence arises from the patriarchal system which since time immemorial has exerted control over women’s lives (Epstein, 1997). Students’ experiencing harm on the basis of their sex is emerging as a systemic form of violence and this violence is having an
adverse effect on students’ learning experiences, their health and well-being. Estimates indicate that almost half of all female students and a sizable number of male students experience some form of sexual violence in the educational context (Dunne et al., 2006).

According to a UNHCR report, 22% of adolescent girls are being sexually abused at school. A Human Rights Watch study in eight South African Schools found that sexual abuse and harassment of girls were rampant in many schools. Girls were raped in school lavatories, dormitories and empty classrooms. An unknown number of students are subjected to physical and psychological forms of gender-based abuse such as corporal punishment and bullying (UNHCR, 2003).

Although sufficient data are currently available on gender-based violence in schools, missing in these reports are its effects on boys and girls. Yet this comprises a major variable to be considered by policymakers, practitioners and researchers. This research therefore focused on documenting the effects of GBV on boys and girls in primary schools.

2.3 Causes and Effects of GBV on Learners

2.3.1 Why does School-Related Gender-Based Violence Happen?

School-related GBV takes place in a context of gender inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender. Furthermore, poverty and a culture of violence also contribute to GBV in schools. Appreciating these contextual factors is critical to achieving a fuller understanding of SRGBV and its effects on pupils.

2.3.2 Gender Norms

Around the world, girls and boys are influenced by gender norms that shape their behaviour. From early on, they are conditioned to adopt certain behaviours, preferences and attitudes
considered appropriate for their sex. These traditional constructions of masculinity and femininity are often deeply entrenched. In many societies, males learn to be dominant and aggressive while females learn to be passive and submissive. Males learn that the exertion of control through harassing, verbal abuse, emotional manipulation, physical abuse and even violent sexual behaviour is appropriate. These constructs contribute to gender-based violence in society and the school. Adolescents, in particular, are vulnerable to traditional gender role patterns as they struggle to make a transition from childhood to adulthood and to fit both in school and the larger society (CERT and DevTech, 2008).

Barker (2002) further explains that in many cultural contexts, young men are expected to be strong, competitive and goal oriented and are pressured to prove their manhood through sexual encounters and physical violence.

2.3.3 The Gender Dynamics of GBV in Schools

SRGBV takes place within a context of existing social norms and gender inequities. International efforts to increase participation in schools, especially for girls, and to improve the quality of the school experience have tended to assume that the institution of the school is universally benign or at least 'neutral'. Recent research, however, shows this not to be the case. A number of studies have investigated not only formal aspects of the school which have impacted on access and participation but also, and more significantly, the informal school environment and the part that this plays in perpetuating gender differentiation in education (Gordon, 1995). Such insights enhance our understanding of the daily life experiences of children in schools and their impact on outcomes.
Butler (1990) argues that, within school the ‘gender regime’ is constructed through every day, ‘taken for granted’ routine practices. For example, in many schools girls are predominantly responsible for cleaning and boys for digging the school grounds; in the classroom girls may sit at the front of the class and boys at the back (where it is easier to misbehave). The gender boundaries within the institution thus help to construct and reinforce feminine and masculine identities within the school.

The age/authority relations between teachers and pupils are a fundamental structure of schooling that interacts with the gender regime. The institution of the school officially condones teachers’ regulation and control of appropriate pupil behaviour. In this way, teachers’ ‘normalize’ certain aspects of male and female behaviour. For example, fighting between boys or their intimidation of girls may be dismissed by teachers as unimportant or as ‘teasing’, using expressions like ‘boys will always be boys’ rather than being addressed in any serious and systematic way (Dunne et al., 2003).

2.3.4 Poverty

Poverty has been linked to the prevalence of GBV in schools and the connection is manifested in a number of ways (Hallam, 1994; Mirsky, 2003). Low wages for teachers may lead them to feel entitled to labour or sexual favours from students as a benefit to supplement their low wages. A study conducted in West Africa found that in the formal education system “sexual exploitation of girls for personal pleasure or larger benefits was seen as compensation” (Coombe, 2000).

Poverty may also mean that essential goods, school fees, or extra tutoring are out of reach for many pupils. Girls, in particular, may be vulnerable to engaging in exploitative sexual
relationships with teachers in order to meet these educational needs. Even if pupils voluntarily enter into relationships where they exchange sex for goods or services, the power, age, and economic disparities between girls and older males means that these types of transactional relationships are a form of gender-based violence (Egan and Perry, 1998).

2.3.5 Adolescent Sexual Identity
The school is a key arena for the construction of masculine and feminine identities (Epstein and Johnson, 1998; Mac and Ghaill, 1994). At this formative age of adolescence, it is easy for pupils to develop the view that masculine identity is associated with aggressive, dominant behaviour and feminine identity with submissive, dependent behaviour. The school itself has an important role to play in forming and perpetuating these views. The ethos of the school, the way the school day is organized, the ways in which responsibilities are allocated and the role models that it offers pupils all play a part (Mirembe and Davies, 2001). Given the wider context of gender violence in society, it is not surprising that violent behaviour in the school is most commonly associated with the male identity, with boys acting out their beliefs of what it means to be male. In the construction of the male adolescent identity, peer pressure requires that older boys aggressively demand the attention of younger girls. Having a girlfriend and competing over girls are essential features of the peer culture.

The construction of male and female identity is strongly influenced by the adolescent peer group culture. It is this that encourages pupils to conform to certain stereotypical behaviours and makes girls particularly vulnerable to sexual violence. Boys who do not conform to dominant views of what it is to be male may be bullied and in some cases themselves subjected to sexual violence. Pressure into conformity influences sexual practice
and in so doing may serve to increase young people's exposure to the risk of HIV infection (Leach and Machakanja, 2003).

### 2.3.6 The Authoritarian School Culture

It is somewhat ironic that it is the very authoritarian nature of the school which allows gender violence to flourish. The culture of authoritarianism and discipline which dominates many African schools is reminiscent of the English Victorian School. In such schools, caning was a frequent occurrence and instilling rigid respect and obedience towards parents, teachers and one's elders was an important part of the informal curriculum. Most African schools have retained this authoritarian culture to a greater extent than have schools in Europe, some would say because it is in tune with cultural views of how to bring up children (Tabulawa, 1997). That one's parents and one's elders generally should not be questioned or doubted, especially if they are male. Similarly, parents are discouraged from complaining about the school. This passes on the message to pupils that the teacher is a figure of authority who should not be questioned. By perpetuating the fictional picture of the model teacher, the school is guilty of helping to perpetuate this abusive behaviour. For girls, this means that they are not expected to question inappropriate behaviour by male teachers on two accounts: firstly, the latter are in a position of authority in the school and, secondly, they are male or female.

Gordon (1995) argues that the fact that some girls have an ambiguous attitude towards male teachers' sexual advances further ensures that they will not openly question this behaviour. Sexual harassment and abuse of girls in school exists largely because it exploits the difference of power between the perpetrator and the victim, power which is largely but not exclusively that of male over female. For example, a teacher who is attracted by a girl can
clearly exploit his position of power to force her to have sex with him, e.g., by threatening to beat her for faults in class or to fail her in her examinations. A boy can pick on a girl who has annoyed him by organizing his gang to assault her physically. The authoritarian culture of the school has implications for the teaching of sexual health and HIV prevention. Mirembe and Davis (2001), further explain that sexual abuse of children exists in other authoritarian institutions involved with minors (such as children's homes and religious orders). There have been many recent high-profile cases reported in the media involving child-care workers and priests in Europe and more recently in the USA.

2.4 Effects of GBV on Boys and Girls in schools

The effects of GBV on girls and boys are costly, intense and long lasting. It is important to remember that all forms of gender-based violence are a violation of the rights of the child. They also have negative impacts on the girls’ and boys’ health and their social development and they perpetuate power inequalities in interpersonal relations and within society. However subtle the violence may be, it has no less devastating effect on the child.

GBV causes long-lasting physical, psychological, social and/or sexual damage, or even the death of girls and boys. Gender-based violence is a priority health and social issue. It affects girls’ and boys’ physical, mental, sexual and reproductive health, their self esteem, their ability to work, education outcome and ability to make decisions about their fertility e.g., teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, chronic pelvic pain and unwanted pregnancies (Troia, 1999).

According to a UNHCR report, physical effects of sexual violence include pain, contracting STIs, in cases where the assailant is infected, mutilated genitalia, unintended pregnancy,
abortion, or infanticide, unwanted children or even death. Psychological trauma is also known to result in paralysis and terror to emotional pain, sense of denial, depression, mental disorder, and sometimes suicide. The victim can also experience nightmares and be haunted by fear and feelings of shame and guilt. The problem is further compounded by the culture of silence, where girls and boys opt to suffer quietly or comply for fear of reprisals. It is on this basis that this research therefore recognizes urgency in establishing evidence base on the effects of GBV and sustainable intervention strategies (UNHCR, 2003).

2.5 Policy and Legal Redress of GBV

Schools paradoxically are both the location where a significant amount of GBV takes place and an institution that potentially can play a key role in preventing GBV. Many countries including Kenya are effectively using their legal systems or national-level policy guidance to respond to the challenge of gender-based violence in schools. For example, 106 countries around the world have banned corporal punishment in schools (Mpundu, 2004; Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2008). In Benin, a law was passed in July 2006 to address sexual harassment in schools, workplaces, and homes (Slee, 1995). Other countries have developed clear policy frameworks to define, prohibit, and/or penalize acts of gender-based violence in schools. In 2004, The Gambia developed a policy to punish adults who sexually harass students in schools (UNICEF, 2005). South Africa’s Department of Education has issued guidelines aimed at reducing the sexual abuse of students by teachers (United Nations, 2005). Legal and policy changes such as these provide the necessary framework for prosecuting perpetrators, but they also help raise awareness of the issue of gender-based violence in schools.
Within the Kenyan context, the enactment of the Sexual Offences Act of 2006 was a major achievement in the fight against GBV. However, missing in the policy-makers' and planners' analyses and subsequent strategies, is the effects of GBV on pupils' self-esteem, health, underperformance and dropout and how this can be alleviated. Sexual abuse often only comes to light if a girl has been made pregnant by a teacher. If the girl or the parents complain, then an official report might be submitted by the school head to the Ministry and disciplinary action taken. Evidence from Southern Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Bennell et al., 2002) suggest that very few teachers are expelled from the teaching profession; most are merely transferred to another school. The current shortage of trained teachers in many countries also makes the authorities reluctant to prosecute offenders.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Due to the complexity of child abuse and the diversities of professional disciplinary orientations, different theoretical/conceptual perspectives have different emphasis on the situations, individuals, environments and/or temporal circumstances that directly as well as indirectly relate to the effects and causalities GBV on children. This study used the gender analysis framework advanced in recent times by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and other international treaties. This approach was developed with a view to understanding the effects of GBV and effectively moving towards its elimination as explained from the perspective of the cycle of oppression.

2.6.1 The Gender Analysis Framework

A gender framework to understanding GBV starts by recognizing both violence and conflict as gendered activities within a patriarchal system of ideology and institutions. This means that as social actors, women, men, boys and girls all experience violence differently, both as
victims and as perpetrators (Moser, 2001). The approach looks at the characteristics of the society/community in which violence occurs to identify factors that might influence culture, e.g., the media, the community/school, the family and religious leaders. It also examines other social structures and particular characteristics such as race, gender, social class and caste relations in society, and of the perpetrators and children affected by abuse. Secondly, cultural practices can become obstacles, preventing children from accessing their rights, especially where family takes precedence over the individual.

Gender-based violence is thus grounded in ideas of masculinity and femininity (prescribed norms and definitions of what it means to be a male or a female) and how men and women and boys and girls are positioned vis-à-vis one another, and vis-à-vis other groups. In addition, gender identities exist within a patriarchal system that encourages violent behaviour within a context of assumed privilege and hierarchical power for certain groups of men, and that instils in many men a sense of entitlement to use violence to keep their privileges (Dobash and Dobash, 1980).

A gender analysis framework alerts us to an intention (as opposed to a natural expression) in differentiating between the sexes. It generates demands for change, and for the satisfaction of women’s, girls’ and boys’ rights, as women, girls and boys are usually less often heard and their needs less often satisfied than those of men. A gender analysis considers that girls and boys have differential access to resources, that they have different needs and interests within a context of unequal power relations. It implies recognizing the nature of exclusion and empowerment in terms of gender ideologies. In addition, a gender perspective on economic and infrastructure costs and consequences of violence and conflict facilitates identifying how these costs differentially affect women and men, girls and boys. This helps with the design of appropriate and effective development programmes.
Using a gender lens makes a difference to what you see of war, peace and child abuse. Therefore, applying a gender analysis in decision-making can make a difference in what actions are taken. Gender awareness calls for sensitivity to gender difference, inviting us to notice gender power relations and to see how these shape institutions like the family, the school, the military or the State; how they intersect with class and ethnic relations; and how power, oppression and exploitation work in and through them. Gender awareness invites us to act for change (Cockburn, 2001:18).

A gender and power analysis of violence against children explores gender and power relations. This holistic approach sheds light on particular cultural contexts in which violence against children takes place and illuminates their effects on children. The age/authority relations between teacher and student are a fundamental structure of schooling that interacts with the gender regime. The institution of the school officially condones teachers’ regulation and control of appropriate student behaviour through, for example, the allocation of rewards and sanctions, the distribution of their time and the attention in class, and corporal punishment. In this way, by using their age/authority power position, teachers ‘normalize’ certain aspects of male and female behaviour (Dunne et al., 2003).

Given the structured asymmetrical power relations of schooling, the excessive use of sanctions can lead to abuse by those in positions of authority (teachers and head teachers as well as school prefects and monitors) and by those who are able to exercise control through other means. In many cases, the power display is engaged in within schools is through sexual abuse. Aggressive and intimidating behaviour, unsolicited physical contact such as touching and groping, assault, coercive sex and rape, all constitute abuse, as does any sexual relationship formed by a teacher with a pupil (UN Centre for Human Rights, cited in Pickup
In most contexts the latter is a disciplinary offence according to the conditions of teachers’ employment and/or a criminal offence where sex act involves a minor. Such teachers and others working in a professional capacity with children are exploiting their positions of authority and failing in their duty of care. As this duty of care fades and breaks down within communities, sexual violence against girls and boys is considered ‘normal’. Where the protection and rights are not in place, behaviour in school is likely to reflect the beliefs and norms of the culture, as young girls are exposed to acts of violence they are learning to accept it as an inevitable part of their daily lives (Skiba et al., 2006).

The researcher then synthesized this into a “conceptual framework” to guide a common understanding of gender, violence against girls and boys, rights and empowerment, as depicted in figure 2.1 below. This diagram portrays how the in school and out of school factors interact with the overarching sphere of education to produce violence against girls and boys.
School factors
- Authoritarian school culture
- Age/authority relations
- Gender/Power relations
- Adolescent sexuality
- Weak Reporting channels

Out of School factors
- Poverty
- Patriarchal system
- Cultural practices

GBV
- Dropout
- Under performance
- Teenage Pregnancy
- Low self esteem
- Maladjusted behaviour

Intervention Strategies
- Proper Healthcare
- Implementation of Constitution
- Policy implementation
- Proactive involvement of parents
- Trained Guidance and counseling teachers
- Sensitization of pupils on GBV
- Outline proper reporting procedures

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the methodology that was used in determining the causes and effects of school-related gender-based violence.

3.1 Study Area

The research was carried out in Kasarani District of Nairobi County. Kasarani District is suitable for this research because it cuts through a cross section of a population of diverse economic and social backgrounds ranging from the slums of Korogocho and Mathare to the middle and upper class estates of Kasarani and Garden Estate. Pupils from these diverse backgrounds attend the same public schools. Experiences from these two groups of respondents might help shed some light on whether the effects of GBV are similar regardless of the social–economic backgrounds of pupils. Kasarani district has an area of 86 km² with a total population of 338,925 people (see appendix V).

3.2 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive survey design. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) describe descriptive survey as collecting data in order to test hypothesis or to answer questions concerning the current status of the subject of study. Descriptive survey design was chosen because it is appropriate for educational fact-finding and yields a great deal of information, which is accurate. It also enables a researcher to gather data at a particular point in time and use it to describe the nature of the existing conditions (Cohen and Manion, 1980). The research aimed at gathering accurate information on causes and effects of GBV on pupils within learning environments.
3.3 Target Population

The target population was from public primary schools within Kasarani district. It comprised primary school pupils and some key informants including class teachers and the DEO.

3.4 Sample size

The sample size for this research used the formula by Fisher et al., (1995) for sample size computation given by:

\[ n = \frac{Z^2PQ}{d^2} \]

Where

- \( n \) = the desired sample size (if the target population is greater than 10,000)
- \( z \) = the standard normal deviate at the required confidence level
- \( p \) = the proportion of pupils in schools estimated to have experienced GBV (10% according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003))
- \( q \) = 1 - \( p \)
- \( d \) = the level of precision

\[ n = \frac{(1.96)^2 (0.1)(0.9)}{(0.05)^2} \]
\[ n = 139 \]

However, the researcher used a slightly larger sample size of 156 to increase the level of precision. This was after it was realized that some pupils got carried away after breaking down in the process of answering questions and could therefore not continue while others declined participating in the study.
3.5 **Sampling Technique**

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) recommend that a representative sample should be at least 30% of the population of interest. The researcher worked with 100% of the public schools within Kasarani District to avoid small samples. All the 26 schools involved in the study were mixed public primary schools. To reach the appropriate sample size, the study then employed a multi-stage sampling technique.

Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used. Purposive sampling was used to cluster schools into perceived backgrounds of high economic status and low economic status. 10 schools were perceived to be located in areas of high economic status while 16 were located in areas of low economic status. A probability proportionate to sample size (PPS) was used to sample the schools in these two categories. In total 8 (30%) of the schools were sampled. To obtain a representative sample of 156 pupils from these schools, quota sampling method was used where class five respondents were picked for the first quota, class six for the second quota and class seven for the third quota. The pupils from these classes were treated as a homogenous group. Snow ball sampling method was used to obtain victims of sexual assault with the help of teachers and pupils. Being an examination class, standard eight pupils were left out since they were inaccessible.

3.6 **Instrument Validity and Reliability**

Validity has been defined as the degree to which a test measures what it is supposed to measure (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). To enhance validity of the research instruments, a pretest study was conducted on 30 pupils in two schools not included in the sample. The researcher also verified their content for accuracy, consistency, and ensured that ambiguous
information was removed while deficiencies and weaknesses were noted and corrected in the final instruments.

3.7 Research Instruments

Questionnaires were used to collect data. Self administered questionnaires were given to pupils and teachers. The teachers’ questionnaires had both closed ended and open ended questions. Open ended questions gathered in-depth information from teachers while closed-ended questions for pupils gave out structured responses, which facilitated the ease of tabulation and analysis (Cohen and Manion, 1980). Specific questions were posed relating to pupils’ experiences and the various forms of violence. They included sexual harassment, bullying as well as other scenarios describing situations that might be faced by children of the sampled age (see appendices vi and vii). FGDs were also used to capture and further pursue important and useful points that were not fully captured in the pupil questionnaires and for those pupils who needed to be around their friends to discuss certain issues (see appendix ix). Snow ball sampling method was used to identify victims of sexual assault during FGDs and interaction with teachers. An education officer was interviewed using a structured interview guide (see appendix viii).

3.8 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 11.5. SPSS was used because of its ability to appropriately create graphical presentations of questionnaire data for reporting and presentation. Quantitative data analysis used statistical methods such as simple descriptive statistics, frequencies, percentages, bar graphs and pie charts. Qualitative data was categorized and reported in emerging themes. As defined by Watson (1994), qualitative data analysis is systematic procedure followed in order
to identify essential features, themes and categories. The findings are presented in frequencies, percentages, verbatim quotations and tables in the next chapter.

3.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

Before the research was conducted, the researcher sought permission from the Department of City Education. The researcher also scheduled the work based on appointments obtained from school heads. Respect, treating respondents fairly and confidentiality were the basic guiding principles at all stages of the research. As much as possible, the researcher ensured privacy during interviews. The questionnaires were designed with the respondents’ privacy in account.
CHAPTER FOUR
EFFECTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE ON LEARNERS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a detailed presentation and discussion of data analysis and the results of this study. The findings are presented using the following headings: demographic characteristics of respondents, forms of GBV in schools, effects of GBV on learners, enforcement of general discipline within the school environment, the rights of the child and challenges encountered in addressing GBV.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

4.1.1 Gender Distribution of Respondents

Out of the 156 pupils sampled, 70(45%) were males while 86(55%) were females (see Figure 4.1). Almost an equal number of girls and boys participated in the study. This is a true depiction of the current composition of pupils in schools expressed in the ratio of girls to boys which stands at 9:10. The researcher was keen on the distribution of girls and boys to ensure a gender equitable representation of all participants.

![Figure 4.1 Gender Distribution of Respondents](image-url)
4.1.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

Respondents of ages between 11 and 16 years were represented, with slightly larger numbers in the middle bracket. Ages 11 – 12 and 13 – 14 accounted for 49(31.4%) and 89(57.1%), respectively, while ages 15 – 16 accounted for 18(11.5%) as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Age Distribution of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 - 12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 14</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These ages were relevant to the study since they capture the adolescent age bracket, a crucial development stage when teenagers take on different masculine and feminine traits as they learn to express their gender and sexual identity in ways that blend in with the range of social norms and gender stereotypes. This usually marks the beginning of a period when teenagers experience puberty and sexual attraction, mostly displayed through experimenting with their sexual behaviour, flirting, curiosity about sex and emotional maturity. During this process, there is increased sexual vulnerability.

In reference to the gender analysis framework, the structured asymmetrical power relations (age/authority) of schooling usually takes advantage of the pupils’ sexual vulnerability by exploiting them through sexual abuse. (UN Centre for Human Rights, cited in Pickup et al., 2001).
4.1.3 Distribution of Respondents in Relation to their Caregivers

The research sought to find out whether there was any relationship between abused children and their family backgrounds. According to Bowlby (1988), children brought up in families of both parents are usually securely attached compared to those brought up in broken or single parent families. Bowlby reiterates that secure attachment provides a base from which a child can explore the home environment, a haven of safety to which the child can return when he or she feels threatened by outsiders. Secure attachment therefore reduces the child’s vulnerability to sexual assault and other forms of abuse. Insecure attachment, on the other hand enhances vulnerability to abuse. Figure 4.2 below shows the distribution of respondents in relation to their family backgrounds.

![Figure 4.2 Distribution of Respondents in Relation to their Caregivers](image)

Figure 4.2 Distribution of Respondents in Relation to their Caregivers

Study findings indicate that a large proportion of respondents (61%) lived with both parents, while 24% came from single parent families, 3% lived with one parent and a step parent, while the rest (12%) resided with relatives (either grandparents, uncles, sisters or brothers). Surprisingly, the research found that a significant proportion of respondents who reported sexual and other forms of abuse came from families with both parents (See Table 4.2 below).
Table 4.2  Relationship Between Caregivers and Acts of Sexual Abuse on Victims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caregivers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father and Mother</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and Stepfather</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and Stepmother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is, however, explained by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Article 19.1 of this convention, recognizes the fact that parents and other caregivers can be negligent with or without a justifiable cause by failing to provide reasonable support and maintenance of regular contact and adequate supervision of the child. This may then result in injury to a child’s intellectual, physical, emotional, or psychological development, as evidenced by observable and substantial impairment of the child’s ability to function within the child’s normal range of performance and behaviour.

4.2  Forms of Gender-Based Violence in Schools

This research found that gender based violence against pupils in Kasarani District often manifested itself in multiple forms which involved a variety of perpetrators from pupils themselves to institutional actors including teachers. GBV against boys and girls in schools took the forms of sexual abuse, physical and even psychological abuse. Female pupils mostly experienced forced sex, unwanted sexual comments, touching and pinching of breasts and other private parts, perpetrated by both boys and teachers as illustrated below in their own narrations. While female perpetrated violence has been less studied, a few boys reported that some female pupils made unwanted sexual advances and occasionally propositioned boys and attempted to have sexual relationships with them, failure of which they either
became violent with the boys or engaged in name calling. Girls reported being teased by boys as they began to mature physically and vice versa, which sometimes extended into physical fights.

4.3 Sexual Violence in Schools

4.3.1 Forced Versus Voluntary Sexual Assault

As shown in the table 4.3 below, 67% of the pupils who were sexually assaulted were forced, while 33% gave in voluntarily.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases of sexual assault</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forced</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jane* (not her real name), a 12 year class seven pupil recounted the following ordeal:

My class teacher, Mr. John* (not his real name), told me he had identified an organization that funded girls' education from poor families. He told me that he would introduce me to them. But first I had to take a passport photograph for the same purpose so he would take me to the studio. On reaching the studio, it was closed. The teacher told me to go to his house to wait until the studio opened. On reaching his house, he closed the door, removed all my clothes and put me on the bed where he raped me for about 2 hours while covering my face with a blanket. After the rape, he told me to go home and never to mention to anyone what had happened to anyone or I would pay dearly. He later told me to go to his house on 4 different times, I went twice and both occasions, he had sex with me.

It is evident from the above incident that victims of sexual abuse fear the outcome of reporting such an act of violence. The victim is plagued by the fear that the perpetrator might be true to his word and actually carry out the threat of harming her. This translates into subsequent consensual sex. Others, however, decide to keep quiet or report later because of the shame or guilt sexual abuse causes, yet others blame themselves, thinking that it is
their fault and that they caused the abuse. "I wouldn't dare tell my parents what happened to me, for I fear that they would kill me," (Rhoda* a 14-year class seven rape victim).

Gordon (1995) argues that, the fact that some girls have ambiguous attitudes towards male teachers' sexual advances and abuse further ensures that they will not openly question this behaviour. Regardless of the legal age of consent, sexual activity between teachers, or other school personnel and pupils, is considered abuse because of the age and power differentials between the two. Sexual harassment and abuse of girls in school exists largely because it exploits the difference of power between the perpetrator and the victim, power which is not exclusively that of male over female, e.g. by threatening to beat a girl for faults in class or fail her in her examinations.

Sasha* 14 years (not her real name) a rape victim said:

I was new in the school and didn’t know my way around town very well. One of the male teachers in school was requested to take me to go and participate and represent my new school in athletics in a neighbouring school. After the event, the teacher informed me before escorting me back to school, he would have to pass by his house so that he could keep his bag. Upon reaching the house, he raped me until I started bleeding. He then told me to dress up and directed me back home. I wandered for a while, before I met a familiar neighbour who showed me the way home. Since my dress was soaked with blood, I decided to pass by a friend's house to borrow a clean uniform. The following day in school, when the teacher noticed me walking with difficult, he threatened to kill me if I told a soul.

Janet*, 14 years old narrated as follows:

"My class teacher does not live very far from our school. He told me and my friend Elizabeth* to help him carry some exercise books to his house. He has a son named Andrew* who does not attend our school. When we reached his house, he followed us immediately and sent Andrew and my friend to go and buy milk. When they left, he moved to where I was sitting and put his hand in my dress and touched my breasts. He told me he liked me and if I went to his house more often, he would give me some money. When he heard Elizabeth* and Andrew* coming back, he stopped and moved away. He told them to go and buy some batteries, this time in a shop far away. He again came and sat near me, put his hand in my dress and touched my breasts and private parts. After some time, he allowed me to leave but said I should never be afraid to go to his house alone next time."
The above incidents further highlight the vulnerability of girls to abuse by male teachers. This agrees with a study conducted in Nepal which states that 9% of school girls had experienced kissing of sensitive parts, oral sex or penetration. 18% of the perpetrators of this sexual abuse were teachers (United Nations, 2005), while a national study in South Africa found that teachers carried out 32 percent of reported child rapes (African Child Policy Forum 2006a).

4.3.2 Perpetrators of Sexual Violence by Gender

From the Table 4.4 below, 15 pupils were identified as victims of sexual abuse within the schools. Of this, 13 were girls while 2 were boys. When asked whether they could identify the person who assaulted them, 13(87%) girls pointed out that they were abused by male perpetrators while the 2 boys said they were assaulted by female molesters. All the victims of sexual violence said they knew the perpetrators and could identify them as people who they knew very well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in the Table 4.4 above, unlike other forms of violence, pupils were very reluctant to talk about sexual abuse. Out of the 156 pupils, only 15(9.6%) confirmed that they had been sexually abused within the past 2 terms. This is in agreement with a study conducted in Nepal which states that at least 9% of school children experience kissing of sensitive parts, oral sex, or penetration at one point in school. Within the Kenyan context,
these statistics confirm the social norms surrounding the pupils’ upbringing. In most communities, it is a taboo to discuss sexual matters in public (United Nations, 2005).

According to De Groulard (cited in Pinheiro, 2006b), victims of sexual abuse may opt to remain silent because of the shame or fear of embarrassment if the incident becomes public. Consequently, this becomes a barrier to discussing school-related gender-based violence and developing effective prevention strategies. Those who had been sexually abused confirmed that they knew the offenders. Courtois (1998) explains that most sexual abuse offenders were acquainted with their victim(s). More offenders were male than female, though the percentage varied between studies. The percentage of incidents of sexual abuse by female perpetrators that usually came to the attention of the legal system was usually reported to be between 1% and 4% (Leach, 2000).

### 4.3.3 Patterns of Behavioural Response of a Child after Sexually being abused

Figure 4.3 below shows that victims of sexual abuse had varied preferences when it came to reporting their ordeals. Almost half (7 = 47%) said they confided in their friends, 5 (33%) told their parents, 2 (13%) opted to keep quiet while the remaining 1 (7%) reported to teachers.
They attributed the actions they took to the fact that sometimes teachers were the perpetrators. A national study in South Africa found that teachers carried out 32% of reported child rapes (Leach, 2000), while a study conducted in Malawi found that their private parts had been touched without permission by teachers or male students, and that they had been subjected to various forms of violence by male teachers, including sexual abuse, forced relationships, beatings, and severe punishments (UNICEF, 2005).

Some of the victims stated that they felt safer telling their friends because if they told their parents they were not sure what direction the matter would take, since in most cases it caused a lot of embarrassment on the part of the pupil. Having received threats from the perpetrators, who in most cases were teachers, some pupils thought it would be better if they kept quiet about the whole matter.
4.3.4 Teachers’ Response to Acts of Sexual Abuse in School

Using multiple answers, many teachers reported what they would do if a pupil went to them to report an act of sexual abuse in confidence. A high proportion (75%) said they would report to authority, counsel the pupils, inform parents or take them to the hospital. On the other hand, 50% reported that they would counsel the victim, report to the authority then inform parents before taking the victim to hospital. A small number (13%) said depending on who the perpetrator of the violence was, they would first inform parents, counsel the victim, then let the parents take charge of the situation. Even though keeping quiet was an available option, none of them agreed to this as a way of handling a case of sexual abuse.

Asked what they would do if they found a boy and a girl isolated in the school compound, 80% of the teachers said that they would find out the reason behind the isolation by talking to the pupils separately. The remaining 20% said they would counsel the pupils by telling them to do the right thing at the right place and at the right time. This is illustrated in Figure 4.4 below.

![Figure 4.4 Teachers Response to Acts of Sexual Abuse](image-url)
When the teachers were asked if they knew any male/female teacher who has/had a sexual relationship with a male/female pupil in their school, all of them denied. However, some said they knew such relationships existed after hearing of them over the news or through rumours from neighbouring schools. This is indicative of the fact that teachers have a tendency of covering up for one another which explains the strong denial witnessed in this study. It is only when a girl gets pregnant that this comes to light. Afenyadu and Goparaju (2003) explain that it is often the dramatic cases of abuse by teachers that finally draw public condemnation. In a study conducted in Dodowwa, Ghana, teachers accounted for 5% of those who forced female students to have sex. One-third of the 50 teachers interviewed for the study reported that they knew one or more teachers who had had sex with students. Sexual abuse by teachers was also identified in a report from African Rights and was believed to be “more widespread than most institutions care to admit” (Hallam, 1994).

An interview with the District Education Officer yielded contradicting information from what the teachers had given. He said the following:

*Gender-based violence is a very complex phenomenon within the learning environment. I handle an average of 10 sexual assault cases per term from the district. In most cases, the victims are girls while the perpetrators range from teachers, fellow pupils, parents and relatives. What makes it more complex is the aspect of poverty and the environments whence these children are raised. As you know very well, Kasarani District covers part of Mathare Valley and Muthaiga. Handling one case successfully does not guarantee an end to the same. The children are corrupted right from home. There are mothers for instance, who sent their daughters out to go and do whatever it takes to bring back food. Or worse still, the same mothers bring home men and force their daughters to sleep with them. When such pupils encounter sexual harassment in school, they might not find it disturbing at all. Recently, I have noted an improvement in the way cases of sexual abuse are being reported; I have two cases under investigation on my desk. One case entails a male teacher in one school who sexually assaulted 22 female pupils while another one is about a male teacher who assaulted 5 female pupils in another school...*
girls in the school, 40% of the teachers agreed. Some of the teachers said sometimes they got to know about it when the victims, other pupils or even the parents complained. There were other times when the teachers came across love letters being exchanged among pupils. In one incident, the relationship between a girl and a boy came to be known when the parents of the girl complained to the head teacher about a certain boy ruining their daughter.

When asked what kind of action was taken, the teacher explained that both parents were called to school. Blames flung from both parties and the parents eventually blamed the school for their laxity in handling such relationships. The male pupil ended up being transferred by his parents. This exposes a major gap in reporting procedures and handling of cases of GBV in schools which leaves the victim(s) more vulnerable to further abuse.

4.3.5 The Relationship between Teenage Pregnancies and GBV in School

The study sought to find out if there were any cases of female pregnancies that had been witnessed by pupils or teachers within the current and previous terms in the school which occurred as a result of GBV in schools. In Figure 4.5 below, of all the girls who got pregnant in school, 34(69.4%) were class eights, 12(25%) were class seven, 2(4%) class six and lastly 1(2%) from class five.
Figure 4.5 Teenage Pregnancies in School

From the above figure, pregnancies tended to increase with age and class. This is due to the fact that girls became more vulnerable to pregnancy as they matured into adolescence. Even though there is abundant evidence from other studies showing that GBV is prevalent in schools, this study was, however, not able to associate any of these pregnancies with GBV within the school. This was after the researcher posed a question to both pupils and teachers as to whether they knew who made the girls’ pregnant and both groups denied having any knowledge. Whereas, this is the case, there is overwhelming evidence that teenage pregnancies continue being the number one cause of school dropout among girls. Mensch and Lloyd (1998) explain that although the literature addressing adolescent fertility and childbearing in the developing world is large, few studies focus on the prevalence of schoolgirl pregnancy and its relationship to prior school experiences and subsequent educational attainment. The implication is that girls are constantly becoming pregnant yet this is looked at independently and not in relation to sexual abuse.
4.4 Physical Abuse in Schools

Pupils were asked whether or not they have been involved in one or several of the named acts of physical abuse (based upon whether the physical abuse was instigated by gender differences among pupils). Out of 156 respondents, a substantial proportion of pupils 72(46.2%) reported to have involved themselves in at least one aggressive fight during the current and the previous terms, while 84(53.8%) did not fight, with 43(51.2%) of these comprising males while 41(48.8%) were females. Among those who fought, 32(44%) accounted for male pupils who fought with fellow male pupils, and 33(46%) females having fought with fellow female pupils. However, notable was the small number of inter-gender fights where 4(6%) male pupils agreed to have engaged at least once in a fight with a female pupil while 3(4%) female pupils agreed to have similarly engaged in at least one fight with a male pupil. 31(51.3%) male pupils admitted to have beaten up other children whether provoked or unprovoked compared to 29(48.7%) female who also admitted to have beaten up other pupils. This is illustrated in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 Gender Instigated Fights among Male and Female Pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender fights among pupils</th>
<th>YES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pupils cited several reasons for fighting in school. Both girls and boys had different reasons for getting involved in fights with the same or different sex. The most common reasons for same gender fights ranged from retaliations to unprovoked assaults, disagreements over
opinions, suspicion of one having stolen another’s items, spreading rumours about others to jealousy over girlfriends and boyfriends. However, reasons for opposite sex fights brought out a gender dimension. Girls who had involved themselves in fights with boys had the following to say:

Sarah* a 15 year old girl: “I fought him because he asked and wanted me to be his girlfriend but I refused.”

Irene* a 13 year old girl: “The boy, with some other boys were calling me stupid because I am short so I fought with the youngest among them.”

Teresa* a 16 year old girl: “They called me a prostitute and cow. They were getting used to calling me that. I had to stop them.”

Boys who had engaged in fights with girls had the following to say:

Dan* a 16 year old boy: “She called me a sissy (meaning girl) in front of my friends and also said that I was not as muscular as the other boys. I had to beat her up because she was embarrassing me.”

Peter* a 15 year old boy: “The girls were always referring to me as a drug trafficker and a prostitute. I usually ignore but I thought it was becoming too much so I beat one of them to scare the others.”

James* a 14 year old boy: “She is too proud and she likes being noticed but I don’t notice her, so she provoked me and we fought.”

4.4.1 Gender Norms in Fights

In this research, female pupils were seen to fight male pupils as a way of defending or challenging boys against sexual advances of any form. On the other hand, male pupils fought as a way of dealing with rejections from females or asserting their position among their peers.

In earlier studies, as cited in this study, fighting as a form of gender-based violence takes place within a context of existing social norms and gender inequities. Girls and boys are
influenced by gender norms that shape their behaviour. They are conditioned to adopt certain behaviours, preferences and attitudes considered appropriate for their sex. Males learn to be dominant while females learn to be passive and submissive. Males learn exertion of control via harassing, emotional manipulation, physical abuse and many other forms of violent behaviours. These constructs contribute to gender violence as children learn that violence is considered an acceptable form of expression and a viable means of asserting control (UNICEF, 2003). Boys tended to engage in physical fighting and assault against each other as they sought to live up to stereotypes of males as powerful and strong. In relation to their female counterparts, males felt that masculinity was acquired through sexual conquests or with displays of physical violence (Dev Tech Systems, 2005).

However, in this study, there is a slight deviation from this norm. Girls who had little power and were targeted by boys for fights tended to project their frustrations on younger or weaker children (both boys and girls) as a way of letting out their frustration. Instead of being passive to male aggression, some girls were seen to put up fights to counter this vice in cases where the perpetrators were fellow pupils. Perhaps, it was a realization on their part that they had to stand up for themselves in cases where their rights were being infringed upon. There were a few incidences where some girls sought attention from boys in a sexual way. When it failed, they sought to use other means including being violent towards the boys.

4.4.2 School Absenteeism

Study findings indicate that 63(40%) female and 71(46%) male pupils reported that they had never been absent from school out of fear of being subjected to physical violence or any form of threat. Those who reported to have missed school as a result of fear of being subjected to physical violence were 14(9%) females and 8(5%) males as shown in Table 4.6 and 4.7 below.
Table 4.6 Absence from School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School absenteeism</th>
<th>No</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School absenteeism</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7 Frequencies of Absenteeism among Pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>More than 4 times</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Thrice</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found that absenteeism was quite infrequent in schools where the study was carried out. Only 14(9%) females and 8(5%) males were reported to have been absent during the current term either due to fear from threats or actual physical abuse by other pupils. However, results indicate that rates of absenteeism were higher among victimized pupils than their non-victimized peers. There was almost a negligible number of pupils who had been
absent from school as a result of other reasons besides those mentioned above. According to Rigby (1993) victims of any form of physical abuse are more likely to report wanting to avoid attending school and have higher school absenteeism rates.

4.5 Prevalence of Psychological Violence in School

Psychological violence takes many forms. It includes threats, belittling statements, bullying and emotional manipulation. It also involves verbal abuse that usually takes the form of name calling among children and adults. This study sought to find out if boys and girls called each other names that were inappropriate. The study further sought to establish whether the name calling patterns bordered on gender-based violence. Boys and girls alike were involved in this vice. It was found that 35(22%) girls admitted to have been called names by boys while 18(12%) boys admitted to have been called names by girls. Comparatively, name calling within the same sex was more widespread than name calling within opposite sexes. A half (50=32%) of male pupils had been called names by other male pupils at least once in the current term compared to 30(19%) female pupils who had called other female pupils names within the current term. There were a few cases of pupils who reported to have been called unpleasant names by teachers of the opposite sex. This is shown in Tables 4.8 and 4.9 below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils who had been called named by others</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Intra and Inter-gender Name Calling among Pupils
Table 4.9  Intra and Inter-gender name calling among pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils who had called others names</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings suggest there were gender differences between boys and girls in the types of names they called each other. Name calling among boys tended to target and embarrass each other by commenting and/or highlighting on areas of weakness or questioning on their manhood, while name calling among girls was fairly subtle, leaning more towards spreading of rumours and making fun of each others' physical appearances. Beazley et al. (2006) argue that psychological abuse is often gender-based, as perpetrators may employ different approaches or use different insulting terminologies with girls and boys. In Pakistan, for example, teachers called students' mothers and sisters which are offensive names (UNICEF and Save the Children 2005). In Ghana, girls reported being teased about their bodies as they began to mature physically (DevTech Systems, 2004). Boys, however, were teased for exhibiting effeminate behaviour or for being perceived to be homosexual or engaging in behaviours perceived to be homosexual in nature.

Bullying is a common form of psychological abuse in schools and is almost always sexual or gender-based. It is distinguished from other types of violence in that it represents a pattern of behaviour, rather than isolated events (Pinheiro, 2006b). It usually refers to actions carried out by fellow students, and is sometimes dismissed as a relatively innocent, harmless play. It is much more than that; students who experience bullying on a regular basis suffer from low
self-esteem and may avoid school in order to avoid their abusers. In the most severe cases, bullying can cause life-long psychological ill-health. Bullying includes the forms of psychological abuse mentioned above, and it can also extend into physical violence (Harber, 2004). Despite its pervasiveness and impacts, psychological abuse often is not recognized by students, communities, educators, and governments as a form of school-related gender-based violence.

The study also found that inter-gender name-calling often occurred in older school aged children aged between 14 and 16. The names pupils called each other often related to their interest in the opposite sex and their efforts to mask it for fear of being called names or teased themselves. The following are the names different groups of children called each others.

Names female pupils call male pupils:

- Punda (donkey)
- Kipi/Kihi (uncircumcised)
- Drug trafficker
- Tasa (Impotent)

Names male pupils call female pupils:

- Dog
- Figure eleven
- Cow
- Useless girl
- Wa-kanisa (the saved one)

Names male pupils called fellow male pupils:

- Chizi (insane)
- Robot
- Pirate
- Girl

Names female pupils call females:

- Gacucu (little grandmother)
- Giraffe
- Cockroach
This seems to agree with Nansel et al. (2001) who says that boys are typically likely to be called names by other boys, while girls report being called names by boys and girls. Girls are likely more than boys to report being targets of rumour spreading and sexual comments. Limber and Small (2002) reiterates on this by saying that when one looks at same-gender name-calling, girls are more likely than boys to go through social exclusion.

Figure 4.6  Reporting Patterns of Psychological Violence

As illustrated in the above pie chart, asked what options they would take if abused or called by names that were not theirs, more than three quarters (120 =77%) indicated that they would report the perpetrator to teachers. 14(9%) argued that safety and respect would only be earned by fighting back, while 8(5%) said they would report to parents.

However, it was also noted that 8(5%) pupils chose to keep quiet rather than report to teachers or parents after previous reports yielded nothing. 6(4%) said they would keep quiet due the fact that perpetrators were sometimes people they knew which made it difficult for them to report.
It was also important to know how teachers handled cases of name-calling. More than a half (56%) said they would educate the pupils through creating awareness and issuance of warnings, then guide and counsel the pupils by telling them the consequences of name calling. 22% of the teachers said that they would identify the source of nicknames and implications to the victims, then handle the issue before the entire class. The remaining percentage said that they would deal with the situation by discouraging the vice and making follow-ups to ensure it stops.

In situations where name-calling was between boys and girls, a majority of teachers interviewed reported that they would guide and counsel the pupils involved and outline the consequences of such behaviour to the perpetrators.

4.5.1 Effects of Name-calling on Pupils

During one of the FGDs, pupils expressed their deep concern for the way they went about calling each other's names oblivious of how the victims felt afterwards. To make matters worse, this was treated as normal to the extent that it could be done in the presence of teachers who would also laugh it off as a joke. One pupil said,

Some girls called me 'kihii', meaning uncircumcised. In real sense I am circumcised. I don't know why they do this to me. I am still very angry at them. I stayed away from school a couple of days hoping these children would forget. I lied to my parents that I was unwell. I will definitely change schools if they continue calling.

Names like 'mbwa' (dog) or 'punda' (donkey) are often used casually between pupils without a second thought, and the callers may forget no sooner they do it. This may not be the same with the victims of name-calling who might take some time or forever to forget these names.

Freedman (2002) explains that adults often underestimate the stress and anguish teasing and name-calling cause children. Teasing and name-calling are common social interactions, and
can be used in a playful manner with friends and classmates and between parents and children. However, it is the hurtful way that teasing and name-calling often are used that may discourage school attendance for many children and erode their feelings of self-confidence. Children who name-call and tease typically view their comments as mild, but their victims' perceptions differ. One pupil was quoted to say 'name calling was worse than being beaten'.

Nansel et al. (2001) further explains that youth who are called names and teased, generally exhibit higher levels of insecurity, anxiety, depression, loneliness, unhappiness and low esteem. Ballard et al. (1999) reiterate that such pupils often have difficulty concentrating on their school work and their academic performance tends to be 'marginal to poor.'

4.5.2 Effects of GBV from the Perspective of Teachers

A few guidance and counselling teachers had mixed sentiments on the effects of gender-based violence on pupils. They said that the most common effects of GBV are the observable ones which made it easier for the teachers to help pupils. However, there was a group of pupils who were good at masking effects of GBV which made it hard for the teachers to identify and help them. They reiterated that different forms of GBV elicited different effects on pupils. However, there were effects that were similar irrespective of the form of GBV. The most common effects of GBV on pupils as observed by teachers included withdrawal symptoms especially among pupils who initially had an outgoing nature, aggression and sudden spasms of violence from pupils who had been fairly quiet and disciplined, notable levels of absenteeism from pupils who had been fairly consistent in school attendance, a drop in grades in pupils who were rated as fair performers, sudden withdrawal from school and pregnancies.
The teachers were also quick to explain that not all symptoms and observable effects were GBV related. Some of the pupils who exhibited these characteristics usually reacted to situations beyond the school environment. Some pupils were plagued by difficult home environments and could not hide this even when at school. The teachers were all in agreement that for those pupils who opened up adequately to counselling, positive results were attained over time even though sometimes counselors had to involve parents, fellow teachers and everyone else involved.

4.6 Summary of Most Reported Forms of GBV in Schools and Perpetrators of Each.

This study found that the most prevalent forms of Gender Based Violence experienced in schools included physical, psychological and sexual violence. There was, however, a thin line between these forms of GBV as they were more related than distinct in the way they were meted out to the victims. Due to the power/age relations between adults and the pupils, children were likely to suffer ripple effects of either sexual, physical and psychological violence at the same time, especially when they dared to challenge actions of the adults. For instance, reporting acts of sexual violence made the pupils vulnerable to physical assault from the perpetrators while keeping quiet made them suffer psychological effects.

Perpetrators of gender-based violence amongst pupils were not different from their adult counterparts. Boys and girls whose sexual advances were rejected resorted to other forms of violence to intimidate their victims. Some chose to get into physical fights or resorted to name-calling and insults, while others projected frustrations of their unsaid feelings on younger victims. However, notable was the fact that sexual violence was mostly perpetrated by males, physical violence was equally perpetrated by both males and females while psychological violence was perpetrated by males more than females.
4.7 Enforcement of General Discipline Within the school Environment

This study sought to analyze the mechanisms that have been put in place in schools to address GBV. This was achieved by exploring ways in which discipline among pupils was enforced. When teachers were asked how they made sure that discipline was enforced within the school environment, 7 out of the 9 teachers interviewed said they did this by making sure that school rules and regulations were followed including group and individual counseling. 2 said punishment which included beating yielded better results as it instilled fear. One teacher added that reporting to school authority yielded better results.

Guidance and counselling took precedence over other methods of enforcing discipline. Since the banning of corporal punishment in schools, teachers thought this was the second best way of maintaining discipline. They were, however, quick to add that teachers needed to be taken through refresher courses in guidance and counselling. These results are summarized below in Figure 4.7 below.

![Figure 4.7 Ways of enforcing discipline within the school](image-url)
4.7.1 Addressing GBV in the school

Teachers suggested that priority and emphasis should be put on employment of more guidance and counselling teachers alongside educating pupils about forms and effects of GBV. Sex education as a subject was strongly recommended. At the moment it has been incorporated within other disciplines. Sensitization of pupils, teachers, the community and other stakeholders about the vice was said to be important if everyone was to be involved in the fight against GBV.

4.8 Rights of the Child

4.8.1 Children’s Awareness of their rights

The research sought to determine whether children were aware of their own rights. The results indicated that most pupils were aware of their rights. Using multiple responses, a high proportion (148=97.4%) of pupils knew the rights to education, food and health while 145 (95%) knew about the right to shelter and 146 (96%) knew about their right to love and protection. This is shown in Table 5.3 below. When they were probed as to how they became aware of these rights, some of the pupils said they knew them as taught by teachers while others said they became aware through watching television programmes.

Table 5.1 Children’s Knowledge of their Rights in Respect to Education, Food, Health, Shelter, Love and Protection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Food</th>
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<th>Love and Protection</th>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>97.4</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
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</table>

This is based on multiple responses
The school is a major social institution responsible for socializing the young. In keeping with the provisions of the Convention on the rights of the child (CRC), children and young people who spend a great part of their time in schools should share power in matters that affect them. According to MacCormack (1982), understanding their rights helps develop children's sense of connection, coherence and values. It gives them a framework for evaluating their own relationships with others. It may give them positive experiences and the confidence to seek to influence their circumstances. Children who know their rights are more likely to understand their circumstances, to accept that they have a valued place in their environment and to acquire a set of personal values.

4.8.2 Protection of the Rights of the Child

The teachers were asked who they thought was responsible for protecting the rights of children. All the teachers interviewed gave out at least 3 names of stakeholders responsible for protecting the rights of children. The options given included the teachers themselves, the parents, government, society, school and the church. All of them were cited as equally being responsible for the well being of children. However, within the school environment, it was strongly suggested that teachers, employees, and parents were almost solely responsible for the well being the pupils even though there were situations where all stakeholders needed to pool together to ensure that the safety of the child was fully taken care of. This is shown in Figure 4.8 below.
4.8 Responsibilities for the Protection of the Rights of the Child

- Teacher
- Parents
- Government
- Society
- School
- Church

4.9 Challenges Encountered by Teachers in Addressing GBV in Primary Schools

Multiple responses were given when teachers were asked what obstacles they encountered in addressing gender-based violence within the school environment. It was alarming to note that in this time and era, most parents were still found to cover up acts of GBV perpetrated against their children. This was reported as the most common obstacle with about a third of teachers (32%) saying that parents preferred settling cases of sexual abuse and harassment out of court. 21% of the teachers cited lack of knowledge and/or ignorance of the law on the part of parents as a major hindrance. Poor pupils’ attitudes, naivety and their ignorance also increased their vulnerability to sexual victimisation. 16% of the teachers thought this was an obstacle because some pupils were aware of sexual victimisation yet they chose to see it as a way of having fun without understanding the consequences. This is shown in Figure 4.9 below.
According to the teachers, child sexual abuse had multifaceted causes, one being pervasive poverty. 11% of them explained that a significant number of sexually abused children live in abject poverty making them particularly vulnerable to various forms of exploitation. This was always a challenge because handling gender-based violence required one to go much deeper than the consequence by addressing the root cause. 10%, however, said gender bias was another challenge. Female victims were blamed more than their male counterparts. 10% said that silence, stigma and trauma experienced by victims coupled with the threats leveled at them from the offenders hampered the effective handling GBV.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study aimed at investigating the effects of gender-based violence on learners in primary schools within Kasarani District. This chapter provides the summary of the research findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestion for further studies. In summary, the following are the key findings according to each research objective.

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

The first objective was to investigate the forms and causes of gender-based violence on primary school children in Kasarani District. The results of the study indicated that children at school were exposed to different forms of gender-based violence. These included sexual, physical and psychological violence whose effects were more similar and related than different. The pupils were both the victims and perpetrators of these acts of violence. However, it was also found out that teachers also meted a fair share of this violence to pupils. Sexual abuse by teachers was also more widespread than the teachers themselves cared to admit. Overall, boys appeared more vulnerable to beatings and fights while girls were found to more prone to sexual and psychological abuse. A fraction of boys were subjected to psychological abuse from both girls and fellow boys as a result of name calling that bordered on sexual and psychological violence.

Objective two sought to analyze the mechanisms put in place in schools for addressing GBV in Kasarani District. It was also sad to note that mechanisms for girls and boys to contest GBV in schools were weak. There was widespread culture of silence among pupils and teachers. Victims often did not report the abuse due to a fear of reprisals from the
perpetrators and/or shame or fear of embarrassment if the incidents became public. Teachers on the other hand strongly denied the existence of sexual abuse in schools. This explains why pupils chose to confide in other pupils or keep quiet especially where teachers were the perpetrators. This sentiment was shared across by many people including some teachers. If the victim or the victim’s parents complained to school authorities, the complaint often fell on deaf ears, as authorities never wanted to acknowledge such abuse. A retired Kenyan school teacher observed that “schools find sexual abuse embarrassing and often times will attempt to sweep it under the carpet.”

Teachers further explained that lack of trained guidance and counseling teachers dealt a major blow to addressing GBV. Those currently handling this docket needed to be taken through some form of training to help them improve on the way they handled different forms of violence.

The third objective was to establish the effects of GBV on pupils in Kasarani District. There was compelling evidence that school-related gender-based violence had both short and long-term consequences on girls and boys, including physical and psychological damage and serious social repercussions. From the pupils own testimonies, gender-based violence had varying effects on them. Some children became desensitized to suffering, so that if the same was repeated, they usually took it as normal. An example is that of a pupil who was raped by the teacher the first time, threatened if she ever told anyone then commanded to go back to the teacher’s house and was subsequently raped on two occasions. Fear and trauma resulting from non-disclosure, reprisal by perpetrators feelings of shame and self-blame became a hindrance to the children’s social development.
Though not directly related to sexual abuse within the school (since there was no evidence linking the two), pupils and teachers both reported teenage pregnancies in schools. Whereas, this is the case, there is overwhelming evidence that teenage pregnancies continue being the number one cause of school dropout among girls. Mensch et al., (2001) explains that although the literature addressing adolescent fertility and childbearing in the developing world is large, few studies focus on the prevalence of schoolgirl pregnancy and its relationship to prior school experiences and subsequent educational attainment. The implication is that girls are constantly becoming pregnant yet this is looked at independently and not in relation to sexual abuse.

Deliberate absenteeism due to fear of being physically assaulted or psychologically abused were some of the effects cited. Some pupils became violent and more aggressive to counter violence meted against them while others developed acute sensitivity to verbal abuse and name calling. One pupil was categorical that he considered transferring schools rather than withstand the names he was called. This agrees with other researches which have shown that children often perceived psychological abuse resulting from name calling or insults as more hurtful than physical abuse (Beazley et al., 2006).

Teachers confirmed the pupils sentiments by saying that they had occasionally observed withdrawal symptoms from pupils who were once outgoing, sudden aggression in fairly quiet pupils, a drop in grades, frequent absenteeism which when they probed the pupils on reasons behind these actions boiled down to one form of abuse or the other.

The fourth objective was to suggest effective strategies to address GBV in primary schools. Findings from this study (corroborated by other studies) suggest that addressing school-
related gender-based violence require a proactive, holistic, and multifaceted approach with specific attention to gender equality and human rights. Interventions should address both prevention and response. Prevention efforts must address the gender norms and culture of violence that put children at risk, while response interventions should encompass reporting and referral procedures along with health care, psychosocial assistance, security, and legal justice for victims. Although schools present an opportune space for intervention, they are but one of many intervention sites. Parents and society in general need to denounce violence. Parents need to teach youth through behaviour and action that gender-based violence is not an option and should adopt a more proactive stance in schools and in their children's lives.

5.2 Conclusion

From the findings above, it is quite evident that school-related gender-based violence is still rampant in schools and has adverse effects on pupils. Girls and boys continue to suffer in silence as everyone else expects them to perform and reach their potential. There is a notable absence of attention to this issue in policy-making, which is a critical and strategic entry point if the effects of gender based violence against children are recognized as an important and integral part of their education.

Thus, despite the enactment of the Children Act of 2001 and the Sexual Offenses Act of 2006, and reiteration of this in the new constitution, the cases of GBV are still evident in schools.

5.3 Suggestion for Further Research

The research focused only on Kasarani District of Nairobi County. Similar research should be replicated in other districts in Kenya.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

Appendix I

Letter to the Head teacher/Principal

Dear Sir/Madam,

I will be conducting a research on the effects of Gender Based Violence on school Children. I kindly request for permission to interview your students and their class teachers for this purpose.

The participation of the pupils and their teachers is quite voluntary and will contribute to formulation of policies and intervention strategies that are/could be in place to address the problem.

The information will strictly be confidential and will have no linkage to you/your teacher or students since there will be no mention of any of them or your school.

Thanks in advance.

Yours faithfully,

SARAH FEDHA BARASA
Appendix II

Chapterization

The document is divided into five chapters. The first Chapter provides the project's background, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, the scope of the study as well as the significance of the study. The basic assumptions of the study are also included. Chapter 2 gives the related literature of the study, theoretical frameworks and adjacent conceptual frameworks. Chapter three discusses the research methodology. In it the research design that was used is described. The site of the study is discussed. The study population and the sampling procedures as well as data management processes are pointed out. The research findings and discussion of data analysis are presented in chapter 4. Chapter 5 gives the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
## Appendix III

**Research Instruments**

### Budget

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Work Plan/Time Frame

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</table>

KEY: V - 1 WEEK

Source: Author, 2012
Appendix V

Map of Kasarani
Appendix VI

Pupil Questionnaire

Good morning/afternoon, my name is Sarah Fedha Barasa from Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on how the school environment can be improved to enhance teaching and learning in selected schools in Kasarani District. This is not a test and there are no wrong answers. The questions include some highly sensitive personal questions about you. The information you provide will be kept confidential. While your information will be added to information provided by other researchers and shared publicly, it will not in any way personally harm you. Please be truthful in your responses to help us plan appropriate interventions for schools in Kenya.

IDENTIFICATION
School name: __________________________________________
Checked by: _________________________________________
Date _______________________________________________

Part A

Pupil Background

1. What is your sex? Female { } Male { }

2. What is your age { } years

3. What class are you currently attending?
   Five { }
   Six { }
   Seven { }

4. Whom do you currently live with?
   Mother and Father { }
   Mother { }
   Father { }
Mother and Stepfather  

Father and Step Mother  

Other (Specify)  

Part B: Sexual Violence  

5. Has anyone ever touched/fondled your breasts, penis, vagina or any part of your body in a sexual way?  
   Yes [ ]  No [ ]  

If No go to question 12  

If yes  

6. Do you remember the person who touched you?  
   Yes [ ]  No [ ]  

7. Was the person who touched/fondled you a man or a woman?  
   Male [ ]  Female [ ]  

8. How many times did the person touch/fondle you?  
   Once [ ]  Twice [ ]  Thrice [ ]  More than 4 times [ ]  

9. Were you forced or you agreed to be touched/fondled?  
   Forced [ ]  Agreed [ ]  

10. Did you tell anyone?  
    Yes [ ]  No [ ]  

If No go to question 12  

If yes  

11. Who did you tell?  
    Teacher [ ]  Parent(s) [ ]  Friend [ ]  Other [specify]  

75
12. What would you do in future if an act of sexual violence was committed against you at school? (Choices below)

   Report the person [ ]
   Keep quiet [ ]
   I don’t know [ ]

13. Do you know any girl who got pregnant in school?

   Yes [ ]  No [ ]

   If No go to question 3

   If Yes

14. In what class was the girl?

   Class [ ]

15. Do you know who made her pregnant?

   Yes [ ]
   No [ ]

16. What happened to the girl?

   She left school [ ]
   Finished school [ ]
   I don’t know [ ]

17. What do you think should be done in future if a girl got pregnant in school?

   Punished [ ]
   Allowed to learn and finish school [ ]
   I don’t know [ ]

18. What do you think should be done in future to the person who makes a school girl pregnant?

   Not punished [ ]
   Punished [ ]
   I don’t know [ ]
19. Has anyone ever made sexual comments to you in school?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

   If No go to question 23

   If yes

20. How did you feel?
   Unhappy [ ]
   Happy [ ]
   Nothing [ ]

21. Did you tell anyone?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

   If No go to question 23

   If yes

22. Whom did you tell?
   Teacher [ ]
   Parent (s) [ ]
   Friend [ ]
   Other (specify) ____________________________

23. What do you think should be done in future to the person who makes sexual comments to you?
   Not punish [ ]
   Punish [ ]
   I don't know [ ]
   Other (specify) ____________________________

Part B

Physical abuse

24. Have you ever fought with another pupil in school?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

   If yes

25. Was a female or a male
   Female [ ]   Male [ ]
26. Why did you fight .................................................................

.................................................................

.................................................................

27. Have you ever beaten another pupil in school?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes

28. Was it male or female  Female [ ] Male [ ]

29. Why did you beat him or her .................................................................

.................................................................

30. Have you ever been beaten by another pupil in school?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes

31. Why did he or she beat you?

.................................................................

32. Have you ever missed school because you were afraid of any one in your school?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes

33. How many times did you miss going to school?

Once [ ]

Twice [ ]

Thrice [ ]

More than 4 times [ ]
34. What would you do in future if any of the above was done to you at school?

- Report the person  [  ]
- Fight back  [  ]
- Keep quiet  [  ]
- Other (specify)  

Part C

Psychological abuse

35. Have you ever been called by a name that is not yours in the school?

- Yes [  ]
- No [  ]

If yes

36. Was it a male or a female who called you the name?

- Male [  ]
- Female [  ]

37. What name did he/she call you? ............................................

38. Who was the person that called you that name?

- Fellow pupil [  ]
- Teacher [  ]
- Worker [  ]
- Other (specify) .................................................................

39. Did you report the person to anyone?  

- Yes [  ]
- No [  ]

If yes

40. Whom did you report to?

- Teacher [  ]
- Parent [  ]
- Friend [  ]
- Did not tell anyone [  ]
41. Have you ever called another pupil by a name that is not theirs?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes

42. What name did you call the pupil? .................................................

43. Was it a male or female pupil Male [ ] Female [ ]

44. Were you reported to anyone?

If yes

45. Who were you reported to?

Teacher [ ]
Parent [ ]
Friend [ ]
Did not tell anyone [ ]
Other [ ]

46. Why did you call him/her that name?

.................................................................

Part E
Children’s Rights

47. Are you aware of the following Children’s rights? (Tick appropriately as below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
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<td>Shelter</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Health</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix VII

Teacher Questionnaire

Good Morning/afternoon Sir/Madam, my name is Sarah Fedha Barasa from Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on how the school environment can be improved to enhance teaching and learning in selected schools in Kasarani District. I am going to ask you questions about what you feel and know about certain issues concerning your school. There are no wrong answers. The questions include some highly sensitive personal questions about you. The information you provide will be kept confidential. While your information will be added to information provided by other young people and shared publicly, it will not in any way personally harm you. Please be truthful in your responses to help us plan appropriate interventions for schools in Kenya.

IDENTIFICATION

School: ________________________________ { }
Zone: ________________________________ { }
Checked by: ___________________________ { }
Date checked: __________________________ { }

1. How do you enforce general discipline within the school environment?
   
   __________________________________________________________

2. How would you handle a case of two pupils fighting?
   
   __________________________________________________________
3. If you found a girl and a boy isolated within the school compound, what would you do?


4. What would you do if a pupil came to you to report sexual abuse in confidence?


5. How do you handle cases where pupils call others by names that are not theirs?


6. When would you send a pupil to the head teacher for disciplinary action?


7. Whose responsibility is it to protect children and their rights?


8. How do you deal with cases of teasing by boys and girls?


9. What do you think should be done to enforce discipline within the learning environment?


10. Have you ever encountered or witnessed a situation where a male/female teacher has/had a sexual relationship with a male/female pupil?

   If No (skip)

   If yes

   How recent did this happen?
How did you know?

________________________________________________________________________

What action did you take?

________________________________________________________________________

What happened as a result of your actions?

________________________________________________________________________

What would you do in future if there was a recurrence of the same?

________________________________________________________________________

11. Have you ever encountered or witnessed a situation where a male/female pupil has/had a sexual relationship with a male/female pupil?

If No (skip)

If yes

How recent did this happen?

________________________________________________________________________

How did you know?

________________________________________________________________________

What action did you take?

________________________________________________________________________
What happened as a result of your actions?


What would you do in future if there was a recurrence of the same?


12. Have you ever encountered or witnessed a situation where a female pupil became pregnant?

If No (skip)

If yes

How recent did this happen?


How did you know?


What action did you take?


What happened as a result of your actions?


What would you do in future if there was a recurrence of the same?
13. What role do you think the school should play in addressing sexual harassment within the school environment?

14. What obstacles do you encounter as a teacher in addressing GBV within the school environment?
Appendix VIII

Key Informant Interview Guide

Good Morning/afternoon Sir/Madam, my name is Sarah Fedha Barasa from Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on how the school environment can be improved to enhance teaching and learning in selected schools in Kasarani District. I am going to ask you questions relating to Gender Based Violence in schools in your district. Please note that there are no wrong answers. Some questions are highly sensitive. The information you provide will be kept confidential. While your information will be added to information provided by other young people and shared publicly, it will not in any way personally harm you. Please be truthful in your responses to help us plan on appropriate interventions for schools in Kenya.

IDENTIFICATION

Name _________________________________ Male { } Female { }  

Interviewer: ___________________________ { }  

Date of interview: _____________________ { }  

Checked by: ___________________________ { }  

Date checked: __________________________ { }
1. Do you know any cases of school-related gender-based violence in your district?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

2. What are the most frequent types of SRGBV that you have recorded?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3. Who are the victims of SRGBV?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

4. How frequent do you encounter such cases of SRGBV?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

5. Who are the perpetrators of SRGBV in schools in your district?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

6. How are pupils/students affected by SRGBV?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

7. Are you aware of the law in force concerning the control of SRGBV in Kenya?
    If yes, how do you enforce it?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________

8. What support do you give to survivors of SRGBV?

________________________________________________________________________________________________________
1. How do you handle cases where teachers are presented as the perpetrators of GBV in your district?

2. Do you face any challenges when handling Gender Based related Violence?
   If yes, What are the Challenges

3. Apart from your office, are you aware of other organizations involved in the handling, control of and elimination of SRGBV in primary schools in Kasarani district?

4. What strategies would you recommend for the effective handling of SRGBV in your district?
Appendix IX
Focus Group Discussion Guide

The FGDs consisted of 6 pupils of the same sex.

Introduction
My name is Sarah Fedha Barasa, a student from Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study on how the school environment can be improved to enhance teaching and learning in selected schools in Kasarani District. I am going to ask you questions about what you feel and know about certain issues concerning your school. There are no wrong answers. The questions include some highly sensitive personal questions about you. The questions discussed here will be treated with a lot of confidentiality. This session will last approximately 40 mins.

1. A safe and conducive school environment is what pupils need to excel in their studies. Do you agree? What is your perception of a safe environment?
2. What do you think should be improved to make your school environment safe?
3. How do you feel when you are unfairly treated by your colleagues or teachers?
4. How do you respond when you are approached by a pupil of the opposite sex for a relationship?
5. If an adult approached you for a sexual relationship, what would you do?
6. If you got to know a friend was having a sexual relationship with a teacher for instance, what would you do?
7. How do you respond to name calling from other pupils (both male and female) and teachers?
8. Why are there frequent fights among pupils?