

**Amount and implications of bullying, sexual harassment and corporal punishment
in secondary boarding schools in Tanzania**

Prof. Dr. Margit Stein

Senior Professor for Education
Department I
University of Vechta, Germany
Driverstraße 22
D-49377 Vechta
Email address: margit.stein@uni-vechta.de
Telephone number: 0049-4441-15-591

Lisa Bockwoldt

Scientific researcher for Education
Department I
University of Vechta, Germany
Driverstraße 22
D-49377 Vechta
Email address: lisa.bockwoldt@uni-vechta.de
Telephone number: 0049-4441-15-546

Margit Stein will handle correspondence at all stages of refereeing, publication and also post-publication

The study was sponsored by the Government of Lower Saxony / Germany and the School Ministry of Lower Saxony / Germany and supported by the Diocese of Rulenge-Ngara / Tanzania

Abstract

The paper presents data from a project aiming at preventing school violence in Tanzania. A representative survey is conducted in secondary boarding schools in the Rulenge-Ngara diocese to capture amount and forms of violence experiences at school. The survey is based on questionnaires for pupils and headmasters. 568 pupils participated in the study. The data show that violence among peers and by teachers, including physical violence and corporal punishment, sexual abuse and psychological bullying, is highly common. Also a high amount of pupils reported bullying, violence and sexual harassment among pupils and within their families, peer groups and neighborhoods. A more detailed view of the data revealed that girls, younger persons and pupils of special birth regions are more often victim to violence.

Keywords: Bullying, school violence, corporal punishment, sexual harassment, boarding schools, secondary schools, Tanzania

1. Introduction to the theme

The article presents results of a survey depicting bullying, sexual harassment and corporal punishment in Tanzanian secondary boarding schools. Bullying “has been categorised as aggression or aggressive behaviour [...]. In its more overt forms bullying includes physical assault or verbal abuse, although it might also be more covert and indirect, carried out through relational manipulation or social exclusion” (Dunne, Bosomtwi-Sam, Sabates & Owusu, 2010, p. 2). The survey is embedded within a broader project that aims at contributing to the prevention of violence in Tanzanian boarding schools. The project strongly agrees with the first statement in the preface of the Tanzanian national study on violence against children:

“Violence against children is a serious human rights, social and public health issue in many parts of the world and its consequences can be devastating. No country is immune, whether rich or poor. Violence erodes the strong foundation that children need for leading healthy and productive lives, and violates the fundamental right of children to a safe childhood. Violence against children is never justifiable. Nor is it inevitable. If its underlying causes are identified and addressed, violence against children is entirely preventable.” (United Nations Children’s Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011)

The project builds on exactly this rationale. It consists of three parts. The first one is a representative survey study with Tanzanian pupils of secondary boarding schools in the Rulenge-Ngara region. The results of the study are reported in this document. It aims at depicting the situation and the amount of violence children and youth are confronted with. Furthermore, in step two and three of the project, measures to fight school violence, bullying and sexual harassment are first identified through a best practice analysis and then implemented and scientifically tested within schools. The first part in the project is intended to be a profound problem analysis. Data are collected and analyzed so that structural factors and behavioral routines in the school contexts can be properly described. This status inventory is the basis for a specific and goal-oriented elaboration of an intervention to resolve and prevent school violence. The data include school violence through authorities like teachers as well as through schoolmates. Violence is broadly defined and includes all kind of attacks to the sexual, physical and mental integrity and self-determination of the pupils. Of special interest are corporal punishments or other disciplining acts through teachers. The survey is administered by the pupils themselves. Their answers are complemented by a questionnaire answered by heads of schools to describe their perspectives of the situation concerning violence at school. The results will guide the following steps in the project and can contribute to the international scientific research on all forms of school violence like bullying among pupils and corporal punishment by teachers. Within that article first the background concerning violence against children and youths in Tanzania as a whole with a special focus on bullying and corporal punishment in schools is presented. Especially within schools children and youths are victimized and confronted with assaults on their sexual, physical and mental integrity which leads to symptoms of depression and even school absenteeism. Studies addressing school violence in Tanzania were conducted by Mgalla, Schapink and Boenna (1998), Moris (2006; 2008), Ndibalema (2013) and Tangi (2010; 2015). There were further studies focusing on school violence in Africa, for example in Ethiopia (Terefe & Desere, 1997), Ghana (Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani & Machakanja, 2003; Afenyadu & Lakshmi, 2003; Owusu-Banahene & Amedahe, 2008; Dunne, Bosomtwi-Sam, Sabates & Owusu, 2010), Cameroon (Mbassa & Daniel, 2001), Malawi (Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani & Machakanja, 2003; Bisika, Ntata & Konyani, 2009), Nigeria (Egbochuku, 2007; Omotoso, 2010), South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Dussich & Maekoya, 2007; Bhana, 2008), Uganda (Mirembe & Davies, 2001) and Zimbabwe (Zindi, 1994). Recent experience from Europe shows that violent acts mostly occur in contexts like boarding schools when children are strongly exposed to and reliant on teachers and other pupils. Therefore a special focus on the situation in boarding schools is necessary.

2. Theoretical background on (school) violence in Tanzania

Ten years ago “The United Nations Secretary-General’s (UNSG) World Report on Violence against Children” was published as a comprehensive global study on all forms of violence against children and youths (Pinheiro, 2006). It depicts all forms of violence against children and youths worldwide on a representative basis for the first time. The report showed alarming figures about the amount of violence children have to experience especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Children and youths there are confronted with high percentages of violence against them even committed by teachers (see for Tanzania: Anangisye, 2011). In the conclusion of the UN report it was recommended to develop and implement systematic national data collection and research in order to advance in preventing violence against children. Some countries like for example Tanzania tried to cope with the challenge and set up national surveys and national action plans to focus on the amount and impact of violence against children (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013). The results and recommendations of the “The United Nations Secretary-General’s (UNSG) World Report on Violence against Children” led to a nation-wide survey on violence against children in Tanzania in 2009, published in 2011 (United Nations Children’s Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011). With this effort, Tanzania was the first African country which reacted to those results and recommendations. It is quite new to focus also on emotional and mental health of school children besides focusing on the physical health situation: “Much is known about physical health of young Africans. Rates of malnutrition and diarrhea are benchmarks for aid. But the mental health of children and teenagers has always been draped in a taboo-ridden silence” (Smith, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/aug/09/tanzania-violence-against-children>). The survey of UNICEF and the government of Tanzania depicts that children and youth in Tanzania are daily confronted with a high amount of violence, bullying and sexual harassment. Kahemele (2014, http://www.childresearch.net/papers/rights/2014_08.html) states: „This study is unique because according to UNICEF [...], no other African country has ever made a similar effort to challenge this emotional, physical and sexual violence“. Based on this report the Republic of Tanzania has started the “Multi Sector National Plan of Action to Prevent and Respond to Violence against Children 2013-2016”. It is led down (United Republic of Tanzania 2013, S. 13):

“In recent years, the global community has increasingly recognized that (i) the number of children experiencing abuse, violence, exploitation and neglect is significant, and is rising in some areas (ii) efforts to address child protection issues have been poorly coordinated and resourced, with a focus on stand-alone / single issue based projects [...] and (iii) children face multiple risks – abuse can be combined with exploitation and/or abandonment.”

2.1 Amount and implications of (school) violence against children and youths in Tanzania

The Tanzanian study of the United Nations Children’s Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (2011) measured all forms of violence (sexual, physical and emotional) amongst children (aged 13 to 24) in various contexts of their lives, among them the school context, and gave national estimates of the prevalence of violence. Although different forms of violence were addressed, the study’s focus was on sexual violence – as perhaps the most harmful one. For a representative sample data from 908 girls and women as well as data from 891 boys and men were collected and analyzed (these are only the data from Mainland Tanzania, excluded are data for Zanzibar). The results show high rates for all forms of violence experienced by Tanzanian children in general. The following figures and results for Mainland Tanzania all stem from this nation-wide survey. Participants were asked to report on their violence experiences before turning age 18, since the study was meant to address violence against children.

Sexual violence: In total 30% of the female respondents and 13% of the male respondents reported having experienced sexual violence at least once. 14% of the females and 66% of the male respondents experienced sexual violence within the last year preceding the study. Sexual touching, followed by attempted sexual intercourse were the two most common forms of sexual violence. Moreover, 29% of the female and 18% of the male respondents state that they were forced for their first sexual intercourse. 1 out of 25 girls was offered money or objects for sexual intercourse. 6% of pregnancies are reported to being results of forced intercourse. Concerning sexual violence against females, in most cases the perpetrators were neighbors or strangers whereas partners or strangers when concerning sexual violence against males. Female respondents reported that 10% of the perpetrators were teachers. Most of the sexual assaults happened in the living environment of the respondents. But still 25% of the assaults were reported to have happened on the way to school and 10% on the school ground by teachers or other students. Sexual violence is widely tabooed in Tanzania so that occurrences are hardly shared with others. 50% of the girls and 66% of the boys do not tell anybody about sexual attacks. Only 20% of the girls and 5% of the boys searched for help. Only 1 girl out of 8 and 1 boy out of 20 reported to have got adequate support; 1 out of 6 girls or boys thinks the support is not sufficient.

Physical violence: The rate of physical violence is very high: 75% of the respondents reported to have experienced massive violence during childhood and adolescence. They were beaten and kicked. More than half of all respondents had experienced physical violence within the preceding year. Most often the perpetrators are parents or other adult relatives (60%). But very often (50%) teachers are mentioned as perpetrators, too. According to the perpetrators the

contexts where physical violence was experienced are at home or at school. The problem of physical violence lacks being tackled although the violence often results in bad injuries and sometimes even death. Physical violence is tabooed similarly to sexual violence. And more important, attitudes exist which trivialize violent acts. For example many girls and women (3 out of 5) agree that their husband is allowed to punish and beat them if they argue with him or burn the food. They would not define it as physical violence. Difficult legislation supports this form of violence from men against children and their wives. There are hardly any support services for help.

Emotional violence: Emotional violence in its broad meaning is widespread, but is less made subject of discussion than sexual and physical violence. But depreciation and threats to abandon the child do strongly harm children as well. Most often the parents of the respondents are the perpetrators for their emotional violence experiences, but other relatives, teachers or same-aged are mentioned as well. The attacks foremost occur at home and in school. But they also occur in many other contexts. There are hardly any psycho-social counselling services provided in Tanzania.

2.2 Tanzania legislation concerning corporal punishment in schools

As the nation-wide study shows violence as a whole and even at school is a major problem in Tanzania. Ndibalema (2013, p. 2) states that "bullying is not only a case of school children bullying their peers, teachers are also involved either as victims or as bullies". And Tangi (2015, p. 6) stresses that it would therefore be a special challenge for teachers "to protect children from all forms of abuse, including bullying".

It has to be taken into account, that in Tanzania legislation and accompanying attitudes exist, that permit violence against children at school and within the families at home. This is legislated through the Law of the Child Act of 2009, especially within Article 3, Article 9 and Article 13, within the National Education Act of 1978 and within the National Corporal Punishment Regulations of 1979: „In mainland Tanzania, the Law of the Child Act (2009) states that parents should protect children from all forms of violence (article 9), includes beatings which cause harm in the definition of child abuse (article 3) and prohibits "torture, or other cruel, inhuman punishment or degrading treatment" (article 13). However, it allows for "justifiable" correction (article 13) and does not exclude all forms of corporal punishment from such correction." (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2012, <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/pdfs/states-reports/UR%20Tanzania.pdf>). While in a lot of other countries corporal punishment at school is prohibited since the 1970s, the Tanzanian National Education Act from 1978 and the National Corporal Punishment Regulations from 1979 allow corporal punishment at school.

"Omari (2006) maintains that, corporal punishment in Tanzania is enshrined on the parliamentary Act of 1978 expounded in the National Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulations of 1979 and it has been reiterated in 2002. The main belief is that, corporal punishment is useful in maintenance of discipline and improvement of performance" (Ndibalema, 2013, p. 3).

It is a popular tool to punish students and has been used excessively. As a reaction to cruel physical abuses in 2000 the government reduced the allowed amount of stick beatings to four and only schoolmasters are now allowed to beat students or to give someone the order to do so. Nevertheless, massive physical violence is still acted out by teachers or so called student captains, who assist teachers and take their orders to punish other students (Kahemele, 2014, http://www.childresearch.net/papers/rights/2014_08.html):

"Expectations are so high that if students perform poorly on their weekly tests (scoring below 50 usually) then their teachers will cane (hit them on the hands with sticks taken from the woods) as punishment. [...] They can be punished in several ways. They could be caned by a teacher; forced to clean the school grounds by sweeping up petals and leaves that fall from trees outside or washing the concrete floors of the school with old rags and buckets of water; or told to slash (use machete-like clubs to manually cut grass - there's no such thing as lawn mowers here...) the overgrown grass on campus. Since the school does not have employees whose jobs are to attend to these cleaning and maintenance tasks, the school - in a way - is dependent on students misbehaving in order to keep up its aesthetic appeal. [...]"

Recent studies describing single occurrences of violence that went to court underline the national findings of excessive school violence (Kahemele, 2014; Ndibalema, 2013; Tangi, 2010, 2015). For example, Godwin (2006) describes the case of a boy, 20 years old, who was accused by a teacher to have shown unpleasant behavior in class. He was severely injured by beatings from the teacher and finally lost consciousness. Only when he did not get back to consciousness although a longer time has passed, the teacher asked other pupils to bring the injured one to a hospital. Another teacher was sentenced according to section 25 of the Prevention of Corruption Act No. 11 of 2007 of the Republic of Tanzania, because he promised a female student better results in her English exam if she would offer sexual services to him (Godwin, 2006; Ndibalema, 2013).

2.3 Elements of, reasons for and implications of bullying and corporal punishment in schools in Tanzania

Moris (2006; 2008) and Ndibalema (2013) emphasize that bullying in Tanzania often includes strong physical aspects meaning that it culminates in physical or sexual attacks. Within the study of Ndibalema (2013, p. 7) pupils regarded the following physical, psychological, verbal and sexual elements as part of bullying in school:

“hitting, kicking, spitting, pushing, stealing, and destruction of property, taunting, malicious teasing, name calling, and making threats, spreading rumors, manipulating social relationships, exclusion from a peer group and intimidation, unwelcome touching and kissing, solicit unwanted sexual advances through cell phones and emails, forcing others to do work for them, sexual innuendoes, noises, jokes, comments or remarks to another person about one’s sexuality or body, put reflecting mirrors under girls’ legs to watch their underpants, write on the walls especially in toilets nasty messages and insults (graffiti) about other students“.

As well Moris (2006; 2008) as Ndibalema (2013) stress that violence in the school context is increasing and is even fostered by teachers: „Teachers’ bullying acts to students include dehumiliation, sexual harassment by male teachers and corporal punishment” (Ndibalema, 2013, p. 2).

Tangi (2015) assumes that the rampant violence in the school context as well as the high rates of bullying among peers also contribute significantly not only to psychological symptoms even up to the adult age (Wilson, Celedonia & Kamala, 2013), but also to poor skills development in schools and to the often observed school absence. Many of the students only reluctantly go to school or even stay away. Either they had been victims of assaults involving violence and bullying or they feared corporal punishment by teachers. This affects skills development and abstinence - as Tangi (2015) suspected - stronger than the often deficient structural features. Similar to most considerations to childhood and youth in sub-Saharan Africa studies on the school situation in Tanzania, such as Malekela (2000), Galabawa, Senkoro and Lwaitama (2000), Galabawa (2001), Moshia (2006), Omari (2006) and Anangisye (2011) primarily addressed the following factors: "Learning materials, students enrollment, classroom size, teachers competence, school management, and financing issues as factor for academic performance. Very little have being said on physical corporal bullying on classroom learning activities as one of the causative school academic performance" (Tangi, 2015, p. 1).

As reasons for the violent situation are discussed the excessive watching of violent and pornographic movies and pictures, violent models of behavior by older youths and adults in the families, neighborhoods and schools (Omoteso, 2010; Ndibalema, 2013). According to teachers they complain about disastrous structural situations in schools like huge numbers of pupils per class or a shortage of payments (Malekela, 2000). This would make their motivation shrink and reduce an effective classroom management (Mbwambo, 2005). The teachers furthermore often lack experience and knowledge about how to discipline without corporal punishing children, as they did not learnt about that in universities (Ndibalema, 2013). Furthermore there are only weak efforts to establish a teacher professional development (Odhiambo, 2005; Mkumbo, 2012). Therefore Komba and Nkumbi (2008, p. 63) conclude in their study based on a questionnaire for teachers “however, most respondents thought it [teacher professional development] was inadequately supported and motivated. At all levels (national, district, ward and school levels), Teacher Professional Development was poorly coordinated and rarely budgeted for.” An important aspect of teacher professional development would be to learn about how to motivate children without using violence (Moshia, 2004). The authors of the Tanzanian survey (United Nations Children’s Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011, page 2 of the preface) state in the preface of their study: “We will not achieve quality primary and secondary education unless children are safe in school. The spread of HIV/AIDS will not be halted until we stop sexual violence that helps to fuel the pandemic. We will not reduce the incidence and costs of mental and physical health problems if we do not address all forms of violence against children. We will not challenge the social and cultural legitimacy of violence in Tanzania without understanding its circumstances”. Tanzania is running risk to miss one import goal of the Millennium Developmental Goals. That adds one more reason, why action and new strategies as well as evidence-based prevention programs are so much needed.

3. The Survey at Tanzanian schools

3.1 Aim of the survey, research instruments and research questions

The survey aims at depicting the situation and the amount of violence children and youth are confronted within Tanzanian schools. Violence is defined in a broad manner as any attack on the physical, emotional and sexual identity of a person. The survey distinguishes between direct (like kicking, sexual harassment) and indirect forms of violence (like defamation) within the school context. It includes a broad spectrum of acts from violence, bullying and sexual harassment. Furthermore it distinguishes between violence conducted by teachers or by other pupils. An adapted version of the survey addresses heads of school concerning the situation in schools as a whole with a special focus on dealing with discipline problems and situations of violence in school. The survey was conceptualized as a totally standardized questionnaire that pupils administered in a paper-pencil-format. Pupils got closed questions and they chose between already formulated answers. The questionnaire was given out in Kiswahili – the pupils’ mother tongue. The totally standardized format allows comparing and summarizing the results from different schools and pupils in a large sample. The study is based on the following research questions concerning the situation in secondary boarding schools:

1. How many pupils report about any form of violence in school as a victim, bully or witness?
2. What are the dominant characteristics and elements of bullying between pupils in the schools?
3. What are the factors of violence and corporal punishment by teachers in the schools?

4. What forms of violence are dominant outside school in families, peer groups and neighborhoods?
5. What impacts and physical consequences does school violence have on the pupils?
6. Are there any helping offers and persons of trust concerning school violence?
7. Are there differences between schools regarding structure and school climate concerning violent acts?
8. What are the dominant characteristics of victims of school violence in secondary schools?

3.2 Sample and sampling procedures

The study was conducted in the Rulenge-Ngara diocese as one-time data. The Rulenge-Ngara diocese has 1.008.669 inhabitants. 50% of them are under the age of 20. The survey was conducted out in all clerical secondary schools of the region. All of them - as schools in rural regions like the Rulenge region in general - are boarding schools. The schools are very much better off than comparable state schools compared to the financial and structural situation, the number of pupils per class and the possibility to set up criteria for accepting pupils and teachers.

Table 1: Characteristics of schools.

	School A	School B	School C	School D
Number of teachers	21 (10 male, 11 female)	21 (20 males, 1 female)	15 (12 male, 3 female)	34 (18 male, 16 female)
Number of pupils	420 (0 boys, 420 girls)	315 (310 boys, 5 girls)	303 (173 boys, 130 girls)	495 (251 boys, 244 girls)
Average age (range)	16,8 (14-20)	15,8 (12-21)	16,1 (11-22)	12,7 (10-16)
Pupils per class	45	45	40	62
Boarding school	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School fees	670 \$	500\$	500\$	600\$
Criteria for accepting pupils	Capacity of learning	Catholic religion	Entrance examination	Girls are given first priority
Criteria for accepting teachers	A certificate and moral value towards work	Academically and morally upright people	Academic qualification and moral integrity	Good morals and good behavior

According to the headmasters' information each school comprises between 300 and 500 pupils. In total on a representative manner 568 pupils participated in the study. The participants attend class levels from five to seven at primary school and level one to four at secondary school. Accordingly, the age span ranged from 10 to 22 years; with an average age of 15 years. Gender was almost equally distributed in the sample with 285 participants (50.2%) being male and 278 participants (48.9%) being female. Almost all participants (564 of 568) have the Tanzanian nationality.

4. Results

Results are reported for statistics on violence experiences at school (4.1), descriptive statistics on violence experiences outside school (4.2), persons of trust and help measures at school (4.3), differences between schools that include the headmasters' perspective (4.4) and socio-demographical factors influencing pupils' violence experiences (4.5).

4.1 Descriptive statistics on violence experiences at school

4.1.1 Violence experiences at school as a whole

The results stem from the pupils answers in the questionnaire and therefore reflect the pupils own perspective on their experiences of violence. In total 24 items asked pupils about their experiences of violence at school – including violence among peers, consequences of violence and violence through teachers in the three different roles as victim, perpetrator and witness. 549 out of 568 pupils (96.7%) have been victims of some form of violence in the school context. On average a pupil answered on more than half of the items (13 out of 24) that he/she has "never" experienced this type of violence as a victim. For nearly one third of the items (7.5 out of 24) the average pupil indicated to have already experienced this type of violence – mostly "seldom" (6 out of 24), but, on average, one type of violence is experienced on a daily basis. 556 out of 568 pupils (97.9%) have already witnessed some form of violence in the school context. 411 out of 568 pupils (72.4%) have been a perpetrator of some form of violence in the school context.

Analyses that compare whether one pupil experienced the same form of violence (e.g. stealing) in different roles (e.g. being a victim and a perpetrator) show that pupils experienced certain forms of violence often both as a victim and as a witness (mean score of 3.1 out of 24 items), followed by experiences as a witness only (mean score of 2.6 out of 24 items) and experiences in all three roles as a victim, a perpetrator and a witness (mean score of 2.3 out of 24 items). But for most forms of violence none of the roles is experienced (mean score of 8.7 out of 24 items) or there are missing data

on the item for at least one of the three roles (mean score of 6.5 out of 24 items). Bivariate correlations of scale scores (for physical and emotional violence among peers, sexual violence among peers, physical and emotional violence through teachers as well as sexual violence through teachers), each between two of the three roles, show medium to high correlations. The highest correlations for violence experiences at school can be observed between the roles ‘victim and witness’ as well as the roles ‘victim and perpetrator’. Outside school, only the roles of victim and perpetrator correlate highly with each other. Details are provided in table 2.

Table 2: Pearson correlations between the roles concerning violence experiences.

	violence among peers		violence through teachers		violence outside school
	physical and emotional	sexual	physical and emotional	sexual	
victim - witness	.699**	.477**	.666**	.481**	(.103)
victim - perpetrator	.664**	.490**	.451**	.600**	.514**
witness - perpetrator	.491**	.293**	.341**	.474**	.137**

all results without brackets are significant for $p < .01^{**}$

4.1.2 Violence experiences at school among pupils

An analysis of the single items that ask if some type of violence was experienced as a **victim** or not, regardless whether this was seldom, weekly or daily, reveals a wide span that ranges from 3.0% to 57.0% of the pupils who indicated to have experienced this kind of violence. In comparison emotionally and physically violent acts are much more often experienced than sexual violence. The most frequently experienced form of violence is defamation (57.0%), followed by stealing (53.5%) and insulting (50.9%). The most rarely experienced forms of violence are sexual violence - rape (3.0%), sexual harassment (6.3% suffered from it), forced prostitution (9.5%) - and cyber bullying (11.4%). When having experienced a certain kind of violence as a victim pupils indicated that this occurred mostly seldom. But if they suffered from the violent behavior repeatedly, on a regular basis, than in most cases it has been occurring daily. 'Weekly' was hardly used as a category to describe the occurrence rate. For example, 40.0% of the pupils were seldom defamed, but still 14.3% were daily defamed. And 14 pupils (2.5%) have seldom suffered from rape whereas two pupils (<1%) indicated that they were raped on a daily basis. For these items between 12.1% and 29.5% of data are missing. This has to be considered when interpreting the frequencies. For example, in contrast to 3.0% reporting to have experienced rape, only 81.9% indicated to have never been raped. Data of 15.1% are missing, meaning that up to 18.1% of the pupils could have been raped or that 97.0% of the pupils have never been raped.

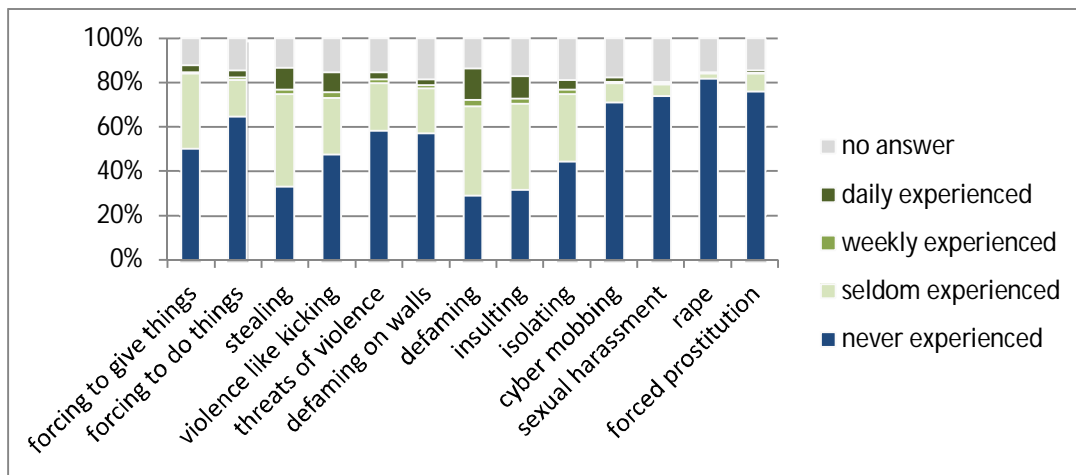


Figure 1: Pupils' experience of violence at school among peers as a victim.

An analysis of the single items that only considers if some type of violence was observed as a **witness** or not, regardless whether this was seldom, weekly or daily, reveals a wide span that ranges from 7.6% to 69.7% of the pupils who indicated to have witnessed this kind of violence. In comparison, emotionally and physically violent acts are more often witnessed than sexual violence. The most frequently witnessed type of violence is defamation (69.7%), followed by insulting and stealing (60.4% and 60.0%) and forcing someone to give money or things away as well as isolation of someone (54.0% and 53.9%). The most rarely witnessed form of violence is sexual violence – especially rape (7.6%).

Sexual harassment and forcing a pupil to have sex for money or things were witnessed by 16.9%, respectively 23.8%. When having indicated to have witnessed one type of violence this was mostly seldom. But many pupils could also observe violent behaviors 'weekly' or 'daily'; the later even more often. The most frequently witnessed types of violence defamation, insulting and stealing, were seldom observed by 46.1%, 39.1% or 44.7 %, weekly observed by 4.4%, 5.5%, 2.8% and daily observed by 19.2%, 15.8%, 12.5 %. The least observed violence was rape. 6.3% indicated to have seldom witnessed rape. One pupil reported to have witnessed rape weekly. And 1.1% (equals 6 pupils) reported to have witnessed rape daily. For these items between 12.3% and 18.1% of data are missing.

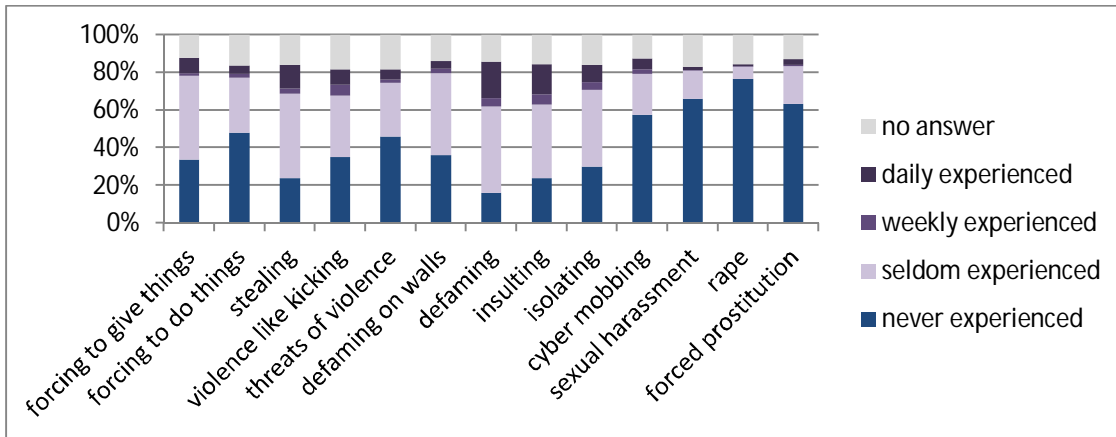


Figure 2: Pupils' experience of violence at school among peers as a witness.

An analysis of the single items that only considers if some type of violence was executed as a **perpetrator** or not, regardless whether this was seldom, weekly or daily, reveals a wide span that ranges from 0.9% to 27.1% of the pupils who indicated to have executed this kind of violence. Overall emotional and physical violence is more often perpetrated than sexual violence. The two most frequently executed types of violence are defamation and insulting (27.1% and 26.1%), followed by isolating others and excluding them from a group (25.0%) and stealing (17.3%). The most rarely executed form of violence is sexual violence - (0.9% have raped someone, 2.8% have harassed someone and 3.3% forced someone to have sex for money or objects). When having executed a certain kind of violence pupils indicated that they did this seldom. 'Weekly' and 'daily' were hardly used as categories to describe the occurrence (<3.5% for all items). The most often executed types of violence were defamation and insulting. 23.2%, 22.0 % respectively seldom defamed or insulted others, 0.9% and 0.5% did this on a weekly basis while 3.0% and 3.5% did this on a daily basis. The least executed violence was rape. 3 pupils (<1%) indicated to rape seldom and 2 pupils indicated to rape weekly. No one reported to rape daily. For these items between 20.8% and 27.5% of data are missing.

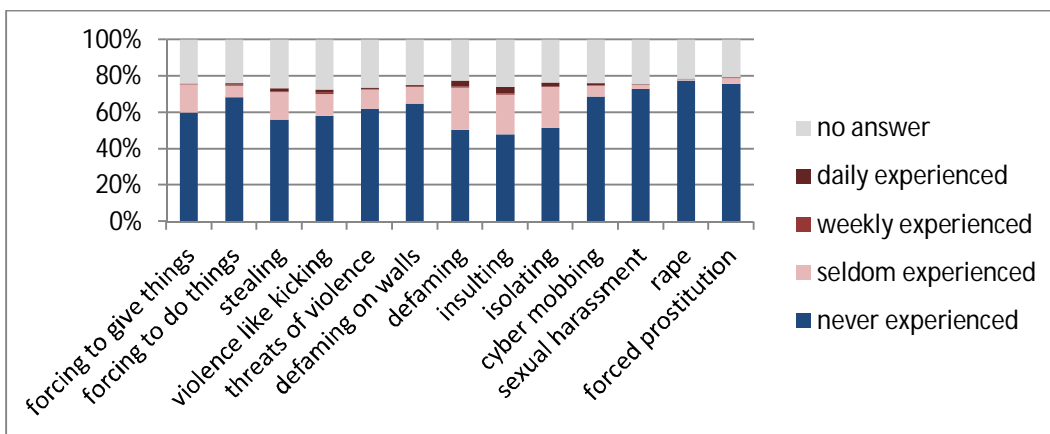


Figure 3: Pupils' experience of violence at school among peers as a perpetrator.

4.1.3 Violence experiences through teachers at school

Physical violence through teachers is experienced quite often: 68.8% of the pupils stated to have been beaten for bad performance and 60.4% for bad behavior. Whereas beating through pupils – the so called student captains – who were instructed by teachers is less common. Only 36.3% of the pupils reported this. Emotional violence through teachers was reported by half of all pupils. 46.3% reported about threats of being beaten and 53.9% about insults from teachers. Sexual violence through teachers is least experienced. 6.0% of the pupils stated that they were forced to prostitution through teachers, 5.6% reported on sexual harassment through teachers and 2.8% on rape. For all forms of violence experienced through teachers, it was stated that the experiences occurred mostly seldom, much less daily and even less weekly. The missing data account for 9.5% to 15.3%. This has to be considered when interpreting the data.

Table 3: Pupils’ experience of violence at school through teachers as a victim in percent.

Victim of these violent acts through teachers	beating for bad performance	beating for bad behavior	instructed beating	threat of beating	insults	sexual harassment	rape	forced prostitution
never experienced	21,7%	26,9%	52,1%	41,9%	32,6%	78,9%	82,4%	79,0%
ever experienced	68,8%	60,4%	36,3%	46,3%	53,9%	5,6%	2,8%	6,0%
seldom experienced	54,9%	45,1%	29,9%	33,8%	40,1%	4,6%	2,1%	4,6%
weekly experienced	4,0%	3,5%	2,1%	2,3%	4,0%	0,4%	0,2%	0,4%
daily experienced	9,9%	11,8%	4,2%	10,2%	9,7%	0,7%	0,5%	1,1%
no answer	9,5%	12,7%	11,6%	11,8%	13,6%	15,3%	14,8%	15,0%

Physical violence through teachers has been witnessed by 3 in 4 pupils. 77.1% of the pupils stated to have witnessed beatings for bad performance and 76.1% for bad behavior. Whereas beating through pupils who were instructed by teachers is less witnessed (44.9%). Emotional violence through teachers was reported by half of all pupils. 50.9% witnessed threats of beatings and 61.3% witnessed teachers insulting pupils. Sexual violence through teachers is least witnessed. 17.8% of the pupils witnessed that peers were forced to prostitution through teachers, 12.5% reported on sexual harassment through teachers and 8.1% witnessed teachers raping their peers. For all forms of violence through teachers it was stated that the experiences were witnessed mostly seldom, much less daily and even less weekly. But many pupils reported to witness especially corporal punishments for bad behavior (24.3%) or bad performance (13.6%) on a daily basis. The missing data account for 10.9% to 16.2%. That has to be considered when interpreting the data.

Table 4: Pupils’ experience of violence at school through teachers as a witness in percent.

Witness of	beating for bad performance	beating for bad behavior	instructed beating	threat of beating	insults	sexual harassment	rape	forced prostitution
never experienced	12,0%	12,9%	41,2%	33,8%	26,1%	71,3%	75,4%	69,5%
ever experienced	77,1%	76,1%	44,9%	50,9%	61,3%	12,5%	8,1%	17,8%
seldom experienced	57,4%	45,8%	34,3%	36,1	43,3%	10,2%	6,2%	14,8%
weekly experienced	6,2%	6,0%	3,2%	3,5%	4,9%	0,9%	0,7%	0,2%

daily experienced	13,6%	24,3%	7,4%	11,3%	13,0%	1,4%	1,2%	2,8%
no answer	10,9%	11,1%	13,9%	15,1%	12,7%	16,0%	16,2%	12,7%

4.1.4 Physical consequences of violence among pupils at school

Each kind of injury through violent behaviors at school has been experienced by approximately one third of the pupils as a victim: 33.1% experienced injuries like bleeding and black eyes, 26.8% experienced injuries like bleeding and black eyes that were caused by objects and 34.0% experienced severe injuries like fractures or internal injuries. The analysis of the answers shows a very similar distribution among the three categories. Between 49.8% and 58.8% never suffered injuries, 23.6% to 34.0% seldom got injured and 1.6% to 3.0% weekly or even daily suffered injuries. Overall, injuries caused by objects are the least experienced ones.

Table 5: Physical injuries as a consequence of pupils' experience of violence at school as a victim in percent.

Victim of...	injury without object	injury through object	severe injury
never experienced	55,6%	58,8%	49,8%
ever experienced	33,1%	26,8%	34,0%
seldom experienced	29,2%	23,6%	29,0%
weekly experienced	1,9%	1,6%	3,0%
daily experienced	1,9%	1,6%	1,9%
no answer	11,3%	14,3%	16,2%

4.2 Descriptive statistics on violence experiences outside school

The results are again reported for the three perspectives of a victim, a witness and a perpetrator. In each perspective the context of the family, of the peer group and of the village/city where the pupils live are addressed. The items only distinguished between physical violence and sexual abuse and whether these forms of violence were experienced or not. But the coding does not allow distinguishing between 'not having experienced a certain kind of violence' or missing data on that item. Therefore the results only indicate if a certain kind of violence was experienced. 2 out of 5 pupils (43.8%) stated to have been the victim of at least one violent experience outside school. Whereas physical violence was mostly experienced in families (30.6% compared to 17.3% within the peer group and 7.2% in the village/city), sexual abuse most often happened in peer groups (11.8% compared to 6.9% within the family and 6.7% in the village/city). 84.7% of the pupils stated to have witnessed at least one violent incident outside school. Physical violence was nearly equally often witnessed in all three contexts: 72.7% in the family compared to 64.6% within the peer group and 68.7% in the village/city. A similar pattern of total quantities in the three contexts appears for the witnesses of sexual abuse (68.3% in the family compared to 62.5% in the peer group and 66.7% in the village/city). 17.1% of the pupils stated to have perpetrated at least one violent incident outside school. Pupils indicated most often to have acted out physical violence in the family (10.9%), followed by the peer context (6.2%) and least often in the village/city (3.3%). Concerning sexual abuse, family and peer group were equally often indicated (4.0% family compared to 4.8% peer group). Whereas the village/city is seldom indicated as the context where having perpetrated sexual (2.8%).

Table 7: Violence experiences of pupils outside school in total numbers and in percentage

	Physical violence: family	Sexual abuse: family	Physical violence: peers	Sexual abuse: peers	Physical violence: village/city	Sexual abuse: village/city
Victim: 43.8%						
yes	30,6%	6,9%	17,3%	11,8%	7,2%	6,7%
no	69,4%	93,1%	82,7%	88,2%	92,8%	93,3%
Witness: 84.7%						
yes	72,7%	68,3%	64,6%	62,5%	68,7%	66,7%
no	27,3%	31,7%	35,4%	37,5%	31,3%	33,3%
Perpetrator: 17.1%						

yes	10,9%	4,0%	6,2%	4,8%	3,3%	2,8%
no	89,1%	96,0%	93,8%	95,2%	96,7%	97,2%

4.3 Persons of trust and help offers at school

For most of the respondents (78.3%) persons from the family are their person of trust, whom they tell about violence experiences. Teachers and liaison teachers are named by half of the respondents as well (49.1% and 49.5%). 1 in 3 pupils (32.6%) has a friend with whom he or she can share violence experiences. 20.3% of the pupils indicated other people to be their person of trust. Most often these are headmasters (43 votes), religious members and leaders (23 votes) and again friends (14 votes) or student leaders (13 votes). When asked about measures undertaken by their school to address violence, 3 out of 5 pupils (60.1%) mentions that they were talking about violence and abuse at school. 26.3% of the pupils reported that experts were invited to their school. Only 12.3% and 14.0% of the pupils reported that contact information of help services respectively information materials were distributed to them.

4.4 School factors influencing violence experiences

The descriptive results for each school reveal that school D is especially affected by (physical and emotional) violence occurrences, as for example, 50.5% of the pupils from school D were victims of physical and emotional violence among peers at school compared to 26.1% at school A, 32.6% at school B and 26.5% at school C ($H(3)= 42,292, p=.000^{***}$). The Kruskal-Wallis-Test produced significant results also for sexual violence among pupils ($H(3)= 25,241, p=.000^{***}$). And 63.7% of the pupils from school D were victims of physical and emotional violence through teachers compared to 46.2% at school A, 49.9% at school B and 44.8% at school C ($H(3)= 22,983, p=.000^{***}$). The Kruskal-Wallis-Test also produced significant results for sexual violence by teachers ($H(3)= 14,789, p=.000^{***}$). This pattern of higher violence scores for school D compared to the other three schools can be observed for all forms of violence and appears in all three perspectives – as victim, witness or perpetrator. The only exception is the perpetration of sexual violence among peers. Additionally, it can be noticed that school A shows relatively low scores for occurrences of sexual violence. Furthermore, school A has the highest rate of missing data, whereas school B has the lowest.

The matching of the headmasters’ and pupils statements concerning violence occurrences at school shows that headmasters’ knowledge or estimates of violence occurrences are lower than pupils’ stated experiences. Meanwhile, the headmasters’ answers mostly emphasize the same forms of violence that pupils stated to have experienced most. But, in contrast to pupils’ experiences, the headmasters did not report on occurrences of sexual violence. Only the headmaster of school A stated that pupils are seldom sexually harassed by teachers. The headmaster of school B reported no occurrences of violence at all.

Table 8: Comparison of violence experiences stated by each headmaster and the respective pupils at the four schools

	School A	School B	School C	School D
Schoolmaster’s report on violence among pupils	Some occurrences: weekly stealing, seldom forcing to give or to do things and defaming	No occurrences at all	Some occurrences: seldom forcing to give things, stealing, kicking and beating, defaming	Some occurrences: weekly kicking and beating, seldom forcing to do things or stealing
Pupils’ report on violence among pupils	Most frequent forms: stealing, kicking and beating, insulting	Most frequent forms: stealing, defaming, insulting	Most frequent forms: defaming, insulting, stealing, forcing to do things; relatively high number of sexual violence	High number of reported violence occurrences; relatively high number of sexual violence
Schoolmaster’s report on violence through teachers	Occurrences: daily corporal punishments for lack of discipline, weekly threats of corporal punishment, seldom sexual harassment	No occurrences at all	Some occurrences: seldom corporal punishments for lack of discipline	Some Occurrences: weekly corporal punishments for lack of discipline, seldom corporal punishments for bad results or threats of corporal punishment

Pupils' report on violence through teachers	Most frequent forms: beating for bad performance and bad behavior, threats of beating, insults, less frequent is (but still substantially) instructed beating; all forms of sexual violence occurred	Most frequent forms: beating for bad performance and bad behavior, threats of beating, insults; all forms of sexual violence occur	Most frequent forms: beating for bad performance and bad behavior, threats of beating, insults, less frequent is (but still substantially) instructed beating; all forms of sexual violence occurred, especially forced prostitution	All forms of physical and emotional violence were experienced by at least 3 in 5 pupils; all forms of sexual violence occurred relatively often
Schoolmaster's report on help and prevention measures at school	All kind of measures, except inviting experts, plus debates in general school meetings	All kind of measures	All kind of measures, plus promoting a culture of respect and brotherhood	All kind of measures, except inviting experts, plus reading pupils' comments and suggestions from an anonymous letter box
Pupils' report on help and prevention measures at school	All kind of measures and teachers to be persons of trust are reported: talking about violence at school (51.3%) experts for violence at school (26.2%) distributing addresses for help (9.4%) distributing materials on violence (12.0%)	All kind of measures and teachers to be persons of trust are reported: talking about violence at school (70.5%) experts for violence at school (38.0%) distributing addresses for help (14.0%) distributing materials on violence (16.3%)	All kind of measures and teachers to be persons of trust are reported: talking about violence at school (68.7%) experts for violence at school (20.1%) distributing addresses for help (7.5%) distributing materials on violence (11.2%)	All kind of measures and teachers to be persons of trust are reported: talking about violence at school (58.73%) experts for violence at school (25.5%) distributing addresses for help (17.9%) distributing materials on violence (16.8%)
Persons of trust at school as reported by pupils	41.9% name liaison teacher and 31.6% other teachers as person of trust	72.1% name liaison teacher and 61.2% other teachers as person of trust	57.5% name liaison teacher and 51.5% other teachers as person of trust	37.5% name liaison teacher and 56.0% other teachers as person of trust

4.5 Socio-demographical factors influencing violence experiences

Additional analyses were conducted to figure out if there are certain socio-demographic variables related to the pupils' experience of violence at school. **Gender:** No differences between boys and girls could be observed for violence experiences among peers. The Kruskal-Wallis-Test showed significant differences for being a victim of physical and emotional violence through teachers ($H(1)=3.93, p=.047^*$) with a mean rank of 224 for girls and 201 for boys, but not for sexual violence. Girls stated more often than boys to have been victims of physical and emotional violence through teachers. Significant differences could also be observed for being a victim of violence outside school ($H(1)=10.83, p=.001^{***}$) with a mean rank of 102 for girls and 78 for boys as victims, and for being a witness of violence outside school ($H(1)=23.02, p=.000^{***}$) but this time with a lower mean rank of 272 for girls and a higher one of 287 for boys as witnesses. So, comparing boys and girls concerning their experiences of violence, girls seem to be victimized more often than boys whereas boys observe violence more often than girls. Since the schools differ concerning the gender distribution of their pupils and the amount of violence, the same test was conducted for the schools C and D separately. These tests revealed different results. For school C the Kruskal-Wallis-Test showed one significant difference for being a perpetrator of physical and emotional violence among peers ($H(1)=6.611, p=.010^{**}$) with a mean rank of 41 for girls and 29 for boys. For school D the Kruskal-Wallis-Test showed one significant difference for being a victim of sexual violence among peers ($H(1)=4.629, p=.031^*$) with a mean rank of 78 for girls and 67 for boys.

Age: The Kruskal-Wallis-Test for the whole sample showed significant differences between younger and older pupils for all three perspectives concerning physical and emotional violence among peers at school as well as for being a

victim of sexual violence at school among peers and through teachers. In all cases younger pupils stated to have experienced violence more often than older pupils. Since school D with the youngest average age of its pupils has the highest amount of violence, the age-effect within the whole sample might be confounded by the school variable. Therefore the tests for violence at school were also conducted separately for the four schools. These analyses only revealed significant age-effects for school B, where older pupils stated to have experienced more violence than the younger pupils: as witnesses of physical and emotional violence among peers ($H(1)=4.874$, $p=.028^*$; mean rank of 57 for older pupils and of 44 for younger pupils), as witnesses of sexual violence among peers ($H(1)=4.131$, $p=.042^*$; mean rank of 62 for older pupils and of 52 for younger pupils), as witnesses of physical and emotional violence through teachers ($H(1)=5.874$, $p=.015^*$; mean rank of 65 for older pupils and of 51 for younger pupils) and as victims of physical and emotional violence through teachers ($H(1)=10.236$, $p=.001^{***}$; mean rank of 69 for older pupils and of 49 for younger pupils). Concerning violence outside school, in the whole sample significant differences could be observed for being a victim ($H(1)=10.55$, $p=.001^{***}$) with a mean rank of 95 for younger pupils and 72 for older pupils. Younger pupils stated more often than older pupils to have been victims of violence outside school.

Birth region: The Kruskal-Wallis-Test showed significant differences for being a perpetrator of sexual violence (instructed) through teachers ($H(1)=5.53$, $p=.019^*$) with a mean rank of 211 for pupils from the Rulenge region and 200 for pupils from other regions. Pupils born in the Rulenge region stated more often than those born in other regions to have been perpetrators of sexual violence (instructed) through teachers. Significant differences could also be observed for being a witness of violence outside school ($H(1)=5.15$, $p=.023^*$) with a mean rank of 269 for pupils from the Rulenge region and 299 for pupils from other regions. Pupils born in the Rulenge region stated less often than those born in other regions to have witnessed violence outside school.

5. Discussion and outlook

5.1 Summary of results

Violence among pupils: There is a clear pattern of differences between the three perspectives concerning pupils' experience of violence at school among pupils: Most were made as a witness, less as a victim and much less as a perpetrator. This is true for the different forms of violence as well as its physical consequences like injuries. There is also a clear pattern of similarities within the three perspectives: Emotional violence like defamation constitutes the most frequent form of experienced violence, followed by physical (material) violence like stealing, whereas sexual violence, and here foremost rape, is the least experienced form of violence. Differences in this pattern can be observed concerning the resulting injuries. Whereas both, victims and perpetrators experienced less severe injuries like fractures than slighter injuries like bleeding, witnesses stated to have observed more severe injuries than the others. Pupils who experience violence do experience it in various roles - most often both as a victim and as a witness, but also in all three roles as victim, witness and perpetrator. Being a victim of violence at school correlates highly with being a witness and being a perpetrator as well.

Violence through teachers: There are similar patterns concerning experiences of violence at school through teachers as among peers. Again most violence was experienced as a witness, less as a victim and the least as a perpetrator. Only beatings through pupils who were instructed by teachers were far less experienced than the other forms of physical violence. This is consistent within all three perspectives: In each of the three perspectives physical violence i.e. corporal punishments through teachers was experienced most and sexual violence least. Emotional violence ranks in the middle.

Violence outside school: While the pattern of having experienced most violence as a witness and least as a perpetrator can again be observed in the data concerning violence experiences outside school, the pattern of constant differences between physical and sexual violence disappears. Outside school both forms of violence were nearly equally often experienced within each role.

Comparison of schools: The comparison of the four schools shows that one school has a higher rate of violence occurrences than the others. This school can be characterized by a relatively young age of the pupils, an equal distribution between boys and girls as well as an equal distribution between male and female teachers. Another school, the one for girls only, reveals relatively low figures of sexual violence. But this school at the same time has the highest rates of non-response in the questionnaire which enhances uncertainty when interpreting its figures. All headmasters seem to underestimate the quantity of violence occurrences at their school, whereby one, notably, neglects occurrences of violence at his/her school at all. Concerning the qualities of violence occurrences, the headmasters mostly reported on that forms of violence that were most reported by pupils, too. But headmasters hardly reported on sexual occurrences. No major differences between the schools concerning prevention measures could be observed. The headmasters of all four schools stated to offer different kinds of prevention measures and help at school which is underlined by the pupils' responses.

Predictors for violence experiences at school: Analyses to find out about important socio-demographic factors that influence pupil's experience of violence gave differential insights which pupils are especially affected by certain forms of violence and in what role. The comparison between genders for the whole sample did not reveal many differences for

violence experiences at school, but some for violence experiences outside school. Girls stated more often to be victims of emotional and physical violence through teachers at school and of violence outside school while boys witnessed violence occurrences more often. Being a perpetrator seems to be gender-invariant. Concerning age, separate testing for the schools revealed different results than for the whole sample. For the whole sample, age did show to be a relevant factor for various types of violence experiences inside and outside school; with younger pupils being more affected by violence than older pupils. Separate testing for the schools revealed different results. Namely, only for school B age-effects could be observed and these were “the other way round” – older pupils being more affected by violence than younger ones. The birth region revealed to be a predictor for being a perpetrator of sexual violence that is instructed through teachers. In comparison, pupils from the Rulenge region were more often instructed by teachers to perpetrate sexual violence than pupils from other regions. And pupils born in regions others than the Rulenge region stated to have witnessed more violence outside in their families, peer group or neighborhoods.

5.2 Discussion of Results

What do all the reported numbers tell us? How should the extent of violence experienced by the pupils be evaluated? First of all, it can be stated from the data that violence is a relevant issue at the surveyed schools that should be further researched and addressed through prevention programs. There were hardly any pupils who did not state to have experienced some form of violence at school. Although most experiences of violence seem to have been singular incidents, there is a considerable part of pupils which states to have experienced violence on a regular, even daily basis.

Emotional violence (defaming and insulting) is the most common form of violence among peers at school. This is coincident with the findings in other surveys in Tanzania concerning school violence. For example Moris (2008) found out that gossiping (74.3%), stealing (71.7%) rumoring (70%), isolating others (70.2%), jeering (66.1%) and threatening (54%) are the most frequent forms of bullying among pupils. Meanwhile corporal punishments for bad performance or behavior in class acted out against pupils is the most frequent form of violence at school through teachers though only headmasters would be allowed to give order for or execute corporal punishment. There is a great need for action, since emotional violence as well as physical violence can cause psychological distress and severely reduce well-being of the pupils. Of course, physical violence can also result in severe injuries as depicted earlier in this report.

Although the frequencies of sexual violence are relatively low compared to the other forms of violence it is not less important to find a strategy to address this type of violence at school as well. Sexual violence is a severe attack not only on a person's physical integrity but has also detrimental effects on a person's sense of identity and well-being. And especially when interpreting figures of sexual violence, one has to take into account that cultural norms and patriarchal structures in Tanzania taboo talking about sexual issues and in particular sexual violence. Estimates from the nationwide study in Tanzania say that 50% of the girls and 66% of the boys do not tell anybody about incidents of sexual violence and the authors of that study presumed that not all experiences were reported due to social desirability and taboos (United Nations Children's Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011). However, only 1.5% of the pupils in the current study reported that they would talk to nobody if they were victimized. The figures for experienced sexual violence (between 3-10% reported to be victim of some type of sexual violence at school and 6-12% outside school) can be related to figures from the nationwide survey on violence against children in Tanzania where figures ranged round about 30% for girls and 13% for boys reporting any kind of experience of sexual violence in life and 14% of the girls and 6% of the boys reporting a sexual attack within the last year (United Nations Children's Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011). In that nationwide survey female respondents reported that 10% of the perpetrators were teachers and accordingly 10% of the sexual harassments occurred on school a ground – which is slightly less than the figures stated in the current school survey. But since the data were calculated differently in the two studies, they cannot be directly compared with each other. Systematic differences between the three perspectives of a victim, a witness or a perpetrator were reported. This pattern is in line with expectations. On the one hand it is a question of probability: With 300-500 other pupils around you the probability to witness a violent attack is much greater than the probability of becoming a victim yourself. And a small number of perpetrators may result when few perpetrators have several victims. On the other hand a big part of the differences in frequencies between witnesses, victims and perpetrators is probably due to reporting bias with witnesses being most willing to report on experiences and victims being still more willing than perpetrators to report on occurrences. Witnesses are not directly affected by the violence experiences and therefore experience less shame or fear than victims. And many perpetrators might neglect their crime because of feelings of remorse or fear of being detected and punished.

The analyses whether pupils experience violence in multiple roles showed that they are seldom affected by violence in one role only. Analyses revealed three major groups of pupils: First those who are actively and passively involved in violence as victims, witnesses and perpetrators, second those who are passively impacted by school violence as victims as well as witnesses and third those who are not involved in school violence at all. These results have to be interpreted

carefully since there is also a big group of pupils who missed out to answer an item for at least one role and therefore could not be classified.

The comparison between the schools revealed significant differences in the amount of violence experiences but not so much in the forms of violence experiences. Although no causal inferences can be drawn, it should be noted that most violence was experienced at a school with relatively young pupils (average age of the sample was 12.7 years) and an equal gender distribution for both pupils and teachers.

The results indicate that gender is a relevant socio-demographic factor for violence experiences. Overall girls had a higher risk of being victims of violence whereas boys more often witnessed violence occurrences. Separate tests for schools indicate, that differential effects of gender might very much depend on the individual school (culture). It seems noteworthy that there were very few gender differences in the experience of sexual violence. This is contrary to most findings from other studies on sexual violence where girls are much more affected by sexual violence than boys.

The influence of age is difficult to estimate. In general, younger pupils seem more often to be affected by violence at school (which is in line with other research on school violence). But separate testing for the schools indicated that the former mentioned age-effect might be confounded with the factor 'school' since the school with the youngest pupils is significantly more affected by violence than the other three schools. The analyses do not allow determining whether the high rate of violence at school D is due to the relatively young age of its pupils or due to other characteristics of this school. At least at one of the schools the reverse age-effect could be observed where pupils of older age are more affected by violence. Interestingly the birth region revealed to be a relevant factor. In comparison, pupils from the Rulenge region were more often instructed by teachers to perpetrate sexual violence than pupils from other regions. Explanations for this result have to be sought in further discussion or interviews with experts, teachers and pupils. And pupils born in regions others than the Rulenge region stated to have witnessed more violence in their family, peer group or neighbourhood. In order to be validated, this result should be discussed with experts, too.

In general, when interpreting the results one must consider that up to 20% of data are missing in the whole sample and up to 38% in school samples. Since the data are missing in a systematic way (especially for the role of a perpetrator, for sexual violence in all three roles and in the sample of school A) it can be assumed that the frequencies of according violence experiences are very conservative, which means low estimates for the real occurrences.

Overall, remembering that almost all responding pupils go to a boarding school, the meaning of the summarized figures of experienced violence at school appear to be even worse. During the semester pupils and teachers altogether stay at school meaning that victims have few chances to escape from their perpetrators. Fortunately, nearly half of the pupils of the current study stated to have a (liaison) teacher or a headmaster whom he or she trusts and to whom he or she would report violent incidents. It can clearly be stated that the catholic boarding schools cannot cope with their aim to guarantee a safe place free of violence for their pupils. This is not in coincidence with expectations, as the schools are very much better off than comparable state schools compared to the financial and structural situation, the number of pupils per class and the possibility to set up criteria for accepting pupils and teachers. It is even worse that especially younger pupils are victim of violence by other pupils and teachers.

5.3 Conclusion

Concluding, it can be stated that the survey enriched the body of scientific knowledge about violence against children in Tanzania. The sample of the study can be seen as representative for Christian secondary boarding schools in Tanzania but conclusions from the study can also be drawn for other schools in whole Tanzania or Africa. The survey gave detailed insights in violence experiences especially at school. It distinguished between different forms of physical, emotional and sexual violence which gave a detailed picture of the problem situations at school. While the nationwide study in Tanzania focused on sexual violence, we now know much more details concerning emotional and physical violence. Additionally, the study also made a distinction between violence among peers and through teachers. Since data demonstrate that violence occurs in both areas in great quantities but of different qualities, this distinction is very valuable for future prevention strategies. Asking pupils to report on their experiences in the three different perspectives of a victim, a witness and a perpetrator is a new study approach. It accounts for the complexity in real life where one person can take various roles. This study approach breaks with the restricted focus on victims only when trying to fight violence. Asking pupils about witnessed acts of violence also might be a good way to skip non-reporting due to cultural norms and taboos. Nevertheless, one has to be careful interpreting the figures of witnessed occurrences. Some reporting in the witness's perspective might be exaggerated; e.g. witnesses stated to have observed more severe injuries relatively to less severe injuries than the reported patterns of both, victims and perpetrators, reveal.

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