Experience of school-related gender-based violence by pupils and the culture of silence: A case of primary Schools in Kasarani District, Nairobi County, Kenya.

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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 provide for the protection of children from all forms of harm, violence or abuse. Despite these legal provisions and efforts to reduce and eliminate violence against children, particularly girls, violence and abuse are still widespread at home, in schools, and in the community at large in Kenya. This study, therefore, examined the experience of school-related gender- based violence by primary school pupils in Kasarani District, Nairobi County, Kenya. Using both probability and non-probability techniques, 156 pupils and 8 teachers were sampled from 10 primary schools. Data were collected using questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussion guides, and analyzed using qualitative techniques. The study results indicated that school-related gender-based violence is common in the schools covered by this study. About 9.6% of the respondents reported that they had been sexually assaulted at one time within the school environment. While 53% reported that they had experienced one form of psychological abuse or the other, 75% had suffered physical violence. The results further revealed a significant disparity in reporting patterns of each form of violence. For instance, reporting acts of sexual abuse was undermined by the fear of reprisals from the perpetrators. Cases of sexual abuse by teachers were also reported. The pupils who had experienced one form of violence or another reported that this had adverse effects on their learning experiences, their health and well being. This study concluded that there existed serious cases of violence in schools that went unreported or unnoticed owing to the skewed nature of the relationships between the pupils and the perpetrators. This study recommends that prompt measures need to be instituted through the Ministries of Health and Education to build the skills and confidence of the pupils to be able to report and appropriately respond to all forms of School-Based GBV perpetrated against them.

KEYWORDS: Gender, Violence, Learners, Inequality, physical, sexual, psychological, abuse.

1.0   Introduction

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. 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).

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 were 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).

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).

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 Mati, 1997).   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).

2.0   Causes and Effects of GBV on Learners
2.1   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.

2.1.1   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.

2.1.2   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.

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).

2.1.3   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. 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).   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.

2.2   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).

3.0   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) suggests 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.

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.

4.0 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 a vis* one another, and *vis a 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 instills in many men a sense of entitlement to use violence to keep their privileges (Dobash and Dobash, 1980).

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 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.
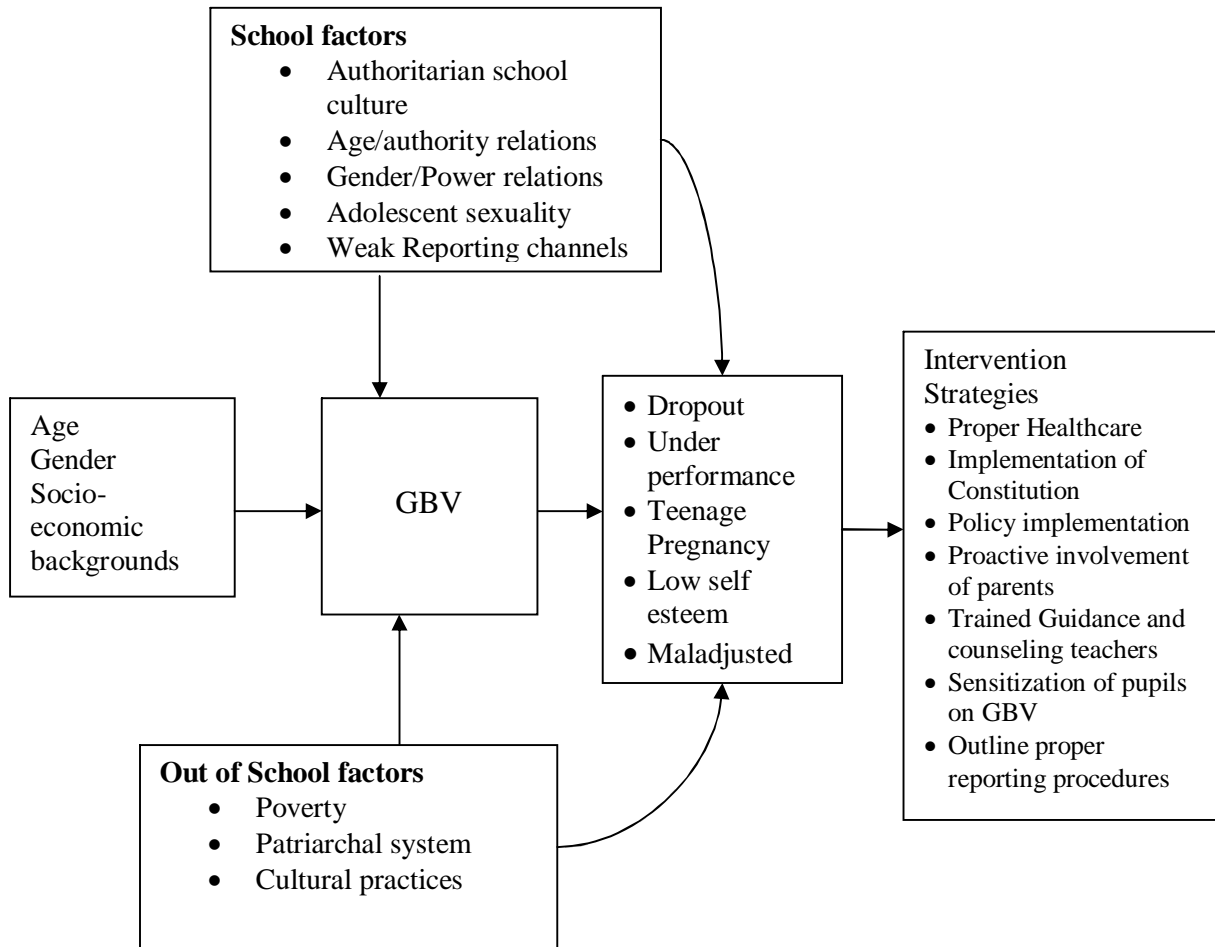
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

5.0   General Objective

The main objective was to explore the experience of school-related gender based violence by pupils in Kasarani District of Nairobi County.

5.1   Specific Objectives

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

6.0   METHODOLOGY

6.1   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 86km^2 with a total population of 338,925 people (see appendix V).

6.2   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.

6.3   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 education officials.

6.4   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%) 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.

6.5   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.   Ten (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.

6.6   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.

6.7   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.

6.8   Ethical Considerations
Before the research was conducted, the researcher sought permission from the Department of City Education and heads of schools selected for the study.   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. Before any interview, verbal consent was sought from all the study participants. The questionnaires were designed with the respondents' privacy in account.

7.0   Key Findings and discussion
7.1   Demographic Characteristics of Respondents
7.1.1   Gender and age Distribution of Respondents

Out of the 156 pupils sampled, 70(45%) were males while 86(55%) were females (see Figure 2 below). 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.
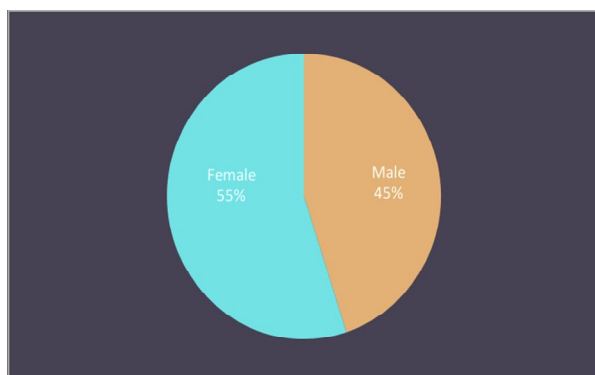

Figure 2   Gender Distribution of Respondents

7.1.2   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%).

7.2   Forms of Gender-Based Violence in Schools

The findings of this study shows that GBV against boys and girls in schools took the forms of sexual abuse, physical and even psychological abuse. Some of the female pupils who reported having been abused mostly experienced forced sex, unwanted sexual comments, touching and pinching of breasts and other private parts, perpetrated by boys and sometimes by their teachers as illustrated below in their own narrations. While boys stated that girls engaged in name calling, girls on their part were from time to time teased by boys, which sometimes extended into physical fights.

7.2.1   Sexual Violence in Schools

The pupils did not offer detailed responses to questions on sexual abuse compared to their responses about their experiences of other forms of violence (abuse). Out of the 156 pupils who participated in this study, only 15(9.6%) confirmed that they had been sexually abused in the last two (2) terms.

For those who had suffered sexual abuse, 13(87%) girls were abused by male perpetrators while 2 boys were assaulted by female molesters. All the victims could identify the perpetrators as people whom they knew very well. While 67% of the pupils who were sexually assaulted were forced into sex, 33% consented to sexual advances voluntarily as shown below in table 1.

Table 1:   Forced versus voluntary sexual assault

Cases of sexual assault	Frequency	Percentage
Forced	10	67
Voluntary	5	33

The cases that follow help to amplify experiences of some of the pupils.

Case 1
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. 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.

Case 2
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.*

Case 3
Rita *, 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. Elsewhere, such experiences have been reported. De Groulard (cited in Pinheiro, 2006b) notes that 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).

While the cases reported by this study may appear few and scattered, in reality many   incidences of abuse go unreported or unnoticed. 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).

7.2.2   Physical Abuse in Schools

Out of 156 respondents, a substantial proportion 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 had fought, 32(44%) accounted for male pupils who fought with fellow male pupils, and 33(46%) females having fought with fellow female pupils. 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. About 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 2 below.

Table 2   Gender Instigated Fights among Male and Female Pupils

Inter and intra – gender fights among pupils	YES			
	Male	%	Female	%
Male	32	44	4	6
Female	3	4	33	46
Total	35	48	37	52

The Pupils cited several reasons for fighting in school. 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."

For boys, the reasons for engaging in fights with girls were as varied as narrated below:
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."

7.2.3   Psychological Violence

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. 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 3 and 4 below

Table 3   Intra and Inter-gender Name Calling among Pupils

Pupils who had been called named by others	YES			
	Male	%	Female	%
Male	50	32	18	12
Female	35	22	30	19
Total	85	54	48	31.2

Table 4.   Intra and Inter-gender name calling among pupils

Pupils who had called others names	YES			
	Male	%	Female	%
Male	57	37	7	5
Female	22	14	50	32
Total	79	51	57	37

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.

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 pupils called each other.

Names female pupils call male pupils:
> *Punda (donkey)*
> *Kipii/Kihii (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*

An earlier study by Nansel et al. (2001) reported 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. In a situation of same gender name-calling according to Limber and Small (2002), girls are more likely than boys to go through social exclusion.

7.3   Pupils' Reporting Patterns about violence

More than three quarters (120 =77%) of those pupils indicated that they would report the perpetrator to teachers, 14(9%) fight back, while 8(5%) said they would report to parents. A mere 8(5%) pupils would keep quiet rather than report to teachers or parents after previous reports having yielded nothing. Another 6(4%) would keep quiet as the perpetrators are known to them (Fig. 3 below has details).
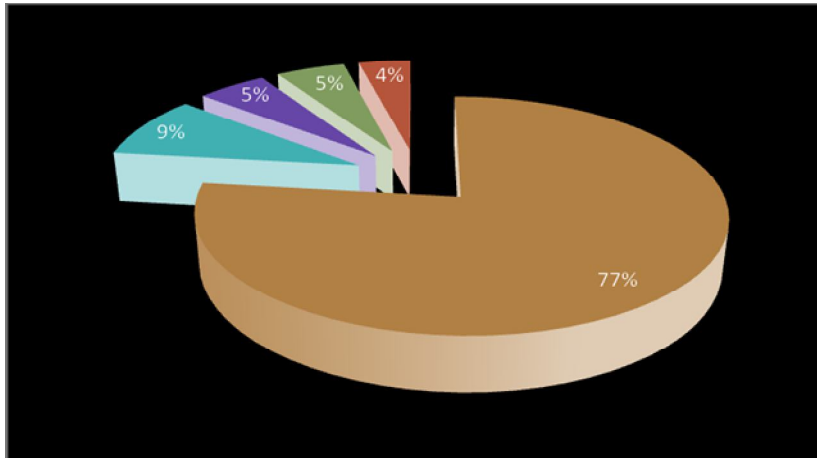

Figure 3   Reporting Patterns of about violence

7.4   Children's Awareness of their rights

The results indicated that most pupils were aware of their rights. Using multiple responses, a high proportion (148=97.4%) of pupils knew their 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 either through their teachers or the media.

7.5   Challenges Encountered by Teachers in Addressing GBV in Schools

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. About   10% noted that silence, stigma and trauma experienced by victims coupled with the threats of unsuspecified punishments by perpetrators hampered any intervention efforts.

8.0   SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS
8.1   Summary of study findings

This study aimed at investigating the experience of school-related gender-based violence among learners in primary schools within 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. The pupils were both the victims and perpetrators of these

acts of violence. However, some cases of violence were perpetrated by their teachers. Overall, boys appeared more vulnerable to beatings and fights while girls were found to be 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. The culture of silence was rampant and most of the cases of violence were never reported for fear of reprisals by the perpetrators.

8.2   Conclusion

From the findings, 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.

8.3   Recommendations

The ministries of education and health need to institute urgent interventions focused on;
1. Inculcation of Life skills among pupils.
2. Incorporation of SRH education into the curriculum to increase awareness and knowledge about effects of SRGBV.
3. Sensitization of pupils, teachers, the community and other stakeholders about the effects of SRGBV.

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