

Relations of corporal punishment to academic results and achievements in secondary schools in Tanzania

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Abstract

The paper presents data on harsh discipline and violence by teachers in its relation to academic achievement of students from secondary schools. A representative questionnaire based survey was conducted in 13 schools in three districts in the region of Mwanza in Tanzania to capture amount and forms of corporal punishment and violence experienced in school in its effect on achievement and national examination results. 597 students participated and reported about a broad variety of forms of violence by teachers, including physical violence and corporal punishment, psychological violence and humiliation as well as sexual abuse. This violence was related to academic achievement and results as well on individual level as on school level, as schools with a very high culture of violence showed less academic performance as a whole in the national examination CSSE after Form IV.

Keywords: School violence, corporal punishment, academic achievement, secondary schools, Tanzania

1. Introduction: Corporal punishment in schools**1.1 Legislative aspects of corporal punishment worldwide and in Tanzania**

Violence against children and the use of corporal punishment as part of classroom management is a worldwide phenomenon in schools although the United Nations in a lot of documents like Art. 19 of the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child' (UN General Assembly, 1989) or 'Sustainable Development Goal Number 16.2' (United Nations, 2015) stress the necessity to end all forms of violent behavior or cruel discipline like corporal punishment against children to protect their physical and mental health. Furthermore Art. 29 of the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child' specifies that education shall be directed to the preparation of the child for a responsible life.

The UN-report 'Toward a world free from violence – global survey on violence against children' (United Nations, 2016) depicts the situation of children and youths concerning violence against them in five main settings of childhood (families, schools, care institutions, workplace and communities). The report states that only 25% of countries prohibit all forms of violence against children, while 67% of countries do only partially ban some forms of violence. More and more countries take legal action to protect children and youths better. The prevention of violence is also of high economic interest, as violence is responsible for bad health and bad performance in school and later in the working place. Therefore the 'UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children (SRSG)' appointed on May 1st 2009 by the resolutions 62/141 and 64/146 of the UN General Assembly, Marta Santos Pais, states that any dollar or euro spent in violence prevention against children helps to save 87 dollars or euros afterwards (Santos Pais, 2014, p. 41).

The 'Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children' (GIEACPC, 2016b) names 70 countries which did not declared corporal punishment as illegal in schools. But even though a lot of countries already tried to ban corporal punishment through legislative means it nevertheless remains vivid in everyday life of a lot of pupils worldwide.

Kaltenbach et al. (2017, p. 2) focus especially on Sub-Saharan African countries where "25 of the 70 countries not fully prohibiting corporal punishment in schools are located".

In Tanzania corporal punishment against children at school and within families is legislated through the 'Law of the Child Act' of 2009 (Art. 13), which "allows corporal punishment for

"justifiable" correction and does not exclude all forms of corporal punishment from such correction." (GIEACPC, 2012, <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/pdfs/states-reports/UR%20Tanzania.pdf>). Furthermore the 'Tanzanian National Education Act' from 1978 and the 'National Corporal Punishment Regulations' from 1979 allow corporal punishment at school. As a first step to reduce arbitrary uses of corporal punishment by teachers in 2000 the allowed amount of stick beatings was reduced to four and only schoolmasters are now licensed to beat. But as corporal punishment is not totally banned in Tanzania and is part of the hierarchical schooling system massive physical and psychological violence is still ongoing by teachers or so called student captains, who assist teachers (Kahemele, 2014, http://www.childresearch.net/papers/rights/2014_08.html). But there are first encouraging steps done as a result of the high amount of violence by teachers depicted in the study of Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) in Catholic boarding schools in the Diocese of Rulenge-Ngara the Bishop set out corporal punishment for three years.

1.2 Amount of corporal punishment at schools in Tanzania

Studies aiming at raising data concerning school violence by teachers and corporal punishment in Tanzania were among others conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF together with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (2011), Feinstein and Mwahombela (2010), Yaghambe and Tshabangu (2013), Stein and Bockwoldt (2016), Hecker et al. (2014; 2016b; 2018) and Tangi (2010; 2019). The data of the study of Tangi (2019) is basis of this article.

In the UNICEF Report of 2011 a representative sample of 908 female and 891 male participants aged 13 to 24 were asked to report on their violence experiences during childhood and adulthood before turning 18. The results show high rates for all forms of violence experienced by Tanzanian children and youths in general. The rate of physical violence is very high: 75% of the respondents reported to have experienced massive physical violence. Very often (50%) teachers are mentioned as perpetrators of violence and corporal punishment. Also the rate of emotional violence through teachers is very high. Furthermore 30% of the female respondents and 13% of the male respondents reported having experienced sexual violence at least once. Female respondents reported that 10% of the perpetrators were teachers. 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.

Feinstein and Mwahombela (2010) collected quantitative data concerning corporal punishment of 194 pupils and 254 teachers and conducted qualitative interviews with 14 pupils and 14 teachers in governmentally run or private financed secondary schools in the Iringa Region. Almost half of the teachers stated to use corporal punishment like hitting and caning on a regular daily basis as common discipline method for misbehavior as well as bad academic results.

Yaghambe and Tshabangu (2013) investigated disciplinary methods in ten secondary schools in Tanzania asking 50 teachers and 104 students to report about their experiences. Physical punishment was the mostly used method of classroom management in schools to "motivate" students to learn and perform good. Corporal punishment was according to students' answers in the study of Yaghambe and Tshabangu (2013) applied for a broad variety of different reasons like performing poorly (81%), lying (67%), bullying other students (56%) or wearing improper school uniforms (45%).

While Feinstein and Mwahombela (2010) focused on governmental or private schools Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) conducted a representative survey in Catholic secondary boarding schools in the Rulenge-Ngara diocese to capture amount and forms of violence experiences at school. The survey is based on questionnaires with 568 pupils and written interviews with the schools' headmasters. Almost 98% of the students reported violence among peers and by teachers, including physical violence and corporal punishment, sexual abuse and psychological bullying. Physical violence through teachers is experienced quite often: 68.8% of the pupils stated to have received corporal punishment for bad performances and 60.4% for misbehavior. An even bigger percentage witnessed corporal punishment and violence by teachers. About 6.0% were forced by teachers to prostitute themselves, e.g. for good results, 5.6% suffered from sexual harassment and 2.8% were raped by teachers (see also Makiya, 2008, for a comparison between church and governmental schools).

The surveys of Hecker et al. (2014; 2016b) shift from governmental and private secondary school students to the amount of corporal punishment in a private primary school. 409 pupils were interviewed concerning their experiences with violence and corporal punishment at home and in school. The authors state: "95% reported having experienced corporal punishment at school and 98% having witnessed corporal punishment used against other children at school." (Hecker et al., 2014, p. 889). The study shows that corporal punishment is especially widespread for very small children in primary schools.

The high amount of corporal punishment and violent forms of discipline in Tanzania was also stressed by teachers within a study of Hecker et al. (2018) in which 222 teachers from eleven urban and rural secondary schools in six regions in Tanzania were asked to report about all forms of violent discipline methods applied on students within the last year. 99% of teachers used forms of emotional violence (e.g. shouting, calling names, threatening to spank) and 97% forms of physical violence to discipline pupils (e.g. beating up, hitting, spanking).

Corporal punishment is widely used even for minor offences and even if the government tried to reduce its frequency. The normative concept corporal punishment bases on is the belief that means of corporal discipline will help to shape students into conformed, motivated and high achieving individuals respecting hierarchies: "The main belief is that corporal punishment is useful in maintenance of discipline and improvement of performance." (Ndibalema, 2013, p. 3). Even if "children with high levels of exposure to corporal punishment were not likely to regard it as an effective disciplinary technique" (Hecker et al., 2014, p. 885)

"teachers often consider violent punishment as the only way to deal with students' inappropriate behavior (Flannery, Wester, & Singer, 2004; Yaghambe & Tshabangu, 2013). Common reasons for the use of violent punishment that were put forward by educators in Sub-Saharan Africa are perceived expectations of its usefulness by parents and the society at large as a means of ensuring respect, and, above all, the aim of maintaining discipline in class, which reflects the teachers' belief that removing violent punishment from schools equates the removal of all discipline from the class rooms" (Hecker et al., 2018, p. 174).

The high pressure on students not only by teachers but mostly by parents to be high achievers even strengthens corporal punishment and makes it more likely. Especially when “expectations are so high that if students perform poorly on their weekly tests [...] their teachers will cane” them (Kahemele, 2014, http://www.childresearch.net/papers/rights/2014_08.html). Therefore corporal punishment is not only widespread in insufficiently equipped governmental schools with huge class sizes and bad educated teachers but also in private and Christian schools and boarding schools where parents sometimes pay a lot, like the studies of Makiya (2008), Feinstein and Mwahombela (2010), Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) and Tangi (2019) show. In Tangi’s study from 2019 the occurrence of corporal punishment in schools run by the church was even higher than in governmental schools as the expectations of wealthier parents regarding the academic achievement and the orientation to the authority of their children was even higher what raised the pressure on teachers to use violent forms of discipline.

Parents often support corporal punishment in schools and children report that parents and other grandparents use violent forms of discipline even more often than teachers (Frankenberg, Holmqvist & Rubenson, 2010; United Nations Children’s Fund, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011; Nkuba, Hermenau & Hecker, 2018). According to Hecker et al. (2014, p. 886) “teachers and caregivers [...] argued that corporal punishment is part of “African culture”, [which makes...] corporal punishment [...] common and even normative in Tanzania”.

Hecker et al. (2018) proofed that these feelings of pressure are not directly related with corporal punishment, but intensify stress on teachers ($r=.46^{***}$). Stress is directly correlated with physical violence ($r=.37^{***}$). This stress is not only intensified by parental expectations like Tangi (2010, 2019) showed but also by bad schooling conditions as

“teachers are challenged to cope with insufficient school equipment, lack of personnel, overcrowded classrooms, and deficient school management with hierarchical authority structures [...]. Additionally, low and declining payment in the educational sector is said to be a major threat to teaching performance and motivation” (Hecker et al., 2018, p. 174, for the situation in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole in general see also Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007).

According to the situation especially in Tanzania Malekela (2000), Galabawa (2000), Masha (2000), Barrett (2005), Mbwambo (2005), Komba and Nkumbi (2008), Ngimbudzi (2009), Kaguo (2011), Komba, Hizza and Winledy (2014), Vavrus and Bartlett (2012), Mkumbo (2013), Lyimo (2014) and Nkuba and Kyaruzi (2015) report about high numbers of teachers complaining about disastrous structural situations in schools like huge numbers of pupils per class, inadequate working materials and books, only small job satisfaction, shortage of payments, seldom paid salaries, an ineffective classroom management or weak organization of schools and only rare efforts to establish a teachers’ professional development or teachers’ regular training, which are – if established – “inadequately supported and motivated. At all levels (national, district, ward and school levels), Teacher Professional Development was poorly coordinated and rarely budgeted for.” (Komba & Nkumbi, 2008, p. 63).

2. Background: Corporal punishment and weak academic achievement in Tanzanian schools

Within our research we aim at investigating the relationship between violent corporal punishment and weak academic achievements and results in Tanzanian secondary schools. Up to now this relationship was seldom investigated. Mostly the effects of corporal punishment were seen within the fields of internalizing and externalizing problems. On the other hand bad results and efforts were mainly reduced to the lack of teaching and learning materials, poor students' enrolment, huge classroom sizes, inefficient teachers' competence, a bad school management and financing issues.

2.1 Effects of corporal punishment

The authors of the UNICEF Report assume very negative effects of the widespread violence against children and youths within the Tanzanian society and state that this violence poses a human rights' problem as well as an erosion of a healthy and productive live. Also "students reported disliking the practice and believed it was ineffective and resulted in emotional, as well as physical, distress." (Feinstein & Mwahombela, 2010, p. 399). Within the studies in primary schools of Hecker et al. (2014) and in secondary boarding schools by Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) 24% of the primary school children reported being punished so hard that they suffered from injuries. The rate was even higher in the secondary boarding schools: 33,1% of the pupils reported about injuries (bleeding and black eyes) without objects, 26,8% of injuries through objects and 34,0% of severe injuries (fractures or internal injuries). Besides these acute effects of violent corporal punishment there is a huge variety of negative developmental outcomes discussed as effects of corporal punishment. Most studies focus on the prediction of negative effects of parental violence and abuse and were conducted in Western societies. There are discussed (Kaltenbach et al. 2017, p. 2)

"especially associations with depressive disorders, suicide attempts, aggression, antisocial behavior, and substance abuse [...]. Further, corporal punishment was associated with poorer academic performance [...] as well as with negative consequences later on in the children's life, for example, delinquent behavior."

There are only few studies that focus on the negative effects of corporal punishment by authorities within the context of school. Among these studies is the study of Hecker et al. on the effects to externalizing problems (2014) and internalizing problems and cognitive functioning (2016b). Hecker et al. (2016a) also found relations to epigenetic long term modifications in genes. There is a very high and significant relationship between corporal punishment and externalizing problems: with current aggressive behavior $r = .33^{***}$, with lifetime aggression ($r = .35^{***}$), with conduct problems ($r = .28^{***}$), with hyperactivity ($r = .24^{***}$), with the externalizing problems score as a whole ($r = .40^{***}$), while prosocial behavior shrinks and is correlated with $r = -.11^*$ (Hecker et al., 2014, p. 888). High amounts of harsh discipline were also significantly related to a high extent of internalizing problems (emotional symptoms, peer problems and depressive symptoms) with $r = .47^{***}$ (Hecker et al., 2016b, p. 7). There is also to be mentioned a systematic review by Gershoff (2017), which pointed out that the negative consequences of violent punishment in families can also be found in schools.

2.2 Causes of weak academic achievement

Other researchers (Malekela, 2000, Galabawa, Senkoro & Lwaitama, 2000; Mosha, 2000; 2006; Galabawa, 2001; Galabawa & Agu, 2001; Burkea & Beegle, 2004; Barrett, 2005; Omari, 2006; Ngimbudzi, 2009; Anangisye, 2011; Kaguo, 2011; Mkumbo, 2013; Nyandwi, 2014; Komba, Hizza & Winledy, 2014) investigated different factors affecting academic performance and school absenteeism in Tanzania such as the teaching and learning materials, students' enrolment, classroom size, teachers' competence, school management, and financing issues. The studies found out for example that there was a relationship between students' academic performance and the amount of teaching and learning materials. The inadequacy of teaching and learning materials in schools can lead to stealing of forcing other students to give money to them or things. Few researchers have addressed corporal punishment and violence by teachers as a factor contributing to poor academic performance, poor competency building and bad results in national examinations in Tanzania. Very little research has been done on this influence of physical and psychological violence and punishment on students' academic achievement, specifically the impact on students' learning activities.

As one of the few studies dealing with the relationship between harsh discipline and cognitive functioning and school performance must be mentioned the study of Hecker et al. (2016b) within a primary private school. The authors did not find a direct link between harsh discipline and working memory or school performance, but both aspects were linked indirectly via internalizing mental health problems that as a result led to reduced school performance and weaker results in exams. Also Gershoff (2017) found out in his systematic review on school corporal punishment that

“in addition to the general negative consequences, corporal punishment in school increased children's fear of going to school, created a violent and humiliating learning environment, eroded the students' trust in schools and teachers, and led to increased levels of school drop-out” (Kaltenbach et al., 2017, p. 2).

As research questions the study depicted in this article is concerned with the impact of harsh discipline and corporal punishment on students' learning activities in secondary schools in Tanzania. In light of the background of the problem, this study sought to investigate the effects of harsh discipline and corporal punishment on students' learning activities and schools' overall achievement. According to the conceptual framework of this study, the actual observable school learning environment includes classroom management strategies, school discipline management strategies and student-teacher relationships.

(1) We hypothesize that the data will show a high amount of harsh discipline and violence by teachers.

(2) We assume that the rampant violence in the school context, especially harsh discipline and corporal punishment, contribute significantly not only to psychological symptoms, but also to poor results in exams.

(2) We predict that poor achievement within the view of the students is more often an effect of harsh discipline and corporal punishment by teachers than an effect of poor material resources and cannot be reduced solely to deficient structural features.

3 Methods

3.1 Sample and sampling procedures

The study was conducted in the three districts Nyamagana, Ilemela, and Magu of the Mwanza region in Northwestern Tanzania selected according to their geographical location (rural: Nyamagana, pre-urban: Ilemela and urban area: Magu). In the three districts 37935 students are enrolled in 73 public schools; the study targeted all IV-graders (n=2826) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). In the study 25% of schools from each of the three districts were selected randomly; therefore as whole 13 schools was part of the sample. Within the schools 25% of the population of every school was selected by stratified methods according to their gender (n=709). The response rate was very high (84%; n=597).

Table 1: Targeted Population, sample size and returned questionnaires

Targeted Population	Sample Size				
	Three Districts: Schools and Form IV pupils	Schools in districts	Form IV students	Sample Size 25%	Response Rate
All schools in the three districts: 73 schools	Ilemela Schools: 5 Form IV Students: 252	School 1	238	60	52
		School 2	313	78	69
		School 3	256	64	56
		School 4	100	25	10
		School 5	100	25	11
All students in the three districts: 37935 students	Magu Schools: 5 Form IV Students: 253	School 6	240	60	52
		School 7	156	41	37
		School 8	258	65	57
		School 9	174	44	37
		School 10	170	43	38
All Form IV students in the three districts: 2826 Form IV pupils	Nyamagana Schools: 3 Form IV Students: 204	School 11	150	38	32
		School 12	396	99	87
		School 13	266	67	59
	Total	13	2826	706	597 (84%)

Due to the stratification within the sample there were almost as many girls (50.4%) as boys (49.6%). 58.8% of the students lived with both parents, 12.2% solely with the mother, 6.4% solely with the father and 22.6% with a guardian. The average academic performances of the respondents were A (17.4%), B (18.8%), C (29.3%) and D (34.5%).

3.2 Data assessment and measures

The survey aims at depicting the situation and the amount of violence by fellow pupils and teachers children and youth are confronted with in secondary Tanzanian schools in urban, rural and semi-urban districts. Within this article especially the relationship between violence and harsh discipline through teachers and academic results is depicted.

Students of the 13 selected schools who were willing to participate filled out an anonymous paper-pencil-format questionnaire during a school lesson under the guidance of Felista Tangi. The participation was on a voluntary basis and anyone could decide not to fill out some of the questions. The questionnaires were given out in Swahili, the children's mother tongue. The questionnaire was constructed in English by Stein and Tangi and discussed with experts in Germany and then translated in written form to Swahili and discussed with other experts of the University of Mwanza / Tanzania especially concerning the practicability and validity for the Tanzanian school context. Before the assessment the consent of the authorities (Regional Educational Officer, District Educational Officers, Regional Administrative Secretary's office) as well as of the headmasters of the 13 schools was given and parents and guardians of the participants were informed about the study and asked for their consent.

To assess the relationship between harsh discipline and academic achievements questionnaires with open and closed questions for assessing the amount and occurrence of corporal punishment as well as the documentary method to get an insight into students' academic results and records in class and in the national Form IV examinations CSSE were used.

First, demographic background information was gathered including gender, age, familial situation, parental status, average level of academic performance (A, B, C, D) and development of the performance within the last years.

To measure teachers' use of harsh discipline and corporal punishment students were asked to write down in an open form the frequency and occurrence of violent forms of discipline applied on them within the last three, six and twelve months.

With two open questions they were asked to describe how the teachers applied corporal punishment and other forms of violent discipline or behavior on them and for what reasons. The open questions were interpreted with the means of qualitative content analysis. Through content analysis, the researchers were able to synthesize data for the general pattern by grouping them into meaningful categories. Students could fill out the questionnaire either in English or Swahili. All respondents opted for Swahili. The open answers were translated back into English for being analyzed by as well the Tanzanian as the German experts. The standardized quantitative answers like for example the results in the national examinations were analyzed with SPSS 23.

4. Results concerning corporal punishment in school

4.1 Occurrence and amount of corporal punishment

The results stem from the pupils answers in the questionnaire and therefore reflect the pupils own perspective on their experiences of violence. 354 (59.3%) of the students reported having been violently punished or treated by their teachers. A lot of students indicated having been victim of harsh discipline, violence and corporal punishment by teachers covering three main types of violent and disciplining behaviors: 1) physical violence and corporal punishment, 2) psychological violence and humiliation, 3) sexual abuse like forced relationship or intercourse. Table 2 shows all forms of violence experienced by teachers ever by students. The statements of the students in the open questions of the questionnaire were summed up and synthesized with the qualitative content analysis.

Table 2: Violent behavior by teachers mentioned by students

Physical violence by teachers		
	N	%
Giving physical punishment outside the classrooms	193	32.0
Beating more than ten strokes in school by any teacher	170	29.0
Beating in the classrooms	151	25.0
Heavy physical punishment	151	25.0
Beating by more than one teacher for the same mistake	82	14.0
Corporal punishment in general	31	5
Psychological violence by teachers		
	N	%
Humiliation of students in general	239	40.0
Humiliation by giving corporal punishment in front of others	238	40.0
Embarrassing students	237	39.7
Humiliation by punishing outside class during teaching	193	32.4
Using abusive language with students	190	31.8
Threatening to beat students	140	23.5
Sexual violence by teachers		
	N	%
Forced sexual relationship with teachers	75	12.6

As the students were asked to answer freely there must be assumed that even more students experienced the mentioned forms of violence by teachers. Some students even wrote down more to illustrate the violence they have to go through:

Physical violence by teachers: "There are bullying acts of being beaten by male teachers, not so many but they hurt. Students are beaten even thirty strokes. Teachers line up and each student is beaten by all the teachers for poor academic performance or for other mistakes. Then, the whole class is punished by many teachers."

Psychological violence by teachers: "Incidents of bullying by students are not so much but for teachers are too much. Some teachers are using abusive language to students like 'You are stupid', 'It seems all your generation is stupid', 'You are all stupid', 'You have no ability to think at all'."

Students had furthermore the opportunity to write down the assumed reasons for being punished corporally and/or violently by teachers. 304 (56.6%) of students were given corporal punishment due to bullying or beating other students, while 302 (56.2%) were punished due to stealing or destroying other students' properties; 286 (53.3%) because of their low academic achievement in their classroom test at the end of terminal examinations, while 254 (47.3%) were given corporal punishment due to truancy. 156 (29.1%) asserted that they were given corporal punishment due to the use of abusive language.

Female students reported more violent incidents with teachers (n=222; 73.8%) than male students (n=132; 44.6%). Corporal punishment and violence by teachers is highly

significantly associated with the gender of students with a $p=.000^{***}$ in the Chi-Square Test. Asked why girls are more likely to become victim of corporal punishment and violent and humiliating discipline pupils assumed the weaker and suppressed position of girls and women in society compared with not knowing their rights. For example girls are forced to do many duties in schools like fetching water or cleaning up. One female student reported:

“We are always bullied by teachers. You can find ever time teachers telling us you girls go and fetch some water, or you girls go and clean the toilets, you girls go and do that, but boys never told to go to fetch water neither to clean toilets, but they are left playing football. All these we are doing during the classroom learning activities. Boys are not given these duties and they are telling us we have to do so because we are the females, these are the duties which traditionally are done by women at home.”

4.2 Relations to academic achievement

There is a huge relationship between violent teacher behavior and harsh discipline and academic results as well on individual level as on school level. Table 3 and figure 1 depict the relationships on an individual level.

Table 3: Relationship between violent behavior by teachers and students’ achievements

Corporal punishment and teachers’ violence	Academic achievement (levels A till D)				
	A	B	C	D	Total
No	58	49	62	73	242
Yes	46	63	113	133	355
Total amount and %	104	112	175	206	597
	17.4%	18.8%	29.3%	34.5%	100.0%

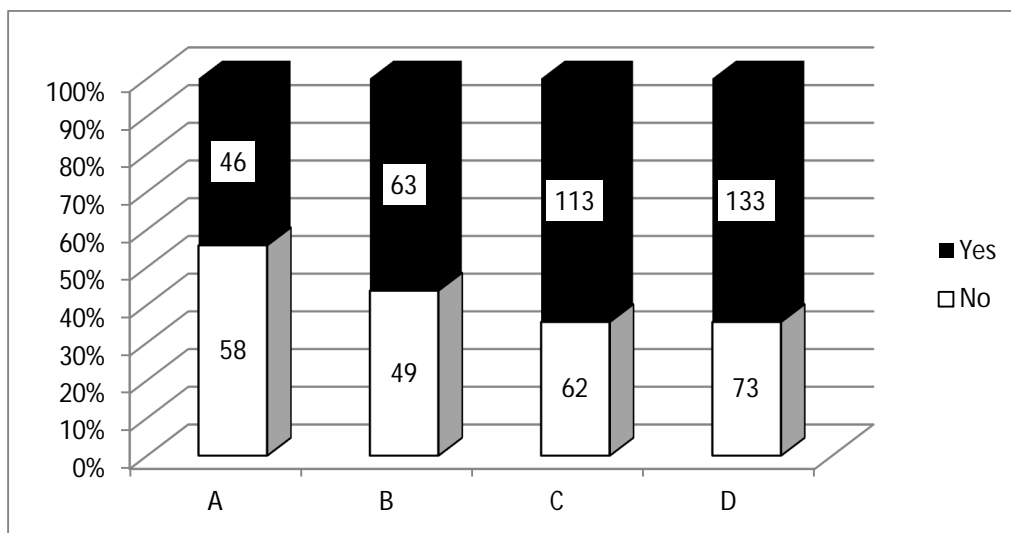


Figure 1: Relationship between teachers’ violence and academic achievement

The relationship between harsh discipline and poor academic achievement is significant with a $p=.017^*$ in the Chi-Square Test. Therefore it can be stated that especially students who are poor performers are exposed to teachers’ violent acts and corporal punishment.

On the one hand it may be that violence leads to poor performance in tests via the violence's bad influence on cognitive processes like Hecker et al. (2016b) assume, and on the other hand it might be the case that teachers try to discipline harsh especially pupils performing poor in the classroom.

Students themselves see a clear causality between teachers' violent behaviors and their performance and argue that harsh discipline and humiliation leads to poor achievement. When asked for the reasons for poor performances, aspects of harsh discipline, humiliation, corporal punishment and aspects of bad classroom management were named among other categories like the absence of adequate learning materials and the necessity to work a lot besides school. The answers were again open and synthesized and grouped through content analysis to general patterns and meaningful categories (see table 4 below).

Table 4: Students' assumptions on reasons for poor performance

Effect on poor performance is...	big	moderate	not existing
Humiliation for low achievement	175 (36.0%)	113 (23.2%)	199 (40.9%)
Beating for low academic achievement	160 (30.7%)	30 (5.7%)	312 (61.1%)
Fear of teachers	127 (25.5%)	15 (3.0%)	356 (71.5%)
Heavy physical punishment	125 (24.5%)	17 (5.0%)	355 (71.5%)
Threatening to beat	64 (14.2%)	12 (3.5%)	347 (82.0%)

As already shown within the research of Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) the school culture also with respect to the violence and corporal punishment in school differs much between schools. Also the data this article bases on reveals high correlations between a violent school climate and poor performances of the pupils. That might be another hint besides the assumptions of the students (table 4) for causality between harsh discipline and violence and poor performances. This causality bases on the assumption that normally the students of all the schools would perform in a comparable way but shrink in their performance due to corporal punishment, humiliation and harsh discipline. Table 5 shows the relationship between the violence at school and the academic performance of the pupils as a whole in Form IV in the national exams CSEE 2015. The data of the CSSE derives from the analysis of school documents while the violence of the situation is based on the answers of the students within the questionnaire. It was possible to receive material about the CSSE from eleven of the 13 schools. The data shows a clear positive correlation between a non-violent school culture and good results in the national examinations while a poor and violent school culture is related to poor performance ($r=.419$).

Table 5: Schools' cultures of violence and academic performance in the CSEE

School	Culture of violence at school				Academic performance in the CSEE					
	big	medium	no	M	DV-1 =A	DV-2 =B	DV-3 =C	DV-4 =D	DV-0 failed	M
1	37.7%	50.0%	14.3%	2.23	1	8	21	103	57	4.09
2	27.3%	65.9%	6.8%	2.06	0	1	12	46	51	4.34
3	16.0%	22.0%	62.0%	1.54	38	53	40	97	39	3.17
4	42.7%	47.6%	9.8%	2.31	10	18	50	211	85	3.92
5	30.2%	53.5%	16.3%	2.19	0	6	6	49	58	4.34
6	25.9%	56.9%	17.2%	2.08	9	22	29	134	121	4.07
7	34.0%	45.3%	20.8%	2.12	0	10	22	114	80	4.17
8	30.6%	37.0%	30.4%	2.03	0	7	13	49	32	4.05
9	29.5%	54.5%	15.9%	1.68	0	4	7	56	57	4.34
10	53.1%	36.7%	10.2%	2.46	2	18	34	95	76	4.00
11	43.6%	46.2%	10.2%	2.34	2	3	16	41	47	4.17

Coding:

Big problem=3; moderate problem=2; no problem=1

DV-1=1; DV-2=2; DV-3=3; DV-4=4; DV-0=5

5 Discussion of the findings and conclusion

Corporal punishment 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 execute corporal punishment. Nevertheless violence through teachers is going on and experienced by most of the students in our study in coincidence with the findings of other experts (United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011; Feinstein & Mwahombela, 2010; Hecker et al., 2014; 2016a; 2016b; Stein & Bockwoldt, 2016).

The reasons of the teachers for punishing harsh and corporal are the same as in the study of Yaghambe and Tshabangu (2013). Main reasons are not only misbehavior like lying or bullying other students but also performing poorly. Due to their subordinate position in society as in schools girls are more likely to become victim of violence through teachers. Therefore programs to prevent violence should focus especially on vulnerable groups like girls or primary school children which are very likely to become victims (Hecker et al., 2014; 2016b).

There is a great need for action, since violence by teachers as well as physical discipline and corporal punishment can cause not only psychological distress and externalizing disorders (Hecker et al., 2014; 2016b) but also reduces academic achievement and results either indirectly (Hecker et al., 2016b) or directly, like the data of this study proved. By pupils teachers' violent discipline was seen as a main factor of poor performances in tests and in school as a whole. This is coincident with findings of the National Statistics Bureau cited by Tangi (2019, p. 36) where pupils stated that being "afraid of teachers" (10.3%) would be the main reason for not attending school, while for example only 3.6% answered they stayed away due to having to work or 3.9% for being not able to pay fees or buy school uniforms.

Therefore we assume a causal relation between not only harsh discipline and school absenteeism but also between violence by teachers and poor performances and only marginal competency gains. Former research mostly only addressed and named material reasons for not attending school like high expenses for transportation to school, fees or money that must be spent on school uniforms and studying materials (e.g. the study of Burkea & Beegle, 2004).

What should be done to ban harsh corporal discipline and violence by teachers?

First, governmental, clerical and regional school authorities should legally permit the use of corporal punishment in schools and also install a system of sanctions for teachers still using violent means in schools. For instance as a reaction to the findings of Stein and Bockwoldt (2016) depicting the high amount of violence in clerical boarding schools in Rulenge-Ngara the bishop of the diocese banned all forms of corporal punishment for three years and is willing to implement different means of classroom management and discipline. After three years without corporal punishment within a survey again the occurrence and amount of violence is reported. Furthermore the results in exams and discipline in class are evaluated. We assume that violence is shrinking while the academic level is strengthened.

Furthermore the study of Hecker et al. (2018) showed that a high stress level due to bad structural school environments enhances negative emotions in teachers and therefore strengthens their willingness to reduce themselves to violent forms of classroom management. Therefore the challenge is to assist teachers in reducing stress due to "structural changes like smaller classes, sufficient teaching resources, and adequate payment" (Hecker et al., 2018, p. 180).

Furthermore often teachers discipline harsh as they assume it would be the best way to bring students towards studying harder. Teachers often lack information on alternative ways to motivate students to study with a high interest or to behave properly. Teachers must be informed about the bad and negative consequences of their violent and harsh behavior that is contra productive to the means they strive for. Therefore

"changing working conditions must go hand in hand with changing teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards violent disciplining and instructing them in alternative methods of discipline. [...] We advocate for integrating non-violent discipline measures into the regular teacher's training and, in addition to this, for school-based preventative interventions for teachers." (Hecker et al., 2018, p. 180).

It is of high importance to develop alternative means of classroom management strategies to assist teachers. It is necessary to reflect on common disciplinary strategies used in schools, to challenge common tradition about corporal punishment and to reflect on and learn about the consequences of violent punishment for the affected children.

Within this domain an interesting concept was developed by Nkuba et al. (2018) and Kaltenbach et al. (2017) that was already tested and implemented in schools in Tanzania (Nkuba et al., 2018) and Uganda (Ssenyonga et al., 2018). The concept is called 'Interaction Competencies with Children for Teachers (ICC-T)' and trains teachers in nonviolent interaction and action with children and youths; the evaluative results are very promising.

In 2018 a shortened ICC-T workshop with 45 teachers could be evaluated in Mwanza. This showed that the teachers particularly benefited from the reflection of their daily school practice. 74 % of all respondents stated that they would apply the strategies learned in the ICC-T training in the future. In addition, 97 % of all respondents stated that there was a need for such further training in Tanzania.¹

Also by Steenkamp together with partners from Tanzania² workshops were conducted addressing school violence by teachers and fellow pupils in a project called 'Fighting School Violence in Tanzania' financed by the Tanzanias partner state in Germany, Lower Saxony. Steenkamp broadened the project by asking what constitutes a good school and made short explanatory films with school kids in Tanzania (<http://www.against-violence-at-schools-in-tanzania.com/en/downloads/>). The children did not directly address the issue of violence, but showed how important a safe and peaceful school environment is to them. This corresponds with the assessment of the Save the Children organisation, which assumes that [...] "schools are often not safe places for children" (Pounds and Hewison., 2013. <http://www.cedol.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Addressing-violence-against-children-Pounds-and-Hewison.pdf>).

Furthermore teachers in Eastern Africa like Tanzania and Uganda often lack training materials and study books in Swahili that is the mother language of more than 100 million people in Eastern Africa. Therefore Stein and Steenkamp (2017) published a handbook in Swahili ('Mwongozo wahukabiliana na unyanyasaji kwenye mazingira ya shule nchini Tanzania') online assembling material in Swahili that deals with alternative methods of classroom management, positive psychology and alternative methods of discipline to motivate students. Also materials to address the widespread problem of bullying was published (<http://www.against-violence-at-schools-in-tanzania.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/6666-MWONGOZO-1WA-KUKABILIANA-NA-UNYANYASAJI.pdf>).

But in the end, it's not just a question of promote alternative forms of discipline for teachers and develop non-violent teaching and learning methods to reduce the high levels of physical violence in schools. In order to combat violence, a holistic approach involving all areas of a school is necessary. Promising approaches such as the Human Rights Friendly Schools of Amnesty International can be noted here (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/human-rights-education/human-rights-friendly-schools/>). It would be desirable for research and school practice to focus on a more holistic understanding of corporal punishment in tanzanian schools.

¹ The results are so far unpublished, but can be obtained from Daniela Steenkamp.

² Viktoria Schools in Mwanza (<https://viktoriaschools.li/>), St.-Augustinus-University Tanzania and Sr. Felista Tangi

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