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THE SAFE SCHOOLS PROGRAM

STUDENT AND TEACHER BASELINE REPORT ON
SCHOOL-RELATED GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN
MACHINGA DISTRICT, MALAWI

December 2007

This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by DevTech Systems, Inc.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was prepared by the Safe Schools Program (Safe Schools) in collaboration with the Centre for Educational Research and Training (CERT). The Safe Schools Program is a five-year initiative (2003-2008) funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Women in Development. The objective of the Safe Schools Program is to reduce school-related gender-based violence, which encompasses sexual, physical and psychological violence or abuse experienced by girls and boys in and around school.

This report presents results from a baseline survey that was conducted among school children and teachers in the Machinga District in the Southern Region of Malawi in April 2006. The study was conducted at 40 schools participating in the Safe Schools Program. Selected from a random sample, 800 boys and girls enrolled in grades four to eight and 288 teachers were interviewed. Students and teachers were asked questions about:

- The type of violence, abuse and mistreatment that boys and girls experience at school;
- Who is responsible for this mistreatment;
- Where this mistreatment occurs;
- If there are other school practices or conditions that are inappropriate, place pupils at risk or potentially interfere with their schooling; and
- The effectiveness of reporting.

In Malawi, gender-based violence is known to be a problem in primary schools, especially for girls. An initial participatory learning and action (PLA) exercise conducted by Safe Schools in 2005 mobilized communities and allowed the Safe Schools Program staff to hear the concerns and experiences of more than 2,000 teachers, parents, school children, community leaders and other stakeholders in the Machinga District. The results of the PLA were then used to design interventions including strengthening and disseminating the teachers' code of conduct, training teachers in non-violent classroom discipline approaches, providing opportunities for children to learn how to build healthy relationships, and training school staff to respond effectively to incidents of violence at school. The results from the PLA were also used to inform the development of the

baseline study under discussion in this report. An endline survey will be conducted in 2008 and the results of the two surveys compared to measure project impact.

Key findings are:

- Incidents of sexual, physical and psychological violence and abuse were found at every school.
- Violence and abuse occurs at schools (classroom and compound), on the way to and from school and in school dormitories.
- This violence is experienced by both girls and boys, although in most categories girls experience a higher rate of violence and abuse.
- The perpetrators are both school girls and boys and male and female teachers, although men and boys are most often identified as perpetrators in most categories of violence and abuse.
- These acts of violence and abuse are not often perceived as a violation of children's rights by school girls and boys, male and female teachers, parents and community members.
- Students awareness of and/or access to youth-friendly services within the school or community is limited when they experience violence or abuse.

In the report that follows, the survey findings are presented and analyzed, followed by a brief discussion on each of the five research questions.

List of Acronyms

CERT	Centre for Educational Research and Training
PLA	participatory learning and action
PTA	parent teacher association
SRGBV	school-related gender-based violence
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Program Description

The Safe Schools Program (Safe Schools) is a five-year initiative (2003-2008) funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Women in Development and implemented by DevTech Systems, Inc. (DevTech). The objective of Safe Schools is to reduce school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), which encompasses sexual, physical and psychological violence or abuse experienced by girls and boys in and around school.

The Safe Schools Program works in 40 communities each in Ghana and Malawi, targeting male and female students in upper primary and lower secondary school, ranging in age from 10 to 14 years old.¹ The 40 communities in Ghana are in the districts of Mfantseman, Ajumako-Enyan-Essiam, Assin North and Assin South. In Malawi, the 40 communities are in the Machinga District. In both countries, districts were selected based on their previous experience with USAID-funded girls' education programs.

The program is comprehensive, focusing on students, teachers, parents, community members, local organizations and government officials. Six discrete interventions have been designed under the Safe Schools Program that together contribute to preventing and responding to school-related gender-based violence:

- The student life skills violence prevention program;
- The teacher professional development program;
- The revision of the teachers' code of conduct;
- The community counselor program;
- Community mobilization campaigns; and
- National advocacy efforts.

¹ There are 80 communities, of which 20 are control sites and 60 are intervention sites.

Local Context

In Malawi, gender-based violence is known to be a problem in primary schools, especially for girls (Burton, 2005). An initial participatory learning and action (PLA) exercise conducted by Safe Schools in 2005 mobilized communities and allowed Safe Schools staff to hear the concerns and experiences of more than 2,000 teachers, parents, school children, community leaders and other stakeholders in the Machinga District (DevTech Systems, Inc., 2007). The results of the PLA were then used to design interventions including strengthening and disseminating the teachers' code of conduct, training teachers in non-violent classroom discipline approaches, providing opportunities for children to learn how to build healthy relationships, and training school staff to respond effectively to incidents of violence at school. This report presents the findings of a baseline survey conducted in 2006 of a representative sample of primary schools in Machinga. An endline survey will be conducted in 2008 and the results of the two surveys compared to measure project impact.

The survey, informed by the PLA findings, was designed to answer the following questions:

1. What type of violence, abuse and mistreatment do girls and boys experience at school? The survey further explores several findings of the PLA. First, that children experience not just sexual abuse, but also physical violence and psychological abuse at school. Second, that both girls and boys are at risk of mistreatment at schools. Third, the survey examines those most recent incidents that occurred at home or in the community, in order to put school-related violence into societal context.
2. Who is responsible for this mistreatment? Education and development stakeholders sometimes assume that if violence takes place, girls are necessarily the victims and boys (or men) necessarily the perpetrators. The Safe Schools Program PLA study, however, demonstrated that this is not always the case. This survey examines the most recent incidents of abuse and violence at school in order to learn the extent to which girls, boys, female teachers and male teachers were identified as the perpetrators.
3. Where does mistreatment occur? It is frequently assumed that risk of gender-based violence is limited to school grounds. The Safe Schools Program PLA study revealed, however, that many students are afraid to walk to and from school. This survey identifies where incidents of violence and abuse occur, whether in the classroom, elsewhere on school grounds or en route to school.

4. Are there other school practices or conditions that are inappropriate, place pupils at risk or potentially interfere with their schooling? While the focus of the survey, and the project, is violence prevention and mitigation, the PLA revealed additional practices and conditions that are perceived to be exploitative, contribute to student risk, or otherwise interfere with children’s ability to learn—such as teachers’ use of students to run personal errands or perform domestic chores, assignment of chores or punishments after school (leaving children to walk home alone) and during class time. The survey further investigates these practices and conditions.
5. How effective is reporting? Procedures exist for reporting incidents of abuse, violence or mistreatment. The survey examines both student and teacher willingness to report incidents, and when possible, the outcome of those reports to learn whether systems are being used and to what end.

In the report that follows, the survey findings are presented, followed by a brief discussion of each of these six research questions.

1.2 Survey Methodology

1.2.1 Sampling

The 40 schools involved in the survey were selected from a total of 154 schools in Machinga district and include 30 project-intervention schools and 10 non-intervention schools (DevTech Systems, Inc., 2006).² The sample population was defined as all primary school children above the age of 10 enrolled in Grades Four to Eight and all teachers in those 40 schools teaching Grades Four to Eight. The sample population for pupils was stratified by grade and sex, and a total sample of 800 pupils (400 girls and 400 boys) was drawn. The sample population of teachers was stratified by grade and sex, and a total sample of 288 teachers was drawn. The sample size was designed to provide reliable, representative estimates of SRGBV prevalence and other related health and demographic indicators, and also to be large enough so that results would be valid at the district level and could be disaggregated by sex.

² There are 40 communities in the Machinga District associated with the Safe Schools Program, of which 10 are control sites and 30 are intervention sites.

Pupils. The names of pupils in Grades 4 to 8 were obtained from school registers, and their pupil identification number was used to draw the sample. Sampling was done by grade with a target sample of two girls and two boys per grade, yielding an overall sample of 20 pupils per school. The sample size of 400 for both girls and boys provides a confidence level of 95 percent and a sampling error of +/- 5 percent, given a probability outcome of 50/50 and infinite population size.

To select pupils, researchers used random numbers from a table of random numbers (Lindley and Scott, 1984). If students were absent during the two days of interviews at that school, they were replaced using a replacement list generated through the same random sampling techniques.

Teachers. Ten teachers (five male and five female) were interviewed in each school. In schools where there were fewer than five male or five female teachers, all teachers of that sex teaching Grades Four through Eight were included in the sample. When there were more than five male or five female teachers in a school, five teachers were sampled randomly using numbers from a table of random numbers. In all, 288 teachers of the 491 teachers teaching Grades Four to Eight in the 40 schools were interviewed (59 percent). Forty of the teachers interviewed were head teachers.

1.2.2 Data Collection

The school-based survey collected data using pre-coded, structured quantitative questionnaires. Data collection took place from March 20-30, 2006. Fieldwork was coordinated and supervised by a local research team from the Centre for Educational Research and Training (CERT). The Research Specialist from the Safe Schools Program was also present during fieldwork. Ten teams conducted the fieldwork, with each team visiting four schools. On average, teams spent two days at each school. During the first two days of fieldwork, questionnaires were checked extensively to eliminate any data-collection errors.

All interviews were conducted in private. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, female enumerators interviewed girls and female teachers and male enumerators interviewed boys and male teachers. Permission to conduct the survey was obtained in advance, and all head teachers had been briefed about the program. Before each interview, enumerators explained the nature and purpose of the survey and obtained consent from respondents.

The questions related to a student's experience of violence or abuse were set in three timeframes. The first timeframe determined if the student had "ever experienced" a particular form of violence or abuse. This response allowed the researchers to determine the number and percentage of students from the survey who had experienced violence or abuse in their lifetime. The second timeframe had students discuss events related to the "most recent" occurrence of violence or abuse. This response permits the researchers to link related events to the specific act of violence or abuse being discussed. As a result, the researchers were able to ascertain the location, alleged perpetrator, and subsequent actions taken by the victim for the most recent occurrence. In the final timeframe, students were asked if the violence or abuse had occurred within the past twelve months. This response allowed the researchers to compare the prevalence rates for specific violence or abuse before the project intervention with the rates of violence post intervention.

1.2.3 Data Analysis

Data entry began one week after data collection commenced and was completed in two weeks. The data were then cleaned for any inconsistencies. Data were entered, verified and edited using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software, which was also used for analyzing the data. The primary level of analysis was descriptive statistics and disaggregation by sex.

2. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

2.1 Pupil Characteristics

Pupils sampled were age 10 or older. The average age for both girls and boys was 14.

2.2 Teacher Characteristics and Attitudes

Twenty-five percent of rural teachers were female, compared with 75 percent in urban and periurban schools. Because there were not always five female teachers present in rural schools in the sample, and because 83 percent of the schools in the sample were rural schools, the proportion of female teachers in the sample (35 percent) was lower than in the total teacher population (41 percent).

The mean age of teachers was 35. The overwhelming majority of teachers surveyed were qualified and had taught for more than five years (93 percent). On average, teachers had 12 years of teaching experience, including 4 at their current school.

2.3 School Characteristics

Thirty-three of the schools in the sample were located in predominantly rural areas, five were located in periurban areas and, two were in urban areas. While all the schools were under the control of the Ministry of Education, over 50 percent were run by religious groups; 33 percent were under the proprietorship of the Local Education Authority; and 10 percent were run directly by the government.

A review of school records showed that enrollment in the 40 schools ranged from 308 to 1,651 pupils. All schools experienced a decline in enrollment from lower to upper grades, a trend also observed at the national level. Equal enrollment of boys and girls was observed in 8 of the 40 schools. In 17 of the schools in the sample, girls' enrollment was below that of boys, and in 15 schools girls' enrollment was greater than boys' enrollment.

The number of teachers available at each school varied to a large extent by location, with rural schools having higher pupil-teacher ratios. Overall, pupil-teacher ratios ranged from less than 40 to well over 100. Seventy-five percent of schools had more male than female teachers; six schools had no female teachers at all. In 40 percent of the schools in the sample (16 schools), there were only one or two female teachers on a staff with five or more male teachers. The pupil-classroom ratio ranged from 39 to 275.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Gender Norms and Children's Rights

Teachers and pupils were asked a series of questions to assess their attitudes toward prevailing gender norms and children's rights at school. As shown in Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, teachers, almost without exception, believe in children's rights to an education, to express their opinions in class, and to say "No" to inappropriate touching by teachers. They also support both girls' education in general and the return of girls to school after having a baby, with 95 percent of teachers stating that education was either equally important for boys and girls or more important for girls. Nearly all agree that men and women should be equally represented in national parliament and local government and should have equal access to land, credit and housing.

Similar to the teachers, virtually all pupils agreed that children have a right to an education and to express their opinions in class. Girls surveyed had almost universal understanding of the importance of their own education: 90 percent believed that girls' education was important, with 32 percent saying that education was more important for girls and 58 percent saying it was equally important for girls and boys.

Nearly all teachers surveyed (91 percent) believe both boys and girls should help with general cleaning at school and 70 percent believe that both girls and boys should help with housework at home. By contrast, most pupils surveyed stated that labor should be divided according to traditional gender roles, differing from teachers by 10 to 30 percentage points. Indeed, 58 percent of pupils (and 66 percent of girls) surveyed believe that girls should be responsible for school cleaning chores, and 71 percent believe that girls should be responsible for housework at home. Three-quarters of teachers surveyed believe both boys and girls should contribute to farm work; a similar proportion stated that both boys and girls should help with arduous outdoor tasks at school. On the other hand, 60 percent of pupils surveyed believe farm work is "boy's work"; 83 percent thought the same of arduous outdoor tasks. Teachers' apparent gender neutrality extended also to the question of punishment. Asked whether girls and boys should receive the same punishments at school, 91 percent of teachers agreed, in contrast with 57 percent of boys and 45 percent of girls.

Interestingly, only 49 percent of teachers surveyed believe that girls and boys are of equal intelligence; 37 percent believe that boys are more intelligent. Again, pupils' responses differed markedly from that of teachers: only 25 percent of pupils believe that girls and boys are of equal intelligence; almost half (49 percent) believe that boys are more intelligent.

Table 3.1 Comparison between teachers' and pupils' views on gender norms (Pupils, n= 800, 400 girls, 400 boys. Teachers, n =288, 101 female, 187 male)³

TEACHERS	FEMALE			MALE			TOTAL		
	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Who is more intelligent: boys or girls?	34.7	15.8	49.5	38.0	12.8	49.2	36.8	13.9	49.3
For whom is it more important to go to school: boys or girls?	3.0	5.9	91.1	5.9	1.1	93.0	4.9	2.8	92.4
Who should help the family most with housework: boys or girls?	1.0	29.7	69.3	1.6	28.3	70.1	1.4	28.8	69.8
Who should help the family most with farm work: boys or girls?	19.8	4.0	76.2	25.1	0.5	74.3	23.3	1.7	75.0

PUPILS	GIRLS			BOYS			TOTAL		
	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Who is more intelligent: boys or girls?	43.8	37.5	18.3	53.3	14.8	32.0	48.5	26.1	25.1
For whom is it more important to go to school: boys or girls?	10.0	32.0	58.0	21.0	4.0	75.0	15.5	18.0	66.5
Who should help the family most with housework: boys or girls?	6.5	82.3	11.3	7.8	59.8	32.5	7.1	71.0	21.9
Who should help the family most with farm work: boys or girls?	55.9	3.3	40.9	64.0	0.3	35.8	59.9	1.8	38.3

Table 3.2 Teachers' and pupils' responses to statements about gender equality

STATEMENT	TEACHERS						PUPILS					
	Agree			Disagree			Agree			Disagree		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women and men should be equally represented in the local and national government.	92.1	90.4	91.0	7.9	9.6	9.0	74.5	76.5	75.5	25.3	21.3	23.3
Women and men should have equal access to land, houses and credit.	100.0	99.5	99.7	0	0.5	0.3	79.5	85.0	82.3	20.5	14.8	17.6

³ Sample size applies to Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.3 Teachers' and pupils' views on girls returning to school after giving birth

STATEMENT	TEACHERS						PUPILS					
	F		M		Total		F		M		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Should girls be allowed to return to school after giving birth?	94.1	5.9	90.9	9.1	92.0	8.0	55.5	44.5	69.8	30.3	62.6	37.4

Table 3.4 Teachers' and pupils' responses to statements on children's rights in school

STATEMENT	TEACHERS						PUPILS					
	Agree			Disagree			Agree			Disagree		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Children have a right to education.	99.0	98.9	99.0	1.0	0.5	0.7	99.7	99.8	99.7	0.3	0.3	0.3
Children have the right to express ideas and opinions in the classroom.	97.0	99.5	98.6	3.0	0.5	1.4	93.7	96.0	94.9	6.3	4.0	5.1
Children have the right to disagree with teachers.	72.3	67.4	69.1	27.7	31.6	30.2	42.6	49.3	45.9	57.1	50.8	53.9
Children have the right to say no to teachers who want to touch their breasts, thighs, buttocks or private parts.	93.1	97.3	95.8	6.9	2.7	4.2	85.7	86.8	86.2	14.3	13.3	13.8

3.2 Teachers' Code of Conduct

The Government Teaching Service Regulations of 2001 and the draft Statement of Professional Ethics and Code of Conduct for the Malawi Teaching Service provide the regulatory framework for the Teachers' Professional Ethics and Code of Conduct. The existing Code prohibits "immoral relations" with pupils and includes provisions with regard to positive treatment of pupils, protecting pupils' rights, and promoting gender equity in the classroom. It does not, however, prohibit corporal punishment or the assignment of strenuous physical labor or chores, nor does it prohibit teachers from instructing pupils to do errands or domestic chores for them. It clearly states that teacher housing is off limits to students. Teachers are instructed to report violations of the Code to head teachers or other supervisors.

Teacher awareness of the Code of Conduct was very high with 95 percent of teachers surveyed stating that they had heard about the Code and 80 percent stating that they had seen the Teachers' Code of Conduct Handbook. Only 38 percent of female teachers and 57 percent of male teachers surveyed had received training on the Code of Conduct. Just over 40 percent of teachers surveyed believe the Code is unfair to teachers, a sentiment expressed by teachers during the PLA study as well.

Within the last 12 months, 26 percent of teachers surveyed had witnessed a violation of the Code of Conduct, but only 6 percent of those who had witnessed a violation reported it. Although teachers in the survey stated that they were aware of the Code of Conduct, 45 percent did not know how to report a violation. A greater number of head teachers who were surveyed stated that they had received training on the Code, knew how to report a violation, and had made such a report.

3.3 School Chores

It is common in Malawi for children to perform a range of chores at school. In addition to cleaning tasks and some more arduous outdoor tasks, the PLA study indicated that many pupils are required to perform errands and domestic chores for teachers. Some pupils reported that male teachers required girls to do personal chores for them so they could proposition or molest them. During the PLA some students raised safety concerns with regard to some chores—for example, when pupils, especially girls, are kept late after school. Others were concerned that doing chores during class time deprives pupils of learning opportunities. There was also a perception amongst boys participating in the PLA that they are treated more harshly than girls and that girls generally receive more favorable treatment from teachers.

This survey further explored these findings to determine what chores are routinely assigned, which are specifically assigned as punishment, whether girls or boys are assigned certain chores, whether male or female teachers assign certain chores, whether any of the chores were abusive or degrading, how frequently the chores were assigned, and the extent to which the chores occurred after school (creating a potential safety issue) or during class time (potentially interfering with pupils' education).

General cleaning chores

General cleaning (such as sweeping) was the most commonly reported chore, performed by 93 percent of pupils and reported by equal numbers of boys and girls, as shown in Figure 3.1. Of those

who reported carrying out such tasks, 64 percent of the pupils surveyed stated that they completed these chores on a daily basis, and 60 percent stated that the chores were completed before school. Slightly more girls than boys surveyed reported being assigned cleaning chores after school (38 percent and 30 percent, respectively).

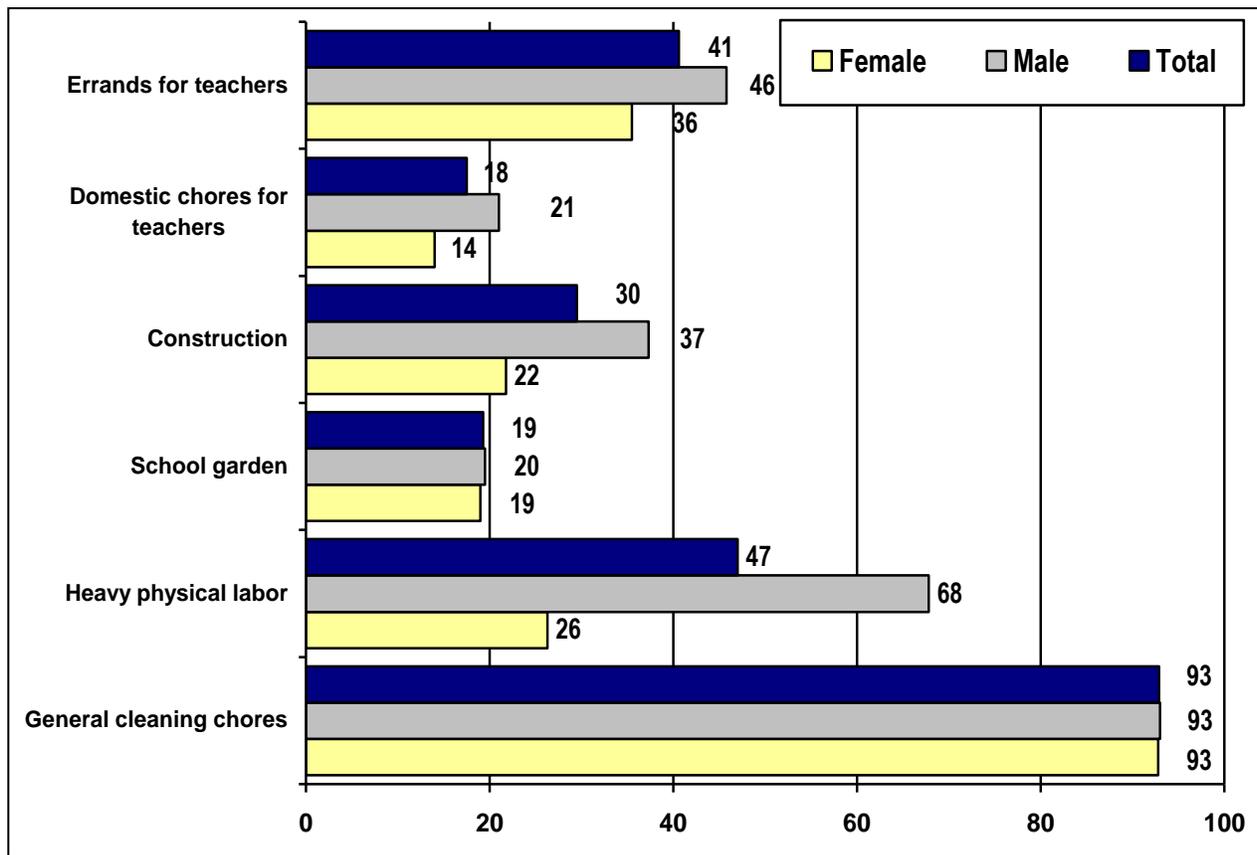
Pupils surveyed indicated that school chores are also assigned as punishment. Indeed, 73 percent of pupils surveyed stated that they had been assigned a cleaning chore as punishment, with a greater proportion of girls receiving such punishment. Of these pupils, 56 percent of boys and 53 percent of girls stated that they had received this punishment at least once a term, with 7 percent of girls reporting that they were given such punishments more than once per week. In 64 percent of cases, pupils surveyed indicated that they had performed these tasks after school; 24 percent had performed them during class time.

Heavy physical labor

As defined in the survey, heavy physical labor includes physically demanding outdoor chores at school (such as clearing ground or digging pit latrines), construction and other maintenance work at teachers' houses, and garden work. Nearly half of all pupils surveyed (47 percent) reported being required to perform physically demanding outdoor chores at school. Boys were disproportionately affected, with 68 percent of boys reporting having been assigned such chores, compared to 26 percent of girls.

Of those pupils who had been assigned heavy physical labor at school, 42 percent reported doing such chores just once per term. Some of these chores, then, may reflect maintenance activities that take place at the start or end of each term to prepare the school for the following term. The majority of pupils surveyed (58 percent) who had been involved in physically demanding outdoor chores at school reported that they took place after school; this was more common for boys (62 percent) than for girls (47 percent).

Figure 3.1 Percentage of pupils being given chores, by sex and type of chore (n=799, 399 girls, 400 boys)



As shown in Figure 3.1, 37 percent of boys and 22 percent of girls surveyed reported that they were assigned construction or maintenance work at Ministry of Education housing for teachers such as building fences or repairing toilets. According to the pupils surveyed, such chores did not take place frequently—only once per term or less frequently for virtually all pupils assigned such chores (95 percent). Over half of the pupils who were involved in such work (63 percent) reported that they performed these chores after school, although a significant proportion (20 percent) performed them during class time.

Pupils surveyed stated that a chore assigned to them was working in school gardens. In Malawi, a school garden is usually a small piece of land used to either demonstrate agricultural practices or more commonly to grow maize for income generation for the school. Few of the schools participating in the survey had school gardens, and only 19 percent of pupils (representing an equal number of boys and girls) stated that they were assigned work in the school garden. Of those pupils,

21 percent stated that they had worked in the school garden once per term, and 58 percent stated that they had performed this chore once per year or less frequently. Most student work in school gardens took place after school (46 percent) or during class time (27 percent). It is unknown if some of the work in school gardens was associated with agricultural lessons.

According to the pupils surveyed, physically demanding outdoor chores such as clearing ground and digging pit latrines were disproportionately assigned by male teachers. While male teachers comprised 63 percent of the teachers surveyed, pupils stated that they assigned 85 percent of the heavy physical chores. Construction tasks and garden work were also disproportionately assigned by male teachers, though this may be due to the fact that ministry-owned houses and gardens are more commonly found in rural areas where there are more male teachers.

Half of all pupils interviewed (50 percent) had been given physically demanding chores at school as a form of punishment, including 64 percent of boys and 37 percent of girls. It is not clear whether the greater number of boys punished in this way was due to favoritism, gender stereotyping or because they behaved in ways that warranted harsher punishment. A majority of pupils (59 percent) received such punishment after school, although 33 percent were punished during class time, with little difference observed between the responses of girls and boys. Only 15 percent of pupils interviewed agreed that strenuous physical labor was an acceptable punishment for girls; however 56 percent agreed that this is an appropriate punishment for boys, with little difference observed between the responses of girls and boys.

Personal errands and domestic chores for teachers

The PLA findings indicate that teachers commonly send students on personal errands to fetch or carry items from their houses, to buy food or personal items at the market, and to transport them home on the back of students' bicycles. Boys in particular complained about teachers misusing their bicycles, to the extent that they often left their bicycles at home to avoid having to do such errands. In the survey, 41 percent of pupils reported having been sent on personal errands by teachers, with boys reporting at a higher frequency than girls (46 percent and 36 percent, respectively).

Of those pupils who reported being sent on errands, 45 percent stated that this occurred once per term or more; 15 percent stated that this happened at least weekly. Half of the pupils reported being

sent on errands during break times (50 percent), though 27 percent reported being sent during class time and 16 percent after classes.

Anecdotal evidence from the PLA suggests that some unmarried teachers or married teachers whose wives are away, require pupils, especially girls, to do domestic chores for them. This practice is contrary to government guidelines, which consider teachers' ministry-owned houses off limits to pupils. Despite this, 14 percent of boys and 21 percent of girls surveyed stated that they had been instructed to do domestic chores for teachers—for example, fetching firewood and water, washing dishes, washing clothes, cooking, or working in teachers' gardens.

Not surprisingly, a smaller percentage of teachers stated that they sent pupils on personal errands: 33 percent of male teachers and 21 percent of female teachers surveyed. In direct contrast with what pupils report, only 3 percent of male teachers and no female teachers in the survey stated that they had required students to perform domestic tasks.

3.4 School-Related Gender-Based Violence

When pupils were asked what makes schools unsafe and unwelcoming, their most frequent response was the possibility of being physically bullied or attacked on the way to school (39 percent). The second most common response was verbal abuse (28 percent). Not surprisingly, a higher percentage of girls than boys surveyed stated that the possibility of sexual molestation and rape made schools unsafe and unwelcoming (29 percent compared to 12 percent; and 16 percent compared to 4 percent).

The sections that follow examine in more detail the physical, psychological and sexual violence, abuse and mistreatment self-reported by children to determine where the most recent incidents occurred (school related⁴ or village/home related); who the perpetrator was; and whether and to whom pupils reported the incident.

⁴ School related refers to incidents of physical, psychological or sexual violence that occurred on school grounds, in and around classrooms and on the way to or from school.

3.4.1 Physical violence

During the PLA study, pupils identified several types of physical violence and mistreatment that they had experienced or witnessed. The most frequently cited type of physical violence was corporal punishment, which usually involved whipping or caning, but also involved grabbing.⁵ Pupils also reported other types of physical violence including: pushing, tripping, beatings, fights among pupils, what they deemed to be excessive or degrading physical labor (such as clearing feces from classrooms or cleaning opposite-sex toilets), and denial of food or water. Lastly, pupils reported the use of itching powder by fellow students and assault with sticks, stones and knives, though less frequently.

The survey further examines each of these types of physical violence and mistreatment. A discussion of the most prevalent and serious of these incidents—whipping, grabbing and beating/fighting—follows.⁶

Table 3.5 Percentage of pupils reporting the most recent incident of physical violence (n= 800; 400 girls, 400 boys).

Type of incident	Home / village related			School related			TOTAL		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Whipping/caning	20.5	20.5	20.5	41.2	54.7	48.0	61.7	75.2	68.5
Grabbing	7.5	6.2	6.9	35.7	56.7	46.2	43.2	63.0	53.1
Beating/fighting	25.0	28.2	26.2	40.7	47.2	44.0	65.7	75.5	70.6

Teachers' attitudes toward, and use of, whipping, grabbing and beating

Approximately three-quarters of teachers surveyed disagree with the statement that physical violence is sometimes necessary to discipline pupils, though 30 percent reported that they had whipped a pupil at least once, 28 percent stated that they had beaten or slapped a pupil, and 23 percent reported that they had grabbed or pinched a pupil. Of the 30 percent who reported that they had

⁵ Incidents could involve either whipping or caning; for simplicity's sake, such incidents are referred to henceforth as "whipping."

⁶ Incidents could involve either beating or, when a child fought back, fighting; for simplicity's sake, such incidents are referred to henceforth as "beating."

whipped a pupil, 61 percent reported that it occurred at least once a term; 25 percent reported that it occurred at least weekly. While the 57 percent of teachers who had beaten or slapped a pupil reported that it occurred only once per year, 58 percent stated that they grabbed or pinched a pupil as punishment every three to four months, with 16 percent reporting it occurred one to four times per month and 8 percent stating it occurred several times per week.

Ninety-one percent of teachers who reported that they had whipped pupils said they had whipped both boys and girls. At the same, 23 percent who said that they had beaten or slapped pupils stated that they used this punishment on boys only.

Pupils' experience of physical violence

During the survey, pupils were asked if they had ever experienced whipping, grabbing or beating at school, in their home or in their village. Amongst pupils surveyed, the most common answer was beating (71 percent), followed by whipping (69 percent) and grabbing (53 percent). Although pupils generally spend more time at home than at school (a typical primary school day is about six hours long), approximately two-thirds of the physical violence and mistreatment that pupils reported was experienced at or on the way to or from school.

In the case when a pupil's most recent experience with physical violence was school related, follow-up questions were asked to obtain information on perpetrators, locations and reporting.

Whipping

A majority of pupils surveyed disagreed with the statement that it is "okay" to whip pupils to maintain discipline in the classroom: 59 percent disagreed that it is acceptable to whip boys, and 63 percent disagreed that it is acceptable to whip girls, with little difference between boys' and girls' responses.

More than two-thirds of pupils (69 percent) reported ever being whipped at school or in their homes or villages. Half of all pupils surveyed (48 percent) stated that their most recent experience of being whipped had been at school: this was the case for 55 percent of boys and 41 percent of girls

surveyed.⁷ Nearly all most recent whipping incidents that were school related took place in or entering classrooms or on the school compound (95 percent).

Over half of the pupils surveyed reported that male teachers were the perpetrators of the most recent whipping incident (61 percent), 17 percent identified female teachers as the perpetrator, and 10 percent identified head teachers as the perpetrator. Interestingly, pupils reported that female teachers whipped boys almost twice as much as girls: 44 incidents of whipping boys were reported as compared to 23 incidents of whipping girls. Fifty-seven percent of the pupils interviewed identified male teachers as the perpetrator of whipping against boys.

When pupils stated that their most recent whipping incident had been school related, they were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. The majority of affected pupils (89 percent) stated that they had done nothing. Of the 235 pupils who experienced the most recent whipping incident by a male teacher, only 9 percent reported the incident to a family member (adult member or sibling) or to a member of the school management committee (head teacher or parent teacher association); none reported the incident to a teacher. Virtually all girls (96 percent) and boys (98 percent) reported that they had done nothing after being whipped by a female teacher.

Grabbing

More than half of the pupils surveyed reported ever being grabbed, either at home or at school. Eight-seven percent of the most recent grabbing incidents reported by pupils occurred at school. These incidents generally involved hair pulling, pinching or earlobe twisting; 56 percent occurred in or while entering a classroom, while 40 percent occurred somewhere on the school compound. In the survey, boys reported nearly twice as many grabbing incidents in and around classrooms as girls. Pupils reported that teachers and head teachers were the perpetrators for 81 percent of grabbing incidents; male teachers were identified as perpetrators in 60 percent of all incidents. According to the survey, male pupils were identified as perpetrators in 11 percent of incidents of grabbing.

⁷ The actual number of children whipped at school is likely to be greater, since researchers investigated the “most recent incident,” which could have taken place either at school or at home. It is probable that at least some of the 21 percent of children who reported a “most recent” incident of whipping at home had also been whipped at school at some time. The same is true of the 26 percent of pupils who reported most recent beating or fighting incidents at home and the 7 percent who reported most recent grabbing incidents at home. The result is a probable under-reporting of gender-based violence at school. Given the nature of the questions, it is not possible to determine the frequency of these abuses “having ever” occurred at school versus at home. This also applies to the frequency of psychological and sexual violence.

When pupils stated that their most recent grabbing incident was school related, they were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. Eighty-one percent stated that they had done nothing; 8 percent reported the incident to teachers or school management; 4 percent reported the incident to a family member; 2 percent reported the incident to the police; a total of 4 percent responded by fighting back, avoiding the perpetrator or place, staying out of school, telling the perpetrator to stop, or threatening to report him or her; and 1 percent did something else.

Beating

As defined in the survey, beating includes slapping, punching and, when a pupil fought back, being involved in fistfights. More than 70 percent of pupils interviewed reported ever having been beaten at school, on the way to or from school, at home or in their village. Of these 565 pupils, 352 (or 44 percent of all pupils) reported that their most recent beating incident had taken place at or on the way to or from school. Similar to what pupils reported when asked about whipping and grabbing, more boys than girls reported being beaten: 47 percent and 41 percent, respectively.

According to the pupils surveyed, more than 80 percent of most recent beating incidents occurred on the school compound or around classrooms; 13 percent occurred while pupils were traveling to and from school.

According to the pupils surveyed, the main perpetrators of most recent school-related beating incidents were other boys (44 percent) and male teachers (32 percent). Further, pupils stated that when teachers (including head teachers) struck pupils, boys were the victims in 61 percent of the incidents. When the beating was between pupils, girls and boys were the victims in almost equal numbers: 90 incidents and 85 incidents, respectively.

When pupils stated that their most recent beating incident was school related, they were asked what, if anything, they did in response. Of the 163 girls whose most recent experience of beating was school related, 18 percent reported the incident to a family member and 30 percent reported to a teacher or school management committee member. Of the 189 boys whose most recent experience of beating was school related, 7 percent reported the incident to a family member and 28 percent reported it to a teacher or head teacher.

When the victim identified the perpetrator of a beating as a male pupil, 72 percent of girls and 54 percent of boys reported the incident to teachers or school management. Of the 75 incidents where the perpetrator was identified as a male pupil, the perpetrator was punished by the school in 51 cases; in 10 cases the perpetrator was counseled and in 6 cases the perpetrator stopped his behavior as a result of being reported; in one case the perpetrator was expelled.

In contrast, when pupils in the survey identified the perpetrator as a male teacher, 72 percent of girls and 84 percent of boys did nothing. During the interview, many pupils explained this behavior by stating that they were in the wrong and thus deserved the punishment, that they believed the incident was not important enough to report, that they were afraid to tell, or that they felt there was no one they could tell.

3.4.2 Psychological abuse

The PLA study revealed a variety of abuses experienced by students. In particular, students were subjected to verbal abuse—name calling, mockery and insults—perpetrated by both teachers and fellow pupils, which was often sexualized. Pupils interviewed also expressed fear of: threats and intimidation; participating in class; refusing someone’s sexual advances; receiving threatening or unwanted letters; being forced to do something against one’s will; and being rejected.

This survey further explored each of these issues. A discussion follows of the most prevalent and serious of these concerns: verbal abuse, threats and intimidation, and receiving threatening or unwanted letters.

Table 3.6 Percentage of pupils reporting the most recent incident of psychological abuse
(n= 800; 400 girls, 400 boys)

Type of incident	Home/village related			School related			TOTAL		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Verbal abuse	32.5	34.7	33.5	26.7	42.5	34.6	59.0	77.2	68.1
Threats and intimidation	6.5	11.2	8.9	21.5	37.7	29.6	28.0	49.0	38.5
Receiving threatening/unwanted letters	5.5	1.2	3.4	9.2	3.7	6.5	14.7	5.0	9.9

Teachers' attitudes toward, and use of, verbal abuse and threats

The vast majority of teachers surveyed (91 percent) disagreed with the statement, "Calling pupils names does not hurt them." Nevertheless, 54 percent of teachers reported that they had insulted pupils, called them names or shouted at them. It is also interesting to note that a higher percentage of male teachers (58 percent) than female teachers (46 percent) reported this. Seventy-one percent of the male teachers who reported that they had verbally abused pupils said they did so at least once a month, compared with 65 percent of female teachers. Virtually all teachers who had verbally abused pupils had done so within the previous 12 months (98 percent of female teachers and 92 percent of male teachers).

When teachers were asked whether boys or girls received more insults and negative comments from teachers, 44 percent stated that such comments were directed at boys and girls equally; 30 percent felt that girls received more negative comments, and 20 percent felt that boys received more negative comments.

Half of teachers surveyed (52 percent of male teachers and 46 percent of female teachers) stated that they had threatened pupils with harm or punishment. Of these teachers, 72 percent of female teachers and 86 percent of male teachers reported they threatened pupils with harm or punishment at least once per semester, and 43 percent reported that they did so at least monthly. All teachers who reported having threatened or intimidated pupils said they had done so during the previous 12 months.

Pupils' attitudes toward and experience of verbal abuse, threats and unwanted letters

Verbal abuse. The vast majority of pupils (92 percent) disagreed with the statement, "Teachers calling pupils names does not hurt them." Slightly fewer (90 percent) disagreed with the statement, "Pupils calling fellow pupils names does not hurt them."

Verbal abuse (insults, name calling and shouting) was the type of psychological abuse most commonly reported by pupils, both at home and at school. Indeed, 68 percent of pupils surveyed reported that they had experienced verbal abuse either at home or at school, with approximately half of the most recent incidents occurring at home or at school. While a similar percentage of boys and girls reported that they had experienced verbal abuse at home, a higher percentage of boys (43

percent) than girls (27 percent) stated that their most recent experience occurred at school. More than 90 percent of most recent incidents of insults had taken place within the previous 12 months.

The vast majority of most recent school-related incidents of verbal abuse occurred on the school compound or in and around classrooms (86 percent), with 9 percent occurring on the way to and from school and 4 percent occurring on the playground.

In the survey, 70 percent of pupils reported that the perpetrators of their most recent incidents of verbal abuse were fellow pupils—in particular, male pupils were named the perpetrators in 47 percent of incidents. Pupils identified teachers as the perpetrators in 23 percent of school-related incidents of verbal abuse. It is interesting to note that 46 percent of school-related incidents of verbal abuse experienced by girls were perpetrated by female pupils while 58 percent of school-related incidents of verbal abuse experienced by boys were perpetrated by male pupils.

When pupils reported that the most recent incident of verbal abuse had been school related, they were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. Roughly half of pupils surveyed stated that they had done nothing (49 percent of girls and 52 percent of boys). Thirty-two percent reported the incident, mostly to a teacher, head teacher or parent teacher association (PTA) member.

Threats and intimidation. The second most frequently mentioned form of psychological abuse, cited by 39 percent of pupils (49 percent of boys and 28 percent of girls), was being threatened, intimidated or frightened with harm or punishment, either at school or in their homes or communities (with 30 percent experiencing the most recent incident at school and 9 percent experiencing the most recent incident at home). Thirty-eight percent of boys and 22 percent of girls surveyed had experienced an incident of being threatened, intimidated or frightened with harm or punishment. More than 90 percent of most recent incidents of threats and intimidation had taken place within the previous 12 months.

According to the pupils surveyed, threats and intimidation were most frequently experienced on the school compound and in or while entering classrooms; these two locations accounted for 89 percent of most recent school-related incidents of threats and intimidation. Eight percent of most recent school-related incidents of threats and intimidation occurred on the way to or from school.

Pupils reported that male teachers and male head teachers were the perpetrators in 49 percent of most recent incidents that were school related, while male pupils were the perpetrators for 31 percent of most recent incidents, and female teachers and female head teachers were the perpetrators for 8 percent of most recent incidents. There was a greater difference between the number of girls and boys who had experienced threats and intimidation at school by teachers and head teachers than by fellow pupils: 95 boys and 40 girls reported being threatened by teachers or head teachers, while 45 boys and 37 girls reported being threatened by fellow pupils.

When pupils reported that the most recent incident of threats or intimidation had been school related, pupils were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. Thirty-six percent of girls surveyed reported the incident, as compared to 22 percent of boys. However, 62 percent of pupils did nothing. This was almost universally true when the perpetrator was a male teacher: of the 103 pupils (71 boys and 32 girls) who stated that the perpetrator of the most recent incident of threats and intimidation had been a male teacher, only four reported the incident to either a family member or head teacher; in none of these cases was action taken against the perpetrator. In contrast, half (51 percent) of the most recent incidents perpetrated by male pupils were reported to family members, friends, teachers or head teachers. When pupils reported these acts to head teachers, 66 percent resulted in punishment or counseling for the perpetrator.

Receiving threatening or unwanted letters. In the survey, 10 percent of pupils reported that they had ever received a threatening or unwanted letter, such as love letters sent to female pupils by male pupils as a way of proposing love relationships. Of the 79 most recent incidents, twice as many occurred at school as at home; two-thirds of these school-related incidents of receiving threatening or unwanted letters occurred on the school compound, while nearly one-quarter occurred in and around classrooms.

According to the pupils surveyed, male pupils were identified as the perpetrators in virtually all unwanted or threatening letters given to girls (92 percent) and 33 percent of such letters given to boys; female pupils were identified as the perpetrators for 47 percent of unwanted or threatening letters given to boys.

When pupils reported that the most recent incident of unwanted or threatening letters had been school related, pupils were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. Forty percent of pupils surveyed reported the incident either to a family member or to school staff. Only 10 percent of pupils did nothing after their most recent incident of receiving threatening or unwanted letters, while 30 percent stated that they had told the perpetrator to stop, fought with the perpetrator, or avoided him or her.

3.4.3 Sexual Abuse

Pupils who participated in the PLA reported that they had experienced or witnessed several types of sexual abuse and harassment, including sexual comments, pupils trying to peep at other pupils' genitals, teachers propositioning girls and trying to pressure them into sexual relationships, rape, attempted rape, girls being pressured into sex, forced removal of clothing, exposure of genitals, coerced viewing of sexual acts or pornography, insertion of objects into the genitals and, most frequently, sexualized touching and grabbing.

A discussion follows of the most prevalent and serious incidents reported by pupils in the survey: peeping, unwanted touching, sexual comments, coerced sex and rape. This is preceded by a brief discussion of teacher and pupil attitudes toward sexual harassment and abuse.

Teachers' attitudes toward sexual abuse

The vast majority of teachers (89 percent) disagree with the statement, "Girls and boys like it when a pupil of the opposite sex touches or grabs them in a sexual way;" however, 17 percent of female teachers and 7 percent of male teachers surveyed think that boys like this kind of touching.

Twenty-one percent of teachers surveyed agree that it is a girl's fault if she is sexually harassed. Surprisingly, a higher percentage of female teachers than male teachers agree with this statement (25 percent and 18 percent, respectively). Twenty-two percent of teachers surveyed believe that boys experience sexual harassment at school.

Ninety-nine percent of male and female teachers in the survey disagree that male and female teachers have the right to demand sex from schoolchildren; they also disagree that it is "okay" for teachers to have sexual relationships with their pupils. However, a minority of both male and female

teachers (13 percent, including 5 percent of head teachers) agree that teachers should *not* be punished for having a sexual relationship with a pupil, and only slightly more than half (55 percent, including 56 percent of female head teachers) agree that a teacher who has a sexual relationship with a pupil should be dismissed and not allowed to teach again. Male head teachers were somewhat less tolerant of this behavior, with 67 percent agreeing that such teachers should be dismissed.

Pupils' attitudes toward sexual abuse

Almost all pupils in the survey (95 percent) agree with the statement, "You have the right to say "No" to sex," while slightly fewer (87 percent) agree with the statement, "You have the right to say "No" to pupils who want to touch you in a sexual way." Most pupils disagree with the statement that girls like it when they are touched or grabbed sexually by a pupil of the opposite sex (89 percent of boys and 92 percent of girls). Most pupils also disagree with the statement that boys like it when they are touched or grabbed sexually by a pupil of the opposite sex (95 percent of boys and 91 percent of girls).

A large majority of pupils surveyed (86 percent) stated that they have the right to say "No" to teachers who want to touch them in a sexual way, and virtually all agreed that they have the right to say "No" to male and female teachers who demand sex from them (96 percent and 98 percent, respectively). There was virtually no difference in girls' and boys' responses in this regard.

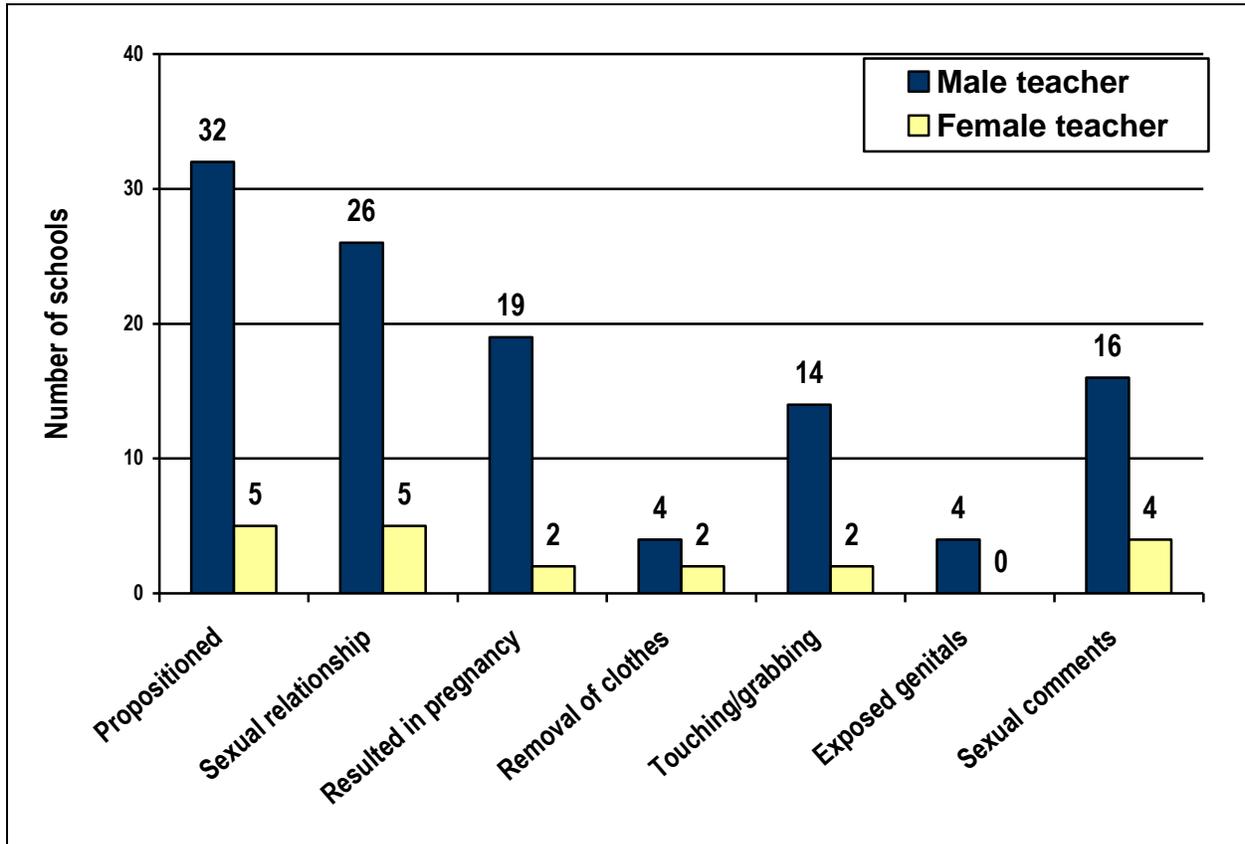
Most pupils in the survey also believe that teachers who have sexual relationships with pupils should be dismissed and not allowed to teach again (87 percent), though a sizable number of girls (28 percent) agree with the statement that it is "okay" for a teacher to impregnate a girl as long as he marries her. It should be noted that 41 percent of both boys and girls surveyed believe that it is a girl's fault if she is sexually harassed by either pupils or teachers.

Teachers' awareness of sexual abuse incidents in their schools

Teachers who participated in the survey were asked whether they knew about or had heard of any teachers at their school who had engaged in sexually inappropriate behaviors. To eliminate the possibility of over-reporting (if more than one teacher from a school discussed the actions of the same abusive colleague), the survey considered *only the number of schools* at which at least one teacher reported an incident (see Figure 3.2). The results, then, do not give a picture of how often such abuses occur, but they do reinforce pupil statements about the occurrence of such abuses. Because it

cannot be known how many colleagues were referred to by teachers in this sample, results are referred to as “at least one” abusive teacher at any particular school.

Figure 3.2 Number of schools where one or more teachers knew about or had heard of incidents of sexual harassment and abuse perpetrated by a fellow teacher against a pupil, by sex of perpetrator (n = 40)



In 32 of the 40 schools participating in the survey, at least one teacher stated that he or she knew about or had heard of at least one male teacher propositioning a pupil; in 26 of the schools, at least one teacher knew about or had heard of at least one male teacher having a sexual relationship with a pupil. In 19 of the schools, at least one teacher knew about at least one male teacher who had impregnated a pupil.

Most but not all reports of male teacher misbehavior involved female pupils, including: having sex with pupils (96 percent), propositioning pupils (94 percent), directing sexual comments at pupils (91 percent), and sexually touching pupils (87 percent). Approximately half of the incidents of male

teachers propositioning and having sexual relationships with pupils (59 percent and 48 percent, respectively) took place during the previous 12 months; 21 percent of the incidents of girls becoming pregnant as a result of a sexual relationship with a teacher took place during the previous 12 months.

Teachers also reported that they knew about or had heard of sexual misconduct on the part of female teachers in 28 percent of the schools in the survey. In 13 percent of the schools, at least one female colleague was believed by at least one teacher to have propositioned a student; in 13 percent of schools, at least one female colleague was believed by at least one teacher to have had a sexual relationship with a pupil. Eighty percent of the 22 incidents in 11 schools involving female teachers were directed at boys. Of the 22 incidents in which female teachers were identified as the perpetrators, 10 took place within the prior 12 months; 6 of these events involved sexual comments.

Pupils' experiences of sexual abuse

Table 3.7 shows the percentage of pupils surveyed whose most recent experience of sexual harassment, molestation or violence occurred at school or on the way to or from school, or in their home or village. On average, sexual abuse occurred more frequently in pupils' homes and villages; an exception was of peeping and unwanted sexual touching, the majority of which occurred at school (although girls surveyed reported receiving sexual comments at almost the same percentage at school and at home). A higher percentage of girls reported ever having experienced an incident of peeping, unwanted touching, rape and coerced sex at home or at school. A higher percentage of boys, on the other hand, reported ever having experienced sexual comments, witnessing genital exposure, being forced to view sexual acts or pornographic materials, being forced to remove clothing and experiencing insertion of objects into their genitals and anus.

Of the 800 pupils participating in this survey, 151, or 19 percent, reported ever having sexual intercourse (9 percent of girls and 29 percent of boys). For 27 percent of those pupils who reported having sexual intercourse, their first experience with sexual intercourse was forced, coerced or unwanted (59 percent of girls and 17 percent of boys). Seventy-four percent of girls and 81 percent of boys who reported having had sexual intercourse did not use a method to avoid pregnancy or sexually transmitted infection during their most recent experience.

Table 3.7 Percentage of pupils reporting an incident of sexual abuse, by type and sex. (n= 800; 400 girls, 400 boys)

Type of Incident	Home/village related			School related			Total		
	F %	M %	T %	F %	M %	T %	F %	M %	T %
Sexual comments	8.5	14.3	11.4	7.8	6.0	6.9	16.3	20.3	18.3
Peeping at private parts (toilets, under desks)	3.3	4.5	3.9	16.8	7.8	12.3	20.0	12.3	16.1
Touching in sexual way	4.5	2.3	3.4	13.5	4.3	8.9	18.0	6.5	12.3
Someone exposing genitals	5.0	6.3	5.6	1.2	2.8	2.0	6.3	9.0	7.6
Coerced into viewing pornographic material	1.8	7.8	4.4	1.0	0.8	0.9	2.8	8.5	5.6
Rape	4.3	0.5	2.4	2.3	0.3	1.3	6.5	0.4	3.6
Coerced or unwanted sex	2.5	1.0	1.8	1.3	0.5	0.9	3.8	1.5	2.6
Forced removal of clothes	0.5	1.8	1.1	0	0.8	0.4	0.5	2.5	1.5
Insertion of objects into genitals	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.8	1.0	0.9

School-related sexual abuse

The number of pupils reporting most recent incidents of specific types of school-related sexual abuse is too small to generate statistically meaningful data. A detailed look at some of these data, however, may offer greater understanding of the issue and suggest possible areas of action.

In marked contrast to PLA findings, very few pupils surveyed identified teachers as the perpetrators of their most recent school-related sexual abuse incident. In fact, only nine of these incidents involved teachers (reported by six boys and three girls). These incidents included touching, peeping,

sexual comments, forced removal of clothes and unwanted sex; of these, in only one incident was a female teacher identified as the perpetrator.⁸

Almost all most recent incidents that were school related took place within the previous 12 months; this includes 8 of 10 rapes, five of seven incidents of coerced sex, 83 percent of unwanted touching, 73 percent of peeping and virtually all sexual comments.

Action taken against perpetrators of sexual abuse

A higher percentage of girls than boys reported that their most recent incident of sexual abuse occurred at school (78 percent and 54 percent, respectively). In over 50 percent of cases, the reporting of fellow pupils to teachers or school management led to action against the perpetrator, although less so for incidents reported by girls.

Of the 125 incidents of school-related sexual harassment, molestation and abuse in which girls reported that male pupils were the perpetrator, just over half (57 percent) were reported to teachers or, in a few cases, school management. Forty-five of the 71 reports led to some type of punishment (63 percent). In three cases, boys were expelled; other boys were reported to their families or counseled by staff. On seven occasions, no action was taken by school authorities. Only 2 of 20 incidents perpetrated by girls against girls were reported.

Only 20 percent of the 40 incidents perpetrated by boys against other boys were reported, although in all these cases the perpetrators were punished. When the perpetrator was a female pupil, 9 of 33 incidents (27 percent) were reported; as a result, three girls were punished and one was counseled. No action was taken to punish the remaining five girls.

Only two of nine incidents involving teachers, both male, were reported: one, involving sex with a female pupil, was reported to a family member, who subsequently reported the teacher to school management; the other, involving sexual comments made to a boy, was reported to another male teacher. In the latter case, no action was taken by authorities. Those pupils who did nothing said

⁸ Field reports and discussions with research assistants revealed cases of teachers warning pupils against speaking to research assistants at their own schools and even at neighboring schools.

they were either afraid to report the incident or thought the incident was not important enough to report.

Peeping. As a form of harassment, many participants in the PLA reported that they had experienced peeping, especially girls. Boys were most often named the perpetrators, usually peeping in the toilets or by using mirrors placed on the floor to look up skirts when girls stood up in class. Sixteen percent of pupils surveyed had ever been peeped, either at school or in their home or village; 12 percent of pupils reported that their most recent experience of peeping occurred at school. More than twice as many girls as boys reported the most recent incident at school (17 percent and 8 percent, respectively).

Eighty-one percent of the most recent school-related peeping incidents took place in or entering the classrooms and on the school compound (81 percent). In the survey, five times more girls than boys experienced their most recent peeping incident in the classroom, and twice as many girls as boys experienced an incident on the school compound.⁹ Boys were victims of peeping most often in the toilets or on the school compound (36 percent and 30 percent of boy's most recent incidents, respectively).

Boys were identified as the perpetrators for 76 percent of peeping incidents, including 87 percent of incidents reported by girls and 58 percent of incidents reported by boys. Girls were named the perpetrators of virtually all other incidents, including 29 percent of incidents reported by boys. A male teacher was responsible for 1 of the 98 total incidents reported.

In the survey, girls who had experienced the most recent incident of peeping reported the incident more frequently than boys. In fact, two-thirds of the 58 girls who had experienced peeping by male pupils (67 percent) said that they had told a teacher, 12 percent did nothing, while 9 percent told the perpetrator to stop, threatened to report the perpetrator, or told a family member or another adult. Of the 39 girls who reported the peeping incidents perpetrated by male pupils to teachers or school management, 25 said that the pupils responsible had been punished and, in two cases, the perpetrator had been expelled. In other cases, incidents were reported to the girl's family or the girl was counseled.

⁹ Boys are sometimes peeped when they wear school shorts that are tattered or torn, and cannot afford underwear.

Of the 18 boys who reported experiencing peeping by fellow male pupils, only one-third reported the incident to teachers; most did nothing. None of the incidents perpetrated by female pupils were reported; neither was the one incident involving a male teacher. Of the six boys who reported the incident to teachers or school management, all said the perpetrators had been punished.

Sexual comments. Eighteen percent of pupils surveyed stated that they had ever been the object of sexual comments, at home, in their village or at or on their way to or from school; for 7 percent of pupils, their most recent experience of sexual comments was at or on the way to or from school (8 percent of girls and 6 percent of boys). Of these most recent school-related incidents of sexual comments, 35 percent took place in or on entering the classroom; 27 percent took place on the school compound; and 27 percent took place while traveling to or from school, with four times as many girls as boys reporting that they had experienced sexual comments while traveling to or from school.

According to the pupils surveyed, fellow pupils were the perpetrators of 70 percent of incidents (44 percent of incidents were perpetrated by boys). Male teachers were identified as the perpetrators for 7 percent of the incidents experienced by pupils.

One-third of girls who experienced the most recent incident of sexual comments at school (32 percent) reported the incident to either a teacher or a family member; 29 percent did nothing. The remainder stated that they had told the perpetrators to stop or threatened to report them. Only three boys (13 percent) reported an incident to a teacher, while more than half (58 percent) did nothing. When asked why they had done nothing, both boys and girls most often said they had not thought it was important enough to report or they had not known whom to tell.

Unwanted touching. Twelve percent of pupils surveyed had ever experienced unwanted touching at home, in their community, at school or on the way to or from school. Nine percent stated that their most recent experience of unwanted sexual touching occurred at or on the way to or from school. Of these pupils, 76 percent were girls. Nearly half of most recent incidents of unwanted touching that were school related (45 percent) took place on the school compound, while 41 percent took place in or on entering classrooms. Most of the incidents experienced by girls in the survey were perpetrated by male pupils (80 percent), while boys who had experienced unwanted touching

identified girls and boys as the perpetrators in almost equal numbers. One girl reported having been touched by a male teacher: this incident took place inside the classroom.

When pupils surveyed reported that they had experienced school-related unwanted touching, they were asked what, if anything, they had done in response. Half of the girls surveyed stated that they had reported it to a teacher. Ten girls (19 percent) said they had done nothing. Of the 17 boys who had experienced unwanted touching, 6 reported it to teachers and 6 did nothing. The remaining five pupils surveyed said that they had fought back, told perpetrators to stop, or threatened to report them.

Of the 43 girls who experienced inappropriate touching by boys, 25 reported the incident to teachers (18 did nothing). Following these reports, 15 perpetrators were punished; 1 was expelled. Some of the perpetrators were either counseled or reported to family members; in two cases no action was taken. Of the girls who did not report their experience with inappropriate touching by boys, the reason most commonly given was that they thought that the incident was not important enough to report, that they were afraid, or that they had no one to tell. Only one of the seven girls who experienced inappropriate touching by a female pupil reported the incident. The others told the girl to stop or fought back. The incident involving the male teacher was not reported: the girl in question stated she had told the teacher to stop and had been punished as a consequence.

Of the seven boys inappropriately touched by other male pupils, two reported the incident to teachers, three did nothing; and two fought back. Of the eight boys inappropriately touched by female pupils, three reported the incident, two threatened the girl, and three did nothing¹⁰. It is interesting to note that when boys in the survey reported inappropriate touching, the perpetrator was punished in every case.

Coerced sex. Twenty-one pupils (3 percent) stated they had ever been subjected to coerced sex at home, in their community, at school or on their way to or from school. Fourteen of these 21 pupils were under the age of 15, with the youngest being 11 years old. Seven pupils – five girls and two boys – reported that their most recent experience of coerced sex had been at, or on the way to or from, school.

¹⁰ There is one missing response to the question of action taken.

The girls in the survey identified the perpetrators of the two most recent incidents that occurred going to or from school as an out-of-school youth and an unknown male. Of the three incidents that took place on the school compound, male pupils were identified as the perpetrator in two of the cases; a male teacher was identified as the perpetrator in the third incident. The boys in the survey identified the perpetrators of the two most recent school-related incidents as a male community member and an unknown female. Both incidents occurred while the victim was traveling to or from school; neither incident was reported.

Of the two incidents in which girls identified male pupils as the perpetrator, both were reported to a female teacher; however, in both cases no action was taken by school authorities. The girl who had been subjected to coerced sex with a male teacher said that she had told an adult family member and the teacher had been reported to school management.

Rape. In the survey, 26 girls and three boys stated that they had been raped (7 percent and 1 percent, respectively), either at home or in the community, or at or on their way to or from school. These figures are consistent with a recent national survey stating that 8 percent of girls and 3 percent of boys aged 9 to 18 years in Malawi stated that they had been raped.¹¹

In the survey, nine girls and one boy stated that their most recent experience of rape had been school related (2 percent of girls and 0.3 percent of boys). Eight of these 10 rapes occurred on the way to or from school, the other two occurred on school grounds. Girls identified male pupils as perpetrators in three of the rapes; the other perpetrators named were boys and men unaffiliated with the school. The boy identified the perpetrator of the rape as a female pupil; he did not report the incident.

Of the nine girls who had experienced school-related rape, three told an adult family member, one told a female member of the school management committee, and five did not report the incident. Of the two incidents of rape that took place on school grounds, one was reported to an adult family member, and the other was not reported. Both incidents were not reported to school authorities.

¹¹ Burton. P. (2005) *Suffering at School: Results of the Malawi Gender-Based Violence in Schools Survey*. Institute for Security Studies. Pretoria, South Africa.

Three of the girls who had reported the incidents of rape stated that the perpetrators had found out that they had reported the rape and had been angry and had, in some cases, threatened or beaten the girls. According to the girls in the survey, none of the male pupils, or indeed any of the perpetrators, was punished. Of the three boys who had experienced a rape by a girl, one was counseled by the school, one was reported to a family member, and one was neither counseled nor reported.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In the section that follows, each of the survey's five research questions is discussed with reference to the results presented above.

4.1 What type of violence, abuse and mistreatment do girls and boys experience at school?

Physical violence—especially corporal punishment—is common at school, with boys disproportionately affected. Psychological violence is somewhat less common, but still frequent, and again, boys are disproportionately affected. Sexual violence was uncommon; while girls were disproportionately affected, boys were also affected, to the extent that many fear molestation at or on the way to school.

- Corporal punishment is common. Corporal punishment was the physical violence of most concern to pupils participating in the survey, and indeed, corporal punishment is not reserved for a few particularly unruly “troublemakers”; at least half of pupils in this survey had experienced whipping or caning at school, and nearly half had experienced grabbing (a form of corporal punishment when perpetrated by a teacher), such as being pulled by the ear or knocked on the head.
- Other physical violence is common. Nearly half of pupils (44 percent) surveyed had experienced beating or fighting at school.
- Boys are affected by physical violence. Boys in the survey experienced a disproportionate amount of physical violence; the sex differential ranged between 6 percentage points (beating) and 21 percentage points (grabbing).
- Psychological abuse is common. Verbal abuse by both teachers and other pupils is frequent, and indeed, one-third of students surveyed had experienced verbal abuse at school. Slightly fewer had been threatened or intimidated at school, and 7 percent had received threatening or unwanted letters at school.

- Boys are affected by psychological abuse. Boys experience a disproportionate amount of psychological abuse—the sex differential was 16 percentage points for both verbal abuse and threats—though twice as many girls surveyed received a threatening or unwanted letter.
- Both girls and boys are affected by sexual harassment and molestation. The number of pupils reporting a most recent incident of sexual abuse at school was too small to generate statistically meaningful data. A similar percentage of girls and boys in the survey experienced sexual comments, while twice as many girls experienced peeping by another pupil and three times as many girls experienced inappropriate touching as did boys.
- Both girls and boys are concerned about sexual abuse. Twenty-nine percent of girls and 12 percent of boys in the survey stated that the possibility of sexual molestation makes school unsafe and unwelcoming. Sixteen percent of girls and 4 percent of boys stated that the possibility of rape made school unsafe and unwelcoming.
- Both girls and boys experience rape and coerced sex, though more girls experience this than boys. In the survey, 10 rapes were reported, of which 9 had been experienced by girls; seven instances of coerced sex were reported, of which five had been experienced by girls. Close to one in five pupils was sexually experienced; of these, 25 percent reported that their first experience with sexual intercourse was forced, coerced or unwanted (59 percent of sexually experienced girls and 17 percent of sexually experienced boys). More than three-quarters of pupils who had had intercourse reported that they had not used a method to avoid pregnancy or sexually transmitted infection during their most recent experience.

4.2. Who is responsible for mistreatment?

In the majority of cases, pupils most frequently identified teaching staff as the perpetrators of physical violence, with male teachers most frequently identified, although boys were the perpetrators for 44 percent of fighting incidents and 11 percent of grabbing incidents. Boys were most frequently identified as the perpetrators of psychological abuse, though teachers and head teachers were the most common perpetrators of threatening students, as well as the majority of verbal abuse. Boys were also named the perpetrators of nearly 70 percent of sexual incidents perpetrated against girls and 38 percent of incidents against boys. Girls were identified as perpetrators for nearly one-third of sexual incidents against boys. Males unaffiliated with the school were the perpetrators for more than half of rapes and coerced sex incidents.

- Teachers, especially male teachers, are the perpetrators of most school-related physical violence. Nearly one-third of teachers in the survey reported having whipped a pupil; slightly fewer report having struck or grabbed pupils. Despite the fact that 75 percent of teachers surveyed agree that it is not “okay” to whip children to maintain discipline in the classroom, according to pupils, teachers were the perpetrators of 89 percent of all most recent whipping incidents, with head teachers the perpetrators in 10 percent of the incidents. Male teachers and head teachers were the perpetrators for 78 percent of teacher-involved whippings, a number somewhat disproportionate to their representation in this sample. Teachers and head teachers were also the perpetrators for four-fifths of grabbing incidents and 43 percent of beating incidents (with male teachers and head teachers alone the perpetrators for 37 percent of beatings).
- Boys are more physically violent than girls. In the survey, pupils identified boys as the perpetrators for 44 percent of fighting incidents and 11 percent of grabbing incidents, while girls were the perpetrators for just 6 percent of grabbing and beating incidents.
- Teachers are verbally abusive. More than half of teachers in the survey reported that they had insulted pupils, called them names, or shouted at them. This type of behavior persists, despite the awareness among the vast majority of teachers (91 percent) that verbal abuse is injurious to students.¹²
- Boys were the perpetrators of most sexual abuse against girls. According to the pupils surveyed, boys were the perpetrators for nearly 70 percent of sexual incidents (including sexual comments, peeping at private parts, exposing genitals, coerced or unwanted sex, etc.) perpetrated against girls and 38 percent of incidents against boys. Girls were the perpetrators for nearly one-third of incidents against boys. The survey findings indicate that coerced sex was perpetrated by two boys, one teacher and four persons unaffiliated with the school; rape was perpetrated by three male pupils, one female pupil and six persons unaffiliated with the school.
- Students rarely name teachers as sexual perpetrators. According to the pupils surveyed, teachers were the perpetrators for only 9 of 270 most recent sexual incidents that were school related (perpetrated against six boys and three girls). These included incidents of peeping, sexual comments, touching, forced removal of clothes and coerced sex. Only one of these nine incidents involved a female teacher.

¹² While teachers reported that they insulted pupils, called them names, and so on, they did not necessarily acknowledge that this type of behavior is verbally abusive.

- Teachers in most schools knew about or had heard of incidents of sexual harassment and abuse perpetrated by a fellow teacher against a pupil. At least one male teacher was known to have propositioned at least one pupil in 80 percent of the schools in the survey. At least one male teacher was known to have had a sexual relationship with at least one pupil in 65 percent of schools in the survey, to have touched pupils inappropriately in 40 percent of schools, and to have directed sexual comments to pupils in 35 percent of schools. At least one female teacher was known to have propositioned and had a sexual relationship with at least one pupil in 13 percent of schools. Most, but not all, of these incidents involved pupils of the opposite sex.

4.3 Where does mistreatment occur?

According to the survey, most incidents of sexual, physical and psychological violence occur in classrooms, with teachers presumably present or near, or on the school compound, where pupils are frequently unsupervised. Serious sexual incidents, however, also take place on the way to or from school.

- Most incidents of physical abuse occur in classrooms or on the school compound. According to the survey, 12 percent of pupils experienced peeping in the classroom or at the school toilets. Less than 1 percent of pupils experienced peeping on the way to or from school. In terms of whipping or caning, 35 percent of the pupils said it occurred in the classroom and 16 percent on the school compound; only 8 percent said they experienced it on the way to or from school. Forty-five percent of pupils said they had experienced painful grabbing in the classroom or school compound, while only 1 percent experienced it while traveling to or from school. The PLA findings suggest that pupils are left largely unsupervised on the school compound, with many incidents going unnoticed by school authorities. And indeed, according to the survey, it is on the school compound where the greatest proportion of verbal abuse, fighting, assaults, threats and inappropriate touching incidents take place.
- The most serious sexual incidents occur on the way to or from school. While most sexual abuse incidents occur at school, most of the most serious sexual incidents take place on the way to or from school (8 of 10 rapes and 4 of 7 coerced sex incidents). Pupils are also afraid of walking to and from school: the most frequent response to what makes a school unwelcoming is the possibility of being beaten on the way to school.

4.4 Are there other school practices or conditions that are inappropriate, place pupils at risk or potentially interfere with their schooling?

The responses to the survey suggest several factors that may contribute to pupils' risk of violence or abuse at school. These factors are both infrastructural (overcrowding, underrepresentation of female teachers, etc.) and attitudinal (insufficient appreciation of the seriousness of sexual harassment and misconduct, pupils' lack of awareness of their ability to say "No" to inappropriate touching by teachers, etc.). The findings also suggest that some teachers abuse their power/positions of authority for example, those who ask pupils to do personal errands and domestic chores—with assignment of these chores too often being gender biased, increasing pupils' risk of mistreatment or interfering with their schooling.

- Understaffing may contribute to unsafe environments. The survey found pupil-teacher ratios ranging from less than 40 to well over 100. Serious overcrowding limits teachers' ability to control classes without recourse to threats, verbal abuse, grabbing or corporal punishment. Understaffing could also contribute to unwillingness on the part of school administrators to discipline or dismiss teachers.
- Female teachers are underrepresented, particularly in rural schools. As the findings show, male teachers are the perpetrators of most physical violence against pupils. The fact, then, that females only constitute an average of 25 percent of the teaching staff of rural schools and that 15 percent of the schools in the survey had no female teachers may be cause for concern.
- Teachers and pupils underestimate the seriousness of sexual harassment and teacher sexual misconduct. Only one-fifth of teachers in the survey believe that boys experience sexual harassment at school. One-fifth of teachers and almost 41 percent of pupils believe it is a girl's fault if she is sexually harassed. Only half of teachers believe that a teacher who has a sexual relationship with a pupil should be dismissed and not allowed to teach again.
- Some pupils do not understand that they can say "No" to inappropriate touching. While pupils almost universally understand that they can refuse a teacher who demands sex, 14 percent do not think that they can say "No" to inappropriate touching by teachers.
- Chores and chore-related punishments are an accepted part of school life. Nearly all pupils perform cleaning chores at school, and half do physically demanding chores at school. Nearly three-quarters of pupils have cleaned as punishment, and half have done physically demanding work as punishment. In the survey, both girls and boys were given cleaning chores, but

physically demanding chores were more often performed by boys. A concern raised by students in the PLA was that pupils who stay late after school must walk home alone, thereby, increasing their risk of physical or sexual assault. The survey cannot quantify or even confirm that risk is associated with after-school activities, but it can support the claim that many pupils are required to stay after school. Approximately one-third of those pupils who perform cleaning chores, approximately two-thirds of those who perform cleaning punishments, and around half of those who performed heavier physical labor as either chore or punishment complete their work after school.

4.5 How effective is reporting?

Survey results suggest that reporting incidents of physical, psychological and sexual violence may be hampered by teachers' and school administrators' unwillingness to report or punish other teachers and by pupils' fear of reprisal. Pupils in the survey expressed confusion regarding which incidents should be reported and how and to whom to report them. When boys are reported as perpetrators, action is often taken; virtually no action is taken when teachers are reported as perpetrators.

Whereas both girls and boys will report physical violence and psychological abuse, girls have a higher frequency of reporting sexual incidents.

- Support for the Teachers' Code of Conduct and compliance with reporting requirements is far from universal. Virtually all teachers surveyed are aware of the Teachers' Code of Conduct that prohibits "immoral relations" with students and establishes procedures for reporting violations of the Code. However, awareness of the Code's existence does not necessarily mean acceptance or importance; more than 40 percent of teachers think the Code of Conduct is unfair to teachers, and only 6 percent of the 25 percent of teachers who said that they had witnessed a violation within the last 12 months reported it. This may be partly due to the fact that less than half of teachers surveyed had received training on the Code of Conduct. It may also be a result of underestimation of the seriousness of teacher sexual misconduct. While teachers did not believe they had the right to demand sex from pupils, only 13 percent disagreed with the statement, "Teachers who have sexual relationships with students should be punished," and 55 percent believed that such a teacher should be dismissed and not allowed to teach again.
- Pupils who experience physical violence or psychological abuse by teachers usually do not report the incident. In the survey, only 9 percent of pupils who had been whipped by a male teacher

reported the incident to a family member, head teacher or PTA member; none reported it to a teacher. Virtually no pupils who had been whipped by a female teacher reported the incident. Similarly, most pupils who had been grabbed by teachers did not report the incident. When male teachers were the perpetrators of a beating against a pupil, 72 percent of girls and 84 percent of boys did not report the incident. By contrast, 72 percent of girls and 54 percent of boys reported beating incidents when boys were responsible. Only 3 of the 103 pupils in the survey who were threatened by teachers reported the incident. By contrast, half of threats involving boys were reported either to family members or school staff. Approximately 40 percent of threatening letters were reported to either family members or school authorities.

- Girls report incidents of sexual violence more than boys. Two-thirds of girls and one-third of boys who had been peeped by boys reported the incident to school staff. None of the 15 pupils who had been peeped by girls reported the incident. Half of girls and approximately one-third of boys who had been inappropriately touched reported the incident to school staff. One-third of girls and just 13 percent of boys who had received sexual comments reported the incident to a teacher or family member. Of the five girls who had been subjected to coerced sex, four reported the incident to family or school staff; neither of the two boys experiencing coerced sex reported the incident. Of the nine girls who had been raped, four told a family member or member of school management; the one boy who had been raped did not report the incident.
- Pupils are not clear about when and how to report incidents. When pupils were asked why they did nothing in response to an incident of school-related gender-based violence, the majority stated that they had not felt the incident was sufficiently serious or they had not known to whom or how the incident should be reported. Also, many pupils felt that they had “deserved” corporal punishment or mistreatment from teachers for their behavior. This is not surprising given that approximately 60 percent of pupils feel that it is acceptable for teachers to whip pupils in order to maintain discipline in the classroom.
- Pupils who are identified as perpetrators of physical violence, psychological abuse and sexual harassment or molestation are often disciplined or counseled. In most of the schools in the survey, some form of punishment or corrective action was administered when a pupil’s misbehavior was reported. Of the 10 boys identified as perpetrators of whipping, 8 were either punished or counseled. Approximately two-thirds of the 75 boys identified as perpetrators of beatings were punished or counseled. Of the 37 pupils who reported boys to school staff for verbal abuse, only 2 stated that no action was taken. By contrast, only a handful of teachers was

counseled after being identified as perpetrators of whipping or grabbing. In a few cases, pupils stated that the teacher stopped whipping them as a result of the report. No pupil reported that a teacher was disciplined following a report of physical violence; in one case, the teacher, angry about the pupil's report, repeated the offense to punish the pupil. Of the 45 pupils who identified a boy as the perpetrator of peeping, 31 reported that the boy had been punished or expelled. Of the 25 pupils who were identified as the perpetrators of inappropriate touching, 15 percent were punished, 1 was expelled, and 7 were either counseled or reported to family members; in only one case was nothing done by authorities.

- Little to no action is taken when coerced sex or rape is reported. Two boys, one teacher and one out-of-school youth were identified as perpetrators of coerced sex to teachers or school administration; in none of these cases was the perpetrator punished. The one boy who was identified as the perpetrator of rape was counseled by the school, and three of the four girls who had reported a rape said the perpetrator had either threatened or beaten them after finding out that they had reported the incident. None of the alleged perpetrators was punished.

It is in the nature of program-related research to focus on problems. This survey highlights several issues of concern to Malawi's pupils and teachers. In addition to giving further shape to student and teacher concerns, however, the survey also identified strengths—most notably, gender-equitable views on the part of teachers and an almost universal support among both teachers and pupils for the right of all pupils, including girls, and girls who have been pregnant, to an education and to bodily integrity. It is upon this strong foundation that efforts can be built to ensure that schools in Malawi are gender safe, that all boys and girls have equal opportunities to learn, gain skills through classroom and extracurricular activities, and are psychologically, sexually and physically safe from threats, harassment or harm in all parts of school.

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