

**SCHOOL GIRLS' EXPERIENCES OF GENDER BASED VIOLENCE: A STUDY OF
SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KAOMA AND LUAMPA DISTRICTS OF
WESTERN ZAMBIA**

By

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A dissertation submitted to the School of Education, University of Zambia in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education (Civic Education).

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **Lubanze Isaac. N** has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Civic Education.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored school girls' experiences of gender based violence in selected secondary schools in Luampa and Kaoma districts of western Zambia. A qualitative phenomenological research design was employed in this study. Participants included twenty-eight (28) school girls who had been victims of gender-based violence, four (4) School Administrators, two (2) DEB Officials, and four (4) members of the community, all of whom were purposefully sampled. Data was gathered by semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

The study established the causes and consequences of gender based violence against school girls and factors that compel abused girls to remain silent, as well as the perpetrators of the violence. The causes were centered on socialization and rigid treatment that girls face in Society School girls who experienced gender based violence did not report their experiences, for fear of being stigmatized, blamed, retaliated against, and not responded to by school administrators. Those who reported their experiences did not receive appropriate help. Male teachers engaged in sexual relationships with school girls and promised the girls money for food, school fees, and other necessities. Some male teachers reacted, beat and punished the girls who refused their advances. School girls also faced gender based violence from their male classmates who proposed sex to them, touched their breasts or buttocks, or made sexual comments. Some boys threatened girls who did not submit to their sexual advances and used physical violence by beating them.

School girls experienced gender based violence by men they encountered as they walked long distances to and from school. Which negatively affected their education and health. Sexual abuse exposed girls to sexually transmitted diseases, early pregnancy, injury or death from unsafe abortions, depression and anxiety. They also lost concentration on their academic work, transferred to other schools to escape the abuse and dropped out of school because of pregnancy. Lack of policies for responding to reports of gender based violence and blaming girls made it difficult for girls to report their experiences. Male teachers who sexually abused school girls never received stiffer punishment but just transferred to other schools. The study however, acknowledges the efforts put in place by the Zambian Government through the Ministry of General Education to address violence against school girls. The Ministry has partnered with some NGOs in empowering schoolgirls with knowledge to protect themselves against violence. Zambian Parliament enacted in 2011 the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act and the Education Act, which provide protection and support for girls who experience school-based abuse.

The study concluded that different forms of gender based violence against school girls are common in most Zambian schools. School girls suffer sexual abuse such as rape, defilement and sexual comments and touching by teachers, male classmates, and the men they encounter while walking to and from school. They also face physical and psychological violence such as ridicule and beating from their male classmates, teachers and members of the community. Finally, the study recommended that there was need to sensitize male teachers' men and boys to take an active part in the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against girls and women.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late father Timothy Lubanze who inspired me and sacrificed for my education, and to my mother Naomi Shamala Lubanze for her support in my educational endeavours as a single parent. I also dedicate this work to my dearest wife, Annie Bweupe Lubanze and our beloved child, Prince Lubanze for their support, patience and perseverance during the course of my studies.

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ACRONYMS

AGDI	:	African Gender and Development Index.
AIDS	:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.
AU	:	African Union.
BETUZ	:	Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia
CAMFED	:	Campaign for Female Education
CREAW	:	Centre for Rights Education and Awareness
CPP	:	Chronic Pelvic Pain.
DEB	:	District Education Board.
DEBS	:	District Education Board Secretary.
GBV	:	Gender Based Violence.
HIV	:	Human Immune Virus.
HRW	:	Human Right Watch.
IRIN	:	Integrated Regional Information Network.
NGOCC	:	Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee.
NGOs	:	Non-Governmental Organization.
STDs	:	Sexually Transmitted Diseases.
STIs	:	Sexually Transmitted Infections.
SRGBV	:	School Related Gender Based Violence.
TSC	:	Teaching Service Commission.
UK	:	United Kingdom.
UN	:	United Nations.
UNICEF	:	United Nations Children's Education Fund
USAID	:	United States Aid for International Development
VSU	:	Victim Support Unit.
WHO	:	World Health Organization.
WLSAZ	:	Women in Law in Southern Africa – Zambia.
ZANIS	:	Zambia National Information Service

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter presents the background information on school girls' experiences of gender based violence. It investigates various forms of gender based violence that occur against school girls in different settings. The statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives, research questions and the theoretical framework are also presented in this chapter.

1.2 Background

The prevalence of Gender Based Violence against school girls in Zambia is an observable phenomenon. Girls encounter Gender Based Violence (GBV) in many areas of life in Zambia. Family members often uncles, cousins and sometimes fathers perpetuate such violence in the homes. More significantly, girls experience GBV with teachers and fellow students at school. According to WLSAZ (2012), Gender Based Violence against girls occurs frequently in Zambian schools, and little is known about the precise scope or magnitude of the problem. Unreported cases of GBV against girls with few reported cases to the police, the Victim Support Unit of the Zambian police does not maintain separate figures on the number of incidents of gender based violence against girls that occur in schools. The WLSAZ research conducted in 2012 in Lusaka district of Zambia reveals that an average of 7 to 10 cases of gender based violence, particularly sexual violence against girls in schools are reported to DEBS office each year. However, reports to the police or DEBS cannot provide an accurate position on the scope of the problem. This is because many school girls rarely report incidents of GBV to their school administration.

It is from this background therefore that this study sought to investigate school girls' experiences of gender based violence in selected secondary schools of Kaoma and Luampa District of Western Zambia with a view to finding out the extent to which school girls who fall victim to Gender Based Violence report their experiences to the relevant authorities. The study also examined the scope or magnitude of school girls' experiences of gender based violence and factors that influence their ability either to report or remain silent. The study further ascertained the community perception of GBV against school girls.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

As already alluded to in the background, Gender Based Violence against school girls is a universal problem. It is hardly surprising; therefore, that gender based violence against school girls is also a reality in Zambian schools especially rural schools, WLSAZ, (2012). GBV experienced by school girls is often compounded by the fact that religious and cultural values promote the virtue of silence (Sharp (2011). This tends to discourage victims from speaking out about the abuse and reaching out for legal assistance.

Gender Based Violence experienced by Zambian school girls like that experienced elsewhere, assumes a variety of forms which include, among others, rape, defilement, sexual harassment and sexual assault, all of which fall within the scope of Gender Based Violence as defined by Zambia's Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011.

Owing to the prevalence and magnitude of gender based violence, many studies have been done on gender based violence against women in society and its impact. For instance, the study by Kaluyu (2007) on "Causes, Consequences and Management Strategies of Gender Based Domestic Violence in Kenya", the study by Chireshe (2012) on the "Utility of The Zimbabwean Domestic Violence Act by Christian and Muslim Women Who Experience Domestic Violence in Zimbabwe" and the study done by Mollym (2014) on "Addressing Gender Based Violence in Zambia with Grassroot Soccer Approach." However, little research exists from the Zambian context on school girls' experiences of gender based violence and therefore, this study sought to underscore school girls' experiences of gender based violence in selected schools of Kaoma and Luampa districts of western Zambia.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to find out the school girls' experiences of Gender Based Violence in selected schools of Kaoma District of Western Zambia.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The following objectives guided the study.

1. To investigate school girls' experiences and reactions to Gender Based Violence.
2. To assess the magnitude of Gender Based Violence against school girls.
3. To examine the community's perception of Gender Based Violence against school girls.

1.6 Research Questions.

The study was guided by the following questions,

1. What are school girls' experiences of GBV??
2. How do school girls who fall victim to gender based violence react to the abuse?
3. What is the magnitude of gender based violence against school girls?
4. How do community members perceive gender based violence against school girls?

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study is important because it has attempted to provide information that might go a long way in informing various stakeholders, on the school girls' experiences of gender based violence within schools and around the community. The findings of this study might influence policy on gender based violence against girls in schools. The study has also contributed to the growing body of knowledge on gender based violence against school girls from the Zambian perspective.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Emotional, Verbal and Psychological Abuse - a pattern of degrading or humiliating conduct towards a person, including: insults, ridicule or name-calling; threats to cause emotional pain or distress; the exhibition of obsessive possessiveness which is such as to constitute a serious invasion of the person's privacy, liberty, integrity or security.

Gender-Based Violence - any physical, mental, social or economic abuse against a person because of that person's gender, and includes: Violence that results in, or is likely to result in,

physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to the person, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty.

Sexual Harassment - any sexual contact without the consent of the person with whom the contact is made and making unwanted sexual advances;

Physical Abuse – any physical assault or use of physical force against another person, including the forcible confinement or detention of another person and the deprivation of another person of access to adequate food, water, clothing, shelter, rest, or subjecting another person to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

Sexual Abuse - includes the engagement of another person in sexual contact, whether married or not, which includes sexual conduct that abuses, humiliates or degrades the other person or otherwise violates another person's sexual integrity.

1.9. Structure of the Dissertation

This section is a brief presentation of the layout of the study in sequence of the chapters and what the chapters present.

Chapter one gives the background information on school girls' experiences of gender based violence. The problem, objectives, operational definitions and theoretical framework of the study have also been presented in this chapter. Chapter two searches the literature that relates to the nature of this study. Literature is explored under the following major subtopics; gender based violence against school girls, causes of gender based violence against school girls, consequences of gender based violence against school girls and community perception of gender based violence against school girls. Chapter three explores the methodology of the research. It addresses the research design, sampling design, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection and analysis, the ethical considerations, and data validation and reliability.

Chapter four presents the results of the study, while chapter five discusses the findings presented in chapter four and their implication towards school girls and the community. This was done in themes guided by objectives of the study in order to realise the purpose of the study. Lastly, chapter six gives the conclusion of the study and recommendations.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter covered the background information on school girls' experiences of gender based violence. The statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives and questions, significance of the study, operational definitions and structure of the dissertation are also covered in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

The previous chapter discussed the background of the research and the objectives to be achieved. This chapter explores the literature that relates to this study. The literature is explored under the following major subtopics, these are: Forms of Gender Based Violence, Root Causes of Gender Violence and Discrimination Against School Girls and the Effects and Consequences of GBV Against School Girls.

2.2 Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

The UN report, (1994), describes Gender-based violence against girls as violence inflicted or suffered by girls on the basis of gender differences. It is an experience of violence that prevents young girls from developing and fully exercising their rights. Examples of gender-based violence are female infanticide, honor killing, female genital mutilation, humiliation, degrading treatment, sexual abuse, forced pregnancy, acid attacks, forced abortion, early marriage, and among others

Machakanja (2000) and Leach et al. (2003) reported some abuse of girls at Junior Secondary school by older boys, teachers and ‘sugar daddies’ in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi. In addition, they found out that there was a lot of sexual aggression from the boys towards these girls that went unpunished in the schools, and in some cases of teachers propositioning girls for sex. Sadly, despite all these behaviours, teachers and administrators merely regarded them as normal and very reluctant to take action against either teachers or pupils.

Despite that both the male and female pupils know that some of the female students receive favours and marks in exchange of sex they do not report these cases of sexual harassment for fear of being blamed for inviting the abuse and being ridiculed or victimized in the form of beating in class or failing in tests and examination. Omale (1999) reported that almost similar sexual abuse and harassment in schools and higher education institutions in Kenya. These incidences high lightened cases like rape on the way home for school, teachers having sex with primary pupils to the extent of impregnating them. She went further to share the infamous St Kizito incident of 1991 in which boys went wildly violent killing 19 girls and raping 71 others Luke and Kurz, (2002).

The curriculum, examination, teaching quality and the informal school environment plays a major role in perpetuating gender differential in education. Maimbolwa and Chilangwa (1995), Kutnick (1997) argued that daily lives experienced by the children in schools seems to be bias towards girls and support the boys and men more. The gender boundaries within the institutions bring about the constraints and reinforce feminine and masculine identities within the schools. For example, in most schools, girls are the ones who sweep the classrooms while the boys dig the school grounds. In addition, the sitting arrangement commonly practiced in most schools is putting the girls in the front of the class while the boys sit behind making noise and misbehaving. Such Gender identities are common and perform over time through individual and collective acts of resistance and accommodation Butler, (1990).

Barker, (2002) and UNESCO, (2002) observes that gender based violence against girls takes three major varied forms, thus: sexual, physical and psychological. Sexual violence involves violence or abuse by an adult or another child through any form of forced or unwanted sexual activity where there is no consent, consent is not possible, or power and/ or intimidation is used to coerce a sexual assault. It has dual impact on children increasing both their risk of educational failure and negative health consequences such as physical injury, early pregnancy sexually transmitted infection, Therefore, Gender Based violence against women and girls: is, any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women or girls, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. The 2006 UN World Report on Violence against Children, Pinheiro, (2006) identified violence against children particularly girls, including in school settings as a global phenomenon. Despite having the above studies in place, we still have inadequate knowledge on scale and impact of gender-based violence against school girls as many of these studies place much of their focus on gender based violence against women and girls in general.

Evidence indicates that gender-based violence against girls affects millions of adolescent girls worldwide. It is one of the worst manifestations of gender discrimination and violates a wide range of school girls' rights. Education is critical in empowering and transforming the lives of young people, especially girls, yet widespread gender-based violence in and around schools seriously undermines the achievement of quality, inclusive and equitable education for all

children. are deeply rooted in unequal gender relations, gendered social norms and discriminatory practices.

2.3 Forms of Gender Based Violence

2.4 Physical Violence

UNESCO, (2009), asserts that physical violence is the easiest form of violence to identify because usually there are physical findings to match it. Common forms describing physical violence and abuse in schools include, but are not limited to: physical bullying, physical threats and intimidation, physical assault, beatings, attacks with weapons, arson and theft, corporal and other physical punishments, Physical violence and abuse against students in schools can be perpetrated by adults including teachers and other school staff, as well as by students, against other students. Akiba (2002) also provides a similar assertion as he classified GBV into two overlapping categories; explicit gender (sexual) violence which includes abuse, assault, intimidation, rape and sexual harassment and implicit which includes bullying, corporal punishment, verbal and psychological abuse, teachers unofficial use of pupils for free labour, other forms of aggressive or unauthorized behaviour that is gender specific.

2.5 Sexual Violence

Coombe (2002) and Skinner (2001) in Shakafuswa (2007) recognize the important social responsibility that teachers hold as the next in line of defence for the child after the family. This is the position of trust; which scholars unanimously agree that the teacher has abused through inappropriate sexual behaviour. Human Rights Watch (2001) identifies girls as being the disproportionate victims of physical and sexual abuse at school and points to the serious discrimination girls suffer because of the tolerance of gender-based violence in schools. Scholars like Skinner (2001); Coombe (2002) and Mabula-Kankasa and Chondoka (1996), like many others who have written on sexual abuse, agree that these relations are characterized by unequal power relations and that the girls should not be viewed as consenting parties to the abuse. They recognize power-based factors such as fear, force and intimidation as being the main elements used by the teachers to ensure victim compliance and silence. However, that studies only concentrate on sexual abuse by teachers and within school premises.

UNICEF (2013), also revealed that sexual violence is not as easy to identify as physical violence. Often women do not show any signs of sexual assault either because they were unable to fight the aggressor or because they report the case late. Sexual violence takes the form of sexual abuse, harassment, rape or sexual exploitation in prostitution or pornography. It can happen in homes, institutions, schools, workplaces, in travel and tourism facilities, within communities, both in development and emergency contexts. Child sexual abuse occurs when the child is involved in sexual activity to which he or she is unable to give informed consent (and may not fully comprehend), or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or which violates the laws or social taboos of society. This is consistent with the findings of this study as it revealed various forms of sexual violence against school girls in school where it was conducted.

2.6 Psychological/Emotional Violence

UNESCO, (2014), described psychological violence as trauma to the victim caused by acts, threats of acts, coercive tactics when there has also been prior physical or sexual violence, or prior threat of physical or sexual violence. Humiliation, controlling what the person can and cannot do, withholding information, deliberately making the person feel diminished, isolation from family and friends, threatening loss of custody of children, smashing objects. It is worth stating that Psychological/Emotional Violence is one of the trickiest forms of violence to substantiate. It often co-exists with other forms of violence. There are also psychosocial forms of violence, which are also cruel and invariably degrading and therefore violate children's rights. These include abuse and punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child. Verbal abuse, name calling, taunting, 'eve teasing', gossiping and spreading rumours, being shouted at, cursed or spoken to with harsh words and social exclusion, among others, are common forms of psychosocial violence and abuse.

2.7 Global Context of GBV Against Girls.

2.7.1 Gender Based Violence Against Girls in Education and School Setting

As noted by the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, under the UN (1993) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, states were called upon to exercise due diligence in preventing, protecting and prosecuting violence against women and providing compensation to victims. The Declaration also went further by asking state governments to promote research, collect data and to compile statistics concerning violence against women, their causes and consequences.

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) towards school girls in the formal education settings is pervasive, worldwide and this makes the female learners continue to face many obstacles to learning, safety within the school. According to Dunne, (2003) and Leach (2001), Gender-Based Violence is one of the hindrances to achieving gender equity in schooling and it has negative implications for the quality of education especially among the girls. Reports from various studies on GBV have shown that the unsafe learning environment coupled with daily life experiences of GBV is among the many reasons that make girls to discontinue their studies or parents to refuse to enroll and keep their daughters in school Gordon, (1995) and Maimbolwa, (1995) and yet many studies have been written emphasizing the significance role played by women in a development of any nation. The UN Commission on Status of Women (2000) reported that at least one in three women and girls are beaten or sexually abused in their lifetime. In addition, UN Commission on Human Rights 37th Session reported that 36% of girls and 29% of boys have suffered child sexual abuse.

One of the great achievements that the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) is the publication of the 2009 Africa Women's Report whose theme is "Measuring Gender Inequality in Africa: Experiences and Lessons from the African Gender and Development Index". This study acknowledges that several global organizations like WHO, UNICEF, UN, UNESCO, World Bank, USAID and many others have championed GBV through sponsoring, financing and at times offering technical expertise. In addition, we are able to see the involvement of other cooperating partners in spreading the awareness and knowledge of GBV through the mass media and advances in electronic communication have made the flow of information more efficient and accessible. GBV being a global issue has brought us together

because it does not recognize state borders through it has its variations from society to society, nation to nation and continent to continent and the binding factor is usually they perpetrators are men and boys while the victims are women and girls.

Zambia too has benefited from these global organizations; WHO, (2001), studies that reviewed that globally women and girls experience GBV, UNIFEM, (1999) studies on prostitution, ritual or honour killings and female mutilation; World Conference on Education for All of (1990) whose focus was ensuring access and quality education for girls globally; and whose main focus is improving the life of women in the areas of health, education as World Bank, (2002) studies showed that educating girls is one of the best development investments a country can make. This is simply because Zambia is part of the world '*unity and oneness*'; what affects the Zambian women and girls directly or indirectly affects the whole world because we are living in the global village.

Dunne and Leach, (2003), further revealed that although not systematically documented or researched in many countries, studies on GBV indicate a prevalence of violence, sexual harassment and gender discrimination against girls in schools, where some discrimination is structurally embedded in the education curriculum itself and the perpetrator of violence and harassment are teachers as well as fellow male students. According to the African Child Policy Forum, violence is prevalent in the African school setting where students report physical, sexual and psychological abuse by their teachers or other students. According to research, "some 72% of school children in Ethiopia report to have been slapped while at school; 67% of school girls in Botswana were sexually harassed by teachers; and that 32% of reported child rape cases in South Africa were carried out by teachers. Benin case study identifies three types of school-based harassment; student to student, teacher to student and harassment that occurs on the way to and from school.

Dobash (2000) also added that harassment and behavior falling under these categories, includes "economically coerced sex, sexual harassment, demeaning language, and even assigning girls to perform domestic tasks at school while others study. Such abuse is coined as "gender-based violence," which captures a wide array of behavior that causes physical, sexual and psychological harm to the women and school girls. In the context of Benin, classifies sexual

harassment in two ways; Quid pro quo or transactional harassment, where something is offered in exchange for sex. The creation of an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment.

The Population Communication Africa, (2002), study revealed that harassment and violence affects school girls' academic performance resulting in decreased attendance, participation, and successful completion of primary or secondary education. In addition, gender based violence against girls results in low self-esteem and health issues such as unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and exposure to HIV/AIDS and other STIs for young girls. Additionally, barriers such as lack of sanitary facilities or resources and expulsion because of pregnancies are other manifestations of discrimination that affect school girls' ability to succeed in school. Even more unfortunate is the fact that victims and their parents do not often know that there are laws that protect them and they are fearful of disgrace hence they rarely come forward to bring the issue to law enforcement for fear of retaliation,

2.7.2 Root Causes of Gender Violence and Discrimination in Education

UNESCO (2009) report on Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education, revealed that some traditional thinking based on caste, religion and culture may prevent girls from attending school because their labour has always been seen as necessary at home, and education is viewed as promoting behavior unfavorable to girls' marital prospects. For example, in many parts of Asia, it is considered inappropriate for girls to be seen in public walking to school because of the distance or fear of assault. This is consistent with Munroe, (2001) study that argues that traditional views of what it means to be a woman and changing cultural and marital roles are causing woman conflict in their relationships with men.” One of the most challenging issues that the world is facing in the 20th century is the correct place of a woman in the family, community and the world over.

Most of the women are struggling to discover who they are “identity”. Whilst the identity crisis is going on, the women's personal expectations and the roles are changing in some nations. Meanwhile most of the men still want to hold on to the dominance they have enjoyed since time in memorial and want to impose certain standards of behaviour on them. Industrialization has brought with it the vocational opportunities, social challenges and changed most of the roles and function of a woman in a family and community.

Despite that both the sexes are doing the same jobs, women are still rewarded lowly as compared to their male counterparts. In addition to building up their careers, these women are expected to continue with their so-called gender roles of child rearing and household chores. The continued struggle over male/female roles and expectations has led to the misunderstandings, conflicts and unstable relationships between a man and woman. Most if not all the developed nation regard a woman as a competitor at the same time often expected to carry out some traditional roles of a wife and woman. In some cultures, women are just as valued as men, whereas in others women are as equivalent to a domestic servant or slave. A good example is women in Afghanistan who are being denied education, health care, employment and personal freedom, the woman in North America juggling a career and family, young girl in Kenya who has just contracted the AIDS virus Munroe, (2001). Despite United Nations international laws and treaties regarding the rights of women the language regarding these rights however, continue recurring and reemphasized signifying that discrimination against women and girls still exist even among those nations who have pledged to uphold the resolutions, Munroe, (2001).

Davies (2007), further revealed that some aspects of tradition and culture also support male domination. For example, boys are generally free to be educated, can work and move as they please, and are supported economically where necessary. In contrast, girls are socialized to believe that they are inferior to men, their role is to marry and procreate, and violence is used to enforce and perpetuate that status quo. This therefore entails that violence against girls is rooted in structural and institutional patriarchy and unequal power relations that exist worldwide and is a symptom of the larger problem of gender equality in society at large. Gender stereotypes in society works to corroborate ideas and beliefs of the position and worth of girls in society, and where not systematically addressed for example, through education, these attitudes continue to take form in discriminatory and violent behavior,

In the African continent, Brown, (2007), indicate that the sources of violence are rooted in the inequality and gender-role stereotyping that exist between men and women, as well as the overall subordination of women and girls in greater society. For example, in Ghana and Kenya's periodic review, the Committee on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women has expressed concerns about prevalence of patriarchal ideology with firmly entrenched stereotypes and persistence of deep-rooted norms, custom which discriminates against women.

Additionally, in the African context, social complacency and some general acceptance of violence as a form of discipline and traditional practices that support violence against women at large in society continue to exist.

Dunne, and Leach, (2003), report that as regards the scale of gender based violence against girls in schools and whether it regularly occurs in educational systems across the developing world is difficult to answer, given that this is largely uncharted territory. Akiba, (2002), study of school violence in 37 mostly industrialized nations found that it is certainly prevalent, while the six case studies provided by Ohsako (1997) all but one in the developing country category reported sharp increases in gender based violence particularly sexual abuse of school girls. However, there are limited surveys that specifically examine the scope of gender based violence against girls in schools and their abilities to seek legal assistance by reporting to relevant authorities. Most countries gather statistics on sexual assault and rape of children but their published statistics do not identify whether the victims are school children or where the rape took place.

Population Communication Africa, (2002), asserts that, given the school's role in the production and reproduction of forms of social relations and social control, it is not surprising therefore that GBV against school girls is endemic (regularly occurs) across the education sector in many countries including Zambia, but in more overt and aggravated forms in certain schools and locations particularly rural schools where they largely remain unreported to legal institutions leaving it unknown as to what extent the victims react to the abuse. As schools are not immune from social forces in the outside world, therefore increased poverty and unemployment, family disintegration, migration, AIDS, divorce etc. contribute to increased sexual violence against girls in schools. Most of the statistical evidence on GBV against school girls comes from sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the Kenya Gender Series briefing book on violence and abuse against women, men and children documents physical and sexual abuse throughout the life cycle and in all locations. According to Terefe and Mengistu in Ohsako, (1997), 20% of the 240 violent incidents reported in schools in and around Addis Ababa in 1996 were of rape and attempted rape on girls.

South African society is well known to have very high levels of violence, including rape. The Human Rights Watch report, (2001), entitled '*Scared at School*' has a wealth of statistics on rape but does not provide school specific data. It cites one research study which states that from

1996 to 1998, girls aged 17 and under constituted approximately 40% of reported rape and attempted rape victims nationally. A recent article in the UK medical journal *The Lancet* by Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga and Bradshaw, (2002), reported on a 1998 study of the frequency of rape among a nationally representative sample of 11,735 South African women aged 15-49: this found that, of the 159 women who had been the victims of child rape (under the age of 15), 33% had been raped by teachers. Young girls are increasingly targeted in locations where HIV/AIDS prevalence is high because they are seen to be free of the AIDS virus; the myth that sex with a virgin cures AIDS has led to the rape of very young infants.

Shumba, (2001), analyzed reported incidents of child abuse by teachers in Zimbabwe, covering sexual, physical and emotional abuse. On the basis of 246 reported cases of abuse by teachers in secondary schools between 1990 and 1997, 65.6% were cases of sexual intercourse by male teachers with girl pupils, 1.9% cases of rape or attempted rape and the remainder were cases of inappropriate male teacher conduct, writing love letters, fondling, kissing and showing pornographic material to girl pupils.

A survey in Ghana on violence against women and adolescent girls reported that 49% of the 481 adolescent girls surveyed had been touched against their will at some time in their lives, 12 % of the offenders being male pupils and 2% male teachers; 4% of sexual assaults on adolescent girls were by fellow pupils and 2% by male teachers Appiah and Cusack, (1999).

2.7.3 Effects of Violence on Girl's Quality of Education

In some societies gender discrimination and sexual violence against girls are the norm. According to an Action Aid study on violence that girls encounter in and around school carried out in more than 12 countries in Africa and Asia, much of the violence that girls experience is underreported for complex social and cultural reasons and therefore the depth of the problem is underestimated. Two countries exemplify these issues.

Other studies from sub-Saharan and from sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world have highlighted GBV in schools as one of the hindrance to girls increased educational participation for example Brenner (1998) in his talks of “girls trying to get too close to male teachers; Levitt, (1998) mention ‘a tiny minority’ of male teachers enticing girls for sexual

favours and of boys teasing girls who have rejected their sexual advances. This is also consistent with this study as it revealed that male learners and male teachers are the perpetrators of GBV against school girls. With all these alarming reports on explicit GBV, teachers, authorities in the education continue to frustrate the sensitization of such violence's against the girls in school. In addition, despite many studies of girls' education providing evidence of high levels of pregnancy and drop-out among girls few researches if any realize the link between sexual harassment and coercive or transactional sex.

Coombe, (2002), established that overall South African girls had better access to school than many of their counter parts on the continent; however, these girls were confronted with high levels of sexual violence and harassment in schools which impeded their access to education on equal terms with male students. Discriminatory intolerance of girls in leadership roles in school was evident by threats of sexual violence and actual harassment aiming to undermine girls' authority; for example, girls who performed well in school were often the target of harassment and assault.

In 2001, according to Human Rights Watch HRW, (2001), and other rights groups, South African girls reported they had been raped, sexually abused, harassed, and assaulted at school by teachers and male students. South African girls faced multiple forms of sexual violence including sexualized touching, emotional abuse through threats of violence and degrading sexual verbal abuse, while others reported being fondled, and receiving aggressive sexual advances. The HRW report indicates that girls were usually raped or harassed in school toilets, empty classrooms, hallways, dormitories and hostels, Amnesty International, (2006).

South African girls also reported psychological coercion, threats of physical violence or corporal punishment by teachers to engage in dating relationships, and in some instances teachers did not use force but abused their authority by giving money, love or better grades for these sexual favors, or relationships. Abusive teachers were reported to take advantage of the children in poverty to gain sexual favors, who out of fear are less likely to resist or complain when sexually harassed or propositioned, making them more vulnerable to assault.

Learning Brief (2012), argues that responses to the violence that girls report are largely inadequate because instead of receiving redress, girls who report these violations are often further traumatized by officials who respond with indifference, disbelief and hostility. The unfortunate consequences of such responses are that gender inequality is taught and learned. As a result, boys see the harassment and violence as the way things should be and girls come to accept sexual violence and harassment as simply things to endure in order to attend school. Some girls even reported certain forms of sexual assault and harassment occurred in the classroom with the teachers present, including attempts to kiss them, fondle with their breasts, raising their skirts, and trying to touch them under their skirts.

In 2005, South Africa had no national sources of data on school violence available and neither national nor provincial departments of education monitored incidents of violence in schools. When left unaddressed the violence creates a hostile learning environment, and girls are at times left with no recourse but to live with the fear and intimidation or drop out of school altogether. Learning brief study concludes that failure to prevent and redress these instances of violence in all its forms, operates as discriminatory deprivation of the right to education for girls' and violation of both international and domestic legal obligations.

Koyana and Bekker, (2012), observed that in Benin, the prevalence of transactional or coercive teacher-student sex, with teachers pressuring girls or bartering grades for sex, was similar to South Africa; this is considered the most troubling manifestation of the gender violence against girls in schools. Research showed that much of the gender-based violence in school was perpetrated by teachers against students in a transactional fashion and the harassment contributed to the intimidating environment by encouraging male teachers and students to act inappropriately with girls.

Leach, (2006), similarly noted that student-to-student harassment must not be ignored, but it is critical that the harassment by teachers be addressed. Teachers who engage in sexual misconduct have a systemic impact on the school environment and devaluing school/education in the communities' eyes, which is less likely to send their girls to school, while simultaneously providing boys with a negative role model. Wimble advocates for multi-sectoral effort including social mobilization, national policy and action plans and pressure under international treaty

bodies to transform schools (where violence is occurring) into safe spaces that encourage and foster participation and educational achievement by girls.

2.8 African Context of GBV Against Girls

Generally, in Africa GBV is very much reported from sub-Saharan Africa other than focusing in all the African countries. This is mainly attributed to the donor driven and lending programmes in sub-Saharan Africa, whose efforts targeted at poverty alleviation through improved health, education, and governance because of very high rates of HIV/AIDS ZDHS, (2007). Regarding explicit (sexual) violence, most of the studies from sub-Saharan Africa have focused almost exclusively on heterosexual relations and violence against girls and not much on violence against boys or against teachers. Some studies carried in Kenya on 30,000 male and female youth claimed to have had sex without a girl's consent before the age of 18 Dreyer, (2001). In addition, a report on pre-marital sex in Kenya showed that one third of 10, 000 girls were sexually abused while 40% reported that their first sexual encounter was forced (Mensch et al., 1999). Human Rights watch report (2001) entitle *scared at school* gave a wealth, statistics on rape in South Africa between 1996 and 1998, showing 40% of the under 17 years' girls were either raped an or suffered attempted rape.

The African Gender and Development Index (AGDI) seeks to invigorate gender statistical data collection in Africa a monitoring tool of progress being made in the implementing global, regional and sub-regional commitments on gender equality. The report also reported that the rights of women has been re-enforced through the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2005 under the auspices of the African Union (AU), Declaration of the Southern African Development Community on gender and Development (1997), the New Partnership for Africa's Development Community (2001), Solemn Declaration of African Heads of States on Gender Equality (2004) also enhance regional perspectives on women's rights. The African Women's Progress Scoreboard (AWPS) focuses on the following issues only; General state of Beijing platform for Action (BPfA) implementation; Domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, trafficking in women Article 27 of the African Charter on the Rights and welfare of the Child (African Women's report 2009: Measuring Gender inequalities in Africa) It was interesting to note that the above report too

acknowledged that Women's marginalization is deeply rooted in the historical, political and socio-cultural context of Africa's development..

2.8.1 Explicit (Sexual) Gender Based Violence against School Girls

As earlier stated, studies from sub-Saharan Africa have focused almost exclusively on heterosexual relations and violence against girls and have not investigated the incidence of violence against boys or against teachers. They have also addressed primarily the sexual abuse of female pupils by male teachers and male pupils. For example, Leach and Machakanja, (2000) and Leach, (2003) examined the abuse of junior secondary school girls by older boys, teachers and 'sugar daddies' in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi and found that there was a high level of sexual aggression school boys to school girls which went largely unpunished in the schools, and some cases of teachers propositioning girls for sex. This behaviour was largely tolerated and 'normalized. All three educational systems were characterized by a reluctance to take action against either teachers or pupils. Teachers downplayed or dismissed the suggestion that some teachers had sex with their pupils, although both male and female pupils talked about teachers offering to give girls high grades or gifts in exchange for sex. At the same, Akiba, (2002), however, stated that their study of 37 nations shows that gender based violence against girls in schools has more to do with in-school factors than crime rates in the wider society and there is reluctance among girls to report incidents GBV against them for fear of being blamed for having invited the abuse, being ridiculed or victimized e.g. a male teacher singling a girl out for beating in class because she turned him down, or threatening to fail her in tests and exams. Omale (1999) reported similar behaviour in schools and higher education institutions in Kenya, including incidents of rape on the way home from school, teachers found guilty of sex with primary school girls and in some cases impregnating them. She reminds us of the infamous Saint Kizito incident in 1991, in which boys went on the rampage through the girls' dormitories in the school, killing 19 girls and raping 71 others.

Hallam (1994) has also reported sexual harassment against school girls in the SSA region. It is important to note, however, that sexual violence in schools is not a new phenomenon. Niehaus (2000) documents the history of masculine sexuality as a political issue during the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and shows that sexual liaisons between male teachers and schoolgirls

were commonplace in the 1950s and continue today. Much supplementary evidence of sexual abuse comes from media coverage in a range of countries. The recent furor over sexual abuse by UN workers in refugee camps has further highlighted the issue.

Other studies from sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world have uncovered explicit gender-based violence against girls in schools as part of more general research into girls' education. It is interesting to note how the issue of sexual violence is raised: Brenner (1998) talks of 'girls trying to get too close to male teachers, Levitt, (1998) mention 'a tiny minority' of male teachers pressurizing girls for sexual favours and of boys teasing' girls who have rejected their sexual advances. The issue is dealt with largely as an 'aside' which is barely worthy of comment and the terms chosen to describe it appear to be an attempt to downplay its seriousness or suggest that the authors are too embarrassed to mention it. It is also of note that many studies of girls' education provide evidence of high levels of pregnancy and drop-out among girls but very few make the link with sexual harassment and coercive or transactional sex.

Some of the most interesting studies of adolescent violence are located outside the school setting within discussions of adolescent sexuality. For example, Wood and Jewkes (1998) study of violence in heterosexual relationships among pupils in a South African township found that physical assault, rape, and coercive sex had become the norm, making it very difficult for young women to protect themselves against unwanted sexual intercourse, pregnancy, HIV infection, and other sexually transmitted diseases. Masculine prowess was largely defined by numbers of sexual partners or claimed conquests, choice of main partner, and ability to control girlfriends. As a result, multiple sexual partners featured in intensely competitive struggles for position and status within the male peer groups. The boys clearly saw sex as their right and so forced sex was legitimate. Girls found it difficult to escape from violent relationships because of the status attached to being in a relationship and fear of reprisals. At the same time, in accepting this subordinate relationship, girls were showing themselves to be complicit in the construction of their own unequal gender

In Africa, cross-generational sexual relationships between young girls and much older men are commonplace and often involve transactional exchanges, Kurz, (2002); this tradition may blur the boundary between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in a school setting, especially as social norms regarding sex outside marriage are changing relations. Mensch, (1999), in a

study of pre-marital sex in Kenya, cite a report where one third of 10,000 girls reported that they were sexually active, of whom 40% said that their first sexual encounter was forced. A study by one South African NGO running a community project in Johannesburg, found that one in four adolescent men in a sample of 30,000 male and female youth claimed to have had sex without a girl's consent before the age of 18 Dreyer, (2001). The WHO, (2002), World Report on Violence and Health referring to studies in parts of Nicaragua, Peru, Indonesia, Tanzania, South Africa, Mexico, Zimbabwe and the UK, suggests that 'up to one-third of adolescent girls' report forced sexual initiation'.

Other studies on HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, Bennell, (2002), on Botswana, Malawi and Uganda; Mirembe and Davies, (2001), on Uganda have similar findings which expose adolescent sexual violence in schools. Beyond sub-Saharan Africa, the evidence of sexual violence is very sketchy. Save the Children in Nepal has worked with girls who reported being harassed by boys at school and subject to inappropriate touching by male teachers (including on the buttocks and breasts) and undoing of girls' brassieres. Save the Children Fund Report (1997) found that female students in Papua New Guinea fear sexual assault and violence in schools and in society generally, and feel threatened by male teachers' sexual advances and by unemployed youths on their way home from school. Evidence that teachers are not just the perpetrators of violence but also its victims comes from a USAID, (1999), report of girls' access to primary school in rural areas of North West Pakistan, where female teachers are frequently threatened or assaulted in the villages where they work and are frightened to leave the school. Some teachers were under pressure to marry local men who seek financial gain from the teacher's salary.

Human Rights Watch, (2001), revealed that the problem of teachers engaging in serious sexual misconduct with underage female students in Kenya was widespread. Teachers have raped, sexually assaulted, and otherwise sexually abused girls with threats of physical violence or corporal punishment. They have also sexually propositioned girls, and verbally degraded them using highly sexualized language. At times, sexual relations between teachers and students do not involve an evident use of force or threats; rather, teachers would abuse their authority by offering better grades or money to pressure girls for sexual favours or dating relationships. The report further revealed that factors contributing to occurrences of male teacher/ female pupil

sexual relationships in schools include the age of the girls and the nature of teacher/ pupil relationships coupled with societal factors such as social norms and poverty.

Kaluba, (2011), revealed that the chairman of the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) in Kenya reported in October, 2010 that more than 500 teachers were fired in the previous year as a result of professional misconduct that included flirting and sexual acts with students, including impregnating some young girls. In another development, a 2009/2010 government report revealed that at least 1,000 teachers had been dismissed from duty in that period for sexually abusing children. Similarly, a separate study conducted between 2003 and 2009 revealed that 12,660 girls were sexually abused by their teachers, yet only 633 teachers were charged with sexual offences. It was also observed with dismay that 90 percent of sexual abuse cases involving teachers never reached the TSC responsible for monitoring and implementing Teachers' Codes of Conduct. The commission was concerned with the increasing cases of physical, psychological, and sexual violence against pupils and recognized it as a violation of their human rights wherever it occurred whether in their homes, educational institutions, communities, or places of care. In view of that, the commission circulated a memo defining sexual abuse by teachers as „sexual intercourse, sexual assault, touching of a pupil's body which is of a sexual nature and any suggestive language or gesture. Any form of inducement, threats, or violence to force the pupils to engage in sexual intercourse, exposing pornographic material or any form of flirtation with or without consent also meant sexual abuse.

Nambakwe, (2010), revealed that the TSC established under the Act of Parliament in 1967 is mandated to recruit, employ, assign, and transfer teachers and exercise power conferred by the Commission on the code of regulation of teachers and not to register unsuitable persons as teachers. The Commission acts on behalf of teachers and protects the interest of pupils and upholds their rights.

The Centre for Rights Education and Awareness CREAM in Chege, (2007), states that cases of sexual violence in Kenyan schools were addressed through two main channels. Firstly, there is a disciplinary mechanism that is deployed by the TSC, the biggest employer of teachers in Kenya with a workforce of over 240,000 teachers. Secondly, there is the criminal justice system which involves the police and the courts of law. The TSC circular issued in April, 2010 states, among other measures, that it prohibits sending of pupils/students to teachers' houses for any reason

whatsoever. In addition, any teacher who at any given time has reasonable grounds to believe that sexual abuse has been committed against a pupil/student in their school, in any other school, or outside the school, must report such a case or suspicion to the head teacher, education officials, School Management Committees, Boards of Governors, Police or any organization working with Child Protection issues in the area and the TSC within 24 hours. Other measures include enforcing disciplinary action against any teacher, TSC employee or TSC agent who fails to report a case of sexual abuse, actual or alleged.

In Kenya, there are a lot of cases that the TSC has handled in the past, perhaps because of the two main channels of curbing the vice. The disciplinary mechanism often used by the TSC and the criminal justice system involves the use of police and the courts of law in sorting out reported cases of sexual relationships involving teachers and pupils. However, the measures employed are too punitive and not preventive enough as seen from the high number of disciplinary cases taken against the erring teachers. While there is a clause on reprimanding employees and teachers who fail to report cases of sexual relationships in schools, this is not enough as a correct measure to solve the problem.

Woods (2001), revealed that in neighbouring Botswana, a national gazette indicated that the sexual abuse of school girls by male teachers in the country was widespread. In a study of 800 students, of whom 422 were between 13 and 16 years old, 38% said that they had been touched in a sexual manner without their consent. Of the 17% who had sex with male teachers, 50 percent said they were forced.

Woods, (2001), cites poverty as one of the reasons that perpetrated the male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships in Botswana schools. The role of poverty in the sexual relationships was also highlighted by the report which indicated that 34% of the school girls said that they agreed to have sex in exchange for money to help them meet their daily needs.

Rossetti, (2013), revealed that 60% of secondary school students in Botswana were abused by their teachers. The government has, since independence in 1966, placed great emphasis on the value of education as access to schooling is regarded as a basic human right and a major contributor to economic growth and social progress. The country's code of conduct for teachers, produced in 1974 and never reviewed, is said to be silent on the matter of sexual harassment. The

Ministry of Education has no policy in place. There is also no procedure for lodging complaints within schools themselves. Under Botswana's centralized education system, reporting a case of sexual harassment would mean travelling hundreds of kilometers to the nearest regional education office. The matter, if followed up, would then be reported to the Teacher Service Management in the capital Gaborone. This means that sexual harassment in schools was regarded as 'essentially an unreported crime' in Botswana. However, in some cases guilty teachers are simply warned not to do it again, some are transferred to other schools where the practice continues. Until recently, the Ministry of Education had been accused of ignoring calls to intervene in schools.

The situation in Botswana where male teachers involved in sexual relationships with female pupils are merely warned not to repeat while others are just transferred to other schools, or asked to pay or marry the female pupils means that very little is done to bring out the ethical understanding of the problem. Transferring a victim means transferring the problem which is not the solution. Perhaps with the United States approach of holding workshops, seminar, and annual talks involving administrators, teachers, parents, and pupils emphasizing the building of positive attitudes and inculcating good morals, teacher/pupil sexual relationships in schools in Botswana could be minimized.

2.8.2 Implicit Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

There is a wide range of implicit gender based violence against girls in schools which is perpetrated by male teachers and school boys. Bendera, Maro and Mboya (1998), looked at gender and violence in selected primary schools in six areas of Tanzania, which included insults and verbal abuse on school girls. Bunwaree, (1999), found high levels of verbal abuse in schools against girls in Mauritius; this was also found by Leach and Machakanja, (2000), in Zimbabwe and was particularly prevalent among female teachers, who often preferred to use it rather than corporal punishment. Brenner, (1998), studied gender differences in classroom interaction in Levitt, (1998), examined factors affecting girls' participation in schooling in Guinea. Some studies have uncovered gender violence while investigating underachievement, e.g. Gordon (1995), in Zimbabwe, Dunne, Leach, (2003), in Botswana and Ghana. Terefe and Mengistu, (1997), look at violence in secondary schools in Ethiopia, and Human Rights Watch, (2001), in South Africa. With the exception of the latter, they are all small-scale studies. Despite these

studies being consistent with this study, they only concentrated on violence against girls within school locality.

Corporal punishment is the most widely reported form of implicit gender based violence against girls in schools and there are numerous studies and reports documenting its abuse worldwide. There is evidence of very widespread use of corporal punishment in many of the above reports. This is reported against girls even where it is banned e.g. in Zimbabwe Leach and Machakanja, (2000), and there are cases where teachers get student to give corporal punishment to another student, Levitt, (1998).

Beyond sub-Saharan Africa, reports of violence in schools exhibit only slight, if any, consideration of gender in the analysis and are largely interpreted within gender-blind frameworks of school discipline and security Ohsako, (1997), or of human or children's rights. A UNICEF overview of school corporal punishment in seven countries in South Asia in 2001 found examples of excessive forms of corporal punishment such as tweaking ears and slapping, and in Bangladesh and in Pakistan there were reports of children being put in chains and fetters. A 1998 government report in India cited in the UNICEF document cited above noted that physical and verbal abuse was often directed at lower caste pupils by higher caste teachers. The nexus of gender, age/authority relations (which is often further complicated by caste, socio-economic status, ethnicity etc. depending on the location and the circumstances is crucial to an understanding of the gendered nature of corporal punishment. A report by Kuleana, (1999), a children's rights organization investigating corporal punishment in seven schools in Tanzania offers some clues. The beating of girls was rationalized by a few of the girls and women interviewed as being part of their socialization into becoming respectful and obedient wives and mothers. Conversely, the harsh beating of male students by male teachers could be viewed both as performance of domination by an adult male in authority over a juvenile male in an inferior position, and as a juvenile male's initiation into adulthood. This latter interpretation is underscored by comments by (male) teachers and head teachers that corporal punishment can be used to 'toughen' them UNICEF, (2001).

It is precisely this 'coming-of-age' that makes some older boys contest a teacher's authority Kuleana, (1999), particularly a female teacher's, as gender takes precedence over authority Mirembe and Davies, (200), Dunne, Leach, (2003). Such performances of masculinity are also

evident in relations between students where the boys subject the girls to a range of physical and other forms of implicit violence. In parts of Africa, prefects too are often encouraged to enforce discipline in the absence of the teacher and to beat other students Kuleana, (1999), Bendera, (1998), Peer violence, especially through authority and gender relations, is condoned and discipline thus blurs with bullying. This is associated largely with student interactions, including male on female as well as older male student or boys in the lower classes. The absence of evidence of girl on girl violence presents girls as innocent victims, although they may in fact be complicit in such acts. Bullying takes a variety of forms including verbal and physical violence. Examples include the appropriation of space and resources in the classroom and school compound, the use of teacher time, boys shouting down girls trying to answer teacher questions and public ridicule. In Latin America bullying is manifest in extreme forms of violence e.g. gun culture and male gang conflict.

2.9 Zambian Context of GBV Against Women and Girls

The prevalence of physical and sexual violence against women and girls in Zambia is extremely high. A 2007 government survey reported that 47% of Zambian women had been the victim of gender based violence taking the form of physical violence at least once since the age of 15 and that at least one in ten women experienced sexual violence. In 2011, the Zambian Victim Support Unit (VSU), a unit of the Zambia police service responsible for responding to sexual offenses and other crimes against women and children, recorded 11,908 reports of gender-based violence, up from 8,261 in 2009. The actual occurrence of gender violence is almost certainly much higher due to the likelihood of underreporting. There has been a sharp increase in cases of defilement (statutory rape) reported to the University Teaching Hospital since 2008, from 1,237 cases in 2008 to 2,430 cases in 2010. Defilement cases reported to the VSU have also increased; from 1,676 in 2009 to 1,939 in 2011, WLSAZ, (2012).

School girls encounter GBV taking the form of sexual violence in many areas of life in Zambia. Family members, often uncles or cousins, but sometimes fathers as well, are the perpetrators of such violence. The WLSAZ, (2012), research further reveals that many girls volunteered that they had experienced gender based violence. Two girls had been raped, one by a stranger and one by a boy in her community; one girl had watched her uncle attempt to rape a cousin; and 21 girls reported unwanted touching or grabbing in public. As discussed at length in this report, girls

also face the threat of sexual violence from teachers and fellow students at school. Moreover, the media is filled with reports of rapes and killings of women, conveying a message to girls that they are constantly at risk of gender-based violence.

The widespread occurrence of sexual violence against women reflects power imbalances between the genders and often serves to perpetuate male power and control. According to one recent study, social constructions of masculinity in Zambia emphasize aggression and sexual conquest. A man is typically viewed as the head of his household and may subject his wife or other women to violence in asserting his position, especially when he believes that his position has been undermined. Furthermore, social norms influence how a victim and community respond to gender based violence; for example, some community members may blame women and girls for the sexual violence they experience, arguing that they were acting or dressing in a provocative way. Gender based violence against school girls has serious and far-reaching consequences for survivors' health and education, in addition to its societal costs such as the costs of medical care and reduced economic production. Up to this far, it is still not known the extent to which school girls who fall victim to gender based violence react to report their experiences to make use of Anti-Gender Based Violence Act legal system to have their problem addressed.

Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) – Africa, (2011), revealed that the Zambian law classifies sex with anyone under 16 as defilement and punishable by a prison term of up to 25 years. There are many pupils below 16 years who engage in sexual intercourse with their teachers. Though this constitutes defilement, it is not always seen in that way by teachers. There are many unreported defilement cases going on in Zambian schools.

In Zambia, issues surrounding male teacher- female pupil sexual relationships have been perpetrated in the primary and secondary schools. In many cases, sexual harassment and impregnating of school girls by male teachers have been exposed in the media with some cases ending up in the courts of law. According to the Zambian disciplinary code and procedure for handling offences in the public service, sexual harassment encompasses seductive, sexual bribery, sexual threat or coercion, sexual imposition and rape Service Commission, (2003).

Shakafuswa, (2010), conducted a study entitled „Sexual Abuse of School Girls by Male Teachers in four Secondary Schools in Zambia in the Period 2000-2003. The main thrust of the study was to gain an insight into the actual nature of abuses that female pupils are subjected to by their male teachers and to examine the protective measures taken by schools and the government in that regard. The study further sought to establish the perpetrated defilement of school girls younger than 16 by male teachers. It was also the objective of his study to see whether colleges adequately prepared would-be teachers for their responsibilities in schools by sensitizing and equipping them with essential knowledge of appropriate gender relations with female students. However, the study did not assess the findings ethically.

The issue of the age of consent being a statutory matter as laid down by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is commonly followed. But even without the issue of age of consent, a pupil aged over 16 years in Zambia remains a pupil, and as, such ethics need to be inculcated in teachers and pupils if the situation is to come to a stop.

Likando, (2014), revealed that issues concerning male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships have reached alarming levels to an extent of even administrators in the teaching profession indecently assaulting pupils. A male head teacher in Mazabuka was arrested by police on November 29, 2013 and charged with one count of indecently assaulting a grade nine girl of the same school contrary to the laws of Zambia. The magistrate said that teachers in Mazabuka district were increasingly indulging in sexual activities with their pupils, and that they would face the wrath of the law for abusing their powers.

Chikumbi, (2014), revealed that the Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia (BETUZ) bemoaned the increasing number of teachers having sexual relationships with pupils in the country. The General Secretary said Luapula Province was leading in terms of reports involving teachers engaged in various sexual offences with pupils and attributed this to promiscuity among male teachers. The General Secretary further stated that the union had already lined up activities aimed at sensitizing teachers across the country on various sexual offences against pupils and on why male teachers should completely avoid sexual offences against girls in schools.

ZANIS, (2012), revealed that male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships are on the rise and some happen in uncalled for circumstances. For example, on Wednesday May 18, 2012 around

22: 00 hours, a 20-year old pupil from Chibolele Primary School in Ndola died after being stoned by an attacker who found her having sex with her teacher aged 24 within the bushes of Chipulukusu Township. The two were making love when an unidentified killer pounced and attacked them with stones. The teacher managed to run to safety while the pupil was killed on the scene.

The University of Zambia acknowledges that sexual harassment is an emerging phenomenon in educational institutions from primary and secondary schools through to tertiary colleges and universities whose implications are varied. The more obvious implications include: emotional disturbance, psychological trauma, strained relationships and hostile environment which leads to poor work performance or academic output and achievement, or impaired academic progression on the part of the students The University of Zambia: Sexual Harassment Policy, (2009).

Tsai and Wagner, (1978), observed that sexually abused school female pupils tend to show peculiar behaviours and signs. Some of the long-term effects of sexual abuse that can be listed include depression, self-destructive behaviour, anxiety, feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem and difficulty in trusting others.

Cornell Law School in collaboration with Women and Law in Southern Africa- Zambia, (2012), found that sexual abuse by teachers, fellow students, or community members has serious negative consequences for girls' education and health. As a result of sexual violence, girls may experience sexually transmitted diseases, early pregnancy, injury, or death from unsafe abortions, depression, and anxiety. The girls are also more likely to have difficulty concentrating on their studies. Some pupils have been transferred to other schools to escape harassment while others have dropped out of school because of pregnancy. In spite of government's re-entry policy that requires schools to readmit girls once they have given birth, many girls who leave school never return either due to lack of supportive structures and high levels of stigma among fellow pupils and teachers.

Chuulu, (2001) in Sakala, (2012), insisted that, sexual violence against children may lead to serious lack of confidence, exposure to STIs including HIV and AIDS, mistrust of adults which

affect child future development, school drop-outs, unwanted pregnancies, promiscuity, prostitution and seductive behaviour towards members of the opposite sex.

Holme, (2007), revealed that *Vesico fistula* is a consequence that can arise due to undeveloped reproductive system. The study found that *vesico-vaginal* fistula is prevalent among underage girls who start to bear children before their physical development is complete. The pelvic would not have developed to allow easy passage of babies. More obstetric fistulae occur in areas where early marriages and pregnancy before pelvic maturity is attained. Furthermore, the study stated that only one previous study on fistulae in Zambia has been published and it reported that one-quarter of women were teenagers, 37.6% were primigravidas and the cure rate was 59.1%. In addition, Mwale, (2014), revealed that sexual harassment can have negative effects on the individual, in both the short and long term, as those harassed may experience illness, humiliation, anger, loss of self-confidence and psychological damage. It may also lead to workplace problems such as decreased performance, low morale, and higher absenteeism. Fonseka, (2001), established that physical and sexual abuse of school girls by male teachers in Zambian Schools was on the increase and that girls even as young as 13 years old were targeted. The study also revealed that in the year 2000, 11 male teachers were dismissed for flirting, impregnating, and physically abusing school girls in 2000.

In February 2006, only three months before the Zambian government ratified the African Union's Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, a young school girl was calculatingly raped by her greatest authority figure, her own school teacher. The minor and her guardian sued the teacher along with the school and the Zambian Ministry of Education in the year 2007, achieving a first ever court victory in Zambia on June 30, 2008. During the case, presiding Judge, Philip Musonda, delivered a judgment in the High Court of Zambia in which the victim was awarded K45 million (about \$13, 000) as compensation Museka, (2008). The Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED), dedicated to eradicating poverty in Africa through the education of girls and the empowerment of young women, is an international NGO which was started in 1993. Using a platform of Education for all, CAMFED recently released the Child Protection Policy updated on April 2008 which recognizes that, girls are especially vulnerable to abuse and that they require special protection" Chiwama, (2008).

In 2009, a Chadiza Boarding Secondary School teacher was suspended after he was allegedly caught having sex with a Grade 12 female pupil. Chadiza District Education Board Secretary (DEBS) confirmed the development to Zambia National Information Services and added that the teacher was asked to stay away from work pending disciplinary action. It was alleged that the named teacher had been stalking a female pupil for a long time and that she had reported to the school matron who did nothing about it ZANIS, (2012).

Kabwe District Education Board Secretary suspended a teacher for impregnating a Grade 12 pupil at Highridge Secondary School. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) child rights officer and gender focal point person condemned the teacher's behaviour, calling it an infringement on the child's right to education. The focal point person contended that the teacher is a duty bearer and has a responsibility of ensuring that the child's right to education is promoted and protected. Human rights are indivisible. One cannot promote a child's right to development without the child's right to education. By impregnating a pupil, the teacher violated the child's right to education. It is unethical for teachers to engage in sexual relationships with their pupils and the law does not permit teachers to have sexual relationships with learners The Post, 15th May, (2013).

Male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships in schools have continued unabated. Zambia Reports (2014) stated that on 27th May, 2014, a 35-year-old primary school teacher at Ndola's Dola Hill Primary School was arrested for allegedly defiling a 13-year-old grade seven pupils of his school. Mwanza, (2014), in an article carried out in the Post Newspaper entitled, *Teachers: Touching Pupils Minds, Hearts*, revealed that the ability to reach out to the children's emotional or social lives requires teachers to relate with pupils in a special way. This means that teachers ought to possess skills and tools that would enable them develop a relationship of helping the pupils and not of sexually abusing or harassing them. Male teachers need to develop a relationship with female pupils to help them improve academically by emotionally motivating them.

Cornell Law School and Women and Law in Southern Africa- Zambia, (2012), revealed that sexual violence against girls in schools had received increased attention from the Zambian government which had taken important steps to address the problem. For example, the Ministry

of Education has banned teachers from conducting private tuitions in their homes and has collaborated with Non-Governmental Organizations that have instituted promising programmes aimed at empowering school girls to protect themselves against sexual violence. In 2011, the Zambian Parliament enacted two important pieces of legislation, the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act and the Education Act which provided heightened protection and support for girls who experience school-based sexual abuse.

In a similar context, Zambia has taken steps to prevent and protect citizens from sexual harassment at work places, learning institutions and other sectors of society. Apart from the laws governing employment relations like the Employment Act, Industrial and Labour Relations Act and Employment of Young Persons and Children Act prohibiting discrimination, there is a separate head of liability for harassment with regard to sexual offences which criminalize sexual harassment Mwale, (2014). The Zambian Penal Code is the primary instrument applied by courts against perpetrators of sexual violence. There are provisions in the Penal Code that criminalize rape, attempted rape, and defilement. The prescribed punishment for these offenses is severe, with maximum terms of life imprisonment for each. However, the law on defilement only applies to sexual relations with a child under the age of 16 which is inconsistent with the definition of a child under international law as under the age of 18 CRC, (2005).

Although, measures against male teachers who sexually abuse female pupils in schools are punitive and have for a long time been used and enforced, yet male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships continue unabated. There are laws against the perpetrators of sexual abuse and measures have also been put in place to regulate activities that lead to these sexual relationships in schools. It is paramount that male teachers and female pupils are ethically trained on how they ought to relate towards one another as opposed to what they should not do. Shakafuswa, (2010), recommended replicating in all Teacher Training Colleges what David Livingstone College of Education was doing in training primary school teachers by equipping the trainees with skills on how to deal with wider issues of gender and development. The skills here include appreciating the dangers of gender stereotyping, violence, harassment, and sexual abuse of women and children.

In Zambia, there are no clear-cut measures put in place aimed at preventing male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships in schools although the measures employed in Kenya of using the two channels is what is prevailing in Zambia. Leaving the issues to the Zambian Teaching Service and Judiciary to take action is not offering a lasting solution to the problem. If the South African system from the Department of Basic Education could be adopted and followed, such cases would probably be minimized. Pupils, teachers, parents and all other educational authorities should be involved and sensitized, for then everyone would speak with one voice aimed at avoiding the occurrence of these cases in schools. If education on how to make ethical decisions is to start from the homes where the pupils come from and then continued in churches, schools would just supplement this. The code of ethics in place in Zambia is too general and lacks specific reference to the teaching profession.

In all the studies and related literature on the teacher/pupil sexual relationships in schools, there are commonalities in the nature and extent of the vices. Male teachers abuse the female pupils by forcing them to get into relationship with them to satisfy their sexual desires by the use of authority over them. Female pupils have also been observed to entice male teachers to get into these relationships by the use of suggestive language and gestures, touching, sitting posture and unusual closeness to these teachers. Most influences of male teacher/ female pupil sexual relationships are common. However, it is not correct to conclude that poverty is a necessary factor. Certain female pupils come from well to do families and they have all that is required for their education but they still engage in sexual relationships with male teachers.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

2.10.1 Feminist Theory

In search for a theoretical framework on gender based violence against school girls this study focused on feminist theory with particular reference to womanist theory. Feminist theory comprises a diverse body of research in a variety of disciplines which share certain features. Feminist Theory developed out of a Social American Women's' movement whose roots can be traced in the early 18th century. Mary Wollstone Crofts' vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792 is considered as the first manifesto of a conscious political Feminism. Thus, in the 19th

century, the movement had begun to look at women's status and to seek legal protection in case of oppression.

Up to 1970's, research and explanations for gender based violence typically blamed the victim Merrill, (1996). With the growth of the feminists' movement in the United States, feminists have focused on helping women raise their awareness of ascribed gender roles and oppressive social status through social action. According to this theory, gender based violence is a manifestation of gender-based oppression, which promotes rigid family and societal roles, thereby limiting economic opportunity for women.

The main aim of the diverse body of research in feminist theory is to investigate women's experiences in society. Women are the central subject in the investigative process and feminist theorists seek to see the world from the distinctive vantage point of women in the social world. The feminist school of thought is critical and activist on behalf of women, thereby seeking to produce a better world for them. Most feminists characterize contemporary societies as patriarchal, that is, dominated by men, the primary source of female exploitation is by man rather than by other factors such as class, Lorber (2000).

Feminist theories focus on violence against women; in this study school girls, as young women, identify patriarchal structures which reinforce gender based inequalities of power in society as the root cause of the problem. Giddens, (2004), relates gender to power in an overarching theory of gender relations which integrates the concepts of patriarchal and masculinity. Patriarchy requires violence or a subliminal threat of violence against women and girls to maintain itself. Children who grow up in patriarchal societies learn a variety of control tactics designed to control women and girls from an early age and boys tend to live up to stereotypical roles expected and cherished in a patriarchal society. Gender based violence is thus a natural consequence of women's and girls' second class status in society, Brown, (2007).

According to Parker, (2013), dominantly patriarchal African countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia and others do not well receive feminist thought. In light of this, womanist discourse is deemed appropriate to a study of gender based violence against school girls. Womanism focuses specifically on issues facing African women in the light of multiple oppressions based on their cultural, personal and social context, which differ significantly from those women who have not

suffered racial and gender oppression. The discourse acknowledges the uniqueness of each African woman's journey as it has been affected by many complex interlocking hierarchies including slavery, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, Lewis, (2010). Womanist epistemology is grounded in the belief that concrete experience are criteria of meaning and that dialogue is essential in assessing knowledge of women's lives. Therefore, essential to use womanism as theoretical framework in studies which would affirm on and rearticulate the lived experiences of African women and promote cultural awareness of gender in African context.

Womanism affirms African values such as family centeredness community building, mothering, nurturing and spirituality and acknowledges the unity of sexes on which community building and collaboration hinges rather than the individuality of sexes, Alexander Floyd (2006). According to Ferguson, (2011), in a traditional communal sense, womanism is concerned with both African Women and Men. It addresses the solidarity of humanity in that a womanist is committed to the survival and wholeness of the entire community, both male and female and actively oppose separatist ideologies. Further, womanism recognises that men are an integral part of women's lives as their children, partners and family members. Womanist framework advocates unity allegiance and a bias towards those values that bring promise and renewal to the African Community. Moreover, womanism seeks to carefully assess the negative experiences of women and highlights the right to describe and use personal stories of women suffering domestic different forms of gender based violence, Walker, (2003).

Therefore, the phenomenological qualitative approach to the study of abused school girls was framed within the context of the influence of feminism. Feminist research explores realities and experiences of women, Townsend, (2008), and Hartsock, (1998). Hence, this study investigated school girls as young women who were or had been victims of gender violence.

The diverse feminist perspectives include: radical, liberal and Marxist/socialist perspectives Cooper, (2008). However, for the purpose of this study, the feminist perspective was based on the common conviction that cuts across the various perspectives, that is, a commitment to investigating the experiences of women in society and to try to view the world from the perspective of women. Since a feminist theory places women at the center within their respective contexts, Hooks, (2000), school girls' experiences of gender based violence were central to this

investigation. The feminist approach afforded school girls as young women a safe realm within which to tell their stories and in so doing validated and empowered them.

Since feminism is grounded in the reorientation of the study of gender based violence through the inclusion of women's experiences in every part of social life Mesatywa, (2009), this study takes a feminist spirit in that it has given voice to school girls by letting them describe and evaluate their own experiences of gender based violence from their own perspectives.

The feminist perspective entails a critique of patriarchy, Hooks, (2000). In the 1970s, feminists spoke of patriarchy as the master pattern in human history, a system of operation where males dominated all aspects of life, that is, culture, the economy, communication, kinship and sexuality Tsai, (2007). Patriarchy is the institutionalization of men's power over women within economical, religious, social, political and marital relations Para, (2010).

As described by Hooks, (2000), patriarchy favours men at the expense of women since males as a group have and do benefit the most from patriarchy, from the assumption that they are superior to females. Seen from the context of the preceding conceptions of patriarchy, one would view patriarchy as a system characterized by male dominance and subordination of females. Because patriarchy is based on male dominance, it is hegemonic in nature, subjugating women and silencing them. This study's thrust to allow school girls space to speak, to share their experiences of gender based violence, makes it feminist. In keeping with the feminist approach which treats women as subjects and not objects Hooks (2000), this study was done not on school girls but with school girls whose participation served as co-creators of knowledge.

The feminist approach, regardless of orientation, is a challenge to existing theoretical perspectives by re-examining old materials and concepts in terms of gender and power relations Miller, (2009). Irrespective of what form it assumes, feminism is grounded in the realization that society is constructed in ways that underprivilege women Nkealah, (2009). Viewed from a feminist perspective, patriarchy lays a fertile ground for the abuse of women, Partab, (2011), The feminist theory is critical in explaining violence against women which is a primary concern of this study. In light of this, violence against women, in this case, gender based violence against school girls, is a matter of male power over women Puhala, (2011). The control-over component gives patriarchy a propensity to violence Tracy, (2007). While women are also initiators of

gender based violence, gender parity is non-existent when it comes to violence. The point is reiterated by Sisselman, (2009), who acknowledges that men are also evidently victims of domestic violence but the most common victim and the most socially injured party is usually a woman.

Many cultures sanction men's right to control their wives' behaviour with the effect that those women who are viewed as disobedient or challenging may be subjected to punishment, Yigzaw, (2010). In view of men's 'monopoly of violence, Maluleke and Nadar, (2002), suggest that violence is a factor that is common to all women when they assert that nothing is more common, resilient and widespread in the cultures of the world than violence against women. This study's consideration of school girls as victims of violence in a patriarchal culture renders it feminist in nature.

According to the feminist theory, patriarchy is the ultimate cause, the overarching construct which ultimately engenders violence against women, Tracy (2007). Seen from this perspective, gender based violence against school girls is at the heart of patriarchal relations of oppression. As Mesatywa, (2009), puts it, within the African context, patriarchy shapes the construction and perpetuation of African women's oppression. Violence against women epitomises male abuse of power and privilege Nkealah, (2009). In the private sphere of the family, patriarchy asserts power through the control of women which may be social, economic, as well as shaming and blaming, Rakoczy, (2005).

Feminism seeks to fight the domination and oppression of women by social patriarchal structures that promote male chauvinism. From a feminist perspective, violence against women is a critical tool in the maintenance of male hegemony; it is the means by which the patriarchal requirements of conformity and obedience are extended to women and enforced, Partab, (2011).

The patriarchal nature of society has a religious basis. The Ultimate Being, designated variously as God, Allah, Brahman, Mwari, or by some other name, is depicted as having given the male the prerogative to rule the female. Within almost all religious traditions, based on written scriptures, there is a justification of patriarchy. Major religions are accused of silencing the voice of women who, according to them, should only be seen and not heard Morgan, (1999). In this connection, Gage, (1893), cited in Morgan, (1999), argues that the history of most religions,

Christianity included, has been constructed upon an entire structure of sexual inequality and comprehensive female disempowerment. In view of this history, feminism seeks to expose the male centeredness of existing scriptural interpretations. By affirming that women are the victims of violence in religious as well as social contexts, this study can best be understood as having a feminist orientation.

Abusive men often explicitly or implicitly cite male headship and female submissiveness to justify their abuse, arguing that their wives are responsible for the abuse because they were not submissive Ogland, (2011), puts it, beating of wives occurs because a husband feels that he is superior to the wife. Within the framework of Christianity this dominance approach seems to emanate from the religious teaching that wives should submit to their husbands who are the household heads, Tracy, (2006). Since wives ought to be submissive in everything to their husbands, batterers feel permitted to mete out punishment to their wives for perceived misbehavior, Chirawu, (2006). Considering that the misogynous treatment of women is rooted in culture and reinforced in theology and ministry, adequate ministry on gender based violence requires a theological reconstruction in a feminist vein. The connection between feminist theology as liberation theology and the alleviation of violence against women can be extrapolated from the preceding argument. This study assumed a feminist liberation stance as it provided abused school girls with a platform to share their experiences.

Until the latter part of the 20th century, gender based violence was not consistently prosecuted because of “patriarchal presuppositions” Tracy, (2006), because it was considered a private affair whose publicity threatened the integrity of the patriarchal family. Today, gender based violence is a punishable offence in many countries Nawaz, (2008). The Zambia’s Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011 was put in place to protect the victims, mostly women. As women are often treated as second-class citizens in society in general and in the family in particular, the Act was largely intended to assist in curbing the systematic violent conditions experienced by women in the domestic sphere. The putting in place of the Act is in keeping with the feminist analysis of the law which includes presenting gender based violence as a public issue that needs to be treated as a public crime rather than a private problem which requires private solutions.

As suggested by Campbell and Wasco, (2000), feminist research is premised on the understanding that women’s life stories are important and that women should be given the

opportunity to tell their stories. Given that a feminist methodology gives the researcher the flexibility to relate to female participants in subjective ways from their own perspective, the methodology empowered participants by giving them the opportunity to tell their stories.

All in all, the feminist perspective on female subservience and patriarchy provided an appropriate framework for studying school girls' experiences of gender based violence. Using the feminist framework and capturing the essence of the experiences of abused school girls formed the gist of this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOLDODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

While the previous chapter was discussing the literature related to this study, this chapter explores the methodological approaches underpinning the study. The chapter addresses the key methodological areas that include among others, the research design, Sampling design, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection and analysis, the ethical considerations, data validation and reliability.

3.2 Research Design: Phenomenological Study

This is purely a qualitative study. Qualitative research is naturalistic in nature and attempts to study everyday life of different groups of people and communities in their natural setting; it is particularly useful to study educational settings and processes Creswell, (2007). Qualitative research involves an interpretive approach to its subject matter; it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret and describe the phenomena in terms of the meaning people make. Chambliss and Schutt, (2013), asserts that qualitative research goes straight to where people live and die. Qualitative methods refer to several distinct research activities; participant observation, intensive interviewing, and focus groups, Chambliss, and Schutt, (2013).

This study therefore used a qualitative phenomenological approach as a research design. Phenomenology can be defined as the exploration and description of phenomena, where phenomena refer to things, concepts or experiences as human beings experience them Robert (2003). Any object, event, situation or experience that a person can see, hear, touch, smell, taste, feel, know, understand, or live through is a legitimate topic for phenomenological investigation. This study focuses on the phenomenology of school girls' experiences of gender based violence.

In a phenomenological study four clear set of procedures and techniques; are presented. (1) identifying the phenomenon in which the phenomenologist is interested; (2) gathering descriptive accounts from respondents regarding their experience of the phenomenon; (3) carefully studying the respondents accounts with the aim of identifying any underlying commonalities and patterns; and (4) presenting results, in the form of scholarly presentation, Robert, (2003). Whatever the particular phrasing, the common assumption is that the individual

descriptive accounts, when carefully studied and considered collectively, reveal their own thematic meaning and organization of data.

Creswell, (2012) posits that phenomenological design is a descriptive and interpretive study of how individuals experience and understand a phenomenon. Methodological possibilities include the researcher participating and conducting in-depth interviews with the person or group having the experience, or carefully watching and describing the situation supporting or related to the experience Creswell, (2012). The study benefits from the design's ability to use different methods of data collection techniques such as interviews, focus group discussion and observations Creswell, (2012). The Phenomenological study approach arose out of the desire to comprehend social phenomena in both their complexity and "natural" context.

Phenomenology explores the unique meanings of any human experience or phenomenon. It also offers the opportunity for participants to describe the subject of study in their own words and to do so largely on their own conditions. They may express views, give words to their experiences and describe events and situations Bassey, (1999). Likewise, with the use of various observation methods, extended descriptions of behaviour, knowledge and artefacts can be obtained. The information gained is not limited to preconceived questions and categories, and as a consequence can provide rich and detailed data that leads to focused descriptions of a given phenomenon in the social world.

The use of phenomenological research approach was helpful in selecting sites and participants with varied backgrounds and experiences on gender based violence against school girls, the venture which added validity to the study. Additionally, a phenomenological study was seen suitable for this study because of its usefulness in facilitating the understanding of complexity of gender based violence against school girls as a social phenomenon. The approach also allowed the study to investigate critically and retain the holistic characteristics of the real-life events with full utilisation of a variety of evidence

The intention of this study was therefore to use the phenomenological study approach to present an in-depth description of school girls' experiences of gender based violence.

3.3 Sampling and Sampling Procedures

Sampling is a process of selecting a portion of the population that conforms to a designated set of specifications to be studied, Creswell, (2012). A sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study Creswell, (2012). When addressing the issue of selection of the research sites, Bogdan & Bikle, (2003) mentions that the researcher scouts for possible places and people that might be subjects of sources of data.

3.4 Homogenous Purposive Sampling

The study used homogeneous sampling because it intended to select certain sites or people who possessed a similar trait or characteristic. In homogeneous sampling the study purposefully samples individuals or sites based on membership in a subgroup that had defining characteristics Cresswell, (2012). Homogeneous sampling is a purposive sampling technique that aims to achieve a homogeneous sample; that is, a sample whose units, for example, people, cases, and others share the same or very similar characteristics or traits for example, a group of people that are similar in terms of background, occupation, practice, beliefs and others, Cresswell, (2012).

A homogeneous sample is often chosen when the research questions used were specific to the characteristics of the particular group of interest. Homogenous sampling was therefore used to handpick secondary school administrators District Education Board Officials to help illuminate the purpose of the study. Cresswell (2012), ascertains that purposeful sampling is a non-random or non-probability method of sampling where the researcher selects “information-rich” cases for an in-depth study. This means that information-rich secondary school administrators and District Education Board Officials in this case were those from whom one could learn a great deal about issues of central importance for the purpose of this study on school girls’ experiences of gender based violence. Two (2) DEB Officials were handpicked from two districts, that is Luampa and Kaoma districts, four (4) school administrators from the four schools where the study was conducted and four (4) members of the community who were either a member of the school board or PTA committee from each of the communities where the school was located with the hope that they were conversant with school girls’ experiences of gender based violence

Homogeneous sampling was also used to select secondary school girls. The study targeted those girls who were once a victim of gender based violence, or were still experiencing it, and those

who knew or were aware of their friend or friends who once suffered gender based violence or were still experiencing it. The study used school girls who volunteered and were available as participants for the focus group discussion. This was done through open invitation to all those girls with the characteristic described above. Seven (7) secondary school girls from each of the four secondary schools where the study was conducted were selected, giving a total of twenty-eight (28) girls who participated in the study. The study had four (4) focused group discussions with a total of twenty-eight (28) secondary school girls as participants.

3.5 Sample Size

The study focused on two (2) DEB offices, that is Luampa DEB and Kaoma DEB, four (4) secondary schools, that is Luampa secondary school, Kaoma secondary school, Mbanyutu secondary school and Mulamatila secondary school and the four (4) communities where the four school were located. Twenty-eight (28) secondary school girls seven (07) from each of the four secondary schools, four (4) school administrators, one (01) from each of the four secondary schools, two (2) DEB officials, one (01) from each of the two districts and four (4) members of the communities.

3.6 Delimitation

The study concentrated on school girls' experiences of gender based violence in their communities, on their way to and from school and within school premises. The study was restricted to four secondary schools in two districts of western province of Zambia.

3.7 Limitation

One of the limitations of this study is that the findings and conclusions cannot be generalized due to its small sample size that was based on four secondary schools in two districts of western Zambia and 38 participants. The findings and conclusions of this study are only a reflection of GBV in schools and communities where the study was conducted.

3.8 Data Collection Techniques

The following techniques were used to collect data for the study: One-on-one interviews with DEB officials, school administrators and members of the communities, focused group discussions with secondary school girls.

3.8.1 One-On-One Interviews with School Administrators, DEB Officials and Members of The Community

According to Schostok, (2010), an interview can be described in terms of individuals directing their attention towards each other with the purpose of opening up the possibility of gaining an insight into the experiences, concerns, interests, beliefs, values and knowledge of the respondents. Hence, it can be said that an interview is a one-on-one directed conversation with an individual using a series of questions designed to elicit extended responses Schostok, (2010). Because this method allows one to probe for greater depth or explanation, simple yes or no questions or fixed-response questions are typically not ideal. Interviews allowed participants to express their thoughts using their own words and organization and thus were particularly valuable for gaining insight. The study used open-ended questions with a combination of semi-structured and unstructured questions with school administrators, DEB officials and members of the community.

3.8.2 Focused Group Discussion with School Girls

A focused group discussion is described as a structured group process used to obtain detailed information about a particular topic. A focused group normally includes 6-12 members who are homogenous in terms of their socio-demographic features with a session lasting between 1-1½ hours with two hours being the absolute maximum time Creswell, (2012). A group facilitator keeps the discussion on track by asking a series of open-ended questions meant to stimulate discussion and also creates a thoughtful, permissive atmosphere, provides ground rules and sets the tone of the discussion Schostok, (2010). This technique was used on school girls to obtain their experiences and perceptions of gender based violence.

This approach was vital because it allowed the collection of data which reflected the experiences, attitudes, values and opinions of the participants and created an open and free atmosphere to allow participants to empty their opinions, experiences and values on gender based violence This approach helped the study to probe for clarification and solicit greater detail, allowing the collection of more insights on the subject of discussion which was useful in the data analysis stage.

3.9 Qualitative Data Analysis

Data analysis in a qualitative study refers to data reduction, display and conclusions and verifications of information collected in the field Boyatzis, (1998). After data, have been collected, reduced and displayed, analytic conclusions may begin to emerge and define themselves more clearly and definitively.

Being a study that relied much on the stories of events about the experiences of school girls, the study used narrative analysis in shaping the school girls' experiences of gender based violence from interviews data. Alan, (2004) states that narrative analysis is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasizes the stories that people employ to account for events. This method of analysis can be applied to data that has been collected through semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The data processing operations in this study involved among other things editing thus a process of examining the collected raw data to detect errors and omissions and to correct them wherever possible; classification thus arranging data in themes or classes on the basis of common characteristics in descriptive form, and thus summarising raw data and displaying the same in compact form for further analysis.

Qualitative data from semi-structured interviews was collected, transcribed and coded into themes and sub-themes that emerged through narrative analysis. This was done by carefully listening to the recorded conversations in order to interpret, reduce and code key responses into major and sub-themes that emerged for later discussion. This was done in the light of the research questions at hand. Some responses were also isolated to be used as original quotes for verbatim to highlight important findings of the study. Themes and topics were also consequently developed in line with the objectives of the study and these themes were used as chapter sub-headings on the findings. Consequently, interpretation of data was done as a way of trying to make sense of the findings in relation to the study. This strategy was applied to both data generated from interviews and focused group discussion.

3.10 Data Validation

Data validation relates to the trustworthiness of findings in qualitative research study. Credibility is demonstrated when participants recognise the reported research findings as their own experiences Maxwell, (2005). To ensure validation, the study employed the following measures:

The interviews were tape-recorded and transcriptions were made of each interview for referral adequacy. The researcher went back to some of the participants, to ascertain whether the transcribed data was a truthful version of their experiences.

3.11 Ethical Consideration During the Research

According to Maxwell, (2005), ethics refers to the quality of research procedures, with regard to their adherence to professional, legal, and social obligations to the research participants. These guidelines deal with voluntary participation, no harm to respondents, anonymity and confidentiality. Firstly, the researcher notified the respondents that participation was completely voluntary. Secondly, the researcher avoided any possible harm to the respondents. This included embarrassment or feeling uncomfortable about questions Maxwell, (2005). Thirdly, the respondent's identity was protected while the purpose of the research was explained to the respondents. This was accomplished by exercising anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher sought permission from the University of Zambia and other institutions where the study was conducted.

3.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the methodological procedures used in the study. The chapter discussed the qualitative phenomenological research method and presented the procedure to its application. The chapter has given detailed steps taken from the research design through data collection, analysis, sampling and sample size, to the ethical consideration and data validation methods.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Overview

This chapter presents the findings as collected from the respondents. The views presented, here are a pure, reflection of the opinions and experiences of the participants in this study. The primary purpose of this study was to explore school girls' experiences of gender based violence in four selected secondary schools of Kaoma and Luampa Districts of Western Zambia. The study successfully explored school girls' experiences of gender based violence. The study further attempted to find out the school girls', school administrators', DEB officials' and members of the community's conception of the issue of gender based violence against school girls. Findings have been gathered according to dominant themes and they centre broadly on issues of gender relations at school, on the way to and from school, constructions of relationships, violence in relationships and responses to such violence.

4.2 Findings from School Girls

4.2.1 School Girls' Experiences of Gender Based Violence

School girls who were participants in all the four secondary schools where the study was conducted highlighted the high prevalence of gender based violence against them taking various forms such as sexual violence, which included, unwanted touching, name calling and labelling, threatening behaviour and inappropriate sexual comments. Girls at school A reported that they were treated as sexual objects. They were subjected to unsolicited touching on their breasts or behinds.

“Male teachers and male pupils talk to us in sexual manners, they treat us like sex objects, they even touch our bums. I don't like it.” (Grade 11 Girl).

4.2.2 Gender Based Violence Against School Girls Perpetrated by Teachers

Many school girls who participated in this study frequently reported instances of sexual violence and harassment against them perpetrated by male teachers. Majority of the girls interviewed said that they knew about teachers at their current or former school who had sexually harassed or abused female learners. Some of them acknowledged that they had been subjected to sexual harassment or violence by a teacher by being proposed for sex or a relationship with a teacher while others had been touched in a sexual way by teachers without permission, also others had

received unwanted sexual comments from teachers. Incidents of sexual violence by teachers against female learners included a range of aggressive behaviors and misuse of authority, including rape, various forms of sexual assault, verbal sexual harassment, and bribing school girls with money or the promising them to pass examinations.

4.2.3 Various forms of Gender Based Violence Experienced by School Girls

The girls that were interviewed in this study described teachers who subjected female learners to gender based violence taking the form of sexual violence. At school B, girls reported about one teacher who spent a lot of class time telling sexually-charged stories and making sexual comments to his students. Some teachers similarly would embarrass girls and talk about sex or say insensitive and embarrassing things that made the boys laugh. Others touched female learners' breasts or buttocks, sometimes could even ask to take them out.

“One day when I was walking, and the top button of my shirt was a little bit open, the teacher drew nearer and said, “Wow, you have nice boobs.” I said, why are you saying those things? I’m young. He kept quiet but continued approaching me, telling me that I was beautiful, asking me out and offering to take me somewhere to a nice place.” (Grade 11 Girl).

Many participants reported teachers who proposed love to them or their friends or classmates, trying to use their position of power to persuade the female learners to engage in sexual relationships with them. A grade 9 girl at school C, said that two teachers had proposed her. The first one approached her when she was in the school hall, made comments about her breasts, and asked her to go out with him. The other teacher used to harass her in class:

“This teacher would come to my class, he would find me eating something and say, “I want what you are eating.” When are you going to visit me at my home?” He kept on doing such things for a long time.” (Grade 9 Girl).

At school D, a grade 11 girl said that she knew about two teachers at her former primary school who liked asking school girls to go out with them. She further explained that she had been proposed twice by one of those teachers and had responded in a way that shamed that teacher.

“He asked me to meet him at the market after classes, and I refused, but he did it a second time. I said, “You are old enough to be my dad; you ought to be ashamed of what

you are doing.” That is when he stopped. But I know of others who accepted that same teacher.” (Grade 11 Girl).

Despite teachers not allowed to conduct private tuitions in their homes, they are still allowed to give one-on-one tutoring after class in isolated places such as empty classrooms and teachers’ offices which gives them opportunities to propose intimate relationships with female learners, and even pressure and force them into having sex. A grade 9 girl at school B, observed that male teachers at her boarding secondary school dated female pupils and often initiated links in their offices.

“Many times, teachers remain in their offices even at awkward times like late in the evening and girls go to teachers’ offices, and things happen there.” (Grade 9 Girl).

A grade 12 girl at school A also had the following comment;

“One day my friend asked a male teacher for extra help in mathematics, and the teacher said, “You should come and find me in my office, where we will be just the two of us.” She knew what the teacher wanted. She said she would go but did not go there. But other girls do go there they just realize that they end up dating teachers.” (Grade 12 Girl).

In many instances, teachers went beyond proposing love to school girls and used threats or physical force to coerce them into having sex. A grade 12 girl at school C, told a story of a friend who had been sexually abused by the teacher and the case went to court and the girl successfully received a judgment for damages against a teacher who raped her.

“When the girl went to the teacher’s home to collect past exam papers, the teacher told her to get the papers from another room, which upon entering she discovered was a bedroom. Shortly, the teacher followed the girl into the room and started telling her she was pretty, that he could even marry her. He tried to kiss her, later said that he could not hurt her and she was blank and everything happened so fast. He put his manhood into her vagina and he was on top of her and she was screaming but he covered her mouth with his hand. After that she got her clothes dressed and said she wanted to go home. He told her not to tell anybody as she could be chased from school and he would lose his job. The girl reported to her parents who also reported to the head teacher. The teacher was prosecuted and lost his job.” (Grade 12 Girl).

Many such cases of sexual violence against school girls happened in schools and went unreported to the school authorities and even to the police. One grade 10 girl interviewed at school A, had this to say about her friend's experience when she was in grade 9:

“When I was in grade 9 at my former primary school, a teacher forced my friend to have sex with him. He called her and said, “Come to school, your friends are here.” When she arrived, she did not find anyone there. The teacher told her, “Go to the laboratory office and get a bottle of water.” He later followed her and started asking her questions like, “Do you love me?” The teacher told her that if she didn’t say yes, she couldn’t go home. “Prove your love,” he said. “Kiss me.” She did what he asked her to do because she wanted to go home. She became his girlfriend. Few months later, my friend became pregnant and dropped out of school and went back to join her family in the village.”
(Grade 10 Girl).

The girl further reported that a year later, that teacher was promoted to teach at a secondary school because he had obtained higher qualification and by then, the interviewed girl had also made it to grade 10 at the same secondary school. She said she was very uncomfortable to meet that teacher at her new school because she knew what had happened.

It was reported that some teachers use the promise of money for food, school fees, or other necessities to convince female learners to engage in sexual relations with them. Poverty is another fact that makes girls vulnerable to GBV. Most of the girls interviewed had experiences of having had dropped out of school for substantial periods of time, in some cases as long as three years, because they could not afford to pay school fees. Some of them had missed days or weeks of school because of their inability to pay school fees or buy the books, shoes, or school uniforms required to attend school. This situation exposed them to high level of vulnerability to the advances of teachers who could provide them with money they desperately needed or a taste of small luxuries they have not previously been able to experience.

A girl in grade 10 at school D, recounted;

“I have a friend who was dating a teacher. She needed some money to buy food and things. The teacher was giving her money sometimes. Some girls at our school are so poor that only if they go out with teachers can they get financial help.” **(Grade 10 Girl).**

At school A, a grade 10 girl highlighted the role that poverty plays in relationships between teachers and students:

“At the primary school that I was attending, teachers were proposing love to girls. there was a senior teacher proposing love to girls. There were two cases I know about. The problem was money or hunger. When a teacher proposes love to a girl, he starts giving her money, helps her if she is hungry, and buys her something so she is having that interest.” (Grade 10 Girl)

It was further reported that teachers took advantage of girls who could not pay their school fees. This was the situation for a grade 9 friend of one of the girls interviewed at school A;

“The teacher lied to the girl and said he would pay for her school. So, they had a relationship, and the girl got pregnant. She went to the headmaster. The teacher was transferred to another school and the girl left school.” (Grade 11 Girl).

At school D, a grade 10 narrated her experience;

“During my grade 9 exams, the teacher told me, “I want to have sex with you so I will show you during exams.” I said, “No, let me pass with only my brain. You are not a God.” He told me that I was going to suffer.” (Grade 10 Girl).

Several girls reported that teachers had abused their position of authority to force female learners into sexual relationships by offering leakages, or leaked exam answers, in exchange for sexual favors. Some of the girls interviewed reported that they had heard of or encountered teachers at their current or former school offering learners leakages in exchange for sex. This suggested that some teachers could have been cheating learners by expressly or implicitly holding out the promise of leaked exam answers, even if they are unable to deliver on that promise. As a grade 12 girl at school B commented:

“When you are in grade 12 and getting towards exams, girls start looking for leakages. They start getting with male teachers and sleeping with them. I have heard of three male teachers who do this. When we have to write our grade 12, a lot of girls go wild because they want to pass.” (Grade 12 Girl).

Similarly, a girl at school D gave the following explanation;

‘Incidents of teachers offering leakages to girls in exchange for sex happen a lot, especially at secondary schools. It happens a lot at this school. There are many girls here who go out with teachers to get leakages. I know maybe five to ten girls who do this. Some teachers sleep with girls and give them leakages. Then they take another girl and do the same thing. I’ve heard that there’s a house there near the school, and a teacher asks girls who are writing exams to sleep with him there in exchange for leakages. They say, “Sleep with me, and I will give you a leakage that will make you pass so that you can go ahead to secondary school.” (Grade 11 Girl).

A school A, female learner also said that some girls at her former primary school believed that having sex with a teacher was the only way to ensure that they could go on to pursue a secondary school education.

“At my former primary school, some girls felt that they had no choice but to enter into relationships with teachers, because they needed leakages from teachers to pass their exams.” (Grade 10 Girl).

It was observed that some teachers even abused their positions of authority by working against girls who refused their sexual demands or broke off a relationship. Girls reported that teachers sent students out of class, refused to call on them, or even physically punished them in front of other students. As noted earlier, Zambian law prohibits the use of corporal punishment in schools, and a teacher or administrator who punishes a student in this way is liable to a fine or imprisonment for up to one year. However, majority of the girls interviewed reported that they or their classmates had been subjected to corporal punishment at school. The girls reported cases in which teachers slapped or hit female learners in retaliation for refusing their sexual propositions. A grade 10 girl at school C narrated her experience in the following words;

“My geography teacher proposed me, and I refused. After that, when I tried to answer a question in class, he wouldn’t call on me or would send me out of the classroom. When the noisemakers made noise, he would beat me. He used a stick on my hands or buttocks. When this happened, I was discouraged at school. When I woke up in the morning, I didn’t want to go to school because I knew that the teacher would beat me. I stayed home from school for one week until my mother got me changed to another class.” (Grade 10 Girl)

At school D, a girl recounted a similar story of retaliation against a friend who had refused to have sex with a teacher:

“Since she refused to be in a relationship with a teacher, the teacher could beat her as a noise maker even when the whole class was making noise, he would just beat her. He beat her with a stick, may be seven times. She would go outside of class whenever she could. She never used to concentrate, never used to learn. This happened for something like a month. Finally, she asked her father to get her a transfer to a different school and she was transferred, but she never told her father what had happened.” (Grade 9 Girl).

Some participants asserted that teachers at both their primary and secondary schools retaliated against school girls who refused their sexual demands by asking them to slash down grass around school grounds, forcing them to leave the classroom whenever the teacher began teaching a class, or telling their parents bad things about them. Still other teachers threatened female learners with poor marks or failure if they refused to go out with them or reported their advances

4.2.4 Gender based Violence Against School Girls Perpetrated by School Boys

In addition to their experiences of gender based violence by teachers, schoolgirls reported being abused in various ways by their male classmates. During focus group discussions, many girls reported that they had personally experienced sexual harassment or abuse from fellow learners by being pressured to have sex, being touched in a sexual way without their permission, and having been the recipients of unwanted sexual comments by boys. They further reported that they knew of other girls who had experienced sexual harassment or violence by fellow pupils at their current or former school.

Girls revealed that they were subjected to degrading language by male pupil and were often called by all sorts of abusive names such as bitches if they never cooperated with boys. At school B, a girl had the following comment;

“If you do not accept what they want, they would call you by all sorts of offensive names such as a bitch, a prostitute and so on. They can discuss the shape of your breasts and even speak about your vagina,” (Grade 12 girl).

While most of the school girls who participated stated that boys used threats to deter girls' actions, other participants revealed that boys' actions were not limited to verbal threats but could also escalate to physical or even sexual violence if girls never complied with them.

“If he wants to have sex with you and you refuse, he will rape you. Like when me and another boy are talking, and he wants sexual intercourse and when I refuse he wants to hit you. Sometimes the guy would beat you just to impress his friends” (Grade 10 Girl).

The study discovered that boys used the threat of violence to scare girls into submission; violence was used as a mode of control over girls' bodies, dresses, movements and social activities. Therefore, Girls' lives were often limited by the threat of violence. The power that male learners exerted on female learners' heavily controlled girls' choices at school, their academic performance as well as freedom of movement. At school A, a girl revealed the following;

“If you pass well in class and you are in a relationship with a boy who fails in class, he won't encourage you to pass.” (Grade 11 Girl)

Girls at school B where they went for weekly boarding maintained that groups of boys loitered around the girl's bathroom and if girls wanted to use the bathroom, they were humiliated. As a result, girls did not use the bathroom.

“They will stand near the toilet they (boys) will laugh at you, tell you that you stink, even if you have to go to the toilet you don't go because you don't want to be humiliated.” (Grade 10 Girl).

Gender based violence experienced by girls really appeared to be prevalent in all the schools where the study was conducted. Girls from different social, religious, and economic backgrounds participated in the study and the types of violence experienced appeared to be similar across the settings. It was noticeable however that the manner in which the girls engaged with the subject was to some extent determined by the manner in which gender based violence was generally perceived in the communities from which they came, for example, girls coming from school C's D's communities which had some knowledge about GBV, spoke about the topic in a more matter of fact, down to earth way than those coming from school A's and B's communities where GBV was kept shrouded in secrecy and accepted as a normal practice.

Focus group discussions and interviews with school girls indicated that girls experienced a sense of helplessness and did not feel like they had any control or autonomy at school; boys dictated much of their behaviour and their movement. Boy's use of threats of violence, as well as actual violence, reflected adult male's use of such tactics and appeared to be a way to enforce control and force girls into submission.

At school C, Girls described a culture of sexual harassment at their schools. Boys at school proposed sex to girls, touched their breasts or buttocks, or made sexual comments, such as “your boobs are looking nice” “you have big hips”; “I like your body”; “I want to come to your place and visit you”; “I need you to be my girlfriend;” or “Are you going to sleep with me?”

“Boys touch and grab girls at the school. They touch their breasts, their private parts. They try to touch the girls, try to sleep with them. If you are a girl, if this happens, you just have to run away.” (Grade 10 Girl)

This finding suggests that, girls tolerated this continual harassment, coping with it by avoiding boys when they could and shouting at them or running away when avoidance did not work as a girl at D commented;

“Boys especially prefects have a tendency of publicly threatening girls and say things like, ‘I’m in 12G or B. If you fail to see me there, you will be in problems.’ They do that a lot, and when he calls you, you are scared, that he may beat you if you don’t go there. If you reach there he says, ‘Oh, I love you.’” (Grade 10 Girl).

In some cases, boys threatened girls with physical violence if they did not submit to their sexual advances. The study found out that at school A, many boys who were boarders, tried to coerce girls into having relationships with them. One girl described a friend whose boyfriend wanted her to have sex with him. When she refused, “he threatened her, saying, ‘If you refuse, you will see what is going to happen. You will find out.’” Girls at school A, further said that the boys who had threatened them did not end up hurting them but they still did not wish to take any chances. Thus, even though boys could not carry through on their threats, the prevalence of gender based violence in various forms against school girls in secondary schools in Zambia made the risk of violence appear all too real for the girls.

Many girls during focus group discussions accounted for more serious cases where they were forced into sex or had narrowly escaped being raped by a classmate. A grade 11 girl at school B, recounted how her boyfriend had choked her until she couldn't breathe in an effort to force her to have sex with him:

“I was dating a boy who wanted me to have sex with him. I can say he almost killed me. He squeezed me so hard on my neck that I couldn't breathe. When he was hurting me and squeezing on my neck, I just stood there quiet, my tears were dropping. Finally, he stopped doing that. I told him we are done.” (Grade 11 Girl).

A grade 10 girls at school B, in an interview said that her friend was forced by her boyfriend to have sex after school entertainment in the evening because she did not have power to resist.

Although some sexual relationships between school girls and school boys may have some sort of consent, it is evident from interviews with schoolgirls in secondary schools where the study was conducted that many sexual interactions between boys and girls involve elements of coercion, while some clearly rise to the level of rape or sexual assault. Interviews revealed that many girls are extremely suspicious of interacting with boys at all, sometimes planning their routes to classrooms or other school locations to avoid boys who might try to touch or grab them on the way. This pattern of behavior reflected a culture of fear and avoidance that was not in any way conducive to ensuring the equal education of girl students or to fostering mutual respect between boys and girls.

4.2.5 Intimate Relationships Between School Girls and School Boys

During focus group discussions, participants also brought their experiences in relationship with school boys and other men. A romantic narrative featured strongly in discussions of desired qualities in relationships, with participants in all groups stressing the value of love, respect, honour and commitment. It was noticeable that for the participants, sex did not feature as a primary factor in an ideal romantic relationship. The school girls however, stressed that for boys and men, the construction of relationships is inevitably centered on sex.

Participants were further asked to describe characteristics of good and bad relationships and to provide examples of such relationships. They were then asked to identify factors that were different across these types of relationships. Dominant themes from the discussions operated at

the opposite end of the romantic narrative and were based on themes that emphasized on violence and coercion. In the majority of groups, participants viewed relationships as good in the absence of violence and almost all relationships that were considered bad were defined as such because of the presence of violence. The following comments on examples of a good and bad relationships were made by girls from school B and D;

“A good relationship is where your boyfriend doesn't beat you' He doesn't force you to have sex.” (Grade 11 Girl)

“A bad relationship is where your guy disrespects you and is always drunk and beats you.” (Grade 12 Girl)

“I think a bad relationship is when you beat your partner and leave them with an injury” (Grade 11 Girl)

“The bad relationship makes you feel scared all the time, and some bad relationships do go on for a long time because we are scared to end it, you think the person will change on the way” (Grade 12 Girl)

Participants in all groups were able to identify relationships that were not good and inevitably all of the examples appeared to involve violence. In their frank description of the violence witnessed and/or experienced in relationships, violence within relationships appeared to be tolerated and normalized. This very normalization of violence highlighted the prevalence of violence in Zambian society. It pointed to the responsibility of all in society to revisit the current culture and create a different way of handling relationships in society.

4.2.6 Violence in Intimate Relationships Between School Boys and Girls

One of the major findings of this study was that abusive behaviour was learnt in adolescent relationships and experiences of abuse in these relationships often served as indicators for future abuse. This presented a picture given the evidence of abuse prevalent in the lives of many of the young women who participated in this study. Girls at schools A and D, stated that at least 80% of girls were involved in abusive relationships.

“I will say 8 out of 10 have been in abusive relationships.” (Grade 11 Girl).

“At least 80% of girls in our school are in violent relationships.” (Grade 11 Girl).

“Most of the girls are trying to hide the fact that they are in abusive relationships, they are scared of saying anything because they fear to be beaten.” (Grade 11 Girl).

In almost all focus group discussion participants were able to identify and describe relationships that were abusive; examples of people in abusive relationships ranged from family members, to friends at school and in some cases individuals themselves. A range of behaviours was identified as abusive, suggesting a broad understanding of, and disturbing exposure to, gender-based violence. The school girls’ familiarity and experience of gender based violence also indicated the high prevalence of gender based violence in Zambian society and the extent to which it was normalized. Although the range of abusive behaviours discussed varied, in almost all accounts the women were physically beaten, participants from school B and C, provided the following examples of violence witnessed:

“One day my father got a big stick and pointed at my mother, when she was washing, and told her that he would kill her if she did not listen. Then I cried.” (Grade 10 Girl).

“There is a couple here at school, the guy always beats his girlfriend and this girl refuses to tell the teachers.” (Grade 11 Girl).

“My cousin was in a relationship; every time she said something to the boyfriend, she would be beaten for nothing, for no reason. Her boyfriend used to drink and come home and fight with her, but she eventually got out of the relationship.” (Grade 12 Girl).

Participants from school D, spoke of high levels of sexual coercion and pressurized sex however, they did not label these acts as rape or sexual violence. The difficulty in realizing this violence was quite a problem, it was only when the problem was realized that reality could be constructed, meaning given and the problem recognized and eradicated.

Participants from school B, also spoke of the difficulties they experienced in asserting their rights to condom use; this finding is consistent with other studies conducted with youth as well as adult populations, in which women cannot safely negotiate use of condoms. This finding was disturbing given the particular vulnerability of young women to HIV infection.

The pervasiveness of violence in the lives of those participants while alarming adequately reflected the pervasiveness and normalization of violence in our Zambian communities. The

girls' inability to negotiate condom use and their experiences of sexual coercion suggested an increased vulnerability to HIV/and AIDS.

4.2.7 School Girls' Explanations of Gender Based Violence in Intimate Relationships.

The ambiguity with which girls attempted to explain the presence of violence in their relationships was evident in their constant attempts to justify the violence and their no confidence between taking responsibility for the violence and then denying fault. Discussions indicated that some girls normalized the abusive behaviour or viewed it as a reflection of love or as a response to women's behaviour while others tried to hide it. However, it was also evident that for some of the participants, violence was not acceptable. Girls at school D had the following remarks:

“The girls love the boys so much, that even if they are beaten they will not abandon the relationship.” (Grade 11 Girl).

“Most of my friends talk about their abusive partners and they don't realize how serious it is they just talk about it as if it is a normal thing which happens in every relationship. I think they are ignorant.” (Grade 12 Girl).

4.2.8 Gender Based Violence on the Way to and from School or at Boarding Facilities

The gender based violence that school girls encounter in Zambia while attending school is not limited to their interactions with male teachers and classmates. Rather, school girls are also vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence while travelling to and from school or boarding near or at school.

As Professor Rashida Manjoo, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, observed in her May 2011 country report on Zambia, “Girls are not only at risk of being subjected to violence in schools but also on the journey to and from school. Long distances to schools also expose school girls to higher level of vulnerability to harassment on the way. Many of the girls who participated in this study reported walking long distances to school. When asked how much time they spent walking to and from school, some girls reported that they spent one hour thirty minutes each way, and others revealed that it took them two to three hours one way. The girls further reported that they were uncomfortable and unsafe during

their journeys to and from school because they frequently encountered men who sexually harassed them.

This includes, of course, a risk of being sexually attacked. A school administrator from school C recounted a case at his former primary school involving a 10-year-old grade six girl who was walking home alone from school when an old man suddenly appeared from the bush and tried to pounce on her. Fortunately, community members arrived in time and stopped the man from defiling the child. Older girls are equally if not more vulnerable to such attacks.

A grade 9 girl at school A, explained that her friend had been raped on the way home from school:

“My friend was raped by a man who worked as a conductor for local mini-bus. It wasn’t dark; he did it in the bush. Later my friend told her mother who started looking for the conductor but he was nowhere to be seen. Then my friend felt so ashamed of what had happened to her that she transferred to another school.” (Grade 9 Girl).

At school B, a grade 9 girl described her experience in the following words:

“When I walk home from school, some people bother me. Sometimes you find a man who is drunk, and he comes and touches you. You have to just go. There isn’t anything you can do because that person is bigger than you.” (Grade 9 Girl).

In addition to facing a real risk of forced sex or sexual assault, many school girls experienced frequent sexual harassment when they traveled or walked to and from school. Men made rude comments about girls’ appearances, proposed love or marriage, or came up and touched them. A grade 10 girl interviewed at school D, reported her experience in the following words:

“I have problems with people when I go home from school. I have to pass through the bus station. Bus drivers and conductors shout, “Hey what, what, you come here! Just stop school, you have to be married, what, what.” You just have to pretend you are not hearing. You have to get used to that. It is everywhere. Sometimes it makes us feel bad, but you don’t find them there all of the time. You can look for different ways to pass to try to avoid them.” (Grade 10 Girl).

As this quotation suggested, many of the girls who participated in this study viewed the harassment to which they were subjected as inevitable. The girls acknowledged that such harassment had a negative impact on them, that it made them feel unsafe and bad. Yet they found ways to cope with that situation. One girl at school C, in a focus group discussion stated that she sometimes got angry when men harassed her on the street. But there was nothing she could do, so she just tried to ignore it. Some girls at school A, reflected on their religious faith for strength. Stating that they just had to ignore them and asked the Lord to pour the holy spirit upon them.

“When people are talking bad things, you have to pray that the Holy Spirit will take control.” (Grade 10 Girl)

These girls were both submissive and resistant in finding ways to avoid likely perpetrators or to prevent their words and actions from affecting them too deeply.

At the same time, some girls did accept the advances of men on the street, usually those that drive cars even taxi drivers and usually in exchange for free transportation or money to buy things. In a 2010 report, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women noted that Zambian “girls are reported to have sexual relationships with minibuses and taxi drivers as a way of coping with transport costs.”

One of the school administrators interviewed at school C, corroborated these reports, stating that students who do not have enough money for the groceries and even transport are often abused by the drivers. A grade 9 girl at school C, observed that she knew girls at another school who dated taxi drivers and conductors because they were attracted to the money.

During the study focus group discussion in which girls were asked to discuss their own experiences with sexual violence in schools; some of the participants admitted to having sexual relationships with drivers and conductors, not only for transportation costs but also for talk time for their cell phones, money, and music. Some girls interviewed at school B, who entered into dating relationships with teachers, asserted that they were often motivated at least in part by their financial needs, that included transport money.

School girls were also vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence by community members while staying at boarding facilities at or near the school. Some studies have documented the experiences of girls who stay during the week in private boarding houses near the school to avoid

long commutes home. Unsupervised by parents or school authorities and housed in largely unsafe, makeshift dormitories, these girls were extremely vulnerable to sexual abuse by men, including truck drivers who temporarily stopped near the boarding houses, looking for sex. Girls who board at school are more protected; they generally stay in separate buildings on school grounds, supervised by a school matron. Yet they are not immune from harassment or abuse from members of the outside community. A school Administrator at school B, described incidents that had occurred the previous year in which community members harassed girl boarders at their dormitories. In that case, vigilant teachers and school administrators were able to resolve the problem.

4.2.9 Consequences of Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

The findings of this study suggested that the impact of gender violence against school girls had far reaching consequences for girls; it affected the girls' decision to remain in school, girls' concentration and their sense of self-esteem. Girls in this study were asked how they felt in the face of this harassment, intimidation and violence; their responses included use of words such as '**exploited**', '**worthless**', '**alone**', '**scared**', '**powerless**' and '**guilty**'. These responses highlighted the traumatizing effect of such violence and emphasized the sense of helplessness, fear and self-blame that many women experienced in abusive relationships.

Sexual harassment and violence in schools reflected violence in Zambian society and indicated the prevalence of male dominance. Female learners were subjected to degrading comments, unwanted touching, threats of violence as well as actual violence. Boys used violence or threats to control girls' movements and activities in order to compel girls into submission. These varied forms of gender based violence perpetrated against them at school had a negative effect on their sense of self-worth and left them fearful and feeling powerless.

Gender Based Violence by teachers, fellow students or community members went along with serious consequences for young schoolgirls. They experienced a variety of physical, mental, and emotional health problems. They often had difficulty in concentrating in class, found their education derailed by a teacher's retaliation, or interrupted their education to transfer to another school in order to escape harassment. Some girls became pregnant and dropped out of school, often for good.

4.2.9.1 Physical- Health Consequences

Gender based violence particularly sexual violence was associated with a variety of physical and mental health issues, ranging from sexually transmitted infections and led the victims into depression and fear. These negative consequences effectively deprived girls of their human right to health. In addition to immediate physical effects, such as bruises, wounds, or fractures, sexual violence as a common form of gender based violence experienced by school girls also had more lasting physical health effects on the victim. According to (WHO, 2002), Chronic Pelvic Pain (CPP) was one such long-term physical condition connected to sexual violence. CPP is commonly caused by infections, but can also arise from other causes connected to childhood sexual abuse, such as injury or stress. There are numerous other enduring gynecological conditions linked with sexual violence, such as painful menstruation, pelvic inflammatory disease, irregular vaginal bleeding, and sexual dysfunction.

Victims of sexual abuse also risked contracting sexually transmitted diseases from sexual violence, including HIV/AIDS, which is prevalent in Zambia. According WLSAZ, (2012), in Zambia's only successful civil claim against a teacher for sexual violence, the victim contracted a sexually transmitted infection after being raped by her teacher. The WLSAZ study further reveals that at the 2011 Ministry of Education's Conference on sexual and gender-based violence, a group of girls discussed a case where a school girl contracted HIV from a teacher and an officer from NGOCC described a similar case. These diseases had negative consequences on the victims' health long after the abuse itself has ended.

Studies on the impact of sexual abuse suggest that children are at a higher risk than adults of contracting HIV. The World Health Organization WHO, (2002) reported that forced sex increases the risk of transmitting HIV. As the WHO report explained, "In forced vaginal penetration, abrasions and cuts commonly occur, thus facilitating the entry of the virus when it is present through the vaginal mucosa." This is especially true of adolescent girls because their vaginal mucous membranes are underdeveloped, and they are therefore more susceptible to cuts or abrasions resulting from forced sex. Girls in schools where this study was conducted who encountered sexual violence were thus at an increased risk of contracting these types of diseases.

4.2.9.2 Physical-Health Consequences Arising from Early Pregnancy

Sexual abuse also subjected school girls to the risk of an early pregnancy, which was associated with a variety of potentially serious health risks, including obstetric fistulas (injuries to birth canal) and the risks posed by unsafe abortions. Fistulas are injuries to a birth canal causing a leakage of urine and are more prevalent in young women under the age of 20. In 2010, according to WLSAZ, (2012), cases of fistulas were treated in Zambia. Moreover, the World Health Organization Report (2002) complications arising from childbirth and pregnancy are the leading cause of death of girls aged 15 to 19 in many low-income nations like Zambia. Newborn deaths and stillbirths are also 50% more common among adolescent mothers than mothers of advanced age.

In line with the above stated consequence of sexual violence against school girls, a girl participant at school D, had the following experience;

“A boy classmate forced me to have sex and afterwards he told me, he was going to marry me even if I was pregnant. So I did not tell anyone that I had sex with him until when I was pregnant. I attempted an abortion several times to remove the thing using a lot of herbs, but those herbs I could drink could not help me do what I wanted.” (Grade 9 Girl).

Unsafe abortion was yet another problem arising from sexual violence and pregnancy. Zambian law permits abortion where there is a risk to the life or of injury to the physical or mental health of a woman. The 2005 amendments to the Penal Code Act clarify that under this provision, pregnancy resulting from the rape or defilement of a girl under the age of 16 may be terminated. Furthermore, guidelines issued by the Ministry of Health in 2009 explain that abortions should be conducted based on a woman's word that a pregnancy was the result of rape or defilement, without requiring the woman to produce specific evidence. Nonetheless, lack of awareness of the law and guidelines, the requirements that three medical practitioners must give consent to the abortion and that it must be performed in a hospital by a registered medical practitioner, and the scarcity of doctors and hospitals in Zambia make safe and legal abortions practically infeasible in many cases, WLSAZ, (2012).

Therefore, many women and girls resorted to unsafe abortions, which endangered their lives and health.

At school C, girl narrated a story about the unsafe abortion that resulted into death of her 17-year-old sister who was in grade 11 at the time of her death,

“My sister’s boyfriend told her they were going to have sex that day, but my sister refused, and then the boy just closed the door and forced her into an act of sex. She got pregnant and decided to abort the pregnancy. The herbs she took could only kill the baby inside the womb and not removing it out. She came back home and told my mother that she had headache, so my mother went with her to the clinic where she was given headache medicine. After three days, her condition became worse and she was taken back to the clinic where they discovered that she had attempted abortion. An hour later she died.” (Grade 12 Girl).

These instances illustrated the physical harm that sexual violence could cause beyond the direct effect of the violence itself. According to WLSAZ, (2012), unsafe abortions cause 13% of maternal deaths worldwide and approximately 30% of such deaths in Zambia. Thus, in situations where girls find themselves pregnant following sexual abuse, they are at a higher risk of pregnancy-related health problems and, if they decide to terminate the pregnancy, at a higher risk of complications and health risks arising from unsafe abortions,

4.2.9.3 Psychological-Health Consequences

In addition to these potential consequences for a girl’s physical health, a United Nations report on violence against women highlights that the psychological consequences of violence against women can be as grave as the physical effects. Common mental health consequences of sexual abuse for women include depression and stress. Women and girls who have been sexually harassed or raped are at a higher risk of committing suicide. Sexually abused women are also at a high risk of developing anxiety disorders, such as post-traumatic stress disorder. Furthermore, studies have shown that sexually abused persons often experience feelings of fear and distrust as a result of abuse. Hence, many of the girls interviewed reported feeling bad, insecure, and afraid after being sexually harassed or sexually abused. A girl at school A, described how sexual abuse had affected some of her classmates:

“When a girl has been defiled, she becomes so disturbed that she starts feeling that her future is completely destroyed.” (Grade 11 Girl).

Those consequences could be especially severe and long-lasting where the survivor was a child. It was evident that sexual violence against school girls in Zambia could have-term physical and mental health consequences. Those negative consequences could deprive girls of their right to health not only at the moment of the violence but also for many years after it had occurred.

4.2.9.4 Consequence on Girls' Education

When women and girls are deprived of equal access to education, both the individual and society are subject to adverse consequences. Obstacles to education negatively affect a woman's personal development and her ability to contribute to the economic growth of the community and nation. When asked what, she thought were some of the consequences of gender based violence against school girls, a grade 10 girl at school D, responded as follows:

"Sexual violence affects our' performance in class. When boys make comments or threats, and if the he is in the same class with the girl, the girl will be feeling shy, failing to answer the question even if she is sharp. So her sharpness will be disturbed somehow."

(Grade 10 Girl).

4.2.9.5 Reduced Academic Performance

Girls who experienced gender based violence at school often found themselves distracted, fearful, and unmotivated, unable to concentrate on their studies or to perform well in class. According to the U.N. Secretary-General's Report, (2002), gender based violence in schools leads to a lack of motivation for academic achievement. Studies show that sexual violence contributes not only to an absence of motivation but also to poor performance at school. Many of the girls interviewed reported that they or other girls suffered from a loss of concentration in school after experiencing some form of GBV. In a discussion about boys sexually harassing girls, a girl at school A, had the following comment;

"The boys are the source of confusion of the girls' minds and this makes girls lose concentration on school and their school performance reduces. One of my friends who was sexually harassed and abused by another boy when we were in grade 9, totally lost her concentration at school, she really had difficulties in studying and writing examinations, so she failed the exam and had to repeat grade 9." **(Grade 11 Girl).**

Girls also reported that their classmates who began dating relationships with teachers found themselves similarly distracted in class or became unmotivated to work hard because the teachers they went out with would ensure that they pass their exams.

Girls' poor performance in school could be caused by other factors as well. As discussed above, in some cases where a girl rejected her teacher's advances or ended a relationship with him, the teacher retaliated against her in various ways that impeded her access to education. Some teachers threatened to fail girls or give them bad marks, an act of retaliation that carries weighty consequences for a girl's educational opportunities, potentially even preventing her from being admitted to the next level of education. Even if the teacher did not follow through on this threat, merely raising the worry of imposed failure would likely negatively affect a schoolgirl's academic performance. Moreover, according to several girls, a few teachers even used corporal punishment as a form of retaliation, turning their classrooms into a hostile environment that made it impossible for the girl to learn.

4.2.9.6 Staying Away from School (Absenteeism)

In many cases, gender based violence particularly sexual violence, harassment, or retaliation against school girls made girls stay away from school. A grade 12 girl at school B, described her reaction after she was sexually harassed by a teacher who later retaliated against the her;

“The teacher would touch my buttocks and my breasts, he kept on telling me that I was beautiful and that he loved me. I refused and told him that I was not interested in whatever he was telling me and I hated him. He started beating me in class even when I did not commit any offence. Whenever I woke up in the morning, I said I was not going to school because the teacher would beat me. I stayed home for three weeks.” (Grade 12 Girl).

A girl at school C, eventually transferred to a different school after suffering serious retaliation by a teacher she refused to have sexual relationship with. Several teachers retaliated against girls who had refused their advances or broken up with them by barring them from attending the classes they were teaching, saying things like, “When you see me, you go out,” or “You will not be in my class.” These girls were completely excluded from lessons that they needed to attend in order to advance academically. As reflected by these students' experiences, absenteeism as a

consequence of sexual abuse or fear of sexual abuse was a serious problem and could have devastating effects on a girl's education.

4.2.9.7 Dropping Out from School

Sexual violence against girls in schools had also led girls to drop out of school, a further barrier to girls' education. A head teacher at school B, reported that when a girl at his school experienced sexual abuse, he would first see her begin to do poorly in school, then her attendance rate would begin to decrease, until finally, she frequently would stop going to school altogether. When girls dropped out of school, sexual violence was often the underlying cause, either because girls felt afraid of going to school and were discouraged by the threat of encountering sexual violence there or because they fell pregnant.

4.2.9.8 The Consequences of Pregnancy and Early Marriage on Girls' Education

Pregnancy, which could result from sexual abuse by teachers or male classmates as well as by community and family members, was a major cause of high dropout rates for girls. Some girls who participated in this study reported that they knew classmates who had dropped out of school after becoming pregnant. Very few of the girls who had dropped out of school due to pregnancy had returned despite Zambia's re-entry policy, which allowed and encouraged pregnant girls to return to school after giving birth. According to WLSAZ, (2012), nationwide, the re-entry policy figures are more promising, yet they too suggest that the policy had not been fully successful. In 2012, the Minister of Education reported that 12,617 girls were re-admitted in school under the re-entry policy between 2009 and 2011. In 2009, 5,517 basic school girls were re-admitted, amounting to 40% of the number of basic school girls who had become pregnant in the same year.

When girls returned to school after child delivery, they usually suffered some sort of stigma and discrimination which made the school environment not a good place for them. A girl interviewed at school D, noted that:

*“Going back to school is just as bad as going through another form of violence because teachers treat the pupils differently. Teachers sometimes call these girls “Bashemi” or “Bisemi” (local language terms which means **parents**) in class, and fellow pupils often tease or ridicule the girls.” (Grade 12 Girl).*

Explaining the consequences of teasing, mocking and ridiculing of girls who return to school after giving birth, one another girl at school D, noted that she did not think her classmates who had become pregnant and dropped out of school would return. She explained:

“I feel they may not come back to school because they are shy. They fear that we will laugh at them for getting pregnant.” (Grade 11 Girl)

The situation described above usually compelled girls who wished to return to school request for transfers to other schools to avoid the stigma they would receive at their own school. Further, girls who dropped out of school due to pregnancy also faced economic difficulties to continuing their education after they gave birth. As a girl at school B, observed;

“It is difficult for them to come back to school. Since they got pregnant and dropped out of school. They have problems with their families because their parents are not willing to sponsor them. Families don’t want to pay school fees for girls who get pregnant, so if the girl gets pregnant even if it is through sexual violence, usually means the end of a girl’s school career.” (Grade 12 Girl)

Getting pregnant during school time ended up school girls into early marriages. Some parents as described above took no responsibility to take their girl child back to school after child birth because they believed it was the girl’s time to get married, as another girl from school B, noted;

“If a girl gets pregnant, her parents don’t want her to go back to school. They refuse to pay her school fees. They try to get money from the man and tell their daughter to get married. That girl’s future has ended.” (Grade 10 Girl).

In line with the above finding, the WLSAZ, (2012), study asserts that, in some cases, sexual abuse in school can lead to early marriage, which is the reason for 32% of dropouts in Zambia. Zambia is ranked tenth globally for prevalence of early marriages, with 42% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 married before the age of 18 and 8% married before the age of 15. Sexual violence at school may compound the problem of early marriage. Families may fail to report sexual violence because they hope to trap the perpetrator into marrying the girl. Researchers have observed similar responses in other countries; for example, in Zimbabwe, parents often request that headmasters not report cases of sexual abuse because the parents are negotiating for the boy or teacher to marry the girl. In such situations, the girl not only suffered re-victimization

in the form of marriage to her sexual abuser, but also confronted an end to her education and related negative consequences such as reduced ability to access higher paying jobs and reduced independence.

4.2.9.9 School Girls' Reactions to Gender Based Violence

School girls who experienced gender based violence and harassment within and outside school reacted in various ways. Some attempted to report, while others opted to remain silent about their experience. However, school girls who fall victim to gender based violence and attempt to report faced multiple barriers in obtaining help thereby perpetuating a culture of silence. Those barriers included the absence of straight forward policies and procedures for preventing and responding to abuse, attitudes among school authorities that tolerated abuse or blamed the abused girls, inadequate or wrongly lenient responses by teachers at school and administrators, insufficient support services for children who were subjected to abuse, and a preference for resolving cases of abuse internally rather than reporting them to DEBS offices or police. The few girls whose cases reached the criminal justice system face additional barriers ranging from the lack of resources available to police investigations to the absence of child-friendly court procedures, all of which made it unlikely that these cases would progress very far.

One of the most important barriers, however, lied in the reluctance of girls who experienced gender based abuse to report it. Most instances of sexual violence and harassment against girls in schools were never reported. Among the girls who participated in this study, only four had reported the harassment or violence they experienced to a teacher or head teacher, and none had filed a complaint with the police.

Many girls during focus group discussions indicated that they or their friends did not report violence and harassment because they were not aware of school policies or procedures to address abuse. Some of them revealed that they did not realize that what they had experienced was an offense on the part of the abuser. Others felt that nothing would be done about what had happened and feared that they would be disbelieved and blamed for the sexual abuse they had suffered, or worried that the perpetrator would retaliate against them. Many of those concerns were grounded in girls' personal experiences or their observations of classmates' and friends' experiences. In this way, existing barriers to redress for sexual violence became obstacles to reporting, which further prevented girls from obtaining redress.

4.2.9.9.1 Lack of Policies and Procedures in Schools to Address Gender Based Violence Against Girls.

The schools where the study was conducted lacked formal policies on sexual violence or harassment. Some DEB officials noted that a Teachers' Code of Conduct exists that prohibits sexual violence and calls for the dismissal of any teacher found guilty of it, but they were unable to locate it at the time of the interview, as were the school administrators who were asked about the Code. Nearly all of the girls interviewed were unaware of any school policies or of procedures available for reporting abuse. Several girls noted that school administrators who might appear to be the appropriate people to whom to report, such as the headmaster or guidance and counseling, were unfriendly and unwilling.

This was consistent with the WLSAZ (2012) study that found that "lack of knowledge and information on where to report," had deterred girls from reporting sexual abuse by a teacher at their school.

Schools also lacked procedures for protecting learners who reported sexual abuse. Perhaps the reason most frequently offered by the interviewed girls for girls' failure to report gender based harassment or violence was a fear of retaliation, particularly where the perpetrator was a teacher, girls found it extremely difficult to report. In line with the above assertion, a girl at school A, had the following words:

"After abusing the girl, the teacher tells her that if she reports to any one something will happen to her. Girls do not report teachers who abuse them because they fear to be punished by that teacher." **(Grade 11 Girl)**

The study also revealed the abused school girls did not only fear physical violence but also retaliation in the form of poor marks or bad reports to their parents. In explaining why girls are too scared to report teachers who harass or abuse them, a girl at school C, issued the following remarks:

"Teachers can say all sorts of bad things about that girl and even giving her poor marks." **(Grade 10 Girl)**

4.2.9.9.2 Tolerance and Normalization of Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

In engaging with the issue of violence in relationships, confusion was evident in the manner in which the participants hesitated to either accept or deny responsibility for the violence. At every occasion, some participants' responses indicated that this was not a simple issue and there was no evidence that they were able to say 'no' to violence. Experience and exposure to violence complicated participant's natural sense that they should not accept violent behaviour.

In finding out their perception of gender based violence, school girls and school officials tended to tolerate and normalize gender based violence especially forced sexual relations that resulted in rape and defilement. Despite the existence of gender based violence in the Zambian school curriculum, no formal sex education exists in the curriculum, thereby leaving a gap in the provision of knowledge for school girls to protect themselves against gender based violence. However, in Anti-AIDS Club meetings or other gatherings, teachers told girls to protect themselves by staying away from boys and refusing to believe what they say. Girls were also instructed to avoid wearing short dresses or sitting in a careless way so that boys and men could look up their skirts. These messages suggested to girls that men are naturally aggressive and sexually charged, that harassment is something to be expected. The responsibility, therefore, was placed upon girls to resist the advances of their male teachers and male classmates.

The study further revealed that, girls often did not realize that what they had experienced was an offense. This was particularly true in cases involving sexual harassment by boy classmates. Girls reported that it made them feel bad and scared when boys touched them sexually or made sexual comments to them, but many of them took it for granted as something that boys do. The following comment was made by a girl at school C;

“Boys touch girls’ breasts and buttocks, it commonly happens to many girls including me. Girls have no choice but to just ignore and avoid them. If you see them coming, you move in the other direction.” (Grade 10 Girl).

Another girl from the same school added;

“Boys inevitably harass girls if the girl is cool and responds to them in a humble manner. Many girls do not believe that when boys harass them and touch their breasts, it is an abuse; only when they are raped is it seen as abusive.” (Grade 11 Girl).

The study also revealed that teachers getting into sexual relationships with school girls was perceived normal and acceptable in communities of schools A and B and was not associated with any form of violence on the part of a teacher. The girls who entered into those relationships normally saw themselves as having chosen to have done so, despite the fact that they chose to do so due to pressure or intimidation and involved an abuse of authority by their teacher as one girl from school A, asserted;

“Some of our classmates give teachers signs that they want to have a relationship by looking at them in an enticing way or sitting in front of class with a short skirt.” (Grade 9 Girl).

A girl from school B made the following comment;

“The girls are the key, even if teachers propose love to them, they have the right to refuse, but if they don’t refuse it means they also want relationships with teachers.” (Grade 10 Girl)

4.2.9.9.3 Girls Being Held Responsible for the Violence

In most of the focus group discussions conducted with school girls, participants actively engaged with the subject of violence and debated and challenged one another on the issue of violence, questioning girls’ and women's behaviour and, in some instances, trying to explain and justify the violence. The manner in which they debated indicated that they were trying to make sense of the violence. Furthermore, the manner in which girls assigned responsibility allowed them to condone, condemn or accept the violence. Participants' responses centered on commonly heard explanations some of the girls doubted whether they deserved it or not, and at times, emphasized on the patriarchal notion of men's rights over women, which serve to condone violence and excuse men's behaviour. Such responses were however not consistently endorsed, with some participants alternatively suggesting that these explanations were forced on them by boys as a way for them (the boys) to deny responsibility.

The study also discovered that school girls remained silent about their gender based violence experiences because of some discriminatory attitudes against them which existed in their communities and schools where the blame was centered on them. A girl at school D explained her reluctance to report sexual abuse;

“Even If I want to report I find it difficult, because if I go to the head, what if he thinks I am lying? If I go to the police, they would say where is the evidence?” (Grade 12 Girl).

Another girl at the same school asserted that together with some of her female classmates were afraid of reporting their gender based violence experiences because they feared that they would be chased from school. School girls thought that if they reported their experiences of gender based violence, they would be blamed for enticing the perpetrator and causing the abuse to happen, especially sexual abuse, thus contributing to a culture of silence that encouraged survivors to desist from speaking about the gender based violence they have suffered.

School girls were scared of reporting their experiences of abuse because they did not want to risk being disbelieved and held responsible for the abuse.

A girl at school B, narrated a story of her friend who was sent away from school because of having sexual affair with a male teacher.

“My friend had a sexual relationship with one teacher, another teacher reported her to her parents, the girl was expelled from school and sent away to her family’s village, while the teacher was never held responsible for his actions.” (Grade 12 Girl).

A girl from school D, had the following experience at her former school:

“A teacher at my former school proposed sexual relationship to me and I refused, then he beat and punished me even when I did not do anything wrong. I told my mother about it, then we approached the head teacher, he called in the teacher, the teacher told them that it was me who wanted sex with him.” The head teacher did not believe me at first, until, he questioned, the teacher who confessed that he was the one who had proposed sexual relationship to me.” (Grade 11 Girl).

4.2.9.9.4 School Girls’ Helplessness After Suffering the Violence

Responses from participants reflected the sense of hopelessness, fear, resignation and uncertainty of being in an abusive situation. Participants articulated their sense of being left alone to address the violence. Girls at school A, indicated that they were aware about the existence of the Zambian Anti-Gender Based Violence Act as a legal system meant to protect them against

gender based violence. However, this knowledge was tainted with the knowledge that nothing would be done if the matter was reported.

“The thing is we know what to do if you are in an abusive relationship, we know that you can go to the police but we don't because we are scared of what he might do if he is not arrested. You feel threatened by every move he makes.” (Grade 12 Girl).

On one to one interviews with school girls, responses further indicated there was a growing sense of despair and a sense of uncertainty, school girls’ experiences of gender based violence seemed to have taught many girls that violence was to be endured. The noticeable difference between younger and older girls suggested that opportunities for interventions were being missed and the effects were detrimental, within the two to three years between Grades 8 and 11 and 12, experiences were showing girls that their lives were not that worthwhile and their sense of self was being diminished.

4.2.9.9.5 School Responses to Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

It was alarming to note that despite the known vulnerability of adolescent girls and the prevalence of violence against women, no interventions were underway in any of the schools that where this study was conducted. The young women interviewed indicated that they had received minimal and, in most instances, no input on gender- based violence. Participants further suggested that within the school not much was done to recognize the abuse they were subjected to. Girls from school B, had the following comments;

“If a guy looks under a girl’s skirt instead of immediately suspending him, he is just asked to clean the toilets and even inform his parents about his behaviour at school.” (Grade 8 Girl).

“Most of the teachers, when a boy does something wrong, because they know that boy’s parents, they just leave the boy.” (Grade 9 Girl).

Participants' responses indicated that, for many, the school was not a safe place. They were harassed when they went to the toilet they were exposed to unsolicited touching and abusive language, and teachers did not appear to take such harassment seriously. This lack of action on the part of school officials once again left girls feeling that their experiences were being discounted.

These findings were consistent with findings in the literature that suggests that often schools were unsafe places; girl's toilets, in particular, were seen as sites of potential hazard. Schools were regarded as unsafe places and school responses to abuse were seen as unsatisfactory. No mechanisms were in place to protect or educate girls on gender- based violence. If anything, the issue was treated un seriously and dismissed. Schools as sites that house captive adolescents on a daily basis needed to be at the forefront in promoting equal rights, empowering young women and teaching both young women and young men about the non-acceptability of violence.

4.2.9.9.6 Community Perception of Gender Based Violence Against School

It was clear from all discussions and interviews with school girls that the young women did not feel that violence was taken seriously enough by the community. Findings from discussions with girls at school C, suggested that girls perceived that they were subjected to more abuse and disrespect from men within and beyond the school environment because the community condoned such behavior;

“You know our community is the problem, this is the example we get from people in our community, they treat girls and wives badly, and the young men think this is the way it should be.” (Grade 8 Girl).

School girls maintained that community-based organizations as well as the police did not take their reports of violence seriously. Girls' responses once again pointed to a sense of frustration and hopelessness at not being heard and not being helped.

The influence of the community context was clearly evidenced in the manner in which adolescents engaged with and constructed violence in relationships. In communities where violence was openly witnessed, perpetrated and spoken about, discussions about violence appeared to come freely, with participants stating that violence was a commonplace occurrence. Participants from a different school, situated within a different social setting did not engage as easily with the topic and responses indicated that within the community itself it was not a subject that was easily discussed. Despite these different ways of approaching the issue, it was apparent that gender-based violence occurred in both of these apparently different contexts and in both contexts, it was not being addressed.

Responses indicated that when reporting incidents of violence to school authorities and police, the violence was either taken as a trivial incident between children, or participants were reprimanded for being in relationships at such a young age and were told to take the matter to their parents. Complaints to the police were often not taken seriously and school girls who fell victim to gender based violence left to address the abuser themselves.

Government responses, like school and community responses, were perceived as inadequate. Participants expressed disregard at the manner in which they were treated and articulated the need not be re-victimized by the people and institutions they reported their experiences to. That school authorities and other law enforcement agencies that did not treat the matter of violence against women with the gravity it required sent messages as to the inevitability of girls' and women's being violated and reinforced their (girls and women) belief that violence was normal and to be accepted. It was the responsibility of those people in positions of authority to consistently reinforce that gender-based violence was not acceptable. They needed to implement existing legal framework like the *Zambian Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011* and be seen to actively denounce violence.

4.3 Findings from School Administrators

School administrators who participated in this study revealed that gender based violence against school girls existed in schools and that male teachers and male learners were the major perpetrators of the violence. Some school administrators maintained that sometimes school girls themselves invited the abuse especially sexual violence because they seemed to like it that they could be in sexual relationship with teachers. A guidance and counseling teacher school A, who was one of the school administrators presented his view in the following words:

“When teachers are confronted with these issues some of them argue that a relationship between an older school girl and a teacher should be acceptable as long as that girl is above 16 years of age and is willing to date a teacher. On the other hand, teachers are sometimes in a difficult position, because they have to resist being followed by school girls and sometimes cannot help falling in love with them. We normally tell the school girls to avoid ways that may lead into enticing the teachers.” (**Guidance and Counseling Teacher**).

The following was a comment from school administrator at school C,

“Sometimes girls themselves invite sexual abuse, they have a tendency of behaving in a way that attracts sexual affairs with boys and male teachers. Hence the blame should not only be on male teachers and boys but on girls also.” (School Administrator).

With regards to school girls’ reaction to the abuse, school administrators reported that abused girls reacted in various ways. Some of them reported the abuse while others decided to keep it to themselves for fear of embarrassment, especially issues to do with sexual abuse. It was clearly observed that the way the school administrators argued reflected the unfriendly environment for the abused girls to report their experiences.

At school administrator at school D, had this to say;

“My observation is that most girls who experience gender based violence find it difficult to report because they like it and they initiated it, so they fear that they will be exposed” (School Administrator).

At school B, an administrator acknowledged the frequent occurrences of gender based violence against school girls. He sympathized with school girls, at the same time he had to lay a blame on them;

“Gender based violence against school girls is real, and I really sympathize with the girls because it affects their success in education. Sometimes the girl deserves to be blamed especially where sexual violence is concerned because girls entice male teachers by the way they dress or speak or by visiting male teachers’ homes after school.” (School Administrator).

In another interview with another school administrator school C, the study revealed that due to gender based violence and fear of violence many girls stop attending school and do not even report their experiences of gender based violence

Gender based violence and fear of violence is an important reason for girls not attending school. Besides being in itself an infringement of girls’ rights, gender based violence is also denying girls their right to education and the violence that girls encounter in and

around schools and on the way to school goes unreported and the scale of the problem has been underestimated. (School Administrator).

At school A, one school administrator revealed in an interview that various forms of gender based violence were prevalent in many schools and the perpetrators were mainly male teachers, male learners and men they interact with on their way to and from school.

“Gender based violence against girls is a serious obstacle to the attainment of their education. It takes many forms including rape, sexual harassment, intimidation, teasing and threats. It affects all school girls, regardless of their age or location. Gender based violence against school girls is mainly perpetrated by male teachers, school boys and even the men that girls meet while walking especially long distances to and from school.” (School Administrator).

With regard to factors that expose school girls to gender based violence, a school administrator at school C, commented in the following words:

“The causes of gender based violence against school girls are rooted in male-dominant cultures which condone violence against girls and women. People in such communities use violence as a tool for imposing male power and controlling girls and women. Girls themselves often regard violence as inevitable and feel powerless to complain. In other words, the communities tolerate gender based violence against school girls and take it as a normal practice.” (school administrator).

In finding out whether school girls who fall victim to gender based violence report their experiences or not, one school administrator at school D, revealed that many cases of gender based violence against school girls go un reported due to various factors.

“Many cases of gender based violence against school girls are not reported for complex social and cultural reasons such as, lack of understanding of violence and violations against girls and women, or what constitutes violent behaviour. In many societies violence, especially sexual violence against girls is a norm. Girls seem to accept violence inflicted on them in schools and on the way to schools as an extension of what they face with their families, therefore nothing to complain about.” (School Administrator).

At school B, a school administrator had the following observation regarding the reporting patterns of the abused school girls.

“School girls who experience gender based violence face difficulties in reporting due to their Parents’ attitudes towards girls. When girls report their experiences, they are not believed by their parents. Sometimes again cases go unreported because the victims or parent/guardian of the victims fail to take up issues due to fear and powerlessness.”
(School Administrators).

The attitudes of teachers were also identified as another factor that contributed to lack of reporting by the abused school girls. At school D, the school administrators lamented in the following words.

“Incidents of gender based violence against school girls may also go unreported because of the attitudes of teachers, who may see boys’ intimidating behaviour towards girls as just being part of normal male teenage culture. Teachers are also sometimes unwilling to report on their colleagues who sexually, physically and psychologically abuse school girls for whatever reasons, economic or cultural. Some teachers, parents and girls themselves support the idea of teachers or older men having sexual relations with especially order school girls.” **(School Administrators).**

“I believe the prevalence of gender based violence against school girls is real and quite high just like other forms of violence against women in society. The first major problem lies in societal perceptions and lack of understanding of what constitutes gender based violence against school girls. The girls who fall victim to the violence majority of them do not report their experiences because schools do not even have in place policies to deal specifically with gender based violence against school girls. With the few cases that may be reported, school administrations mostly prefer that the cases are handled just within school and are not allowed to go beyond. This is mostly meant to protect the perpetrator, especially if a teacher is a perpetrator.” **(school administrator).**

4.4 Findings from District Education Board Officials

The District Education Board (DEB) office also pointed to the role that poverty plays in teacher-student relationships, noting that girls may submit to sexual advances in order to obtain resources

needed for survival or items that their peers possess but they cannot afford. Other teachers gave the girls they were dating preferential treatment at school, helping them to pass even when they did not deserve good marks or refraining from punishing them when their classmates were punished. One DEB official in charge of school B, had the following remarks.

“Some female students believe themselves to be less intelligent than boys, leading them to seek favors from teachers in the form of good marks. Although girls truly choose to engage in these types of relationships, their choices are almost always colored by elements of coercion given the sharp disparity in power that exists between themselves and their teachers.” **(District Education Board Officer)**

With regards to the prevalence, one District Education Board Officer under which school D fell indicated that there was high prevalence of gender based violence against school girls in secondary schools and that teachers and school administrators never took the consequences of the problem serious. He lamented in the following words:

“The prevalence of gender based violence against school girls in secondary schools is high and the implications are complicated and frightening This problem in most cases is hidden and not reported by the victims. Also, teachers in schools and the school administration do not seem to take serious the consequences of the problem and its implications on the health and education standard of the girls. Moreover, many schools do not have a clear system for the prevention and management of gender based violence against girls in schools. It is worth admitting that school girls are subjected to various forms of gender based violence like physical, sexual and psychological violence.” **(District Education Board Officer).**

A DEB official under which school C fell explained the prevalence of gender based violence against school girls indicating that its causes were rooted from the community’s cultural practices that condone and normalize violence.

“According to my own understanding, gender based violence against school girls is a problem that is very much existent in schools in Zambia. Teachers, school boys and members of the community are the perpetual perpetrators of this violence, the violence reflects underlying social norms regarding authority and expected gender roles, and

societal expectations that normalize some negative aspects of male dominance. Society condone aggressive actions of men and boys meant to exercise power over girls and women and women and girls are expected to be passive and submissive to men and boys. This is the root cause of the problem.” (District Education Board Officer).

He also added:

“Male teachers and male learners are among the those who subject school girls to gender base violence. Boys commonly witness violence that their mothers are subjected by their fathers in the homes, a situation which teaches that violence is normal, thereby making them perpetrate gender based violence against school girls. School girls experience different forms of gender based violence within school premises, on their way to and from school as well as within their communities. They suffer indecent touching investigative suggestive sexual comments about their body and dress, indecent speech, sexual harassment, attempted rape, all perpetrated by male peers and male teachers,” (District Education Board Officer).

in an interview, with another school DEB official, that oversaw school C, explained that it was un doubtable that school girls experienced various forms of gender based violence. However, he emphasized that sexual violence was the most common.

“I would say that gender based violence against school girls is an issue that cannot be doubted that it happens. Of all the various forms of gender based violence against school girls, sexual abuse is the most common. Girls suffer sexual abuse and harassment by boys and teachers. School girls experience cases of forced sex, sexual assault, and sexual harassment committed by both teachers and male pupils. Girls encounter sexual violence at school in school toilets, in empty classrooms and hallways, and in hostels and dormitories. Girls are also fondled, subjected to aggressive sexual advances, and verbally degraded at school.” (District Education Board Officer)

With some level of emotion, one DEB officer in charge of school D, described school girls’ experiences of gender based violence in the following words:

“I can assure you that gender based violence against school girls is something that is truly existent and tolerated in schools and communities. It is a serious form of discriminatory treatment that compromises the learning environment and educational

opportunities for girls. School girls are really victims of physical and sexual abuse at school. School girls are defiled, sexually assaulted, abused, and sexually harassed by their male classmates and even by their teachers. I can assure you that some girls have left school entirely as a result of their experiences of gender based violence, especially sexual violence.” (District Education Board Officer).

He Further explained how girls react to the violence.

Regarding school girls’ reaction to gender based violence, many girl learners do not feel safe to report incidents of gender based violence against them because they feel there no protection and there is no deliberate gender based violence policies in schools or communities to protect them. I also feel that the other reason for girls not reporting their experience is fear to be blamed. When school girls reveal the abuse, they encounter especially sexual abuse there is a tendency of the community even teachers holding the girl responsible for the action. (District Education Board Officer).

4.5 Findings from Members of The Community

Community members revealed that gender based violence against school girls is a common practice at school and within the community. While some clearly viewed girls as victims with little power in the transaction, forced into these practices by poverty, others saw girls as to blame, whilst others seemed to hold both these views at the same time. Men’s desire and envy were seen as contributing to the problem, and girls were also seen as responsible through dressing in a way that attracted the opposite sex, male teachers, school boys and men in the community. In some cases, girls’ subjection to sexual abuse was associated by parents with unruliness and indiscipline on the part of girls. The following were views from the members of the communities within which schools A, and B were located;

“when you talk of gender based violence particularly sexual violence against school girls, I think some school girls give themselves to older men in the community during day and, at night time, so that they can buy school material and pay school fees” (Member of the Community).

“For me, school girls are the problem in this issue of gender based violence just like women in the homes are a problem, because they are the ones who initiate sexual relationships with school boys and men and even male teachers. they then lose concentration on school and begin to have poor performance.” (Member of the Community).

I cannot blame men for gender based violence against school girls, but rather girls themselves who are a problem, because they don’t listen to what their parents and teachers say. They frequently get pregnant at a young age and end up dropping out of school and the circumstances that end them up in early pregnancies are best known to themselves. (Member of the Community).

In an explanation of who the perpetrators of gender based violence against school girls, members of the communities for school C and D had the following:

“I can say school boys and men in the community and even male teachers are the perpetrators of violence against school girls. But sexual violence sometimes is invited by girls themselves, girls like money a lot; they like attracting and going after older men and these men end up committing sexual abuse” (Member of the Community).

“I think it is very true that men, male teachers and school boys abuse school girls sexually, physically and psychologically. I think these perpetrators need to be punished because it is bad. But again, there are other cases where school girls like to ask for money, and when the man sees that the girl is always asking for money, he uses the situation to take the girl to his house and rapes her” (Member of the Community).

“Only older girls are the ones who have these problems since they have grown up, they need to satisfy their sexual desires. Normally girls when they reach a certain age they undergo body changes and feel like they can just involve in sexual matters, and this ends them up in being abused.” (Member of the Community).

These views from members of the community reflect the general perception of gender based violence against school girls by the communities where the study was conducted. Another member of the community of school B, acknowledged that school girls experienced different forms of gender based violence and emphasized that the physical beating that girls experienced was just seen as a normal and common way of instilling discipline in children.

“For me I would say school girls experience various forms of gender based violence at home and school. They suffer physical violence, they are beaten by teachers for various reasons like going late to school, poor performance in class and sporting activities and even for failing to pay school fees. But as community, we just take it as a common way of disciplining children.” (Member of the Community).

He added the following comment:

“When girls are subjected to physical violence, I can say they don’t report because they also know that they deserve it as it’s the way of disciplining them so that they can become good children.” (Member of the Community).

4.6 Chapter Summary

Majority of participants lamented high prevalence of gender based violence against school girls. School girls suffered sexual abuse such as rape, defilement and sexual comments and touching by teachers, male classmates, and the men they encounter while walking to and from school. They also face physical and psychological violence such as ridicule and beating from their male classmates, teachers and members of the community.

The study revealed that majority of school girls who fall victim to gender based violence do not report their experiences due to lack of gender based violence policies, normalization of the abuse by their communities and fear to be blamed by their school authorities

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Overview

While Chapter four was a detailed presentation of the findings of the study on school girls' experiences of gender based violence in selected secondary schools in Luampa and Kaoma Districts of Western Zambia, chapter five presents a discussion of the findings. The discussion of the findings in this chapter was done thematically in line with the study objectives. The study used the phenomenological qualitative research design that relied heavily on qualitative analysis of data.

5.2 Discussion of Findings from School Girls

The main issues or themes that emerged from the findings of this study include among others: school girls being treated like Sex objects, male teachers making school environment unsafe for school girls, using physical threats and intimidation to get girls cooperate, taking advantage of school girls' high poverty levels and being desperate to Pass Examinations as well as retaliating against school girls who refuse their sexual advances.

Other emerging issues border around school boys using physical threats and degrading language against school girls, community Perception of GBV determining school girls' reaction to abuse, intimate relationships between school girls and school boys, girls Choosing to ignore, relax and avoid the abuse, consequences of GBV on girls' social, psychological and physical development Girls' Reactions to GBV, tolerance and normalization of GBV against girls and Girls being held responsible for the violence

5.3 The Magnitude of School Girls' Experiences of Gender Based Violence

School girls who were participants in all the four secondary schools where the study was conducted highlighted the high prevalence of gender based violence against them taking various forms such as sexual violence, which included, unwanted touching, name calling and labelling, threatening behaviour and inappropriate sexual comments. The study revealed that there was high prevalence of gender based violence against school girls perpetrated by male teachers, male learners and men they encountered while moving to and from school. The study ascertained the magnitude of gender based violence against school girls by considering the number of

participants who lamented that the violence occurred frequently in secondary schools. This is consistent with Dunne, (2003), Leach, (2003), and Akiba, (2001), who contend that Gender-Based Violence (GBV) towards females in the formal education settings is pervasive, worldwide and this makes the females continue to face many obstacles to learning, safety within the school. Gender-Based Violence is one of the hindrances to achieving gender equity in schooling and it has negative implications for the quality of education especially among the girls.

5.4 School Girls Treated Like Sex Objects.

As presented in the previous chapter, majority of girls who participated in this study lamented that they suffered various forms of treatments which some of them did not even realize that it was gender based violence against them. The study found that some men in society, male teachers and male learners view school girls as sexual objects that could be subjected to unsolicited touching on their breasts or behinds at anytime and anywhere, as a grade 11 girl at school A, lamented in following words:

“Male teachers and male pupils talk to us in sexual manners, they treat us like sex objects, they even touch our bums. I don't like it.” (Grade 11 Girl).

This is consistent with the WLSAZ, (2012), study on sexual abuse against girls which revealed that the prevalence of physical and sexual violence against women and girls in Zambia is extremely high. Furthermore, about 47% of Zambian women had been the victim of physical violence at least once since the age of 15 and that at least one in ten women experienced sexual violence. This entails that many women were subjected to gender based violence in their childhood when they were still attending primary or secondary schools, GRZ Report, (2007).

5.5 Male Teachers as Perpetrators Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

Many school girls who participated in this study frequently reported instances of sexual violence and harassment against them perpetrated by male teachers. Majority of the girls interviewed said that they knew about teachers at their current or former school who had sexually harassed or abused female learners. Some of them acknowledged that they had been subjected to sexual harassment or violence by a teacher by being propositioned for sex or a relationship with a teacher while others had been touched in a sexual way by teachers without permission, also others had received unwanted sexual comments from teachers. Incidents of sexual violence by

teachers against female learners included a range of aggressive behaviors and misuse of authority, including rape, various forms of sexual assault, verbal sexual harassment, and bribing school girls with money or promising them to pass examinations.

This finding is in line with Holme, (2007), compiled report of studies done in different countries, revealing that in Kenya 50 percent of the girls admitted receiving money, ornaments and clothes when they engaged in sex for the first time. In Uganda, 22 percent of primary school girls anticipated receiving gifts or money in exchange for sex, and in South Africa, 30 per cent of young girls reported that their early sexual experiences were coerced and forced.

In the teaching profession, there are many examples of sexual abuse female pupils and students by their male teachers and lecturers. Teachers, as public servants, possess more than a job; they have taken on special duties involving the public trust. Members of the public expect that teachers will use their position to promote the public interest and not to advance their personal and private interests, Mollyn, (2014). This actually calls for diligence in executing their duties so that they relate with the children left in their responsibility professionally.

5.6 Male Teachers Make School Environment Unsafe for School Girls.

The participants' expression of their personal experiences of gender based violence with male teachers suggests that school environment is not a safe place for them because it is characterized with all forms of gender based violence against them. It therefore, clearly indicates that for the young women involved, school is not seen as a safe place. Instead it appears to be a primary site for sexual harassment." A grade 11 girl at school B, had the following experience:

"One day when I was walking, and the top button of my shirt was a little bit open, the teacher drew nearer and said, "Wow, you have nice boobs." I said, why are you saying those things? I'm young. He kept quiet but continued approaching me, telling me that I was beautiful, asking me out and offering to take me somewhere to a nice place." (Grade 11 Girl).

School girls' expression of their experiences also suggest that teachers who proposed sexual affairs to them tried to use their position of power to persuade the female learners to engage in sexual relationships with them. This is consistent with Coombe, (2002), and Skinner (2001), in Shakafuswa, (2007), who recognize the important social responsibility that teachers hold as the

next in line of defence for the child after the family. This is the position of trust; which scholars unanimously agree that the teacher has abused through inappropriate sexual behaviour. Human Rights Watch, (2001), identifies girls as being the disproportionate victims of physical and sexual abuse at school and points to the serious discrimination girls suffer because of the tolerance of gender-based violence in schools. Scholars like Skinner, (2001), Coombe, (2002), like many others who have written on sexual abuse, agree that these relations are characterized by unequal power relations and that the girls should not be viewed as consenting parties to the abuse. They recognize power-based factors such as fear, force and intimidation as being the main elements used by the teachers to ensure victim compliance and silence. However, that studies only concentrate on sexual abuse by teachers and within school premises.

This is also in collaboration with feminist theory focuses on violence against women by identify patriarchal structures which reinforce gender based inequalities of power in society as the root cause of the problem. Giddens, (2004), relates gender to power in an overarching theory of gender relations which integrates the concepts of patriarchal and masculinity. Patriarchy requires violence or a subliminal threat of violence against women and girls to maintain itself.

The participants; responses further present a suggestion that male teachers in secondary schools are at the forefront in creating a hostile environment for school girl within school premises making it difficult for young female learners to learn in a conducive environment. Despite stiffer punishment including dismissal from employment for male teachers who sexually and physically abuse school girls, this study concluded that majority of male teachers still abuse school girls sexually and physically. This is consistent with the study conducted by Rossett, (2014), on gender based violence in primary schools in Harare and Marodera Districts in Zimbabwe which asserts that, “According to the participants, perpetrators of sexual violence in schools are teachers, classroom peers and students in the higher grades. Support staffs such as grounds men or janitors were also mentioned as well as herdsmen working in the area surrounding the school. However, the most striking finding was that the chief culprits in schools are male teachers.

5.7 Male Teachers Use Physical Threats and Intimidation to Get Girls Cooperate.

In many instances, teachers go beyond proposing sexual relationship to school girls and used threats or physical force to coerce them into having sex. A grade 12 girl at school C, told a story of a friend who had been sexually abused by the teacher and the case went to court and the girl successfully received a judgment for damages against a teacher who raped her. This is in line with UNESCO, (2009), assertion that physical violence is the easiest form of violence to identify because usually there are physical findings to match it. Common forms describing physical violence and abuse in schools include, but are not limited to: physical bullying, physical threats and intimidation, physical assault, beatings, attacks with weapons, arson and theft, corporal and other physical punishments, Physical violence and abuse against students in schools can be perpetrated by adults including teachers and other school staff, as well as by students, against other students.

Many such cases of sexual violence against school girls happen in schools and go unreported to the school authorities and even to the police. Nader, (2000) in UK, reported that 90 percent of children who experienced sexual abuse were abused by someone they knew. More than one in three children (34%) who experienced defilement from an adult (father or uncle) did not tell anyone else about it. Campbell, (2000), reported that defiled/sodomised girls and boys experience shock and trauma which undermined their status in society and worse still they end up largely suffering in silence. This entails that Child sexual abuse is a vice that shocks and traumatizes the victims and undermines the status of children and women in any society yet it is suffered in silence.

This is related to Burton, (2005), the study in Sudan, which mentioned harassment that indicated a sort of verbal sexual imitation. The study further alludes that usually, “sexual violence is referred to any sexual act using harassment, or force. All types of sexual violence can involve verbal or physical harassment with sexual connotations, inappropriate touching, sexual assault or rape. The action of sexual abuse usually followed by threats aimed at preventing the victim from reporting the incident. The Study showed that perpetrators of sexual abuse are males of all ages, known or unknown to the victim, within schools, are most commonly male students or teachers and other staff.” One grade 10 girl at school A, had this to say about her friend’s experience when she was in grade 9:

“When I was in grade 9 at my former primary school, a teacher forced my friend to have sex with him. He called her and said, “Come to school, your friends are here.” When she arrived, she did not find anyone there. The teacher told her, “Go to the laboratory office and get a bottle of water.” He later followed her and started asking her questions like, “Do you love me?” The teacher told her that if she didn’t say yes, she couldn’t go home. “Prove your love,” he said. “Kiss me.” She did what he asked her to do because she wanted to go home. She became his girlfriend. Few months later, my friend became pregnant and dropped out of school and went back to join her family in the village.”
(Grade 10 Girl).

5.8 Male Teachers Take Advantage of School Girls’ High Poverty Levels.

This study also reveals that high poverty levels among female learners made it easier for some male teachers to use the promise of money for food, school fees, or other necessities to convince female learners to engage in sexual relations with them. Most of the girls interviewed had experiences of having had dropped out of school for substantial periods of time, in some cases as long as three years, because they could not afford to pay school fees. Some of them had missed days or weeks of school because of their inability to pay school fees or buy the books, shoes, or school uniforms required to attend school. This situation exposes school girls to high level of vulnerability to the advances of teachers who offer to provide them with money they desperately need or a taste of small luxuries they have not previously been able to experience. This is consistent with Shakafuswa, (2007), study on sexual abuse of female pupils by male teachers which asserts that school girls enter into sexual relationships with male teachers in order to get good marks, money or food, love or marriage, recognition and due to force,

Therefore, this study concludes that poverty among school girls subjects them to some form of gender based abuse, particularly sexual abuse especially by male teachers. According to Amira. Badri, (2014), Also, the role of poverty is greatly evident where poor girls engage in transactional sex with teachers, school staff or any men to support financially their education. In some cases, parents may turn blind eyes in their girl/s sexual relations in order to mitigate lack of cash to support their daughter education. A grade 10 girl at school D, where the study recounted,

“I have a friend who was dating a teacher. She needed some money to buy food and things. The teacher was giving her money sometimes.” **(Grade 10 Girl).**

5.9 Male Teachers Take Advantage of School Girls' Being Desperate of Passing Examinations.

Several girls reported that teachers had abused their position of authority to force female learners into sexual relationships by offering leakages, or leaked exam answers, in exchange for sexual favors. Some of the girls interviewed reported that they had heard of or encountered teachers at their current or former school offering students leakages in exchange for sex. The study then suggests that some teachers may be cheating learners by expressly or implicitly holding out the promise of leaked exam answers, even if they are unable to deliver on that promise. As a girl at school B, had this to explain:

“When you are in grade 12 and getting towards exams, girls start looking for leakages. They start getting with male teachers and sleeping with them. I’ve heard of three male teachers who do this. When we have to write our grade 12, a lot of girls go wild because they want to pass.” (Grade 12 Girl).

5.10 Male Teachers Retaliate Against School Girls Who Do Refuse Their Sexual Advances.

The study further discovered that some teachers even abused their positions of authority by retaliating against girls who refuse their sexual demands or broke off a relationship. Girls reported that teachers sent girls out of class, refused to call on them, or even physically punished them in front of other learners. As noted earlier, Zambian law prohibits the use of corporal punishment in schools, and a teacher or administrator who punishes a student in this way is liable to a fine or imprisonment for up to one year. However, majority of the girls in focus group discussions revealed that they or their classmates had been subjected to corporal punishment at school. The girls reported cases in which teachers slapped or hit female learners in retaliation for refusing his sexual propositions. The study there holds that constant exposure of school girls to corporal punishment results in many girls dropping out of secondary schools in Zambia. This is consistent with Shakafuswa, (2007), that contends that it is also worrisome to see how teachers abused their power and authority over pupils, making them suffer for rejecting their sexual proposals by inflicting heavy punishment, even physical beatings whenever they infringed on any school rule. Pupils reported being subjected to harsh corporal punishment and heavy manual work by the teachers whose sexual advances they had rejected.

Moreover, it is argued that corporal punishment and psychological violence affect school attendance and performance. A study of students in Uganda found that corporal punishment was a major reason for student dropout. One grade 10 girl at school C, had the following experience:

“My geography teacher proposed me, and I refused. After that, when I tried to answer a question in class, he wouldn’t call on me or would send me out of the classroom. When the noisemakers made noise, he would beat me. He used a stick on my hands or buttocks. When this happened, I was discouraged at school. When I woke up in the morning, I didn’t want to go to school because I knew that the teacher would beat me. I stayed home from school for one week until my mother got me changed to another class.” **(Grade 10 Girl)**

Some participants asserted that teachers at both their primary and secondary schools retaliated against school girls who refused their sexual demands by asking them to slash down grass around school grounds, forcing them to leave the classroom whenever the teacher began teaching a class, or telling their parents bad things about them. Still other teachers threatened students with poor marks or failure if they refused to go out with them or reported their advances. This suggests that school girls suffer significant psychological abuse and affects their ability to remain psychologically stable and have a successful performance in school. This finding is consistent with Shakafuswa, (2007), which reported that some girls reported being victims of vindictive teachers who took advantage of report forms to report negatively on the girls who had turned their sexual demands down. Such girls have been reported as being playful, a comment which one respondent from School A, felt lowered the child's worth before her parents. Teachers were also said to give disparaging remarks on the girls who had spurned their sexual proposals. To this effect, the girls reported being stigmatized and degraded because their teachers used them as examples of ill-behaved students. Other girls complained that they were shouted at and even insulted in class by teachers. Others further revealed that some male teachers would give disparaging examples of a girls known to have turned down their sexual proposal.

5.11 School Boys as Perpetrators of Gender based Violence Against School Girls

In addition to their experiences of gender based violence by teachers, school girls reported being abused in various ways by their male classmates. During focus group discussions, many girls reported that they had personally experienced sexual harassment or abuse from fellow learners

by being pressured to have sex, being touched in a sexual way without their permission, and having been the recipients of unwanted sexual comments by boys. They further reported that they knew of other girls who had experienced sexual harassment or violence by fellow pupils at their current or former school. According to Badri, (2014), study on school-gender-based violence in Africa: prevalence and consequences, participants identified experiences of indecent touching and groping, suggestive comments about the body and dress, indecent speech, sexual harassment on school premises especially in the toilets, attempted rape, rape and incest. Groping by male peers and lifting of girls' dresses was a daily nuisance as was teasing by male teachers and boys about their bodies.

5.12 School Boys Use Physical Threats and Degrading Language Against School Girls.

The study therefore posits that school girls are subjected to degrading language by male pupils and are often called by all sorts of abusive names if they refuse to cooperate with boys, a girl at school B commented;

“If you do not accept what they want, they would call you by all sorts of offensive names such as a bitch, a prostitute and so on. They can discuss the shape of your breasts and even speak about your vagina,” (Grade 12 girl).

By virtue of this study allowing girls to bring out their experiences of gender based violence, the study conforms to the demands of feminist theory. The diverse feminist perspectives include: radical, liberal and Marxist/socialist perspectives Mollyn, (2014). However, for the purpose of this study, the feminist perspective was based on the common conviction that cuts across the various perspectives, that is, a commitment to investigating the experiences of women in society and to try to view the world from the perspective of women. Since a feminist theory places women at the center within their respective contexts, Hooks, (2000), school girls' experiences of gender based violence were central to this investigation. The feminist approach afforded school girls as young women a safe realm within which to tell their stories and in so doing validated and empowered them.

While most of the school girls who participated stated that boys used threats to deter girls' actions, other participants revealed that boys' actions were not limited to verbal threats but could also escalate to physical or even sexual violence if girls never complied with them. This study

also conceives that school boys made school environment hostile for female learners. The study reveals that male learners are also rooted in perpetuating gender based violence against school girls. This is consistent with some literature reviewed in this study which contend that in South Africa sexual harassment and violence in schools appear to mirror violence in South African society and highlight the prevalence of male hegemony. Female learners are subjected to degrading comments, unwanted touching, threats of violence as well as actual violence. Boys appear to use violence or its threat to control girls' movements and activities and in this way, to scare girls into submission. These varied forms of gender violence perpetrated against them at school appear to have a negative effect on their sense of self-worth and appear to leave them fearful and feeling powerless, this finding conforms to the feminist perspective which entails a critique of patriarchy, Hooks, (2000). In the 1970s, feminists spoke of patriarchy as the master pattern in human history, a system of operation where males dominated all aspects of life, that is, culture, the economy, communication, kinship and sexuality Tsai, (2007). Patriarchy is the institutionalization of men's power over women within economical, religious, social, political and marital relations Para, (2010).

As described by Hooks, (2000), patriarchy favours men at the expense of women since males as a group have and do benefit the most from patriarchy, from the assumption that they are superior to females. Seen from the context of the preceding conceptions of patriarchy, one would view patriarchy as a system characterized by male dominance and subordination of females. Because patriarchy is based on male dominance, it is hegemonic in nature, subjugating women and silencing them. This study's thrust to allow school girls space to speak, to share their experiences of gender based violence, makes it feminist. In keeping with the feminist approach which treats women as subjects and not objects Hooks, (2000), this study was done not on school girls but with school girls whose participation served as co-creators of knowledge.

The study also advances that boys' use the threat of violence to scare girls into submission is a mode of control over girls' bodies, dresses, movements and social activities. Therefore, Girls' lives are often limited by the threat of violence. The power that male learners exert on female learners' heavily control girls' choices at school, their academic performance as well as freedom of movement. This finding also correlates with the feminist approach which asserts that, regardless of orientation, is a challenge to existing theoretical perspectives by re-examining old

materials and concepts in terms of gender and power relations Miller, (2009). Irrespective of what form it assumes, feminism is grounded in the realization that society is constructed in ways that underprivilege women Nkealah, (2009). Viewed from a feminist perspective, patriarchy lays a fertile ground for the abuse of women, Partab, (2011). The feminist theory is critical in explaining violence against women which is a primary concern of this study. In light of this, violence against women, in this case, gender based violence against school girls, is a matter of male power over women Puhala, (2011). The control-over component gives patriarchy a propensity to violence Tracy, (2007).

Girls at school B, where they go for weekly boarding maintained that groups of boys loitered around the girl's bathroom and if girls wanted to use the bathroom, they were humiliated. As a result, girls did not use the bathroom. This finding is consistent with Miller, (2009) study on Gender-based Violence in Primary Schools in the Harare and Marondera Districts of Zimbabwe which observed that, most girls identified toilets as the riskiest place because male classmates followed to peep at or grope them. The location of toilets, far from the classrooms and unmonitored by teachers, heightened the risk Girls endeavoured to visit toilets in groups to avoid harassment but this was not always possible.” In this study, one grade 10 girl at school A, lamented in the following words:

“They will stand near the toilet they (boys) will laugh at you, tell you that you stink, even if you have to go to the toilet you don't go because you don't want to be humiliated.”
(Grade 10 Girl).

5.13 Community Perception of GBV Determined School Girls’ Reaction to Abuse

This study further postulates that gender based violence against school girls is really prevalent in all the schools where the study was conducted. Girls from different social, religious, and economic backgrounds participated in the study and their gender violence experiences appear to be similar across the settings. It is however noticeable that the manner in which the girls engage with the subject is to a larger extent determined by the manner in which gender based violence is generally perceived in their communities, girls coming from communities with knowledge about GBV, can speak about the topic in a more matter of fact, down to earth way than those coming from communities where GBV is kept shrouded in secrecy and accepted as a normal practice.

Through focus group discussions with school girls, the study conceives that school girls' experiences of gender based violence exposes them to a sense of helplessness and do not feel like they have any control or autonomy at school because boys dictate much of their behaviour and their movement. Boy's use of threats of violence, as well as actual violence, reflects adult male's use of such tactics and appear to be a way to enforce control and force girls into submission and girls tolerate this continual harassment, coping with it by avoiding boys when they can and shouting at them or running away when avoidance does not work. In light of feminist theory, many cultures sanction men's right to control their women's behaviour with the effect that those women who are viewed as disobedient or challenging may be subjected to punishment, Yigzaw, (2010). In view of men's 'monopoly of violence, Nadar, (2002) suggest that violence is a factor that is common to all women when they assert that nothing is more common, resilient and widespread in the cultures of the world than violence against women. This study's consideration of school girls as victims of violence in a patriarchal culture renders it feminist in nature.

According to the feminist theory, patriarchy is the ultimate cause, the overarching construct which ultimately engenders violence against women, Tracy, (2007). Seen from this perspective, gender based violence against school girls is at the heart of patriarchal relations of oppression. As Mesatywa, (2009), puts it, within the African context, patriarchy shapes the construction and perpetuation of African women's oppression. Violence against women epitomises male abuse of power and privilege Nkealah, (2009). In the private sphere of the family, patriarchy asserts power through the control of women which may be social, economic, as well as shaming and blaming, Rakoczy, (2005).

This is also true with the study by Miller, (2009), in Zimbabwe which observed that "Overgrown access paths to and from the school formed risky locations as both boys and men sexually harassed girls on the journey to and from school. One girl mentioned that boys intimidated girls every day as they waited for them in gangs after school, on the way home and touch them provocatively." The study further revealed that Gender based violence in schools is generally the most hidden and socially accepted form of child rights violations. Gender scripting and a culture of tolerance towards gender violence in the Zimbabwean society contribute to the continued problem. A girl at school had the following comment;

“Boys especially prefects have a tendency of publicly threatening girls and say things like, ‘I’m in 12G or B. If you fail to see me there, you will be in problems.’ They do that a lot, and when he calls you, you are scared, that he may beat you if you don’t go there. If you reach there he says, ‘Oh, I love you.’” (Grade 10 Girl).

5.14 Intimate Relationships Between School Girls and School Boys

This study advances that school girls take intimate relationships with school boys inevitable. Though some of their intimate relationships with school boys have some sort of consent, it is evident from interviews with secondary schoolgirls that many sexual interactions between boys and girls involve elements of coercion, while some clearly rise to the level of rape or sexual assault resulting in many girls being extremely suspicious of interacting with boys at all, sometimes planning their routes to classrooms or other school locations to avoid boys who might try to touch or grab them on the way. This pattern of behavior reflects a culture of fear and avoidance that is not in any way conducive to ensuring the equal education of girl students or to fostering mutual respect between boys and girls. This is true with the feminist theory which attest to the fact that, abusive men often explicitly or implicitly cite male headship and female submissiveness to justify their abuse, arguing that their women are responsible for the abuse because they were not submissive Ogland, (2011) puts it, beating of wives occurs because a husband feels that he is superior to the wife. Within the framework of Christianity this dominance approach seems to emanate from the religious teaching that wives should submit to their husbands who are the household heads, Tracy, (2006). Since wives ought to be submissive in everything to their husbands, batterers feel permitted to mete out punishment to their wives for perceived misbehavior, Para, (2010). Considering that the misogynous treatment of women is rooted in culture and reinforced in theology and ministry, adequate ministry on gender based violence requires a theological reconstruction in a feminist vein. The connection between feminist theology as liberation theology and the alleviation of violence against women can be extrapolated from the preceding argument. This study assumed a feminist liberation stance as it provided abused school girls with a platform to share their experiences.

Majority of girl participants described most of their intimate relationships as characterizing violence which was tolerated and normalized. This very normalization of violence highlights the prevalence of violence in Zambian society. It points to the responsibility of all in society to

revisit the current culture and create a different way of handling relationships in society. The study further conceives that abusive behaviour is learnt in adolescent relationships and experiences of abuse in these relationships often serve as indicators for future abuse. This presents a picture given the evidence of abuse prevalent in the lives of many of the young women who participated in this study. The school girls' familiarity and experience of gender based violence also indicate the high prevalence of gender based violence in Zambian society and the extent to which it is normalized. As one girl from school B, had this experience:

“One day my father got a big stick and pointed at my mother, when she was washing, and told her that he would kill her if she did not listen. Then I cried.” (Grade 10 Girl).

5.15 GBV Against Girls on their Way to and from School or at Boarding Facilities

The study also concludes that gender based violence that school girls encounter in Zambia while attending school is not limited to their interactions with male teachers and classmates. Rather, school girls are also vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence while travelling to and from school or boarding near or at school.

Girls are not only at risk of being subjected to violence in schools but also on the journey to and from school. Long distances to schools also expose school girls to higher level of vulnerability to harassment on the way, UN Report, (2011). Many of the girls who participated in this study reported walking long distances to school. This study therefore indicates that school girls are uncomfortable and unsafe during their journeys to and from school because they frequently encounter men who sexually harass them.

This finding is consistent with Hooks, (2002), study in South Africa which concluded that it was a particular problem in rural schools where girls feared harassment from herdsmen. “Because of the scattered settlement patterns homesteads and schools are a considerable distance apart and some girls walked long distances to school daily. In some cases, family members took turns to accompany participants to school; however, this was not always feasible.”

A grade 9 girl participants in this study at school A, explained that her friend had been raped on the way home from school:

“My friend was raped by a man who worked as a conductor for local mini-bus. It wasn't dark; he did it in the bush. Later my friend told her mother who started looking for the

conductor but he was nowhere to be seen Then my friend felt so ashamed of what had happened to her that she transferred to another school.” (Grade 9 Girl).

This study also postulates that school girls find their journeys to and from school as unsafe environment as men they meet on the way make rude comments about girls’ appearances, propose love or marriage, or come up and touch them. The study found that the girls viewed the harassment to which they were subjected as inevitable. According to the feminist theory, patriarchy is the ultimate cause, the overarching construct which ultimately engenders violence against women, Tracy (2007). Seen from this perspective, gender based violence against school girls is at the heart of patriarchal relations of oppression. As Mesatywa, (2009), puts it, within the African context, patriarchy shapes the construction and perpetuation of African women’s oppression. Violence against women epitomises male abuse of power and privilege Nkealah, (2009). In the private sphere of the family, patriarchy asserts power through the control of women which may be social, economic, as well as shaming and blaming, Rakoczy, (2005).

Feminism seeks to fight the domination and oppression of women by social patriarchal structures that promote male chauvinism. From a feminist perspective, violence against women is a critical tool in the maintenance of male hegemony; it is the means by which the patriarchal requirements of conformity and obedience are extended to women and enforced, Partab, (2011).

5.16 Girls Just Choose to Ignore, Relax and Avoid the Abuse.

Despite the girls being aware that the harassment has negative impact on them, they seem not to have any other way of avoiding the violence other than just ignoring the situation, while others just feel like seeking God’s intervention through prayer. A girl at school A, had this to say;

“When people are talking bad things, you have to pray that the Holy Spirit will take control.” (Grade 10 Girl)

However, the study also suggests that girls are reluctant in finding ways to resist the abuse. Some girls accept the advances of men on the street, usually those that drive cars even taxi drivers and usually in exchange for free transportation or money to buy things. This is also consistent with U.N Report, (2010), on Violence against Women which noted that Zambian “girls are reported to have sexual relationships with minibuses and taxi drivers as a way of coping with transport costs.”

This suggests that since majority of school girls are poverty stricken, they are more vulnerable to the abuse by drivers because they are in pursuit of money for the groceries, transport and even airtime for their cell phones, hence are often abused by the drivers and conductors. Zambian school girls are also vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence by community members while staying at boarding facilities at or near the school. Some studies have documented the experiences of girls who stay during the week in private boarding houses near the school to avoid long commutes home. Unsupervised by parents or school authorities and housed in largely unsafe, makeshift dormitories, these girls are extremely vulnerable to sexual abuse by men, including truck drivers who temporarily stop near the boarding houses, looking for sex. Girls who board at school are more protected; they generally stay in separate buildings on school grounds, supervised by a school matron.

5.17 Consequences of Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

The findings of this study suggest that the impact of gender violence against school girls has far reaching consequences for girls; it affects the girls' decision to remain in school, girls' concentration and their sense of self-esteem. The harassment, intimidation and violence girls are subjected to make them feel exploited, worthless, alone, scared, powerless and guilty resulting in the traumatizing effect sense of helplessness, fear and self-blame. This reflects many women's experiences in abusive relationships in Zambian society. A sexual abuse victim, according to Morgan, (1998), may develop serious psychological problems because of the victimization. Tsai and Wagner, (1978), list some of the long-term effects of sexual abuse as including depression, self-destructive behaviour, anxiety, feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem and difficulty in trusting others. Merrill, (1996), point to other post-traumatic stress symptoms, which include anger, sleep problems and school difficulties. The Human Rights Watch report, (2001), indicates that the trauma of sexual abuse can affect a child, leading to poor levels of participation in learning activities, forced isolation, low self-esteem and confidence and dropping out of educational activities or subjects.

Gender Based Violence by teachers, fellow students or community members go along with serious consequences for young school girls. They experience a variety of physical, mental, and emotional health problems. They often have difficulty concentration in class, find their education

derailed by a teacher's retaliation, or interrupt their education to transfer to another school in order to escape harassment. Some girls become pregnant and drop out of school, often for good.

Moreover, it has been said that school gender-based violence may limit children's opportunities to attend school or complete their schooling, to succeed as individuals during their school years, and to take advantage of their schooling throughout their lives. In addition, victims of school/gender violence results in being unable to concentrate, not wanting to participate in class, receiving lower grades, losing interest in school, transferring to a different school, or even leaving formal schooling altogether.

5.18 Physical- Health consequences

Victims of sexual abuse may also contract sexually transmitted diseases from sexual violence, including HIV/AIDS, which is prevalent in Zambia. According to WLSAZ, (2012), in Zambia's only successful civil claim against a teacher for sexual violence, the victim contracted a sexually transmitted infection after being raped by her teacher. The WLSAZ study further reveals that at the 2011 Ministry of Education's Conference on sexual and gender-based violence, a group of girls discussed a case where a schoolgirl contracted HIV from a teacher and an officer from NGOCC described a similar case. These diseases have negative consequences on the victims' health long after the abuse itself has ended.

In Zambia, the GIDD Technical Committee report, (2000), points out that victims of sexual violence are exposed to sexually-transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, and that sexual abuse leads to incidences of high maternal mortality among young girls and infanticide. A report by WILSA, Zambia notes that gender violence usually results in physical injury, emotional trauma and transmission of STDs and HIV/AIDS.

Studies on the impact of sexual abuse suggest that children are at a higher risk than adults of contracting HIV. The World Health Organization (WHO) reported in 2002 that forced sex increases the risk of transmitting HIV. As the WHO report explained, "In forced vaginal penetration, abrasions and cuts commonly occur, thus facilitating the entry of the virus when it is present through the vaginal mucosa." This is especially true of adolescent girls because their vaginal mucous membranes are underdeveloped, and they are therefore more susceptible to cuts or abrasions resulting from forced sex. Girls in schools in Zambia who encounter sexual violence are thus at an increased risk of contracting these types of diseases.

5.19 Physical-Health Consequences Arising from Early Pregnancy

Sexual abuse also subjects school girls to the risk of an early pregnancy, which is associated with a variety of potentially serious health risks, including obstetric fistulas (injuries to birth canal) and the risks posed by unsafe abortions. Fistulas are injuries to a birth canal causing a leakage of urine and/or feces and are more prevalent in young women under the age of 20. In 2010, according WLSAZ, (2012), cases of fistulas were treated in Zambia. Moreover, and the World Health Organization Report (2002) complications arising from childbirth and pregnancy are the leading cause of death of girls aged 15 to 19 in many low-income nations like Zambia Newborn deaths and stillbirths are also 50% more common among adolescent mothers than mothers of advanced age.

Unsafe abortion is yet another problem arising from sexual violence and pregnancy. Zambian law permits abortion where there is a risk to the life or of injury to the physical or mental health of a woman. However, many women and girls resort to unsafe abortions, which endanger their lives and health. The following story was told by a grade 12 girl at school C, about what happened to her sister

“My sister’s boyfriend told her they were going to have sex that day, but my sister refused, and then the boy just closed the door and forced her into an act of sex. She got pregnant and decided to abort the pregnancy. The herbs she took could only kill the baby inside the womb and not removing it out. She came back home and told my mother that she had headache, so my mother went with her to the clinic where she was given headache medicine. After three days, her condition became worse and she was taken back to the clinic where they discovered that she had attempted abortion. An hour later she died.” (Grade 12 Girl).

This is in line with Chikumbi, (2014), study on sexual abuse of female learners by male teachers that contend that, participants from all the FGs and interviews conducted gave several responses ranging from contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections including HIV, abortions, Obstetric complications such as vesico-vaginal fistula poor performance leading to dropping out of school while others get married at a tender age. Issues related to the health of the female pupils like vesico-vaginal fistula were given by female teachers from School A, B and C.

In line with the above findings on reproductive health, Holme, (2007), stated that vesico-vaginal fistula was another consequence that could arise due to undeveloped reproductive system. The consequence is prevalent among underage girls who start to bear children before their physical development is complete as their pelvic would not have developed to allow easy passage of babies. There is damage of the passage during child delivery.

These findings are in line with a study conducted by Cornell Law School in collaboration with WLSA, (2012), which found that teacher/ pupil sexual relationships have serious negative consequences for girls' education and health. Girls may experience sexually transmitted diseases, early pregnancy, injury, or death from unsafe abortions, depression, and anxiety and are more likely to have difficulties concentrating on their studies.

These instances illustrate the physical harm that sexual violence can cause beyond the direct effect of the violence itself. According to WLSAZ, (2012), Unsafe abortions cause 13% of maternal deaths worldwide and approximately 30% of such deaths in Zambia. Thus, in situations where girls find themselves pregnant following sexual abuse, they are at a higher risk of pregnancy-related health problems and, if they decide to terminate the pregnancy, at a higher risk of complications and health risks arising from unsafe abortions.

5.20 Psychological-Health Consequences

The study also observes that gender based violence against school girls has grave psychological consequences such as depression anxiety stress and post-traumatic stress disorder which may result in girls committing suicide. Furthermore, studies have shown that sexually abused persons often experience feelings of fear and distrust as a result of abuse. This is true with Skimmer, (2001), who asserts that a victim of gender based violence may develop serious psychological problems because of the victimization. Tsai and Wagner, (1978), list some of the long-term effects of sexual abuse as including depression, self-destructive behaviour, anxiety, feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem and difficulty in trusting others. Bultter, (1908), point to other post-traumatic stress symptoms, which include anger, sleep problems and school difficulties

Hence, many of the girls interviewed reported feeling bad, insecure, and afraid after being sexually harassed or sexually abused. A girl at school A, described how sexual abuse had affected some of her classmates:

“When a girl has been defiled, she becomes so disturbed that she starts feeling that her future is completely destroyed.” (Grade 11 Girl).

5.21 Consequence on Girls’ Education

Reduced academic performance is one consequence that this study has advanced. Girls who experience gender based violence at school often find themselves distracted, fearful, and unmotivated, unable to concentrate on their studies or to perform well in class. According to the U.N. Secretary-General’s Report, (2002), sexual violence in schools leads to a lack of motivation for academic achievement. Studies have shown that school gender based violence contributes not only to an absence of motivation but also to poor performance at school. Teachers’ retaliation against girls’ refusal to get into sexual relations with them also affects girls’ academic performance in various ways. Some teachers threaten to fail girls or give them bad marks, an act of retaliation that carries weighty consequences for a girl’s educational opportunities, potentially even preventing her from being admitted to the next level of education. Even if the teacher does not follow through on this threat, merely raising the worry of imposed failure is likely to negatively affect a schoolgirl’s academic performance.

The above findings correlate with other studies from sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world have observed GBV in schools as one of the hindrance to girls increased educational participation for example Brenner, (1998), in his talks of girls trying to get too close to male teachers; Woods, (2000), mention ‘a tiny minority’ of male teachers enticing girls for sexual favours and of boys ‘teasing’ girls who have rejected their sexual advances. With all these alarming reports on explicit GBV, teachers, authorities in the education continue to frustrate the sensitization of such violence’s against the girls in school. In addition, despite many studies of girls’ education providing evidence of high levels of pregnancy and drop-out among girls few researches if any realize the link between sexual harassment and coercive or transactional sex.

Staying Away from School (Absenteeism) is yet another effect of gender based violence against school girls as this study suggests. In many cases, gender based violence particularly sexual

violence, harassment, or retaliation against school girls make girls stay away from school. One girl at school A, had the following experience:

“The teacher would touch my buttocks and my breasts, he kept on telling me that I was beautiful and that he loved me. I refused and told him that I was not interested in whatever he was telling me and I hated him. He started beating me in class even when I did not commit any offence. Whenever I woke up in the morning, I said I was not going to school because the teacher would beat me. I stayed home for three weeks.” (Grade 12 Girl).

In retaliation to girls’ non-cooperation, some teachers keep such girls outside the classroom while they are teaching others. Some girls who suffer teachers’ retaliation just end up in transferring to different schools. These girls are completely excluded from lessons that they needed to attend in order to advance academically. As reflected by these students’ experiences, absenteeism as a consequence of sexual abuse or fear of sexual abuse is a serious problem and can have devastating effects on a girl’s education. Gender based violence against girls in Zambian schools has also led girls to drop out of school, a further barrier to girls’ education. When girls drop out of school, gender based violence is often the underlying cause, either because girls feel afraid of going to school and are discouraged by the threat of encountering gender based violence there or because they fall pregnant.

5.22 The Consequences of Pregnancy and Early Marriage on Girls’ education

Pregnancy, which may result from sexual abuse by teachers or male classmates as well as by community and family members, is one cause of high dropout rates for girls. This finding is consistent with Rossett, (2013), study on defilement which revealed that defilement had an adverse impact on the psychological and personal life of the victims and his or her family. It led to higher chances of teenage pregnancy, HIV and AIDs, loss of education, psychological trauma and child marriage which have long term direct impacts on the lives of the victims. Gender based abuse against girls is associated with multiple effects both physical, psychosocial, economic and health-related. Some of these effects can occur almost immediately, some show up in the short term while others may occur in the long term with negative implications on the child’s social, behavioural, emotional and/psychological life. For instance, depending on the type and rate of

abuse, the child may have difficulty developing and sustaining quality relationships with other members in their multiple interactional environments.

One study found that pregnancy was the reason for 25% of dropouts in Zambia, with majority of girls leaving school. Very few of the girls who drop out of school due to pregnancy return despite Zambia's re-entry policy, which allows and encourages girls who get pregnant to return to school after giving birth. According to WLSAZ, (2012), nationwide, the re-entry policy figures are more promising, yet they too suggest that the policy has not been fully successful. In 2012, the Minister of Education reported that 12,617 girls were re-admitted in school under the re-entry policy between 2009 and 2011. In 2009, 5,517 basic school girls were re-admitted, amounting to 40% of the number of basic school girls who had become pregnant in the same year. When girls return to school after child delivery, they usually suffer some sort of stigma and discrimination which makes the school environment not a good place for them. Stigma is a sign of social unacceptability: the shame or disgrace attached to something regarded as socially unacceptable. The stigma that comes with being a teen mother is alive and real. Advocates say that bias against teen mothers often results in cruel social stigmatization and are regarded as morally tainted and often placed in separate classes and sitting arrangement lest they contaminate others with teen sexuality.

The above finding is in harmony with Levitt, (1998), who contends that current and accurate statistics are difficult to find, but research by Hallan, (1994), indicates that two thirds of teen mothers do not finish high school and a high percentage of them remain poor and have a second child because of fighting for social acceptance and social seclusion. Mwanza, (2012), in his descriptive study alludes to the fact that in some mission schools teen mothers are turned away from their schools and shunted to public schools, inadequate home schooling or special programmes and as such too many teen mothers see themselves as having nothing to strive for but shame and disgrace. This is further complicated by their chaotic family relationships and their friends shunning them and considering them as welfare mongers, unprincipled, immoral and unmotivated. Families may be torn apart, distant and unforgiving.

Gage, (1993), further states that stigma is an attribute that is deeply discrediting, although it needs to be clarified that the real context of stigmatization revolves not around attributes, but rather around relations between the "stigmatized" person and the "normal" person. Because the

stigmatized are not seen as fully humane people, the normal takes intentionally discriminating actions reducing the life possibilities of the stigmatized.

Further, girls who drop out of school due to pregnancy also face economic difficulties to continuing their education after they give birth. As one student at school B, observed: Getting pregnant during school time end up school girls into early marriages. Some parents as described above take no responsibility to take their girl child back to school after child birth because they believe it is the girl's time to get married. One girl participant at school B, had this to say. This correlates with Morgan, (1999), who contends that being out there with young children, it becomes very difficult to go around carrying children as they seek for casual day jobs which are not available always due to economic trends and then plan to go to school later, they go back home and sometimes sleep hungry.

Poverty status is one of the strongest predictors of success and that most of these girls do not cope well with this challenge. Poverty is the factor most strongly related to teen pregnancy. In addition, in a United States Report, The US Department of Health and human services, (2000), found that a large number of teenage mothers are poor, with more than 60% of them living below the poverty line. Furthermore, the majority of teen mothers do not have the economic or social resources in place to provide for themselves or their children.

Racoz, (2005), conducted a study on teenage mothers; poverty; parenting; abusive behaviour; twins using a longitudinal twin study with a sample of 1,116 women via interviews and observations, and from teachers via interviews made known that young mothers encountered more socio-economic deprivation and had significantly less human and social capital, and experienced mental health difficulties. The research further revealed that their partners were less reliable and supportive, both economically and emotionally and were more antisocial and abusive.

In line with the above finding, the WLSAZ, (2012), study asserts that, in some cases, sexual abuse in school can lead to early marriage, which is the reason for 32% of dropouts in Zambia. Zambia is ranked tenth globally for prevalence of early marriages, with 42% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 married before the age of 18 and 8% married before the age of 15. Sexual violence at school may compound the problem of early marriage. Families may fail to report

sexual violence because they hope to trap the perpetrator into marrying the girl. Researchers have observed similar responses in other countries; for example, in Zimbabwe, parents often request that headmasters not report cases of sexual abuse because the parents are “negotiating for the boy or teacher to marry the girl.” In these situations, the girl not only suffers re-victimization in the form of marriage to her sexual abuser, but also confronts an end to her education and related negative consequences such as reduced ability to access higher paying jobs and reduced independence.

This finding is in harmony with the feminist perspective which entails a critique of patriarchy, Hooks (2000). In the 1970s, feminists spoke of patriarchy as the master pattern in human history, a system of operation where males dominated all aspects of life, that is, culture, the economy, communication, kinship and sexuality Tsai, (2007). Patriarchy is the institutionalization of men’s power over women within economical, religious, social, political and marital relations Para, (2010).

5.23 School Girls’ Reactions to Gender Based Violence

School girls who experience gender based violence and harassment within and outside school react in various ways. Some attempt to report, while others opt to remain silent about their experience. However, school girls who fall victim to gender based violence and attempt to report face multiple barriers in obtaining help thereby perpetuating a culture of silence. These barriers include the absence of straight forward policies and procedures for preventing and responding to abuse, attitudes among school authorities that tolerate abuse or blame the abused girls, inadequate or wrongly lenient responses by teachers at school and administrators, insufficient support services for children who are subjected to abuse, and a preference for resolving cases of abuse internally rather than reporting them to DEBS offices or police. The few girls whose cases do reach the criminal justice system face additional barriers ranging from the lack of resources available to police investigations to the absence of child-friendly court procedures, all of which make it unlikely that these cases will progress very far.

One of the most important barriers, however, may lie in the reluctance of girls who experience gender based abuse to report it. Most instances of sexual violence and harassment against girls in schools are never reported. Among the girls who participated in this study, only four had reported the harassment or violence they experienced to a teacher or headmaster, and none had

filed a complaint with the police. This is consistent with the WLSAZ, (2012), study that found that “lack of knowledge and information on where to report,” had deterred girls from reporting sexual abuse by a teacher at their school.

5.24 Tolerance and Normalization of Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

This study concludes that girls’ reactions to gender based violence constitute an element of tolerance and normalization of gender based violence especially forced sexual relations that result in rape and defilement. Despite the existence of gender based violence topics in the Zambian school curriculum, no formal sex education exists in the curriculum, thereby leaving a gap in the provision of knowledge for school girls to protect themselves against gender based violence. However, in Anti-AIDS Club meetings or other gatherings, teachers tell girls to protect themselves by staying away from boys and refusing to believe what they say. Girls are also reminded to avoid wearing short dresses or sitting in a careless way so that boys and men could look up their skirts.

These findings also collaborate with the feminist when it asserts that patriarchal nature of society has a religious basis. The Ultimate Being, designated variously as God, Allah, Brahman, Mwari, or by some other name, is depicted as having given the male the prerogative to rule the female. Within almost all religious traditions, based on written scriptures, there is a justification of patriarchy. Major religions are accused of silencing the voice of women who, according to them, should only be seen and not heard Morgan, (1999). In this connection, Gage, (1893), cited in Morgan, (1999), argues that the history of most religions, Christianity included, has been constructed upon an entire structure of sexual inequality and comprehensive female disempowerment. In view of this history, feminism seeks to expose the male centeredness of existing scriptural interpretations. By affirming that women are the victims of violence in religious as well as social contexts, this study can best be understood as having a feminist orientation.

These messages suggest to girls that men are naturally aggressive and sexually charged, that harassment is something to be expected. The responsibility, therefore, is placed upon girls to resist the advances of their male teachers and male classmates. However, some girls do not realize that what they experience is an offense. This is particularly true in cases involving sexual harassment by boy classmates. Girls reported that it made them feel bad and scared when boys

touched them sexually or made sexual comments to them, but many of them took it for granted as something that boys do. A girl from school commented;

“Boys touch girls’ breasts and buttocks, it commonly happens to many girls including me. Girls have no choice but to just ignore and avoid them. If you see them coming, you move in the other direction.” (Grade 10 Girl).

5.25 Girls Being Held Responsible for The Violence

This study further perceives that in many cases school girls themselves assign responsibility of violence to themselves, a situation that allows them to condone or accept at the same time condemn the violence. Some of the girls still doubt whether they deserve it or not, and at times, emphasize on the patriarchal notion of men's rights over women, which serve to condone violence and excuse men's behaviour. School girls tend to remain silent about their gender based violence experiences because of some discriminatory attitudes against them which exist in their communities and schools where the blame is centered on them. One girl at school D, explained her reluctance to report sexual abuse.

“Even If I want to report I find it difficult, because if I go to the head, what if he thinks I am lying? If I go to the police, they would say where is the evidence?” (Grade 12 Girl).

The above findings are well consistent with Yigzaw, (2010), who observes that parents and professionals do not want to confront the issue of sexual abuse, viewing all effort towards identifying and preventing abuse as some kind of witch-hunt or as the opening of Pandora's box. In the West, according to Sisselman, (2001), educational institutions fear legal liability and damage to their reputation; while the Human Rights Watch report, (2001), contends that in Africa school officials have concealed cases of sexual violence and delayed disciplinary action against perpetrators over concerns of who takes over the class if the teacher is sacked.

A study conducted in Gauteng, South Africa by Human Rights Watch, (2001), shows that society mainly blames the victim in cases of sexual abuse. The report indicates that 8 in 10 young men believe that women are responsible for causing sexual violence, while 3 in 10 women thought that women who are raped ask for it. According to Mwanza, (2000), there is a general perception by adults that older youths are unlikely to be innocent victims of sexual abuse.

School girls also fear that they can be chased from school because they know that if they report their experiences of gender based violence, they are blamed for enticing the perpetrator and causing the abuse to happen, especially sexual abuse, thus contributing to a culture of silence that encourages survivors to desist from speaking about the gender based violence they suffer.

5.26 School Responses to Gender Based Violence Against School Girls

The study postulates that despite the known vulnerability of adolescent girls and the prevalence of violence against women, no interventions are underway in any of the schools that participated in this study. There is not even one deliberate policy or program put in place by any of the participant schools to deal with gender based violence against school girls. This suggests that within the schools not much is done to recognize the abuse girls are subjected to. This further indicates that, for many girls, the school is not a safe place because they are subjected to various forms of gender based violence while at school and teachers do not take such harassment seriously. This lack of action on the part of school officials once gain leaves girls feeling that their experiences are normal and acceptable.

This is also related to literature asserting that there are a number of factors, which influence victims of abuse not to report, as studies have shown that some teachers who sexually abuse pupils do not stand out from the crowd and that they are usually held in high esteem and regarded as pillars of the society by colleagues and the community, Human Rights Watch, (2001). Moreover, in most of these cases the victim is generally perceived as a troubled or delinquent child out to cause mischief, Skinner, (2001). This usually results in fear, which Human Rights Watch, (2001), identifies as the major factor affecting reporting. To this effect, many victims of abuse do not disclose victimization because of fear that no one would believe them and fear of what would happen to them if they reported. Davies, (1994), points out that the loser is always the child victim who may not even be believed if she told someone. Human Rights Watch (2001) further holds that girls do not report abuse because they feel they are not valued and that they feel that the school administrators do not take attacks against them seriously. This, according to Human Rights Watch, (2001), leads to many victims concluding that reporting is futile because they do not receive any support, meet with ridicule, and become objects of vicious rumour.

Wagner, (1998), indicate that failure to disclose can be attributed to feelings of shame, guilt, isolation, powerlessness, embarrassment and inadequacy. According to Bendere, (1998), in some cases, victims even accept responsibility for the abuse and blame themselves. A 16-year-old student believed she was raped by a teacher because she was a bad student and that everything was her fault Human Rights Watch, (2001). According to Berliner and Brimmer, (1998), many victims of abuse do not report because of feeling guilty for creating trouble for the perpetrator and also because of fearing the retaliatory action from the perpetrator. Niehaus, (2000) contends that victims' perception of guilt and self-blame usually interfere with their decision to identify themselves through disclosure. Because they received attention, affection and gifts from the perpetrator, many victims of abuse experience feelings of complicity, shame and guilt, which make it unlikely that they would report. Bennell, (2000), basing on studies conducted in South Africa, says this is more so in so called quid pro quo relations, where a teacher offers resources or access to opportunities in exchange for sexual favours.

In this context, this study posits that schools should not be regarded as safe places for girls, and school responses to abuse should be seen as unsatisfactory. No mechanisms are in place to protect or educate girls on gender- based violence. If anything, this issue is treated un seriously and dismissed. Schools as sites that house captive adolescents on a daily basis need to be at the forefront in promoting equal rights, empowering young women and teaching both young women and young men about the non-acceptability of violence,

5.27 Community Perception of Gender Based Violence Against School

The study presents that the young women do not feel that violence is taken serious enough by the community. This suggests that girls perceive that they are subjected to more abuse and disrespect from men within and beyond the school environment because the community condones such behaviour. pointing to a sense of frustration and hopelessness at not being heard and not being helped. Findings from discussions with girls at school C, suggest that girls perceive that they are subjected to more abuse and disrespect from men within and beyond the school environment because the community condoned such behavior;

“You know our community is the problem, this is the example we get from people in our community, they treat girls and wives bad, and the young men think this is the way it should be.” (Grade 8 Girl).

This finding also correlates with a study conducted in Gauteng, South Africa by Human Rights Watch, (2001), which shows that society mainly blames the victim in cases of sexual abuse. According to Mwanza, (2000), there is a general perception by adults that older youths are unlikely to be innocent victims of sexual abuse

The study also concludes that communities where violence is openly witnessed, perpetrated and spoken about, girls are able to freely, indicate that violence is a commonplace occurrence. While girls from communities where gender based violence is shrouded in secrecy and talking about it constitutes a taboo do not engage as easily with the topic and they are quick in indicating that within their community it is not a subject that is easily discussed. Despite these different ways of approaching the issue, it is apparent that gender-based violence occurs in both of these apparently different contexts and in both contexts, it is not being addressed.

This is too in harmony with feminism as it seeks to fight the domination and oppression of women by social patriarchal structures that promote male chauvinism. From a feminist perspective, violence against women is a critical tool in the maintenance of male hegemony; it is the means by which the patriarchal requirements of conformity and obedience are extended to women and enforced, Partab, (2011).

Government responses, like school and community responses are also inadequate. The study therefore emphasizes the need not to re-victimize the school girls who fall victim to gender based violence. Police and other state agencies need to treat the matter of violence against girls and women with the gravity it requires. Failure to which, it will continue to send messages signal girls’ and women’s inevitability of being violated and reinforce their belief that violence is normal and to be accepted. It is the responsibility of these people in positions of authority to consistently reinforce that gender-based violence is not acceptable. They need to implement existing legal framework like the Zambian Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011 and be seen to actively denounce violence.

5.28 Discussion of Findings from School Administrators and DEB Officials

In view of the findings from the school administrators, this study still advances that gender based violence against school girls exists in schools and that male teachers and male learners are the major perpetrators of the violence. The study further observes that school girls themselves are seen to be responsible of the abuse especially sexual violence. With regards to school girls' reaction to the abuse, the study still suggest that abused girls react in various ways. Very few report the abuse while majority decide to keep it to themselves for fear of embarrassment, especially issues to do with sexual abuse. This clearly reflects the unfriendly environment for the abused girls to report their experiences.

A guidance and counseling teacher at school A, who is one of the school administrators presented his view in the following words:

“When teachers are confronted with these issues some of them argue that a relationship between an older school girl and a teacher should be acceptable as long as that girl is above 16 years of age and is willing to date a teacher. On the other hand, teachers are sometimes in a difficult position, because they have to resist being followed by school girls and sometimes cannot help falling in love with them. We normally tell the school girls to avoid ways that may lead into enticing the teachers.” (**Guidance and Counseling Teacher**).

Many cases of gender based violence against school girls are not reported for complex social and cultural reasons such as, lack of understanding of violence and violations against girls and women, or what constitutes violent behaviour. In many societies violence, especially sexual violence against girls is a norm. Girls seem to accept violence inflicted on them in schools and on the way to schools as an extension of what they face with their families, therefore nothing to complain about.

Incidents of gender based violence against school girls may also go unreported because of the attitudes of teachers, who may see boys' intimidating behaviour towards girls as just being part of normal male teenage culture. Teachers are also sometimes unwilling to report on their colleagues sexually, who physically and psychologically abuse school girls for whatever reasons,

economic or cultural. Some teachers, parents and girls themselves support the idea of teachers or older men having sexual relations with especially order schoolgirls.

This is in line with literature asserting, moreover, in most of these cases the victim is generally perceived as a troubled or delinquent child out to cause mischief Skinner, (2001). This usually results in fear, which Human Rights Watch, (2001), identifies as the major factor affecting reporting. To this effect, many victims of abuse do not disclose victimization because of fear that no one would believe them and fear of what would happen to them if they reported. Davies, (1994), points out that the loser is always the child victim who may not even be believed if she told someone. Human Rights Watch, (2001), further holds that girls do not report abuse because they feel they are not valued and that they feel that the school administrators do not take attacks against them seriously.

Cusack, (1999), indicate that failure to disclose can be attributed to feelings of shame, guilt, isolation, powerlessness, embarrassment and inadequacy. According to Dreyer, (2001), in some cases, victims even accept responsibility for the abuse and blame themselves. A 16-year-old student believed she was raped by a teacher because she was a bad student and that everything was her fault, Human Rights Watch, (2001).

In view of findings from the DEB officials, the study also presents that poverty plays a major role in exposing school girls to gender based violence through teacher-student intimate relationships. Girls submit to sexual advances in order to obtain resources needed for survival or items that their peers possess but they cannot afford. Teachers give the girls they date preferential treatment at school, helping them to pass even when they do not deserve good marks or refraining from punishing them when their classmates are punished. This is consistent with Badri, (2014), which assert that, also, the role of poverty is greatly evident where poor girls engage in transactional sex with teachers, school staff or any men to support financially their education. In some cases, parents may turn blind eyes in their girl/s sexual relations in order to mitigate lack of cash to support their daughter education.” One DEB official in charge of school B, had the following remarks.

The issue of poverty, lack of parental care and wanting academic favours as an influence came out so prominent from the school administrators interviewed. While school girls brought out the

issues of love of material things, unusual closeness of female pupils with male teachers and careless sitting in class. Teachers from School B and D were the only ones who cited inadequate boarding facilities in schools as an influence of such relationships since most pupils stay on their own away from parents.

“Some female students believe themselves to be less intelligent than boys, leading them to seek favors from teachers in the form of good marks. Although girls truly choose to engage in these types of relationships, their choices are almost always colored by elements of coercion given the sharp disparity in power that exists between themselves and their teachers.” (District Education Board Officer).

The issue of poverty as an influence was similarly brought out by Munroe, (2001), who cited poverty as one of the reasons that perpetrated the teacher/pupil in Botswana schools. It was highlighted that 34% of the school girls agreed to have sex in exchange for money to help them meet their daily needs. Campbell, (2000), in a study conducted in Gambia shares the same findings that teachers used the promise of money for food, school fees, and other necessities or small luxuries to lure girls into sexual relationships. In other cases, teachers gave the girls they were dating preferential treatment, helping them to pass even when they did not deserve good marks or refraining from punishing them when their classmates were punished. Some teachers retaliated against girls who refused their advances or broke off a relationship, for example, by sending pupils out of class or punishing them when they did not do anything wrong.

This study further postulates that gender based violence against school girls is a common problem in schools in Zambia. Teachers, school boys and members of the community are the perpetual perpetrators of this violence, the violence reflects underlying social norms regarding authority and expected gender roles, and societal expectations which normalize some negative aspects of male dominance. Society condone aggressive actions of men and boys meant to exercise power over girls and women and women and girls are expected to be passive and submissive to men and boys.

This is in harmony with the feminist theory when it asserts that patriarchy lays a fertile ground for the abuse of women, Partab, (2011). The feminist theory is critical in explaining violence against women which is a primary concern of this study. In light of this, violence against

women, in this case, gender based violence against school girls, is a matter of male power over women Puhala, (2011). The control-over component gives patriarchy a propensity to violence Tracy, (2007). While women are also initiators of gender based violence, gender parity is non-existent when it comes to violence. The point is reiterated by Sisselman, (2009), who acknowledges that men are also evidently victims of domestic violence but the most common victim and the most socially injured party is usually a woman.

5.29 Discussion of Findings from Members of the Community

In view of the findings from the community members, the study conceives that gender based violence against school girls is a common practice at school and within the community. School girls are viewed as victims of the violence with little power in the transaction, forced into the practices of sexual violence by poverty. At the same time, girls are blamed for the violence. Men's desire and envy are seen as contributing to the problem, while girls are also seen as responsible through their dressing in a way that attracted the opposite sex, male teachers, school boys and men in the community. In other cases, girls' subjection to sexual abuse is associated with unruliness and indiscipline on the part of girls by some parents.

The above finding also collaborate with Merrill, (1987), who observes that parents and professionals do not want to confront the issue of sexual abuse, viewing all effort towards identifying and preventing abuse as some kind of witch-hunt or as the opening of Pandora's box. In the West, according to Coombe, (2000), educational institutions fear legal liability and damage to their reputation; while the Human Rights Watch report, (2001) contends that in Africa school officials have concealed cases of sexual violence and delayed disciplinary action against perpetrators over concerns of who takes over the class if the teacher is sacked.

The community see school girls as offering themselves for sexual relations to older men in the community in order for them to buy school requirements and pay school fees. The community also perceives that girls find themselves in abusive situations because they don't listen to what their parents and teachers say. They frequently get pregnant at a young age and end up dropping out of school and the circumstances that end them up in early marriages. The community also just perceive gender based violence against school girls, particularly sexual violence as

something that just involve older girls since they have come of age so they would want to satisfy their sexual desires and physical violence as just a common way of disciplining children. This suggests the general perception of gender based violence against school girls by the communities where the study was conducted. This is consistent with a study conducted by Davis, (2007), in Zimbabwe, which observed that societal attitudes and gender based expectations tend to strongly discourage disclosure by victims of child sexual abuse which affects both reported statistics and the long term psychological recovery of victims. Victims of sexual abuse suffer fear to state exactly what happened. The girls keep it as a secret in order not to spoil chances of getting future suitors.

5.20 Chapter Summary

This chapter's presentation of findings advanced that gender based violence against girls is a complex problem which requires coordinated solutions, involving the participation of the government, the community, the school and the family. The chapter highlighted the urgent need for mobilizing all stakeholders in education for formulating policy and programmatic interventions to change every day gender based practice.

It is clear from this chapter, that violence against young adolescent girls is a reality and it occurs at all levels, home, schools and streets. Our societies play a great role in shaping the gender based violence against girls. This violence affects the girls' child psychology which leads to depression, frustration and isolation.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Overview

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the findings of the study. The main purpose of the study was to explore school girls' experiences of gender based violence in selected secondary schools in Luampa and Kaoma districts of western Zambia.

6.2 Conclusions

This study sought to document school girls' experience of gender-based violence in selected secondary schools in Kaoma and Luampa Districts of Western Zambia. Gender-based violence against school girls is a concern in the education system in Zambia and in broader Zambian society as it threatens basic human rights and the physical and psychological wellbeing of school girls. Gender based violence against girls is a complex problem which requires coordinated solutions, involving the participation of the government, the community, the school and the family. The study highlights the urgent need for mobilizing all stakeholders in education for formulating policy and programmatic interventions to change every day gender based practice.

It is clear from this study, that violence against young adolescent girls is a reality and it occurs at all levels, home, schools and streets. Our societies play a great role in shaping the gender based violence against girls. This violence affects the girls' child psychology which leads to depression, frustration and isolation.

Furthermore, findings of this study in corroboration with other studies suggest holistic approaches for prevention that enhances gender equality and improves school environments in a way to increase participation of all members of the school community. Gender based violence against school girls is a widespread barrier to girls' attaining educational equity, which also brings with it many health risks. Addressing power imbalances between men and women is central to preventing gender violence, and this process must be deeply rooted in schools. Successful efforts must include both boys and girls. The lives of girls/women and boys/men are intimately interlinked, and trying to address the problem by working only with girls is not a solution enough. Rather, working with girls and boy sometimes together and sometimes separately depending on the social context is the only way to implement approaches that can truly reshape the construction of gender roles. This requires a multifaceted approach with efforts

involving all levels of schooling, teacher training programs, community efforts, and ministerial policy and practice.

Furthermore, leadership at the national level and the development of strong policies at every level are crucial. As well as, the need to engage all stakeholders, i.e., teachers, parents, students, government officials in education, health and social welfare, the police and child protection agencies, and NGOs working with women and children to promote an overall enabling environment and effective interventions.

Sexual violence is the commonest form of gender based violence against school girls. Girls have been raped, assaulted, and subjected to sexual comments and touching by teachers, male classmates, and the men they encounter while walking to and from school or residing in boarding facilities nearby. Such acts violate girls' fundamental human rights guaranteed by international and regional law, including their right to personal security and bodily integrity, their right not to be subject to torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, their right not to be discriminated against, and their rights to the highest attainable standard of health and to pursue and enjoy an education that is equal to that of boys.

Recognizing the enormously high costs of sexual violence for both the girls who experience it and their society, the Zambian government has undertaken several promising legislative and policy measures to address this serious human rights problem. Yet despite these important steps forward, sexual violence and harassment at school are still, in most cases, swept under the rug, remaining unreported by its survivors and overlooked by school officials. In the few cases where girls do report the abuse they suffered, they confront powerful obstacles to achieving redress. It is hoped that this report and the modest recommendations it offers below will contribute to the Zambian government's efforts to overcome these obstacles in line with its international, regional, and domestic human rights obligations, and eliminate the scourge of sexual violence from all Zambian schools.

6.3 Recommendations

- The government should ensure training teachers, school officials, police officers, court officials, and other relevant actors about their obligations under the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act, including their duties to inform violence survivors about their rights and assist them in accessing legal, psychosocial, and other support services.
- Government must also introduce and promote new and existing mechanisms for collecting qualitative and quantitative information about the prevalence of gender based violence against school girls throughout Zambia.
- Government should also reinforce the provision of legal aid for girls who experience gender based violence in school, including in cases where they may wish to file a civil complaint against the perpetrator
- The ministry of general education must project and execute guidelines for schools on responding effectively and expeditiously to reports of gender based harassment against school girls and for disciplining teachers or students found to have engaged in such conduct, including by instituting anonymous mechanisms for reporting cases of gender based violence and harassment and measures to protect students from retaliation
- The Ministry of General Education should also Strengthen guidance and counseling resources available to students at school and encourage girls who have left school due to pregnancy, early marriage, or other reasons to return and provide them with counseling and other support when they do.
- The Ministry must realize comprehensive education and training programs on issues relating to gender based violence and harassment for teachers, school administrators, other school staff, and students, as well as community members.
- Parents and other members of the community should greater parental and community involvement in school as well as in the lives of young (school girls) people, and send consistent messages that gender based violence is not be tolerated.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Studies could be conducted on the following:

- Effective measures needed to fight against gender based violence against school girls.

- Ways and means of changing the community perception about gender based violence against school girls.
- Empowering school girls with skills and knowledge on how to protect themselves gender based violence.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL GIRLS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What grade are you?
4. In your own view, what is gender based violence?
5. Does gender based violence exist at your school?
6. How often or regular do you think gender based violence occurs in and around your school?
7. What forms of gender based violence do you think commonly occur at your school? (is it physical, sexual, psychological or emotional)
8. Have you ever experienced gender based violence before?
9. Do you know of any of your friends who have experienced gender based violence before?
10. Who subjected you to gender based violence? Was it your fellow pupil, a teacher or a member of the community?
11. Where did you have an encounter of gender based violence? (is it at school, on the way to and from school or at home)
12. Which form of gender based violence did you experience? (is it physical, sexual, psychological or emotional)
13. What was your immediate reaction?
14. Would you give a brief story of your experience?
15. Did you report the case to anybody or any institution after going through that experience?
16. If you did not report the case, what are some of the reasons that made you decide to keep quiet?
17. If you reported the case where did you report to?
18. What was the immediate reaction or response of the individual or institution you reported to?
19. Did your case reach your school administration? If it did, what action did your school administration take?
20. Did you receive any help from the person or institution you reported to?
21. If any, what kind of help did you receive?
22. How many times have you experienced gender based violence in your life time?

23. How do you think gender based violence affects your performance at school?
24. What do you think are some of the causes of gender based violence against school girls?
25. What is the impact of gender based violence against school girls on girls themselves and the society at large?
26. Are there measures put in place by your school to curb gender based violence against girls?
27. If any, do you think those measures are working out?
28. What do you think can be the best way of preventing gender based violence against school girls?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

1. What is your position at this school?
2. For how long have you been at this school?
3. Does gender based violence against girls occur at this school?
4. What form of gender based violence commonly occur at your school, (physical, sexual, emotional or psychological)?
5. How often do school girls experience gender based violence at your school?
6. Who are the common perpetrators of gender based violence against school girls? Is it male teachers, male pupils or male members of the community?
7. Do girls who fall victim to gender based violence report their experiences to the school administration or any other law enforcement agency?
8. Approximately, how many cases of gender based violence against girls are reported to the school administration in a year?
9. If girls report their experience of gender based violence, what action does the school administration in collaboration with any of the law enforcement agencies take?
10. If there are girls who fail to report their experiences, what do you think are some of the reasons they decide to keep quiet?
11. Where do school girls commonly experience gender based violence? (Is it at their homes, villages, on the way to and from school or within school premises?)
12. How do you think gender based violence against school girls affect girls' performance at school?
13. What do you think are some of the causes of gender based violence against school girls?

14. What is the impact of gender based violence against school girls on girls themselves and the society at large?
15. How best do you think the school administration can help in combating gender based violence against school girls?

APPENDIX C; INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DISTRICT EDUCATION BOARD (DEB) OFFICIALS

1. What is your position in the District Education Board (DEB)?
2. For how long have you been in the District Education Board (DEB)?
3. How would you describe gender based violence against school girls?
4. Does gender based violence against girls occur in the secondary schools in your district?
5. What form of gender based violence commonly occur in these schools, (physical, sexual, emotional or psychological)?
6. How often do school girls experience gender based violence in secondary school within your district?
7. Who are the common perpetrators of gender based violence against school girls? Is it male teachers, male pupils or male members of the community?
8. Do girls who fall victim to gender based violence report their experiences to the District Education Board Office or any other law enforcement agency?
9. Approximately, how many cases of gender based violence against girls are reported to the District Education Board Office in a year?
10. If girls report their experience of gender based violence, what kind of help do they receive from your office?
11. If there are girls who fail to report their experiences, what do you think are some of the factors that compel them to remain quiet?
12. Where do school girls commonly experience gender based violence? (Is it at their homes, villages, on the way to and from school or within their school premises?)
13. How do you think gender based violence against school girls affect girls' performance at school?
14. What do you think are some of the causes of gender based violence against school girls?

15. What is the impact of gender based violence against school girls on girls themselves and the society at large?
16. How best do you think the school administration and the District Education Board Office can help in combating gender based violence against school girls?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

1. What position do you hold in your community?
2. For how long have you been a member of this community?
3. How would you define gender based violence against school girls?
4. Does gender based violence against school girls occur in secondary school?
5. What form of gender based violence against school girls commonly occur, (physical, sexual, emotional or psychological)?
6. Where do school girls commonly experience gender based violence? (Is it at their homes, villages, on the way to and from school or within school premises?)
7. How often do school girls experience gender based violence at school as well as within the community?
8. Who are the common perpetrators of gender based violence against school girls? Is it male teachers, male pupils or male members of the community?
9. Do school girls who fall victim to gender based violence report their experiences to the relevant authorities?
10. Do girls who report their experience of gender based violence receive any help?
11. If any, what kind of help do they receive from relevant authorities?
12. If there are girls who fail to report their experiences, what do you think are some of the reasons they decide to keep quiet?
13. How do you think gender based violence against school girls affect girls' performance at school?
14. What are some of the causes of gender based violence against school girls?
15. What is the impact of gender based violence against school girls on girls themselves and the society at large?
16. How best do you think the community can help in combating gender based violence against school girls?

APPENDIX E: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE WITH SCHOOL GIRLS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What grade are you?
4. Describe gender based violence against school girls?
5. Does it exist at this school?
6. How often or regular do you think gender based violence occurs in and around your school?
7. What forms of gender based violence commonly occur at your school? (physical, sexual, psychological or emotional)
8. Have you ever experienced gender based violence before?
9. Do you know of any of your friends who have experienced gender based violence before?
10. What was your friend's reaction to gender based violence?
11. Who subjected you to gender based violence? Was it your fellow pupil, a male teacher or a member of the community?
12. Where did you have an encounter of gender based violence? (is it at school, on the way to and from school or at home)
13. What form of gender based violence did you experience? (is it physical, sexual, psychological or emotional)
14. What was your immediate reaction?
15. Would you give a brief narration of your experience?
16. Did you report the case to anybody or any institution after going through that experience?
17. If you did not report the case, what are some of the reasons that made you decide to keep quiet?
18. If you reported the case where did you report to?
19. What was the immediate reaction or response of the individual or institution you reported to?
20. Did your case reach your school administration? If it did, what action did your school administration take?
21. Did you receive any help from the person or institution you reported to?
22. If any, what kind of help did you receive?

23. How many times have you experienced gender based violence in your life time?
24. Are there measures put in place by your school to curb gender based violence against girls?
25. If any, do you think those measures are working out?
26. What do you think can be the best way of preventing gender based violence against school girls?