

Declaration

I, John Shakafuswa hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work. The sources of all materials have specifically been acknowledged and the dissertation has not

**A STUDY OF SEXUAL ABUSE OF SCHOOLGIRLS BY MALE TEACHERS IN
FOUR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ZAMBIA IN THE PERIOD 2000-2003**

Signature of researcher

Date

by

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies**

**The University of Zambia
June, 2007**



Declaration

I, John Shakafuswa hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work. The sources of all materials have specifically been acknowledged and the dissertation has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

Signature of researcher.....

Date.....05/07/07

Approval

This dissertation by John Shakafuswa is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia.

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Abstract

Silence and secrecy shroud the pervasive incidence of harassment and sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in many Zambian schools. Instead of schools providing a safe and conducive learning environment, schoolgirls have suffered various forms of sexual abuse at the hands of predatory male teachers. These impressionable female students, some below 16, the legal age of consent in Zambia, have been subjected to various forms of sexual abuse at a time when they have very little knowledge of their bodies and of the implications of sexual intercourse.

The main thrust of this study was to gain an insight into the actual nature of abuses female pupils are subjected to by their male teachers and to examine the protective measures taken by schools and the government in this regard. This study further sought to establish the fact that there are cases of teacher-perpetrated defilement of schoolgirls younger than 16, and that these cases together with those of other forms of sexual abuse, though known by authorities, are mainly unreported and hence go unpunished. It was also the objective of this study to see whether colleges adequately prepared would-be teachers for their responsibilities in schools by sensitizing them with essential knowledge of appropriate gender relations with female students.

The study was conducted between July and November 2004, covering four schools: one single-sex and one co-educational secondary school in Lusaka Province and one single-sex and one co-educational secondary in Western Province for the period 2000-2003.

Of the 400 self-administered questionnaires, only 309 of which were answered. A total of 13 male and 10 female teachers were interviewed. The study also undertook 8 focus group discussions, 2 per school, involving 65 Grade 9 and Grade 12 pupils. 12 detailed case studies were also conducted.

The study established that teacher-perpetrated sexual abuse of schoolgirls was common in the schools studied and that cases of teacher-perpetrated sexual abuse of students mainly go unreported because of lack of support structures and victim-friendly environments that foster reporting. And even when these cases are reported, the process of disposing of them is protracted and ineffective both as a punitive and deterrent measure against the perpetrator and would-be abusers.

The study further revealed that schoolgirls who turn had down teacher's proposals and sexual demands were, among other things, ignored in class, and received harsh comments and unfair punishment, including poor grading or marking of tests and class exercises.

Although corporal punishment is illegal, some girls reported being caned or slapped by teachers whose love proposals they had turned down.

The teachers who were interviewed indicated that the topic of teacher-pupil relations was tackled at teachers' training colleges, but only one of them said she had seen documents that related to teachers' professional conduct.

In the period under study, a total of eight male teachers were dismissed from the teaching service for sexual misconduct with students: three from Lusaka, two from Eastern Province, two from Western Province and one from Central Province. During the same period in the schools under study, the actions taken by school authorities and the Teaching Service Commission against male teachers for sexually inappropriate behaviour towards pupils included one dismissal, two suspensions and two transfers. Some head teachers merely called the perpetrators and reprimanded them.

Dedication

This is for all those special people in my life that have believed in me, prodding, pushing, steering me to reach for a better dream, for excellence. This is for my older brother, **Jonas**, who set the pace by being the first in the family to be accepted to the University of Zambia. It is also in memory of very special people who, even when I could not understand, defined the future that I sought after: **Jeremiah Kweempa**, my grandfather, who continues to stand tall in my life from the day he accompanied my father on my enrolment to Grade 1; **John Brightwell Shakafuswa**, my father, and mostly **Joshua Shakafuswa**, my eldest brother, for taking the role of a father for 12 siblings and ensuring that we all got our education.

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I am grateful to Aka and Pinky who helped me with the analysis and presentation of my data, and to all those teachers and students in the research sites who opened up to me, making it possible for me to obtain the necessary data. I thank all those people at Ministry of Education, Headquarters, Lusaka Province, Western Province and the Teaching Service Commission and SESTUZ for assisting me in my research. The assistance rendered to me in my studies and writing of this dissertation by Col. Clifton Choongo, Mrs. Florence Mfula, Margaret Mbae, Williams Nyoni, Max Chilonga, Joji Chisanga, Henry Lyatumba, Samson Mujuda and many others deserves special mention. The love and support of the Shakafuswa 'clan' buttressed my endeavour to come this far. So I thank my mother, Esnart Mikola Shakafuswa for herself and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren – 68 in all, who make me feel that my family is the best I could ever wish for. My heart goes out to Job, whose presence is a sublime beacon and promise that our God's love is limitless.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, Ida and my children, Joan, Jonadab and Miyanda for enduring my long absence from home during my studies

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Acronyms

APU - Academic Production Unit (This caters for pupils who were not selected to Grade 8 or Grade 10 but still made a full certificate – APU classes are usually conducted in the afternoon after the morning classes have been dismissed.

DLTTC - David Livingstone Teachers' Training College.

FAWE - Forum for African Women Educationists.

GIDD - Gender in Development Division

HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

PAGE - Programme for Advancement of Girl child Education.

WILSA - Women In Law Southern Africa

Sexual abuse of school children has been recognized as having a serious impact on the general welfare of the victims as it erodes the very basis of equal opportunity and access to education. In Zambia, the Technical Committee's report on Gender-based Violence and Violence against Children (GIDD, 2002, p.34) contends that sexual abuse perpetuates female dependence on males and does not allow girls to actualize their full potential.

Sex-based violence curtails the freedom of movement, choices and activities of its victims. These are seen in the intimidation and harassment, which generally result in poor levels of participation in learning activities, forced isolation, low esteem or confidence and dropping out of educational activities or subjects. Victims of sexual abuse also suffer from other physical, sexual or psychological damage.

In Zambia, teachers who engage in inappropriate behaviour with their pupils are supposed to be dismissed from the teaching service. But this has not been so in many cases because, for one reason or another, the school head teachers have not reported

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Unequal power relations continue to put the female sex in subordination to and at the mercy of coercive male behaviour. Sexual abuse, which falls under the general term of sexual violence, has been described by Gordon and Crehan (1999) as the deliberate use of sex as a weapon to demonstrate power over and to inflict pain or *humiliation upon another human being*. Some male teachers have taken advantage of their position of power and authority in schools to humiliate, intimidate and sexually abuse female students, some as young as 12 years old. Teacher-perpetrated sexual abuses against schoolgirls include sexual intercourse, fondling of breasts and buttocks, kissing, hugging and the use of highly sexualized language.

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the guilty teachers to the Teaching Service Commission through the relevant provincial or district education officials for appropriate action.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The privacy and secrecy surrounding cases of sexual abuse serve to reinforce violence against women, and the girl child. Sexual abuse and harassment of schoolgirls by male teachers has been mainly regarded as a private matter between the school administration, parents or family of the victim and the perpetrator. In most cases, the school has either covered up for the guilty teacher or just arranged for him to be transferred to another school.

Research carried out in Zambia under PAGE, focussing on the education of the girl child, has identified sexual abuse as one of the impediments to the attainment of equal access to education by the girl child (Mwansa (1995); Mabula-Kankasa & Chondoka (1996). With the exception of a project done by Fonseka for Women's Feature Service, studies conducted in Zambia have not specifically addressed the issue of sexual abuse of the girl child by male teachers.

Although it is commonly known that some male teachers sexually abuse female pupils, the actual extent of the problem is unknown. In Zambia, very few cases are reported and the process involved in dispensing of the reported cases is rather protracted.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The study seeks to open the Pandora's Box and gain an insight into the intricate factors at play in the teacher-perpetrated sexual violence against their students. The specific objectives of the study are:

(i) to investigate the nature (rape, seduction, harassment, etc.), extent and impact of sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in the selected sites during the designated period.

(ii) to examine the measures taken by the schools and the Ministry of Education against teachers guilty of sexually abusing schoolgirls.

(iii) to examine the effectiveness and impact of the instruction and gender sensitization of students in teacher training colleges in addressing the issue of sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers.

1.3 Research questions

(i) What is the nature and magnitude of cases of sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers?

(ii) What impact does this abuse have on the victims?

(iii) What measures have the schools and the Ministry of Education taken against teachers who sexually abuse schoolgirls?

(iv) What measures are in place to protect schoolgirls from being sexually abused by male teachers?

(v) Are teachers aware of a code of conduct governing their relations with female pupils?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study is intended to raise public awareness and to provide empirical data on a topic, which despite being pervasive has scanty literature. In addition, no study in Zambia has specifically addressed the problem of sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in secondary schools, so this study is meant to fill this gap. Unlike most retrospective studies of adults, this study targets pupils in school in order to assess the extent of current victimization. It is hoped that the findings of this study

will provide policy makers with necessary information to validate the revisiting of the inadequate existing policy and legislation on sexual abuse.

1.5 Limitation of the study

The main limitation encountered during the study was the reluctance by some participants to contribute information on a topic that is considered either as private or incriminating and could reflect negatively on the reputation of the institution and individuals concerned. This could possibly account for the 91 questionnaires that were not answered. Furthermore, information on what may be considered consensual sexual activity, which could not be obtained from the victims themselves, was based on the accounts of other pupils and teachers. Skinner (2001) has observed that whatever the context of the abuse, there is at least one possible informant apart from the victim. The limitations of time and financial resources also meant the study could only cover four schools in two provinces in the given period. The collection of data at the time that pupils were preparing for and writing the Grade 12 and 9 examinations also made the exercise rather difficult.

The approved research was to cover the period 1999-2003, but since the Grade 12 pupils in the schools at the time of study only went into secondary school in 2000, it was necessary to change the research period to 2000-2003.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

The main delimitation is that the study is concerned with sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers and thus has not considered the sexual abuse of schoolboys. The report also excludes data of sexual abuse and harassment perpetrated by teachers outside the designated sites.

1.7 Operational definition of terms

Child sexual abuse – Occurs when an adult uses his or her power or authority over a child and takes advantage of a child's trust and respect to involve the child in sexual activity.

Gender – The social differences between men and women that are learned and changeable over time. It is related to how we are perceived and expected to think and act as men and women.

Gender Inequality – Refers to discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in opportunities and the allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services.

Power Relations – Based on the ability of an individual or group to carry out its wishes or policies, and to control, manipulate or influence the behaviour of others.

Sexual Violence – The term used to describe rape, incest, sexual abuse, pornography, sexual harassment and homicide by authority figures, acquaintances or strangers.

Sexual Harassment – Refers to unwanted sexual advances whether or not accompanied by contact and unsolicited sexualized degrading language.

Psychological Violence – Instilling of fear and dread of any or all the other forms of violence, making the victim fragile.

Seduction – An act of enticing or luring sexually, to induce to have sexual intercourse.

Rape – An unlawful act of forcing an individual to have sexual intercourse by physical attack or threats.

Statutory Rape/Defilement – Sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of 16

Student – This will be used interchangeably with 'learners', 'schoolgirls', and 'pupils' to describe children attending school.

1.8 Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The next chapter discusses the literature available on sexual abuse and particularly teacher-perpetrated sexual abuse of schoolgirls. The literature addresses the prevalence and extent of sexual abuse from related studies in Zambia and other parts of Africa and the developed world, and also looks at the trauma and suffering that pupils experience as a result of the abuse and harassment. Chapter three presents the research methodology used for the study. The analysis and discussion of the findings of the study are contained in chapter four, while the conclusion and recommendations are contained in chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Watson, 1984 (cited in Faulkner, 1996) indicates that studies began exposing sexual abuse of children as a problem of considerable proportions in the late 1960s and 1970s. Irrespective of the social and cultural background, researchers agree that sexual abuse is extensively undisclosed and underreported (Bagley, 1992; Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Slager-Jorne, 1978; Tsai and Wagner, 1978). Dispelling as wrong the common assumption that only priests, teachers, Boy Scout leaders and other adults who work with children are responsible for sexual abuse, Cloud (2002) asserts that half of child sex abusers are actually the parents of the victims while other relatives commit 18 percent of the offences. However, Hendrie (2003) contends that although the percentage of educators who are engaged in such abuse is small, the problem is more widespread than realized.

2.1 Social and cultural background

Certain common practices and cultural beliefs cutting across societies help sustain rather than curb the scourge of sexual abuse of women and children.

Bennett (2002) contends that there exists in social communities a form of cultural permissiveness where masculine behaviour aimed at sexualizing women regardless of their desire is seen as being culturally appropriate, and further argues that such behaviour perpetuates sexual violence against women and increases the likelihood of rape. Along the same line, Jewkes (2002) points out that those unequal gender relations precipitate gender violence and sexual abuse because both males and females are socialized by culture to look at sex as a male privilege and form of entertainment.

This inequality seems to form the basis for excusing male sexual transgressions and

blaming the victim. Leach et al (2003) take an added angle by partly blaming cultural acceptance of sexual abuse for the underreporting of abuse cases and the difficulty in getting accurate estimates of the prevalence of the scourge, especially in the developing world.

2.2 Underlying factors in the sexual abuse of students by their teachers

Coombe (2002) and Skinner (2001) 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.

In fact Driedger (2003) argues that even older teens may not have the emotional maturity to know that they are being exploited. Berliner and Conte, 1990 (cited in Fieldman and Crespi (2002) point to the technique of 'desensitization' frequently used by sexual offenders, described here as a systematic progression in physical contact and verbal content toward the victim. By appearing to be caring, the predatory teachers overcome natural barriers to abuse, assess the risk of discovery

and ultimately groom the victims into believing they have given permission for more intrusive sexual contact.

2.3 Modus operandi

Faulkner (1996) points out that the approach of the offender may be so subtle that it may not be easily recognizable by even a knowledgeable child. The perpetrator achieves this, according to Skinner (2001); Fieldman and Crespi (2002), by first creating a pro-social facade of caring and friendship before proceeding to groom the victim for a more physical kind of sexual contact. Researchers have also identified the use of highly sexualized language as a form of sexual abuse in the school environment where schoolgirls are said to encounter insistent and highly sexualized talk and verbal degradation (Human Right Watch, 2001; Bennett, 2002; Dougherty, 2004). This sexualized talk takes the form of speculation about pupils' sexual behaviour, talking about schoolgirls as potential wives; asking them about their sexual practices or offering them sexual confidences (Bennett, 2002).

Human Rights Watch (2001); Economist (2002) indicate that teachers use their privileged knowledge of problems faced by pupils to target the vulnerable among them and proceed to shower them with attention, affection and gifts. Victims are usually targeted because they lack self-esteem, appear lonely and are facing family difficulties (Conte and Fogarty, 1990 cited in Fieldman and Crespi, 2002). Young girls frequently report that their early sexual experience in school was coerced, often due to lack of economic power, the need to be approved or to pass from one grade to another (Leach et al, 2003; GIDD, 2000). According to Coombe (2001), girls in need of private tuition are the most vulnerable to abuse and are usually seduced with leaked examination papers.

Extra-familial sexual offenders have also been known to ply their victims with drugs and alcohol in order to get them to comply with the sexual act (Fieldman and Crespi, 2002). Sexual offenders also frequently use threats and coercion to obtain sexual favours and to secure and maintain victim silence. Many times the victims are forced to submit to the teacher's sexual demands due to harassment, fear of discrimination, punishment or failure (Fieldman and Crespi, 2002; Coombe, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Berliner and Barbieri, 1984). Bennett (2002) indicates that many victims of sexual harassment do not say no immediately for fear of intimidation and hope that the abusive behaviour would stop of its own accord. Mabula-Kankasa and Chondoka (1996) share this view and further point out that because these relationships occur in relationships of unequal power; girls are just victims of unwanted sexual advances.

2.4 Implications and suffering associated with sexual abuse of schoolgirls

A sexual abuse victim, according to Farrel, 1988 (cited in Faulkner, 1996), may develop serious psychological problems because of the victimization. Finkelhor and Browne (1986); Herman and Hirschman (1977); 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. Morrisette (1999); Calam, Horne, Glasgow and Cox (1998) 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.

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 Chapter (Zambia Daily Mail, 2004) notes that gender violence usually results in physical injury, emotional trauma and transmission of STDs and HIV/AIDS.

2.5 Barriers to disclosure

Findings of a national survey in the USA (Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis and Smith (1990) revealed that from a sample of 2,626 Americans, only 27 percent of women and 16 percent of the men reported victimization. Of those who confirmed abuse, 42 percent of women and 33 percent of men acknowledged never having disclosed that they were abused. This shows that many victims of abuse do not disclose to anyone. However, Charol Shakeshaft observes that although only 6-7 percent of victims report the abuse to someone in authority, most will tell their friends (The Economist, 2002).

There are a number of factors, which influence victims of abuse not to report. 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 (Economist, 2002; 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 (Economist, 2002; 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.

Bagley (1992); Herman and Hirschman (1977) indicate that failure to disclose can be attributed to feelings of shame, guilt, isolation, powerlessness, embarrassment and inadequacy. According to Johnson (1987), 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 Barbieri (1984); Groth (1979), 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. Faulkner (1996) 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 (Economist, 2002). Bennett (2002), 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.

2.6 Attitudes towards sexual violence against girls and women

Johnson (1987) 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 Economist (2002); Varnham (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.

Economist (2002); Skinner (2001) agree that many institutions and individuals fail to respond positively to abuse and punish the perpetrator. Instead, they blame the victim. Furthermore, Coombe (2001); Siamwiza and Faveri (1986); Mwansa (1995); Jewkes (2002); Human Rights Watch (2001) contend that the impunity with which teachers continue to sexually abuse children even in the face of clear professional guidelines is exacerbated by authorities taking little or no action against the perpetrator. In a practice known as 'passing the trash', according to Hendrie (2003), school and education authorities are seen as taking very insignificant action against teachers who sexually abuse their students because more and more perpetrators are just transferred to another school. This is a view shared by Mwansa (1995); Mabula-Kankasa and Chondoka (1996) and Economist (2002).

A collaborative study between the University of Sussex and African educationists found that teachers are generally unwilling to report other teachers' sexual

misconduct, and that not all parents, teachers and girls disapprove of teachers having sexual affairs with schoolgirls (Leach, Kadzamira, et al, 2003). The report further charged that schools were generally condoning male aggression, feminine submission and transactional sex, where schoolgirls regarded their bodies as an economic asset to help them obtain gifts, meet living expenses and pay school fees.

2.7 Inadequate gender sensitization in teacher training colleges

Teacher-training colleges generally lack a purposive approach towards sensitising would-be teachers on gender relations with students and sexual abuse. Hendrie (2003) gives an example of a teacher who sexually abused a schoolgirl for six years, starting from the time the girl was 14. This teacher blamed the teacher-training college he attended for not equipping him with adequate information on the dangers of sexual abuse of pupils.

Hendrie (2003) calls for specific instruction to be aimed at future educators, teachers and students to help combat the problem of abuse by addressing the signs of such exploitation and the kinds of behaviour that can lead to abuse. MacIntyre and Carr (1999) advocate for the teaching curriculum to include ethical conduct, sexual harassment and HIV/AIDS.

Serpell (1993) and Kelly (1994) recognise the importance of preparatory programmes in teacher education, especially how this generally improves the quality of schooling by specifically addressing the situation of the girl child. In fact the report by Mitchell (1995) recounts the process of evolving such a curriculum at David Livingstone Teachers' Training College (DLTTC) in Livingstone, Zambia.

2.8 Legal protection for victims

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child requires state parties to take measures to prevent the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity (GIDD, 2000; Davies, 1994).

According to Cloud (2002), different cultures have different views on whether adult-adolescent sex is always wrong and this can be seen from the different definitions of age of consent by different states. While most say it is 16, in Hawaii it is 14. In the Netherlands, the law allows children aged 12-16 to make their own decisions about sex. Driedger (2003) reports that in Canada, under section 153 of the Criminal Code introduced in 1985, it is an indictable offence for a person in a position of trust or authority to have any sexual contact, consensual or not, with a person under 18. According to Coombe (2001), laws relating to defilement or statutory rape in South Africa are rarely brought into effect in these cases because school authorities mainly choose to handle the cases administratively or customarily by negotiating with parents or elders. Sometimes, this could be because parents lack the will to press charges against the teachers or, as Davies (1994) puts it, because they believe that going to the police would end up as a public humiliation for them.

Women and Law in Southern Africa, Zambia Chapter (Zambia Daily Mail, 2004) points out that the Zambian Penal Code does not specifically address gender violence and advocates for the need for gender violence to be criminalised and for deliberate legislation to be enacted to address violence against women and children. In the Penal Code, sexual abuse is only dealt with under defilement, which relates to sexual intercourse with a girl who is under the age of 16, with or without her consent (GIDD, 2000).

2.9 Prevalence of sexual abuse

Literature on sexual abuse of students by male teachers worldwide is rather scanty. However, some studies carried out in the United States of America and some parts of Africa, among others, have drawn attention to the scourge.

2.9.1 Prevalence of sexual abuse in The United States of America

While acknowledging that there are no national statistics kept on cases involving sex between students and school staff in the United States of America, a study initiated by The Nevada Coalition against Sexual Violence in 1998 revealed that the abuse of students by teachers was more widespread than expected (Hendrie, 2003). Reporting on the findings of the research by Charol Shakeshaft, a professor at Hofstra University, the Economist (2002) points out that 15 percent of pupils are sexually abused by teachers or members of staff in schools between kindergarten and high school graduation. The report further contends that up to 5 percent of teachers sexually abuse or harass students.

Dougherty (2004) says that the 2002 scandal of priests' abuse of children uncovered by the Boston Globe is dwarfed by the ignored scandal of teachers abusing schoolchildren, where 6-10 percent of public school children across the USA have been sexually abused or harassed by school employees and teachers. Commenting on the findings of Shakeshaft, Dougherty (2004) concluded that the physical and sexual abuse of students in schools is greater than the abuse of children by priests, especially if you considered that 290,000 students experienced some sort of abuse by school employees between 1991 and 2000.

Lifesite News (2004) agrees with this assertion using a 1988 study reported in The Handbook on Sexual Abuse of Children, which shows that 1 in 4 girls is abused by a teacher by the age of 18. Lifesite News also compares a 1991 study, which revealed

that 82.2 percent of females who graduated from high school reported sexual harassment by faculty staff during their years in school, and that 13.5 percent said they had sexual intercourse with their teacher.

The Economist (2002) gives an example of a principal from New Jersey who was charged with sexually abusing two teenage girls in 2002. This case shows the kind of damage one abusive teacher can cause before discovery because it turned out that similar allegations had been made against this principal while he was in a position of influence in another school in 1999. However as is usually the case, the evidence of the 20 teenage girls whom he allegedly molested was ignored.

2.9.2 Prevalence of sexual abuse in Southern and Eastern Africa

Woods (2000), writing in the Botswana Gazette, indicates that the sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in Botswana is widespread. In a study of 800 students of whom 422 were between 13 and 16 years old, 38 percent said that they had been touched in a sexual manner without their consent. Of the 17 percent who had sex with male teachers, 50 percent said they were forced. The role of poverty in these relations was also highlighted by the report which showed that 34 percent of the schoolgirls said they agreed to have sex in exchange for money, gifts and favours.

A nationally representative sample study of child sexual abuse in South Africa (Jewkes, 2002) showed that schoolteachers, at 33 percent, were the largest group of perpetrators responsible for child rape as compared to relatives (21%), strangers or recent acquaintances (21%) and boyfriends (10%). The report further found that 85 percent of these cases of child sexual abuse involved girls aged between 10 and 14 years while 15 percent of these involved girls between 4 and 9 years of age.

According to the findings of a Medical Research Council survey conducted in South Africa in 1988 (Human Rights Watch, 2001), 37.7 percent of rape victims who

specified their relationship to the perpetrator said their schoolteacher or principal had raped them. Coombe (2001) refers to the findings of the Medical Research Council in 2000 to show the seriousness of male-teacher perpetrated sexual abuse of schoolgirls. The report showed that one-half of all schoolgirls who have had sex were forced and that one third of these cases were perpetrated by their teachers.

Leach et al (2003) reports that 30 percent of the girls in South Africa and 55 percent in Malawi said that their first sexual encounter was forced. 50 percent of the girls from Kenya and 22 percent from Uganda said that they received gifts for sex.

2.9.3 Prevalence of sexual abuse in Zambia

Scholars have acknowledged that the sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers is a widespread scourge in Zambian schools and that it continues unabated, mainly because those in authority have been reluctant to tackle the issue and take action against the perpetrators (Mwansa, 1995; Mabula-Kankasa & Chondoka, 1996; Mwanza, 2000). These scholars hold that the reluctance by institutions to act against the perpetrators leads to the perpetuation of the abuse which leaves the victims as defenceless and silent victims who have come to view submission as an integral survival skill. Fonseka (2001) contends that physical and sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in Zambian schools is on the increase and that girls even as young as 13 years old are targeted. The report further reveals that 11 male teachers were dismissed for flirting, impregnating and physically abusing schoolgirls in 2000.

Mwansa (1995); FAWE (1995) and Mabula-Kankasa & Chondoka have also attributed many schoolgirl pregnancies and their subsequent dropping out of school to abusive teacher-pupil sexual relations. Some male teachers, according to Mabula-Kankasa & Chondoka (1996), have expressed ignorance about what constitutes immoral conduct, especially where a teacher entered into a relationship with a

schoolgirl with the honourable intention of marriage. This has also been compounded by the fact that teachers are not availed with copies of the Education Act and the Civil Service General Orders which, according to Kankasa & Chondoka (1996), are quite vague on the issue of teachers having sexual relations with their pupils. In fact the Service Commission booklet (2003) does not make any reference to sexual relations between a teacher and a pupil on the section dealing with sexual harassment.

The literature reviewed in this chapter was for the purpose of focussing the study. It compares abuse in several countries and tests the general hypothesis that sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers is a widespread phenomenon. Past studies on the situation in Zambia have had a different focus from this study, which specifically studies sexual abuse of students by male teachers. The study undertaken by Mwansa (1995), under the PAGE programme, sought to identify impediments to attaining quality girl-child education, and sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers was identified as one of these factors. Furthermore, whereas the report by Fonseka (2001) is based on statistics at the Teaching Service Commission, of teachers punished for sexually abusing pupils, this dissertation targeted both victims and potential victims in the environment where abuse was perpetuated.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design of the study and discusses the sources of data and the instruments used in the collection of data. This section will also outline the problems encountered during fieldwork and data collection.

3.1 Study design

The study was conducted between July and November 2004, covering four schools: one single-sex and one co-education secondary school in Lusaka Province and one single-sex and one co-education secondary in Western Province. The project considered incidents of sexual abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers in the selected sites during the period 2000-2003. In this case the Grade 12 students were able to give accounts of sexual abuse incidents covering the time they were in Grade 8 in 2000 to the time they were in Grade 11 in 2003, while the grades 11-9 gave accounts for the period up to 2003 that they were in their respective schools. Data was collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.2 Sampling and sample size

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of research sites. Because of the sensitivity of the topic under study and expected reluctance by some school authorities to permit such a study, the schools were selected because certain individuals there had a soft spot for the topic, and could help facilitate the random selection of candidates for the study.

100 pupils per school were expected to answer the self-administered questionnaire and linear systematic sampling was used to select the 25 participants per stream, using the formula $K=N/n$ to select every k^{th} element from each class to ensure equal representation.

Further, 10 female pupils per grade were originally targeted in each school but due to the time factor, 10 Grade 9 pupils (representing junior pupils) and 10 Grade 12 (representing senior pupils) were targeted for the focus group discussions. A maximum of two pupils were selected from each class to take part in the focus group discussion and care was taken to ensure that there was representation from each class per grade that participated. To capture personal accounts of victims of abuse, pupils who took part in the case studies were selected with the help of some teachers who had knowledge of the abuse they suffered at the hands of their colleagues.

The study involved 400 self-administered questionnaires, which were distributed to Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12 female pupils. However, only 309 of the questionnaires were answered: 92, School A; 94, School B; 69, School C; 54, School D. Instead of the originally targeted 40 teachers – five male and five female from each school, only 13 male and 10 female teachers were interviewed in the four schools: three male and three female in School A; three male and three female in School B; three male and three female in School C and four male and one female in School D. Purposive sampling was used to select the teachers so as to capture past and prevailing trends in colleges, among other required information.

The study also undertook eight focus discussion groups involving Grade 9 and Grade 12 pupils in each school. 65 schoolgirls participated in these focus group discussions: eight Grade 12 and seven Grade 9 pupils in School A; seven Grade 12 and seven Grade 9 pupils in School B; six Grade 12 and nine Grade 9 pupils in School C and 10 Grade 12 and 11 Grade 9 pupils in School D. In addition, 12 detailed case studies were conducted in three of the four schools to reveal other personal experiences that could have been missed by the other data collecting methods.

3.3 Data collection

The project used the multi-method approach. A self-administered questionnaire was used to get the views of a representative population of pupils, and also took advantage of those who would open up more from a point of view of anonymity. The focus discussion groups provided a more interactive study of views, where reasons for views were elaborated at length. Case studies accorded the researcher opportunity for a one-on-one study of experiences of abused schoolgirls. Gathering data from a number of informants, including teachers enabled the researcher to cross-check the existence of sexual abuse and related phenomena in schools, including the veracity of individual accounts. It was expected that by comparing and contrasting these accounts, a full and balanced picture of the phenomena under study would emerge. A pre-test of the data collection tools was conducted in one of the secondary schools in Lusaka. Apart from making it possible for the researcher to make changes to the format of the questionnaire, the interview guides for teachers and for the focus group discussion as well as the case studies, the pre-testing also made it possible to gauge the mood of the students and teachers towards their participation in the project. The researcher was thus able to make changes in terms of approach and language used in collecting data from teachers and students.

Data from the Teaching Service Commission and the Ministry of Education was used to show the extent to which action has been taken against the erring teachers and how this compares with the actual cases of abuse in schools, which are not reported to the Teaching Service Commission.

3.4 Data analysis

Qualitative and quantitative data from the questionnaires, teachers' interviews, case studies and focus group discussions was analysed manually and using Microsoft

excel. Qualitative data was analysed using common themes. Tables, percentages and totals were used to present and summarize the quantitative data for easy analysis. This information is presented in chapter four.

3.5 Problems encountered during fieldwork

Prior permission from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and the Provincial Education Officers for Western and Lusaka Provinces facilitated easy entry and cooperation by officials in the research sites, including the Teaching Service Commission. Some students were, however, initially apprehensive about the study and only relaxed after assurances that this was a confidential study and that it would include neither names of the participants nor those of the people concerned. Some teachers were generally reluctant to participate, making it impossible to meet the targeted 40 teachers. However, the 23 that did participate were able to provide invaluable data for the study.

The mood of the pupils greatly improved during the focus group discussions and case studies when the participants' confidence and morale to be open was enhanced by the realization that talking about abuse provided some kind of relief to the victims. This facilitated the capturing of data missed by the questionnaire.

The on-going examination for Grades 9 and 12 made it impossible to have any case studies in School D. Nevertheless, findings from the focus group discussions in School D as well as in the other sites were quite revealing.

Information at the Teaching Service Commission on teachers who had been disciplined for sexual misconduct was compiled by a clerk and the researcher had neither access to documents nor a way of verifying the numbers given. This probably explains the disparity in the numbers of teachers disciplined for immoral conduct with schoolgirls as reported by this researcher and Fonseka (2001).

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the findings of the study. Section 4.1 discusses the prevalence and extent of teacher-perpetrated sexual abuse of schoolgirls. Section 4.2 highlights the types of abuse that girls experience at the hands of male teachers. The types of suffering girls go through as result of turning down a teacher's love proposal will be tackled in section 4.3. Section 4.4 will explore the reasons why schoolgirls enter into relations with male teachers. Section 4.5 discusses the actions that the schools and the Ministry of Education have taken against teachers who have been reported to have sexually abused pupils. In section 4.6, the researcher will discuss the reasons why victims of abuse fail to report. Section 4.7 looks at the kind of gender sensitization the teachers were exposed to in colleges to address sexual abuse of pupils by teachers. In section 4.8, the researcher will discuss the significance of some school-based initiatives that are used to control the incidence of sexual abuse in the research sites.

4.1 Prevalence and extent of sexual abuse

Data from the questionnaire, teachers' interviews, focus group discussions and case studies all indicated that teacher-perpetrated sexual abuse of students was prevalent in the schools under study. This was in line with the findings of Hendrie (2003) that indicated that the problem of sexual abuse of pupils was widespread. The research project revealed that the scourge was more apparent in co-educational schools that did not have a definite policy on relations between male teachers and female students. There, teachers virtually flaunted their affairs with schoolgirls. In the single-sex schools, school authorities, more concerned with saving the image of the school, had acted swiftly, mainly to transfer known perpetrators. Rather than

desist from the practice, male teachers in these schools had resorted to conducting their love affairs with schoolgirls in greater secrecy.

4.1.1 Control of social distance between male teachers and schoolgirls

Deliberate policies and control by individual schools on how male teachers and female pupils relate to each other had an impact on how male teachers relate to female pupils. Some teachers in School A, according to the findings based on teachers' interviews and focus group discussions, openly walked arm-in-arm with schoolgirls, even hugging and kissing them. This relaxed social distance, pupils interviewed pointed out, resulted in pupils' failure to give due respect to teachers.

In School C, also co-educational, like in School A, male teachers having affairs with pupils threw all caution to the winds by openly showing their affection for their girlfriends. In the case study of **P4** (appendix 10), the pupil recounts how the teacher would follow her to class and sit beside her during prep without minding whether other pupils knew his true intentions or not. Whenever they met privately, according to **P4**, the teacher:

used to talk of nothing but sex...asking for kisses and touching the body.

Even after he had been reported to the head teacher for sexually harassing eight pupils, including **P11** (Appendix 17), the perpetrator still followed her (**P11**) to complain for being reported and to declare his undying love for her. One can assume that if stronger action had been taken against the teacher by the school, he would have stayed as far away as possible from her.

4.1.2 Pupils' perception and rating of male teacher/female pupil relations

Every male teacher, according to a Grade 12 pupil (Appendix 17, School C), was a potential sexual predator. This student discovered that even the teachers that she had held in high esteem and did not expect to have sexual interest in schoolgirls had

actually proposed love to some girls in the school, and that one of her friends had accepted and was in a relationship with one of them. This assertion is supported by the findings in School A, where the deputy head teacher, **T5**, indicated that nine out of the 12 teachers in the school were abusing students sexually, while a student, **P2**, who was one of the case studies, said only one of the 12 male teachers in this school was not involved. According to The Economist (2002) and Human Rights Watch (2001), teachers who abuse pupils do not stand out from the crowd.

Another aspect revealed in the pupils' accounts was that of involvement of multi-sexual partners in these relations. The account of **P5** (Appendix 11), School A, revealed that the teacher who was seeing her friend also propositioned her, and that it was common knowledge that he had impregnated two pupils in the school. The issue of multiple sex partners also came out in the interview of **T6** (Appendix 6), a female teacher in School A, who talked about a particularly 'troublesome' teacher who was reported by pupils to have used pupils' toilets to have sex with two Grade 8 pupils on different occasions.

As can be seen in Table 1, based on pupils' responses to the questionnaire, more pupils in co-educational schools felt that the rate of sexual abuse of students by male teachers was high in their schools (80 percent in School A and 74 percent in School C, respectively). There was a marked difference in the Catholic-supported single-sex schools B and D, with only 52 percent and 57 percent, respectively, saying that the rate of abuse was high in their schools. This could probably be attributed to the elaborate rules governing the relations between male teachers and female students in single-sex schools and or the secrecy attached to these affairs by those involved because of fear of repercussions. As one male teacher in School D explained,

teachers involved in sexual relations with pupils in schools where there was such strict control went to great lengths to keep to keep these affairs secret.

Table 1: Pupils’ perception and rating of male teacher/female pupil relations

SCHOOL	RATING High	RATING Low
SCHOOL A	74 (80%)	18 (20%)
SCHOOL B	48 (51%)	46 (49%)
SCHOOL C	51 (74%)	18 (26%)
SCHOOL D	31 (57%)	23 (43%)
PERCENT	66	34

Source: Data from questionnaire

Some respondents indicated that they were under pressure from both married and unmarried teachers to go on dates or to enter into sexual relations with them.

Asked whether the incidence of abuse in School A was under control, the pupils who participated in the two focus discussion groups indicated that the situation was critical and not improving at all. A Grade 12 participant likened the male teachers in the school to male dogs, while Grade 9 participants pointed to the atmosphere of competition that seemed to exist between male teachers and male pupils for schoolgirls. The kind of pressure pupils faced to enter into relations with their teachers can be seen in the account of **P5** (Appendix 11), who indicated that, in just under a year of being in School A, she had been propositioned by five male teachers, one of whom bragged about the many schoolgirls he had had sex with, and how if he had AIDS he would spread it around. This is in line with the findings of Jewkes (2002), pointing out that males have been socialized by culture to look at sex as a male privilege, where girls or women are supposed to be available for them.

In reference to the level of sexual abuse of students by male teachers in the school, **P2** (Appendix 8) said:

It is sad our parents know little of what goes on in school; otherwise, they would not send us here.

4.1.3 Age of victims of abuse

Reflecting on their own experiences and those of other known victims of sexual abuse in their schools, depicted in Table 2, 11 percent of the respondents to the questionnaire said the age range of the victims of abuse known to them during the period under study was 12-14 years. 45 percent indicated that the victims were between 15 and 16 years, while 44 percent said the victims were 17 years and above. On the basis of this data, it can be concluded that cases of abuse of schoolgirls by male teachers actually involved criminal rape or defilement as is the case where the victim is younger than 16, the legal age of consent in Zambia. Of the 12 girls who took part in the case studies, four admitted being propositioned by male teachers when they were 15 years old; one girl when she was 14.

Some male teachers, it seems, are not particularly concerned about the age of girls. The only concern relating to the age of the girl is the worry that a younger girl may not be able to keep her affair with the teacher secret. For example, a male teacher (T3) in School B who had been teaching for 10 years felt that because younger girls got excited and failed to keep their affairs with male teachers to themselves, it was better for teachers to have relationships with older pupils because these were mature and were likely to keep secrets.

Table 2: Age of known victims of sexual abuse

Age range	School A %	School B %	School C %	School D %	Average %
12-14	13.6	8.4	8.4	10.1	11
15-16	47.1	47.7	37.9	48.1	45
17++	39.3	41.4	53.7	41.8	44

Source: Data From questionnaire

4.1.4 Number of teachers involved in sexual abuse of students

Tables 3 and 4 indicate the kind of pressure that schoolgirls face to enter into sexual relations with male teachers. All the girls who took part in the case studies report being propositioned by male teachers; with some of them reporting up to 5 teachers pressuring them into love relationships. Since these were selected with the help of teachers, it also testified that teachers were generally aware about sexual relations between teachers and pupils and even knew the pupils who had been propositioned by their colleagues. Of the 65 girls who took part in the focus group discussions, 64.6 percent reported that between one to five different teachers in the school proposed love to them during the period 2000 – 2003. Only 35.4 percent of the girls who participated in the focus group discussion said no teacher propositioned them during the period 2000- 2003.

Table 3: Girls propositioned by teachers

Number of teachers	Girls propositioned	Percentage
0	23	35.4
1	21	32.3
2	8	12.3
3	8	12.3
4	3	4.6
5	2	3.1

Source: Focus group discussions

Table 4: Girls propositioned by teachers

Number of teachers involved	Number of girls
1	4
2	4
3	1
4	2
5	1

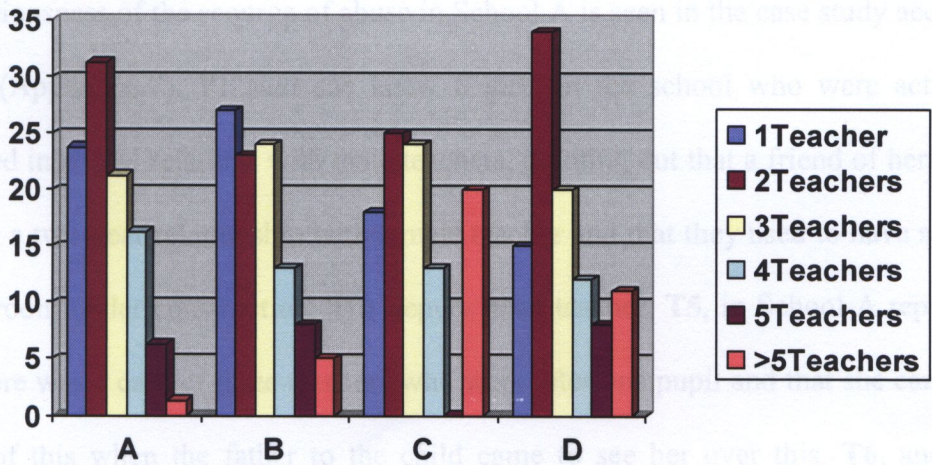
Source: Case studies

A similar pattern was revealed in the data based on the self-administered questionnaire depicted in Table 5. The table illustrates the extent of abuse in the four

schools during the period under study and shows the number of teachers, who according to the pupils sexually abused schoolgirls. The data indicated that while some pupils knew of at least one teacher's involvement in the sexual abuse of schoolgirls, other pupils indicated that the number of teachers involved was even more than five.

Table 5: Number of teachers known by respondents to abuse schoolgirls

Teachers involved	School A Percent of response	School B Percent of response	School C Percent of response	School D Percent of response
1	23.75	27	18	15
2	31.25	23	25	34
3	21.25	24	24	20
4	16.25	13	13	12
5	6.25	8	---	8
>5	1.25	5	20	11



Source: Students' questionnaire

While the general pupil perception based on Table 1 points to the rate of sexual abuse of students by male teachers being higher in co-educational schools, Table 5 indicates that irrespective of the type of school, the number of teachers involved is more or less the same. Even the differences discerned from the data in Table 5 do not point to a definite pattern. For example, while the 27 percent of the respondents in School B who said only one teacher was involved is higher than the 23.75 percent in School A, more respondents in School A than in school B said two teachers were involved.

Although only one student, according to Table 5, indicated that more than five teachers were involved in sexually abusing schoolgirls in School A, the deputy head teacher, **T5** (appendix 5) revealed that nine out of the 12 male teachers (75 percent) in the school were involved. She pointed to privileged information based on her investigations and interviews with the girls in the school which had shown that the sexual abuse of students was quite widespread and needed to be addressed urgently.

The seriousness of the scourge of abuse in School A is seen in the case study account of **P1** (Appendix 7). **P1** said she knew 6 girls in the school who were actually involved in sexual relations with male teachers, pointing out that a friend of hers had been in a two-year relationship with a male teacher and that they used to have sex in a classroom under construction. The deputy head teacher, **T5**, in School A reported that there was a case of three teachers who were after one pupil and that she came to know of this when the father to the child came to see her over this. **T6**, another female teacher in School A, revealed that a teacher had been found kissing a pupil in school and that two other schoolgirls had fought over a teacher.

In School B, a female teacher (**T7**) who had been teaching for 21 years, said the prevalence of love affairs between male teachers and female pupils could be seen in

the fact that about four male teachers in the school had married their former pupils, and pointed out their courtship had most likely started when the girls were still pupils in school. The Grade 12 and Grade 9 focus discussion groups in School B were in agreement that the problem of male teachers having sexual relations with pupils was real. While the Grade 12 group said there were plenty of cases of male teachers having affairs with schoolgirls in the school, the Grade 9 group put the number of male teachers involved in these sexual relations at between seven and eight. **P9** (Appendix 15), a Grade 9 pupil, revealed that she knew of five teachers in the school who were having affairs with their students.

In School C, a male teacher (**T8**) who had been teaching for 17 years pointed out that although only a handful of male teachers were involved in sexual relations with female students, the situation was quite serious because even one teacher could cause ‘havoc’ when he approached more than one girl. Compare this with the case of the school principal from New Jersey (The Economist, 2002), where authorities ignored the evidence of 20 teenage girls whom he allegedly molested in 1999, only to see him convicted on similar charges against two schoolgirls in 2002.

According to **T8**, there were three known ‘terrorists’ (perpetrators of sexual abuse of schoolgirls) in the school, and one of them was actually married. However, Grade 12 pupils who participated in the focus group discussion put the number of male teachers involved at five. Interestingly, **P7** (Appendix 13) accused the school head of sexually harassing her, together with three other male teachers who were pressuring her for sexual favours.

In School D, a male teacher (**T10**) who had taught for 14 years said it was difficult to work in a girls’ school because:

If you are not principled... you can have one today, another tomorrow because schoolgirls are so easy...

T10 pointed out that the situation in the school was suppressed, and that cases of male teachers having sexual relations with female students were there but kept very quiet so that if one didn't know what was happening, one would not be aware of affairs between male teachers and female pupils that were going on.

4.1.5 Teachers' perception of sexual abuse of students by male teachers

Except for one male teacher in School A, who refused to acknowledge the existence of cases of sexual abuse of female students by male teachers, the remaining 10 female and 12 male teachers admitted that sexual abuse of female students in their respective schools was real and in some cases was carried on even with the full knowledge of the school administration, teachers and pupils in the school. The scourge, apart from being commonly referred to as 'chalk bonus' (Mabula-Kankasa and Chondoka, 1996), was sometimes known, as gathered from teachers' interviews, by terms that identify school girls as 'vegetables' or 'crops' in the garden or farm where the farmer or owner (the teacher) is automatically supposed to 'harvest' from his own field. According to the teachers interviewed, sleeping with schoolgirls was seen as a kind of 'fringe benefit' of the job. As if in reference to the dangers involved, schoolgirls were also referred to as protected 'government trophy' or 'game meat' which the poacher, the teacher could hunt at a risk.

T6 (appendix 6) gives an even grimmer picture of abuse of students in School A, recounting incidences of sex on school premises, multiple sex partners, pregnancies and abortion. According to **T6**, the teacher who took a pupil for an abortion later openly narrated the ordeal to other teachers in the staffroom.

4.2 Methods of seduction used by male teachers

The pupils who participated in the study generally contended that the teachers took advantage of their weaknesses in certain subjects to exploit and seduce them. Among

the vulnerable were also those pupils from loveless or broken family backgrounds in need of comfort. These findings support the assertion by Human Rights Watch (2001) and Economist (2002) that teachers use privileged knowledge of problems faced by pupils to target vulnerable pupils, giving them special attention. The reports by Skinner (2001) and Fieldman and Crespi (2002) have also shown that in the initial or grooming stage, abusive teachers show friendship and a caring attitude in order to desensitise their would-be victims. This is the view of a female teacher (T1) interviewed in School A:

Lonely kids are forced into relations because they feel loved by a teacher who pays attention to them; or offers them gifts and favours like giving them good marks, permission and protecting them from punishment. Teachers' conduct is highly questionable, especially if you see how easily and freely teachers mingle with pupils, even in bars and discos.

Source: Teacher (T1) Interview, School A

Findings based on teachers' interviews, focus group discussions and case studies conducted also supported the view of Fieldman and Crespi (2002) that perpetrators of sexual abuse use alcohol to get their victims to have sex with them. According to teachers and pupils interviewed, sexual relations between teachers and pupils have developed from chance meetings in drinking places or after a drinking date with a teacher. They further contended that teachers who plied pupils with beer usually ended up spending nights and having sex with the schoolgirls.

Predatory male teachers also rely on highly sexualised language to select and desensitize their intended victims. This, as Bennett (2002) has pointed out, takes the form of teachers speculating about pupils' sexual behaviour, talking to them as potential wives, asking them about their sexual practices and offering them sexual confidence. T4, a male teacher in School A, admitted to using highly sexualised language to assess the mood and willingness of schoolgirls to enter into sexual relations with him:

A teacher only advances after seeing 'loopholes' or weaknesses in a pupil. Usually, he starts with sexually suggestive language in form of jokes. If the pupil does not resist or challenge him, he knows the coast is clear and 'pounces'.

Source: Teacher (T4) Interview, School A

Other accounts, based on teachers' interviews, focus group discussions and case studies, gave examples of the kind of sexualised language pupils were exposed to.

T3, already mentioned earlier in School B, who had been teaching for 10 years, gave an example of sexual language he had used himself, 'innocently':

Sit properly; you're making me thirsty.

Now, this comment carries rather strong sexual overtones, where a teacher seems to 'thirst' for sex after looking at a schoolgirl who sat carelessly and exposed herself.

Compare this with a confession from T2:

Do you want the same? Come to my house so I can give you the same.

In this case, both the teacher and the pupil being addressed knew that 'the same' referred to sex. Further, a female teacher (T7) in School B, who had been teaching for 21 years, gave an example of an elderly male teacher in the school, who was nicknamed 'Mr. Rubbish' because of the sexual language he used when addressing pupils. The school authorities do not seem to have acted to censor 'Mr. Rubbish' for his language. Instead everyone just accepted his deviant behaviour. This acceptance of sexual language as normal could probably explain why a teacher of Biology in the same school drew on phallic symbols to explain points during lessons. He reportedly symbolised things like the syringe, banana and snake to represent the male sex organ. For example he said he didn't believe in being paid money for examination leakage but...*just in penetrating using my syringe.*

In School C, pupils reported a teacher saying:

We're human beings also; you think teachers don't have feelings?

Or how when another was asked why he needed a pupil for a lover when he was married he replied:

Let's not talk of people who are not here. If your father didn't propose to your mother, would you be there?

In School D a teacher would challenge a girl to look him straight in the eyes:

Look me in the eyes. If you don't, then you are a prostitute

A Grade 12 pupil in School C reported being told:

This time you've really grown big; you look like you can handle me in bed.

These comments are basically intended to desensitise the pupils, to make them feel as equals to teachers, to make relations between them appear normal.

Teachers also reportedly become overly familiar with pupils, addressing them with endearing terms like, 'honey', 'sweetheart'. P4 (Appendix 10) talked about being won over by 'very good talk' and 'promises which any girl would love to hear'. She also says she enjoyed the freedom that the association with the teacher provided for her, where she could go anywhere or walk out of class whenever she chose.

Schoolgirls, it appears are under considerable pressure, just like any other school-going child, to do well in school, and teachers took advantage of this to bargain for sexual favours by promising examination leakages and answers to tests. This is the view also held by Leach et al (2003); GIDD (2000); Coombe (2001).

As one pupil put it:

Our parents take poor marks very badly, so this puts extra pressure on the girls and leads many to say yes when the teacher proposes them.

According to the Grade 12 focus discussion group in School B, a male teacher there reportedly rejoiced saying:

Examinations time is here; the time to break girls' virginities, when girls get infected...

In the account of **P11**, we come across another method that male teachers use to entice schoolgirls to enter into sexual relations with them. Here the ‘dangled carrot’ was marriage. The seriousness of this ‘honourable intention’ can be judged from the fact that this teacher had approached another Grade 12 schoolgirl in the school and proposed marriage to her also.

Teachers also take advantage of the scarcity of teaching materials to gain an upper hand in bargaining for sexual favours from pupils. For **P10** (Appendix 16), the ‘dangled carrot’ involved access to the scanty books, which were not enough to go round among all the pupils. Apart from his pleas for love, the teacher made sure that there was a book for her every time he distributed books to the class.

4.2.1 Rationalising male teacher/female pupil relations

Some male teachers even try to rationalise their sexual relations with female pupils in all sorts of ways. For example a young male teacher (**T2**) in School B who had been teaching for five years suggested that education authorities should accommodate teachers with honourable intentions of marriage. He further contended that love affairs between male teachers and schoolgirls were good if the male teacher involved was single (unmarried), arguing that teachers had a better chance of knowing a girl better before marriage, especially if the girl in question were their pupil. **T3**, referred to earlier, held that male teachers were compelled to go after pupils because they spent so much time in school teaching regular and APU classes and did not have time to look for older women outside the school.

Another male teacher in School C (**T9**) who had been teaching for seven years was of the view that there was no need to make so much out of male teachers sleeping with female pupils as most of these pupils had already slept with much older men outside school and that teachers were just ‘an unsophisticated option, just to win

them high marks in tests'. T9 further held the view that teachers were actually the victims of older and experienced schoolgirls who targeted and enticed them through seductive dressing. This view casts the schoolgirls, not as victims but rather as aggressive and consenting parties to these affairs and fully aware of the implications. This seems to be in line with the findings of Mwanza (2000), which have shown that there is a general perception by adults that older youths are unlikely to be victims of sexual abuse. Contrary to this view, Driedger (2003) points out that even older teens may not have the emotional maturity to know that they are being exploited.

4.3 Complicity of parents and school authorities in sexual abuse of students

The will to deal decisively with perpetrators of sexual abuse by school authorities is mainly compromised, as was noted in School A and School C (Appendix 6 and 13, respectively) because people in administration are also allegedly involved in the sexual abuse of female students. And except for cases where forceful parents have been involved and pressed for the punishment of teachers who abused their children, school head teachers appear to have even orchestrated the private negotiations between the parents of the abused child and the perpetrators.

The complicity of parents and school authorities in the sexual abuse of schoolgirls is seen in the case where the father of a victim chose to forgive the teacher from School A, who spent a night with his child because they belonged to the same tribe (T6, Appendix 6). T6 also felt there was complicity by both parents of schoolgirls impregnated by one school teacher, where the said teacher ended up marrying one of the girls. Obviously, as some writers on the topic (Coombe, 2001; Johnson, 1987) have indicated, these parents could have felt that it was a private affair that needed to be left as such or that it would threaten family honour. Although this was a clear case

where the teacher had admitted guilt and the testimony of the victim was unshaken, no action was taken against the perpetrator.

There can be seen to have been complicity of school authorities in School A in the case where three teachers were after one schoolgirl and all they got was a reprimand. In School D, according to a male teacher interviewed, there was complicity of both parents and school authorities where the case of the teacher who impregnated a pupil was resolved silently with the teacher being transferred to another school and later taking the pupil as his wife. The case of another teacher there who had an affair with a pupil was privately discussed and the teacher was let off with a stern warning.

This failure by the school administration to act and punish teachers who abuse students probably explains the impunity of perpetrators in School A, as revealed in the interview with T6 and Case Study 1, P1 (appendix 6 and 7), to even use school buildings such as toilets and incomplete classrooms for sex with pupils; and even openly discussing abortion of students in the staffroom.

4.4 Types of abuse

In Table 6 below, kissing, fondling of breasts and buttocks, having sex and pressuring students to enter into sexual relations were identified as the main types of sexual abuse that the respondents or pupils they knew were exposed to by their male teachers.

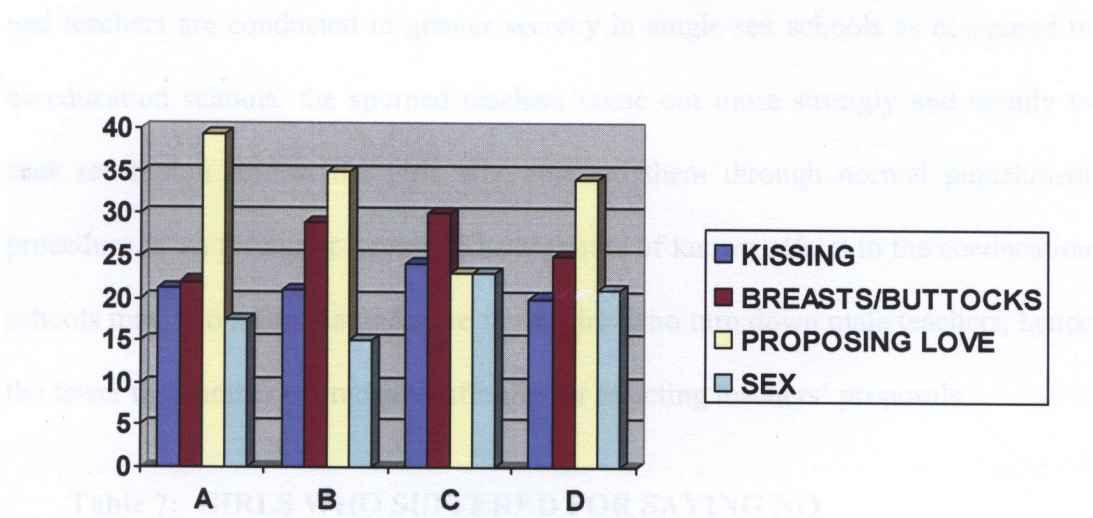
33 percent indicated that a male teacher had proposed love to them or someone they knew; 26 percent said their breasts and buttocks or those of someone they knew were fondled. 22 percent admitted to being kissed or knowing someone who was kissed by a male teacher, while 19 percent of the respondents said they or a pupil they knew had had sex with a male teacher.

Probably because School C is a boarding school with a closer interaction between teachers and students, more students there reported having had sex with their teachers (23 percent), being kissed (24 percent) and having had their breasts and buttocks fondled by male teachers (30 percent). More respondents in School A (39.3 percent) reported being pressured by male teachers to enter into sexual relations.

In School B, teachers and pupils interviewed revealed that there was a teacher in the school who was in the habit of writing love letters to pupils, while the Grade 9 focus discussion group in School D talked about a male teacher who pretended to be making a point during lessons while his hand brushed against their breasts or thighs.

Table 6: TYPES OF ABUSE AND NUMBER OF VICTIMS

TYPE OF ABUSES	SCH. A No. of pupils	SCH. B No. of pupils	SCH. C No. of pupils	SCH. D No. of pupil	average percent
KISSING	21.3%	21%	24%	20%	22%
BREASTS/BUTTOCKS	22%	29%	30%	25%	26%
PROPOSING LOVE	39.3%	35%	23%	34%	33%
SEX	17.4%	15%	23%	21%	19%



Source: Students' questionnaire

4.5 Types of suffering experienced for rejecting teachers' proposal

Findings based on the questionnaires identified the types of suffering that female students endured at the hands of abusive teachers, whose love proposals they had

turned down. Table 7 below shows the number and percentage of the girls who had suffered or were aware of other schoolgirls who had suffered for refusing to enter into relations or love affairs with teachers. 61 girls from school A, representing 66.3 percent of the respondents in the school; 78 girls from School B, representing 82.9 percent of the respondents in the school; 55 girls representing 79 percent of the respondents in the school and 50 girls from School D, representing 92.5 percent of the respondents in the school indicated that they were aware of the suffering, which either they or other schoolgirls in their schools went through as a result of saying no to male teachers’ love proposals.

It is interesting to note that the data shows a reversal of findings when compared to the rating of the abuse between the co-education schools A and C (80 and 74 percent, respectively) with the single-sex schools B and D (52 and 57 percent, respectively). There are two possible explanations for this. Because the affairs between students and teachers are conducted in greater secrecy in single-sex schools as compared to co-education schools, the spurned teachers come out more strongly and openly to seek retribution against the girls who rejected them through normal punishment procedure, even for minor wrongs. The high rate of known affairs in the coeducation schools may also mean that there are fewer girls who turn down male teachers, hence the fewer the number of students suffering for rejecting teachers’ proposals.

Table 7: GIRLS WHO SUFFERED FOR SAYING NO

School	A	B	C	D
Response	61	78	55	50
Percentage	66.3	82.9	79.7	92.5

Source: Students’ questionnaire.

4.5.1 Punishment

It is also worrisome to see how teachers abused their power and authority over pupils, making them suffer for rejecting their love 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. Legally, corporal punishment of pupils is not allowed in schools. But the findings of this study indicate that this has not prevented teachers from slapping, caning or kicking pupils as a way of punishment. For example, **P12** (Appendix 18) was given heavy manual work as punishment but it was only when she was caned and slapped by the teacher whom she refused to enter into a relation with that she decided to report the abuse to her father.

This punishment, as well as other types used, the pupils argued, was severe and disproportionately greater than the infringements would normally demand. In School C, respondents pointed out that some girls had even been given forced transfers or were suspended, mainly because the teachers whose love proposals they had rejected sat on the school disciplinary committee. The Grade 9 focus discussion group in School D reported that a 14-year-old grade 9 pupil stopped reporting for classes due to punishment and harassment from a teacher whose advances she had turned down. Some students who had turned down teachers' advances also reported being punished even for giving incorrect answers in class.

According to **P6** from School A, girls suffer beatings, bad language and embarrassment for saying no.

4.5.2 Unfair marking and grading

Based on the findings of focus group discussions as well as case studies, it was revealed that schoolgirls who turned down love proposals of male teachers were subjected to unfair marking and grading of class exercises and test papers. While some pupils in School C revealed that some spurned teachers altogether refused to mark the exercise books for pupils who rejected their love proposals.

4.5.3 Cruel comments, mockery and threats

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 love proposals. To this effect, the girls reported being stigmatised and degraded because their teachers used them as examples of ill-behaved students. In School B, some girls complained that they were shouted at and even insulted in class by teachers. Some members of the Grade 9 focus discussion group from School B revealed that one teacher would give disparaging examples of a girl known to have turned down his love proposal like:

...especially that fool seated in the corner.

Or directly:

You behave like a dog.

In School D, teachers who had been spurned were said to have been spreading stories about having had sex with the girls who had turned them down, and a Grade 9 pupil reported being told:

You are nothing but a bitch. You come from a bad family.

The girls who took part in the study also pointed out that those teachers whose love proposals they had rejected resorted to using threats and blackmail to make sure the girls involved did not reveal to their friends or anybody else about the teachers' interest in them. These girls were reportedly threatened with failure or expulsion from class or from school.

4.5.4 Hostility

Some schoolgirls have also reportedly been victims of open hatred and harshness. The teachers involved, according to pupils in School A, stopped talking to them and would not answer a pupil's greeting. Additionally, girls in School B pointed to spurned teachers' tendency to look for faults in the girls who had turned them down. A participant in the Grade 12 focus discussion group in School B said she even took to blaming herself when the teacher she rejected stopped coming to her classroom. In School D, pupils explained that teachers deliberately created cases against them and made sure they were punished. P10 (Appendix 16) revealed that the teacher, who told her he would *cross the ocean to prove his love*, became hostile to her and refused to give her any academic assistance after she turned him down. In School D, some girls who rejected teachers' proposals were reportedly punished even for asking questions in class.

4.5.5 Exclusion from class activities

Girls who believed they were suffering because they had rejected their male teacher's love demands also reported being neglected in class, with the teacher ignoring them completely by refusing to acknowledge their raised hands if they wanted to participate by asking questions or giving an answer during lessons. Other girls reported being chased from class for minor infringements. In School D, a subject teacher whose love proposal a Grade 8 pupil rejected reportedly suspended

her from his Environmental Science classes. In some cases, some girls chose to drop certain subjects and attending private tuition because of teachers' sexual demands. **P10**, mentioned earlier, stopped attending private tuition and forfeited the money she had paid because of her tutor's incessant sexual demands.

4.5.6 Sustained pressure

Some girls in the research sites also reported to have suffered due to sustained pressure from male teachers who refused to accept no for an answer. According to one pupil in School D;

The teacher keeps on pleading, treating you well until you say yes.

This kind of pressure made some girls to shun particular subjects and activities handled by the predatory teachers. **P11** (appendix 17) reportedly lost concentration during the teacher's lessons and took to skipping classes; especially prep because that was the time the teacher liked bothering her. She said:

I was not free in the school, especially during prep when he liked calling me. I considered accepting but I was concerned that I would be suspended...I also feared contracting HIV/AIDS.

That pressuring schoolgirls to enter into sexual relationships with their teachers restricts their freedom of movement can also be seen in the account of a pupil from School A, who said:

You even fear to pass near the teacher for fear he would call you aside and ask for an answer to his proposal.

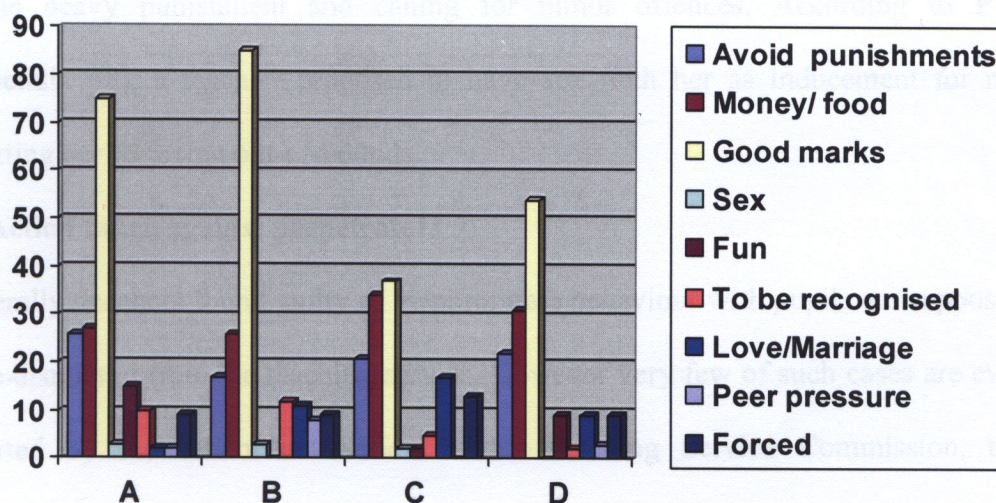
4.6 Why schoolgirls enter into relations with male teachers

To get good marks, at 40 percent, was the highest scored reason why schoolgirls entered into sexual relations with their teachers. This was followed by need of money or food, 20 percent and avoiding punishment, 14.3 percent. That pupils agree to enter into sexual relations with teachers due to force, scored 7 percent and was followed by the need for love or marriage at 6.6 percent, recognition, 4.6 percent and fun, 4.2

percent. Peer pressure and sex at 2 percent and 1.3 percent, respectively, were the lowest scored reasons.

Table 8: WHY GIRLS ENTER INTO RELATIONS WITH TEACHERS

REASONS	SCH.A No. of pupils	SCH.B No. of pupils	SCH.C No. of pupils	SCH. D No. of pupils	Percentage
Avoid punishments	26	17	21	22	14.3%
Money/food	27	26	34	31	20%
Good marks	75	85	37	54	40%
Sex	03	03	02	00	1.3%
Fun	15	00	02	09	4.2%
To be recognized	10	12	05	02	4.6%
Love/Marriage	02	11	17	09	6.6%
Peer Pressure	02	08	00	03	2%
Forced	09	09	13	09	7%



Source: Students' questionnaire

P4 (Appendix 10) shows how peer pressure, though among the least scored reasons, contributed to making schoolgirls enter into sexual relationships with male teachers. In her case, her friends believed that they too stood to benefit from the academic assistance and examination leakages she would receive in what Bennett (2002) has called *quid pro quo* relationships.

According to some teachers interviewed, force was not a significant factor in these relations, because if it was, many girls would have been reporting. They argued that the fact that the girls did not report meant that they were willing parties to the act. Other teachers pointed to the unequal power relations between teachers and students as denoting force. For example, **T1** and **T6** pointed out that the force involved was subtle in that the teacher being an authority figure, was in itself enough force to make the girl agree to have an affair with him. The teacher's hostility when spurned could also be a point to note. Obviously, pupils who were excluded from class activities like answering or asking questions, or getting an explanation from the teacher, could have felt pressured to comply with the teacher's sexual demands. This would have seemed to be an easier option than to contend with the teacher's hostility, here seen in the heavy punishment and caning for minor offences. According to **P12** (Appendix 18), a teacher, proposed to have sex with her as inducement for not reporting her for being out-of-bounds.

4.7 Action taken against perpetrators

Generally, teachers found guilty of inappropriate behaviour with pupils are supposed to be dismissed from the teaching service. However very few of such cases are ever reported by the school authorities to the Teaching Service Commission, the education body with power to engage or, where needs be, terminate the services of teachers in Zambia. .

4.7.1 Number of teachers dismissed for sexual misconduct

Information collected from the Teaching Service Commission showed that during the period 2000-2003, a total of eight teachers were dismissed from the teaching service for sexual misconduct: three from Lusaka, two from Eastern Province, and two from Western Province and one from Central Province.

4.7.2 Action taken against teachers in the schools under study

Strong parent resolve in School B led to the suspension and ultimate dismissal of a male teacher involved in a sexual relationship with a pupil, while two teachers in School C were suspended, one for being found with a schoolgirl in his house on two occasions, and the other for impregnating a pupil. However, according to teachers in School D, one teacher who impregnated a schoolgirl in 2002 had his case ‘solved quietly’. He was given a transfer to another school and, reportedly, later took the pregnant schoolgirl as his wife. Neither were the circumstances of the transfer explained to other members of staff nor were they addressed by the head teacher on the issue of sexual abuse of schoolgirls.

This seemingly soft stance by school authorities on perpetrators of abuse is again seen in another case of a relationship between a male teacher and a female pupil in School D. The case was reportedly, ‘quietly investigated’, and the teacher summoned and warned. In School B, a male teacher who was in the habit of pinching the breasts of schoolgirls and writing them love letters was merely given a transfer to another school. So instead of solving the problem by punishing the perpetrators appropriately, some schools chose to give these teachers transfers, possibly to continue with the same behaviour in other schools. This is the phenomenon referred to as ‘passing the trash’ (Hendrie, 2003; The Economist, 2002).

In School A, despite an investigation initiated by the deputy head teacher (T5, Appendix 5) showing widespread sexual abuse of female pupils by male teachers, no distinct action, apart from identifying the guilty teachers and reprimanding them, was taken. T6 (Appendix 6) accused the head teacher of shielding the culprits.

4.8 Why victims fail to report

The findings of the study are confirmed by the assertions of Skinner (2001); Coombe (2002) and Mabula-Kankasa & Chondoka (1996) that power-based factors of fear and intimidation are used by abusive teachers to ensure victim compliance and silence.

4.8.1 Fear

The girls who took part in the study said they feared to report because of the punishment, threats and even hatred suffered at the hands of the spurned teachers. Some believed that teachers had powers to have them removed from the school if they reported. To this effect the girls reported fearing to report cases of abuse for fear of intimidation and incurring the wrath and hatred of their tormentors.

4.8.2 Taboos surrounding sexuality

The girls also said they failed to report to their parents because they were shy and found it hard to discuss issues of sex with their parents. Cultural implications where the girl's grandmother is the only person who is expected to discuss issues concerning sexuality with her closes off the chances of intimate discussions between daughter and mother.

4.8.3 Poor relations between female teachers and schoolgirls

The pupils who took part in the study pointed out that female teachers were moody and given to shouting and so it was hard for schoolgirls to approach them when they were abused by male teachers. The girls further argued that the female teachers would disbelieve them anyway as most of them believed that schoolgirls were the ones who enticed male teachers. In terms of teacher-pupil relations, they pointed out that male teachers were not only approachable but also helped them with their social and academic problems. The students rationalised that they could not risk

antagonising the male teachers by reporting them because they were the ones who taught and could assist them in subjects like Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. This reasoning does not only expose the negative effects of the stereotype that women cannot teach certain subjects, it also brings in the dilemma faced by many victims of abuse, who because of their dependence on their abusers resign themselves to their fate and fail to disclose the abuse.

4.8.4 Lack of confidence in school authorities

There was a general belief the abusive teacher was bound to be believed and the participants in the study contended that it was pointless to report cases of abuse because no action would be taken against the perpetrators. Specifically, pupils in School B held the belief that the teacher was always right and that in the case where a pupil reported the teacher, it was the pupil who always took the blame. The girls complained that the investigations that followed the reporting were not concerned with the guilt of the teacher but seemed bent on proving that the girl was lying. In what seems like a common myth of the ‘untouchable teacher’, Pupils in School D believed that cases of abuse could not be proved against certain teachers because they were such smooth talkers that they easily convinced their colleagues. The pupils gave an example of a girl who was suspended from school because those in authority were convinced she was just trying to frame the teacher she accused of abusing her. Arguing along the same lines, pupils in School C gave an example of a case in the school where a girl involved in a sexual relationship with a male teacher was chased from school while the abusive teacher remained, probably just warned. In reference to the handling of reported cases of sexual abuse of students by male teachers, one girl put it this way:

They hide and talk among themselves and continue doing the same things.

The Grade 9 girls who took part in the focus group discussion in School A wondered why pupils were punished for drinking with teachers when no action was taken against the teachers who took them out and bought them the beer.

Particularly, in the single-sex schools B and D, pupils felt the school authorities were reluctant to take action against perpetrators of sexual abuse for fear of bringing shame on or even tarnishing the image of the school. And probably to protect the school image, the school authorities in School D instructed pupils not to report any problem they faced in school to their parents before informing the school and waiting for it to take appropriate action first. Since no action was taken against the perpetrators, pupils argued that it was pointless to report.

4.9 Gender sensitisation in colleges

Questions were put to the 23 teachers (13 male and 10 female) who took part in the interviews to find out how much gender sensitisation went on in teacher training colleges and whether, for their part, schools availed to their old and new teachers documents spelling out the kind of professional conduct that was expected of them. Teachers who were interviewed received their training from the University of Zambia, Copperbelt Teachers' Training College, Nkrumah Teachers Training College, Evelyn Hone College and Chalimbana. Others colleges attended included Technical and Vocational Training College, Mpima St. Dominican College; and one teacher received his training in D R Congo, while the matron in School C received her training in Glasgow. Table 8 below gives a summary of the findings in regard to the kind of sensitisation teachers received in training colleges.

Table 9: GENDER SENSITISATION IN TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES

No. of Teachers	College attended	Yrs. Of service since	Access to official doc.	Topic covered
2	UNZA	11 – 16	0	1
9	NKRUMAH	2 – 26	0	4
5	COSETCO	3 – 15	1	3
1	CHALIMBANA	2	0	1
1	E/HONE	12	0	1
4	OTHERS	4 – 21	0	2

Source: Teachers' interview

22 teachers, whose years of service as teachers extended from two to 26 years, said they had not seen a copy of the General Orders, particularly the section dealing with teachers' conduct. Only one female teacher admitted studying the General Orders during a workshop organised by the Legal Resource Foundation. 11 teachers said they did not recall any topic at college that dealt with teacher/pupil relations while 12 indicated that it was broached mainly as a by-the-way. One teacher explained that the issue came up as a students' debate topic that was initiated by students themselves in college. The teachers who said the topic had been mentioned at college pointed out that it was covered in Sociology, Theory and Practice, and Ethics courses. But even while the topic was said to have been covered, the teachers explained that it did not cover a sufficient part of the mentioned courses.

Following on the premise that teacher education is an important vehicle for addressing inequalities in girls' access to education (Kelly, 1994; Serpell, 1993), the Ministry of Education approved a proposal in 1995 to use David Livingstone Teachers' Training College (DLTTC) in a pilot project to evolve a three months' course: Gender Studies, Social Change and Primary Education (Mitchell, 1995). The term 'primary education' shows the focus of the course in terms of the target educational community and that it was also expected to be replicated in other primary teachers' training colleges.

In practice, although Gender Studies is offered to undergraduates, including those undergoing teacher training, at the University of Zambia, it is not a compulsory course for students in the School of Education. This means that some students in the School of Education leave university without being exposed to an area of study that would make them, as Mitchell (1995) puts it, 'gender active' in their classroom practice. In a phone interview, a lecturer at Chalimbana Teachers' Training College indicated that there was no specific course at the college dealing with gender issues, except through personal initiative by some lecturers. This could, to a large extent, explain why even some teachers who graduated recently from the university and other secondary school teachers' training colleges say they did not receive gender-sensitization during their training.

4.10 School-based initiatives

While pupils in School A acknowledged the initiative by the deputy head teacher to investigate cases of sexual relations between male teachers and schoolgirls, they could not point to any definite rules in the school that addressed female pupil-male teacher relations. In schools B, C and D, however, there was deliberate effort to address these illicit relations through prescription of rules and regulations. Female students were not allowed to visit teachers' houses, offices and preparation rooms, and were expected to maintain a respectable distance, of at least one metre, when talking to a male teacher.

But these were just rules which were not even observed because the schools had not put in place any system of supervision. According to one male teacher in School D:

In teachers' rooms you see girls being touched... trouble is the girls are willing. These cases are there but no action is taken. The trouble is that those in authority wait for the cases to be reported before moving in. There is need for the authorities to initiate investigations.

Whether the introduction of the suggestion box in School C was purposively tailored to be a medium of communication between abused students or their concerned colleagues and the school administration, this according to the students interviewed was what brought the issue of male teacher/female pupil relations in the open. **P4** (appendix 10) admits that her relationship with a male teacher was reported by concerned friends through the suggestion box. The presence of a matron in School C could also be said to play a significant role in the fight against the sexual abuse of schoolgirls as pupils and teachers who participated in the study confirmed that she was instrumental in the investigations that led to the suspension of a male teacher who used to sneak a schoolgirl into his house.