

CONSEQUENCES OF SCHOOL RELATED SEXUAL AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE ON REFUGEE CHILDREN LIVING IN REFUGEE CAMPS, ZIMBABWE

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this research paper is to highlight the consequences of School Related Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SRSGBV) on refugee children living and learning at a refugee camp in Zimbabwe. This is an under researched area as most information on SRSGBV has focused on the normal ordinary schools and largely ignored the refugee child living within a refugee camp setting. There is very little data relating to the issue at hand on record as refugees are difficult populations to access as well as not being forthcoming about such issues. More often than not, cases of SRSGBV go unreported because of the difficulties in the children's circumstances as well as security issues. The study was carried out in Zimbabwe using a qualitative phenomenological approach. The population comprised of 479, 441 school going children, 16 teachers, 1 school counsellor, 5 social workers, 6 police officers and 10 health personnel. A sample of 20 participants was conveniently and purposively selected to partake in the study which made use of interviews, essay writing and observation as research methods. Amongst the findings were issues of cultural perceptions, health risks and negative attitudes. The researchers recommended a holistic and participatory approach which is survivor centred, offering guidance, compassion and information to the affected in dealing with cases of SRSGBV.

Keywords: Abuse, Gender Based Violence, Phenomenological, Sexual

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Gender-based violence, according to Beninger (2013:200), is the “physical, mental or social abuse that includes acts (attempted or threatened) carried out with or without force and without the consent of the victim on the basis of his or her gender or gender role in society or culture.” Forms of gender violence include sexual violence, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, early or forced marriage, discrimination, the denial of food, education or freedom, domestic violence, female genital mutilation and incest. In circumstances of sexual violence and gender-based violence, a person has no choice to refuse or pursue other options without severe security, social, physical or psychological consequences. School related Sexual Gender Based Violence (SRSGBV) is therefore the type of abuse perpetrated against girls in a school setting.

Schools are generally regarded as ‘safe havens’ for children but the reality for many children is that schools can be a place of sexual discrimination, harassment and violence, perpetrated by fellow male students and teachers alike, as documented in Anger (2002). Sexual and

gender-based violence in schools not only violates children's fundamental rights to dignity and equality, and their rights to be free from violence, but it also undermines their rights to education, particularly when, as is often the case, states fail to take measures to protect these children. Even though most documentation refers to the different forms of violence affecting women and girls, this does not mean that men and boys are not affected nor does it fail to recognise that the violence they suffer is no less of a crime. Thus, although recognising the seriousness of all violence against children, boys or girls, the focus of this article is on sexual violence in schools, experienced overwhelmingly by girls because the undeniable reality is that 'girls are far more likely to be the victim of certain kinds of gender based violence, such as sexual harassment and sexual assault,' (Cooper; Paluck and Fletcher 2012:123).

Research has shown that SGBV in schools occurs worldwide and is generally tolerated. This issue was noted as a major area of concern in regional consultations held for the United Nations (UN) World Report on Violence against Children. A 2008 study in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi concluded that sexual aggression from male classmates was common, and generally tolerated within the schools, (Amnesty International 2008). There was also evidence of teacher sexual harassment. Of the 28 school girls interviewed in-depth in Ghana, 27 per cent indicated that they had been propositioned by a teacher. In Malawi, over half of the girls interviewed stated that they knew of girls who had been propositioned by a teacher, and that it was common for girls to become pregnant by their teachers, (Amnesty International 2008). Similarly, a 2012 study in Zambia found that 57 per cent of schoolgirls interviewed had personally experienced sexual harassment or violence from a teacher, male student, or a man they encountered while travelling to school. More than half stated they knew of teachers who had sexually harassed or abused female students, (Amnesty International 2008; Crisis Intervention Teams 2007).

Although there is a growing body of empirical research documenting the nature and extent of this problem, particularly in various Sub-Saharan African countries, how this problem occurs and is handled within a refugee or conflict situation has not been adequately dealt with. In situations of conflict, there are many sexual violence and gender-based violence atrocities that are committed. Some of these crimes are not as documented or talked about as others. Examples include, but are not limited to, the systematic torture of pregnant women by cutting open their stomachs, the deliberate impregnation of women by enemy soldiers, the use of women as sex slaves and the use of women and girls to perform domestic chores, (Ferris 2007). In any given conflict situation, refugee women are more affected by violence than any other population of women in the world, and all refugee women are at risk of rape or other forms of sexual violence, (Vulnerable Women's Project 2009). Miller (2010) explains that gathering specific statistics of gender based violence against refugees is problematic; sexual violence is often under-reported and the instability of conflict zones can disintegrate civil society making it difficult for civic organisations to gather and document information.

Hynes and Cardozo (2001) show that refugees are affected by sexual violence both as victims of war-related rape crimes, and also as victims of increased domestic abuse that occur during conflict. Additionally, evidence shows that domestic violence may even intensify post-conflict, (Vulnerable Women's Project 2009). The sexual abuse of women during conflict is not new, but it has remained an under-researched and under-documented issue. Sexual violence has become a strategic weapon of war used to destabilize, punish, coerce, and instil terror in refugee populations, and it has been institutionalized in many countries by security forces and places of supposed "refuge." However, Leach (2003) reports that in most situations of conflict, during flight, in refugee camps and after returning home, sexual and gender-based violence is perpetrated primarily against women and girls. The fragmented and inadequate efforts that have been undertaken to study it so far have resulted in limited

national prevalence data. Through SGBV programme initiatives, refugee situations are beginning to provide information on the different types of sexual and gender-based violence existing among refugees. Despite this effort, reliable data, especially on gender-based violence and domestic violence among refugees, especially schoolchildren, still remains rare. UNHCR continues to recognise that violence against refugee women is a global problem that cuts across class, gender, religion and culture. It is the aim of this study therefore, to add weight and information to the less reliable and rare statistics in SGBV cases among refugee school going children.

The researchers appreciate the fact that gender-based violence against women is a widespread issue in many countries, in times of peace and in times of war and that the issue deserves attention and research regardless of context. However, they argue that female refugees experience it in a slightly different way. When a refugee uproots her family to flee persecution, her entire frame of reference is altered, and the social structure that she knew turns out to be only a thing of the past. Changes in access to services, community support, resources, and security diminish the capacity of refugees to feel empowered (Greene 2012). The setting in which a refugee lives, often a refugee camp, forces her to rely on others in a way that makes her increasingly vulnerable to violence. Despite knowledge of the consequences of SRGBV, the issue remains under researched and under-reported, with most studies coming out of sub-Saharan Africa and, to a lesser extent, North America and northern Europe. A number of remaining gaps in knowledge of SRGBV are outlined in the Leach and Salvi (2013) review, which points to the need for further investigation to better understand and design interventions to address this problem.

It is the refugee camp setting on which the study is based as most of the countries offering asylum to refugees enforce the encampment policy. Under this policy, refugees are required to live in the camp where they are given shelter, food, health and educational services under the auspices of the UNHCR in collaboration with the country's government. The study was carried out in Zimbabwe which has a refugee camp housing 8765 refugees from various countries, according to unpublished camp statistics. Of this 8765, 2345 are children under the age of 18, 477 (207 girls and 270 boys) are enrolled at the local camp secondary children; and they are the target population in the study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study is informed by Bandura's Social learning theory which puts forward the idea that people learn behaviour through observational learning of the social factors in their environment, (Bandura 1989). It is also known as Imitation learning as it emphasizes on modelling behaviour on that which has been observed. Bandura (1988) posits that if people observe behaviour which they admire or relate to in others, then they are more likely to model, imitate, and adopt the behaviour themselves. It is along this vein of thought that community and wider society are reflected. Mwamwenda (2010) explains that cultural and societal norms are learned through experience, reinforcement, families, communities, such as schools, peer groups and workplaces and likewise, the patriarchal gender relations that form the basis of SGBV in African societies.

Numerous researches outlined in Mitchell (2011) and Richards (2011) have shown that the causes of sexual and gender based violence in schools are complex and deeply rooted in social, cultural, economic and institutional factors. As one report notes, school-based violence is not a problem confined to schools but a complex, multifaceted societal issue. Schools are social spaces within which the power relationships, domination and discriminatory practices of SGBV are exhibited, tolerated and often encouraged. The

imbalance of power between girls and male teachers and staff members in positions of trust and authority is particularly significant, (Human Rights Watch 2001).

Miller (2005) explains that Social Learning suggests that a combination of environmental (social) and psychological factors influence behaviour. It outlines three requirements for people to learn and model behaviour and these include attention & retention (remembering what one observed) and the patriarchal view that plays such a pivotal part in the upbringing of the African child testifies to this, (Mamwenda 2010; Zindi 2009). Reproduction and motivation are the other two requirements for modelling behaviour. Children may reproduce the learned behaviour in a desire to adopt cultural norms and be one with their society as they follow the accepted societal norms.

Bandura (1989) further develops Social Learning theory and posits that learning will most likely occur if there is a close identification between the observer and the model. Identification allows the observer to feel a one-to-one connection with the individual being imitated and will be more likely to achieve those imitations if the observer feels that they have the ability to follow through with the imitated action (Bandura 1988). In this case, children will imitate close older family members or respected people in their community, churches, schools and villages. If it is their teachers exhibiting these patriarchal tendencies at school thereby being the actual drivers of SGBV, the children are most likely to imitate the behaviour and model themselves accordingly as the teacher is seen as a role model imparting invaluable information.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to offer a framework that can be used in responding to and preventing school based SGBV within refugee situations, a uniquely different set up from the ordinary schools. This framework will strengthen the capacity of humanitarian actors and government to respond to and prevent SGBV against refugees by putting in place systems, structures and services that can respond compassionately to survivors.

This document will continue to raise the awareness of UNHCR, NGOs, government and other humanitarian workers on how to successfully implement Multi-Sectoral programmes. It will also strengthen their response to and prevention of SGBV with the active participation of the refugee community. The study also seeks to raise awareness amongst the children about the prevailing laws relevant to sexual and gender based violence, the procedures and documents required in cases of SGBV.

Drawing primarily from the gap in research on school based SGBV against refugee children in Africa, this paper aims to articulate the issues, causes, challenges and opportunities in policy and programming, with a specific focus on school-related violence against girls. The researchers have also discovered that very little research has been carried out regarding teachers' perceptions of SGBV and how they deal with it in the school environment. There is need to know more about the factors that can influence teachers' attitudes and behaviour regarding the institutional violence they witness, and often take part in, on a daily basis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the consequences of SRSGBV in refugee schools?
2. What is the psycho social impact of SRSGBV on refugee girls?
3. What recommendations can be made to attenuate these consequences?

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted using a qualitative approach in order to gain insight and best quality information on the issue at hand. A qualitative approach, as explained by Dooley (2010), allowed the researchers greater capacity to gain more depth and meaning based on an individual's experiences. A phenomenological research design was employed in the study as according to Davidson (2013), it seeks to answer research questions in a descriptive manner through interviews and observations of those much closer to the phenomenon.

There are 447 students at the secondary school in the refugee camp, 16 teachers, 1 school counsellor, 6 police officers, 5 social workers and 10 health personnel, making a total population of 479. Convenience sampling techniques were used to select 12 students, 6 male and 6 female as well as 4 teachers, the school counsellor, one police officer, one medical health worker and 1 social worker to make a sample of 20. Convenience sampling techniques were used as the students are highly mobile and hence those who were available for the duration of the study were employed. Teachers, social workers, police officers and health personnel were purposively selected for their length of stay in the camp, ensuring that their participation added depth and value to the study. Pupils were asked to write essays entitled "What type of abuses are happening at your school?" with a questionnaire attached as part of data gathering methods. In depth interviews were administered to 6 of the students, sampled from the information provided in the essay. The police, social worker, health worker and teachers were interviewed extensively. The researchers also made use of observation as one of the researchers is a teacher at the school and therefore has first-hand experience of the phenomenon at hand.

Ethical considerations

Permission to carry out the research was sought from the Camp Administrator and the office of the Provincial Education Director. Permission for the children to take part in the study was sought from their parents and they were informed that the information gathered would be used solely for the purposes of the study at hand and anonymity was ensured.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the empirical data yielded the following themes, as indicated by figure 1 below:

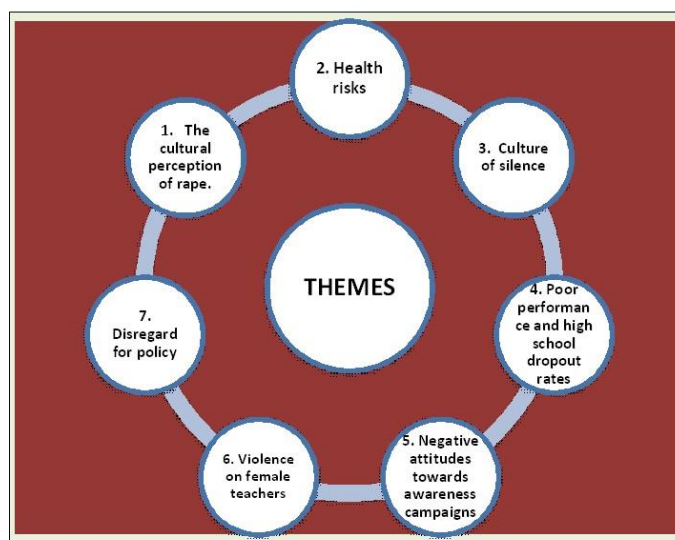


Fig 1. Showing major themes derived from the study field data, 2016.

Theme 1: The cultural perception of rape.

The researchers realised that one of the most difficult elements of rape culture for social workers to overcome within refugee populations is the cultural perception of rape. First of all, sexual violence is a difficult and painful topic for victims to discuss because sex is a taboo topic, and to report rape feels like an invasion of privacy. Moreover, in many communities the act is seen as an embarrassment to the community and to the victim's family. Some African beliefs assert that a raped woman is untouchable, dirty, or somehow defective. From this perspective, the social stigma of rape creates an intense form of psychological trauma, caused by the rejection from friends, family, classmates and communities. How can refugee victims of rape receive any justice if they are consistently placed in circumstances where they are judged by those who are supposed to help?

As a result, most cases go unreported for fear of stigma on the victim. A case of one girl (aged 15) came to light. She had been fondled by one of the boys in her class (aged 17) but had not reported the issue to the teachers. The other children who witnessed this are the ones who reported the matter to a lady teacher. The alleged victim was asked by the senior lady teacher, she confirmed that this had taken place and upon being asked to write a report on the issue so that it could be taken further, she refused. She said:

Madam, no report, no police, no headmaster and no parents. I will not write the report because it will cause problems between my family and ... (name withheld) in the camp. Only God knows what happened but I will not write a report.

The issue ended there because there was no complainant as the victim had refused to lay a complaint. The same boy was to go on to commit several other offences similar in nature until he dropped out of school of his own free will but he was never brought to book. The incident traumatised the young girl as she was taunted about it by her classmates and she later on dropped out of school as well. The social worker was not even aware of this case as it had not reached his office; hence flaws in communication lines at the school were revealed in the study. One of the teachers interviewed professed ignorance as to the role of the school counsellor. She said that she did not know his job description and was even wary of his presence in the school as she thought he was there to spy on how the teachers carried out their duties.

This instance revealed that sometimes the procedure to attaining justice puts off victims from reporting abuse cases as shown by this girl who didn't want the bother of writing a report and involving her parents and the police. However, it is sad to note that the boy was left to go free without having gone through appropriate interventions to rehabilitate him as his actions could go on to be repeated in society with even more devastating consequences.

Theme 2: Health Risks

The study also revealed that gender-based violence puts women's health at an extremely high risk for both physical and psychological problems. According to the health worker involved in the study, there were several reproductive health outcomes recorded at the clinic, including trauma to reproductive organs, acquisition of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV; and unwanted pregnancies that have led to unsafe abortions and other complications. Children interviewed revealed two people in the camp community who are well known for backstreet operations.

The children raised issues in which certain boys in the school entice girls to engage in sexual relations with them by promising them that they would take them with to "Bulaya," which is a local word for resettlement in a third country like USA, Australia, Canada and that their families are almost at the point of leaving. This has resulted in pregnancies and school

dropouts as the girls have found themselves pregnant and unmarried as the promises turned out to be lies or resettlement turned out to be a dream or years away. Two of the girls interviewed in the study revealed that they had engaged in sexual activities with boys at the school and contracted HIV and are currently on anti-retroviral therapy. They revealed that they knew of several other girls who had contracted STIs from the same group of boys. This shows that the children at this school are highly sexually active and they do not have information at all on sexual health. This led the researchers to question the teachers what was being done about Guidance and Counselling sessions at the school as well as the role of the school counsellor.

One of the teachers revealed that they faced challenges because of the community the children were living in. She said that sometimes children share a room with their parents, divided by a thin curtain; others slept in different houses from their parents because of lack of space hence had little or no adult supervision at night. The social workers also revealed a lack of social activities to occupy and build children's character in the camp due to overcrowding and underfunding of programmes. Children were mostly left to their own devices most of the time in the camp and therefore their behaviour could not be changed or moulded by one thirty minute long Guidance and counselling session per week.

The health workers also revealed that they face the challenge of lack of evidence and children failing to open up, citing parents as the major stumbling blocks to their children opening up about their experiences. They state that in 2015 alone, they handled 13 cases in which young school girls had been sexually abused but only 4 cases had the perpetrators named and arrested; the rest had no known perpetrators. It is sad however, to note that most of these girls had contracted STIs.

Theme 3: Culture of Silence

The study also revealed that most of the individuals who were committing acts of SRSGBV were enjoying near total immunity. One of the barriers to justice for these crimes as already identified above is the inability or refusal by victims to identify their attackers. One of the school girls who fell pregnant citing rape stated that she had been followed and raped at the Blair toilets by one of her schoolmates but she failed to identify him. When pressed, she said that he had run away from the camp, hence no one was ever brought to book for the crime. Lack of will by authorities to investigate cases of rape was also highlighted as another of the barriers to justice. There are several SGBV cases that have been tabled by the SGBV school committee before the school authorities and have not been acted upon. The SGBV committee cannot go above the school authorities to report the cases elsewhere as protocol states that they have to go through the school administration office. The Study revealed that cases involving teachers who are personally close to the authorities are shoved under the carpet on one pretext or another and are never heard of. Efforts by the school counsellor and SGBV committee are thwarted as they report that they often feel abused and victimised as they are in turn accused of trying to have teachers fired from work by reporting them. One of the lady teachers in the SGBV committee said,

I was verbally abused. Mr X called me a witch, a devil for having handled a case in which a student reported him for having proposed love to her. I informed the Headmaster about this and the next thing I hear is the same teacher boasting that even if I report him nothing will happen as he is in good books with the school administration. I let the matter lie as I also feared for my safety.

The same girl who had reported her case was also threatened and intimidated by other girls who had been sent by this male teacher. She was accused of trying to have the teacher fired.

The study also revealed that there are weaknesses in the reporting structure as children are bound to report their case to the school authorities and do not seem to know that they can go elsewhere like the clinic, police or other social workers in the camp. The culture of silence is prevalent in societies and refugee societies are not left out.

Even when rape crimes go to trial, prosecution can be difficult. According to one of the social workers, one of the primary obstacles is insufficient evidence. She stated that the trend in these cases is that the prosecution must meet higher evidentiary standards in these cases than in other types of cases. One of the children cited a case in which one of the teachers was reported to the authorities for having sexually abused one of the pupils (15 years old) in his house. The relevant authorities acted with haste and the case was brought before the ministry of education officials who transferred the teacher immediately while investigations were underway. He was taken to a hearing and later dismissed from the teaching service but the legal battle in the courts took over two years to complete. The child was called now and again to testify, disturbing her studies and sometimes the case was set aside as if forgotten only to be brought up again at a later date. Eventually the teacher was found not guilty because the child kept changing statements as she had forgotten her initial statement. It is this discrepancy in the justice system that may discourage children from reporting such cases as one board found the teacher guilty whilst another found him not guilty.

Teachers also realised that children engaging in these activities also become clannish and guard their activities jealously. One of the boys engaged in the study made reference to a group of girls calling themselves ‘Seven Stars’ who were engaging in sexual acts with older boys in the school and exchanging partners amongst themselves. Upon being quizzed, it was revealed that one of the respondents in the group was part of the group and she revealed that they engaged in sexual acts indiscriminately, sometimes engaging in group sex after having watched pornographic material brought by older boys. Their activities were well documented in a book they took turns in writing and keeping, safeguarding it with their lives. They have inscribed satanic words on the cover to keep prying eyes away and hence earning themselves the notoriety of being devil worshipers, something topical in the society.

Theme 4: Poor Performance and High School Dropout Rates

The study revealed that the experience, or even the threat, of SRGBV results in poor performance, irregular attendance, dropout, truancy and low self-esteem. There are high incidences of truancy at the school as children state that they fear coming to school as they are harassed and propositioned by their teachers and fellow students. A look at the school attendance registers revealed that a student may miss school three days of the week for no apparent reason but upon being questioned, students revealed that sometimes they are afraid to come to school as some of the teachers continually pester them for love affairs.

A number of children are recorded to have dropped out of school in 2015 citing different reasons but upon follow up, it was revealed that some of them had been pregnant; others had experienced fall outs at home because of issues to do with boys at school. A survey carried out by Terres Des Hommes, a non-governmental organisation working in the camp, revealed that 78% of the children interviewed stated that they do not feel safe at school. Sixty five percent stated that they felt most safe at home rather than elsewhere within the camp. This discounts the assertion that “schools are a safe haven” for children.

Theme 5: Negative Attitudes Towards Awareness Campaigns

Children were found to have negative attitudes towards SGBV awareness campaigns and this was found to be stemming from their communities. They stated that their parents have told them that SGBV destroys culture and traditional beliefs because it is against some practices

like early marriage, female genital mutilation. One of the girls, in her essay, explained that she could not take part in the awareness campaigns because SGBV promotes promiscuity and erodes her cultural values. She said that she would never report her brother or parent to the authorities for any of the abuses spelled out because they are her parents and know what is best for her. Upon being asked what she thought of arranged/early or forced marriage, she said that if it was her father's wish to marry her off then so be it as her father would never set her wrong. This is therefore seen as a stumbling block in the education of refugee children on their rights with regards to SGBV. One of the boys cited that it was his responsibility as the boy in the family to discipline his sister at school should she go wrong. He said that he was once punished by the teacher when he beat up his sister for having talked to a boy at break time. He said,

Yes, I beat her up because she must respect me as her brother. She cannot just stand around with boys especially in front of me. My father told me to take care of her at school and what will happen if she falls pregnant. When my father is not there I am the man of the house. I don't really like this SGBV stuff people are always talking about because now my sister doesn't listen to me, she talks back when I try to tell her what to do. That should not happen. She must not answer me back; she must just listen to what I tell her because I know what is good for her. I have been taking care of my sisters from DRC to Tanzania through Zambia and you think I can't do it in Zimbabwe? It's not fair; this SGBV is making our lives difficult for nothing.

Theme 6: Violence on Female Teachers by Colleagues or Older Boys.

The fact that teachers, especially young female teachers, are also exposed to sexual violence, either by other staff or by older (usually male) students, has been largely ignored. The female teachers stated that they suffer abuse at the hands of senior male teachers and have nowhere to report as the relevant authorities are also guilty. One of the ladies narrated their ordeal at the hands of one of the most senior teachers at the school who was fond of verbally abusing ladies. One lady was called “*diabolic*”, another was called “*heartless and cruel*” while another was told “*mai imi muri nyoka (woman, you are a snake).*” This was after these ladies had been accused of failing to carry out their duties. After having reported to another senior male teacher and asking for intervention, the teacher said,

Ko imi hamujairi munhu wenyu sei? Chingozivai zvaari motozvigamuchira. In wani nhasi chaiye ndanzi ndiri dofo. (Why don't you get used to the people you work with? Just know his character and accept it. Today I was actually called a dimwit.)

One of the ladies commented that it is very interesting to note that he only does it to ladies, alluding to the fact that this abuse is gender based. The same male teacher is on record for making all new female teachers cry after he has insulted them. It was revealed that one lady was told that she was “half baked” as she had trained to be a teacher between 2006-2009 when the education system had collapsed due to economic hardships and therefore could not dispense her duties well. Another lady was harassed for having left the assembly point to go to the toilet. She was told never to leave assembly in progress for whatever reason as long as she wanted to remain at the school. Another lady teacher was reported to have been threatened by another male teacher for having reported a problem she was facing with him to the headmaster. The male teacher actually threatened to beat up the lady concerned in front of the headmaster and called her all sorts of unsavoury and unprintable names but he was never brought to book.

It is therefore telling that teachers themselves need to be made aware of what SGBV is, its consequences and how to protect themselves from it before they can begin to protect the children in their care.

Theme 7: Disregard for Policy

The study revealed that there is continued resistance to the elimination of corporal punishment in schools and families. Corporal punishment is closely linked to the social acceptance of other forms of GBV, such as domestic violence and child sexual abuse, and to the culture of male domination that prevails in many school settings. It was observed that corporal punishment is administered by all in the school at will; no record is made of the punishment, nature of offence or witnesses to the punishment. Some pupils are beaten as many times as twice a day by different teachers while others actually ask to be beaten instead of being given manual work to do as they have come to accept corporal punishment as a quick means to an end to offences committed. A variety of implements are used to beat up the children ranging from rulers, dusters, sticks, open palms with some teachers even going as far as kicking.

The study also revealed that there is a serious lack of awareness of the gender dimensions of bullying and that there is a general tendency to treat it as a phenomenon separate from GBV. This is not helpful in either understanding the scale of the problem or how best to address it. Children are bullied in the class room, in the playground, on the way home and even in front of the teachers by other children. Some boys make the girls carry their books to and from school every day and only collect them when they need them. Some boys also take the girls' pens and use them while the girls sit and wait for them to finish so that they can also write. When a teacher gives group work, it is almost boys who want to give feedback on behalf of the group, telling the girls that they should let the boys speak. In the vocational technical department, there are running battles between teachers and students as the boys in the fashion and fabrics class make the girls do their stitching for them, claiming it is women's work. Some of the boys run away and join the Agricultural department or find girls to swap places with as they feel this is a man's work.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the researchers made the following recommendations:

1. Efforts should be made to use Participatory Methods in SGBV programme planning, development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Participatory methods involve collective and critical analysis of information by the refugee community. Critical analysis is for the purpose of developing critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is crucial for developing a desire among the refugees individually and as a community for taking action that brings about change. Participatory methods, when used in implementing SGBV programmes will ensure that the process of addressing SGBV issues within the refugee community is controlled by and directed by those refugees most affected by SGBV and ensure that the SGBV programme remains community based.
2. Programmes addressing sexual and gender-based violence should be survivor-centred. They must begin with the experiences of the survivor. These experiences determine the need, the needs determine the services required, the services determine the sectors, the structures and the systems to be involved, strengthened and established.
3. The school should put in place programmes that provide compassionate, confidential and caring services to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence as

confidentiality ensures that a survivor does not experience further threats and/or violence as a result of seeking assistance.

4. Refugee populations are comprised of `diverse groups of professionals just like a non-refugee community. It is not surprising to find among refugee populations highly educated and qualified people. These people can be used as community mobilisers or educators to drive SGBV programmes as the refugees may be more accommodating to their own rather than the foreign humanitarian workers. This can also be implemented at school level. Children who have grasped and mastered the SGBV concepts can be used as youth leaders to educate and conscientise their counterparts.

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