MUHIMBILI UNIVERSITY OF HEALTH AND ALLIED HEALTH SCIENCES

&

WOMEN IN LAW AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

OVERALL PROJECT TITLE

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT ON PRIMARY PREVENTION OF SCHOOL BASED GENDER BASED VIOLENCE (GBV) AND PARENTING INTERVENTIONS IN TANZANIA

REPORT TITLE

FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT OF GBV IN SCHOOLS TO INFORM THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY PREVENTION INTERVENTION IN TANZANIA

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Acronyms and abbreviations

CBOs	Civil Societies Organizations
CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
DVP	Dating Violence Perpetration
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HEC	Health Enhancement Curriculum
IDIs	In-depth interviews
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IQ	Intelligence Quotients
IRB	Institutional Review Board
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KIIs	Key Informants Interviews
MOST	Men of Strength Clubs at Men Can Stop Rape
MUHAS	Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
SCI	school/community intervention
SDC	social development curriculum
SIPV	Sexual and Intimate Partners Violence
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SURGE	Students Upholding Respect and Gender Equity Program at Ga Du Gi SafeCenter
SV	Sexual Violence
SVRI	Sexual Violence Research Initiative
SVV	sexual violence victimization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
VAC	Violence Against Children
WiLDAF	Women in Law and Development if Africa

Acknowledgments

Abstract

Background: Young people aged 13-24 in Tanzania are exposed to gender based violence at rates that are of concern. Physical violence is most prevalent, followed by emotional and sexual violence.

Objective: The main aim of this formative study was to explore dynamics surrounding experience and drivers of GBV among young adolescents in school setting, to inform the development of a GBV prevention intervention.

Methodology: This study used qualitative methods, collecting data from teenagers, parents of teenagers, and school staff from purposively selected urban primary schools (n=5). Data collection guides were developed to explore perceived forms of GBV, learner exposure to GBV, norms around GBV as well as parenting practices associated with GBV. The study involved 18 in-depth interviews (IDIs) and eight Focus Group Discussions with learners, parents and school teacher counselors; as well as nine key informant interviews with head teachers, district education and social welfare officers, the district GBV focal persons, police gender desk staff and civil society GBV prevention advocates. Data collection and analysis were conducted using an iterative approach, whereby the interview guides were continuously updated to explore and capture emerging themes. Findings and conclusions were developed based on a predetermined (literature based), theoretical model and emerging themes.

Results: From the results the following themes emerged: GBV exposure, witnessing GBV in the home by children, adolescent sexual practices in school, physical violence between peers in school and gender norms. It can be concluded that learners are exposed to GBV in ways that involve multiple levels of risk. A multilevel and gendered approach that addresses the identified proximal risk factors as well as structural factors in schools are needed to prevent GBV in young adolescents these including increasing knowledge of the links between GBV exposure and future GBV perpetration and victimization in children ((teachers, parents and learners); changing inherent accepting attitudes towards interpersonal violence (teachers, parents and learners); skills building for reduction in perpetration and responding to victimization (learners, teachers and parents), coupled with school safety measures to support non-tolerance of all forms of violence that will enable prevention of both GBV perpetration and victimization.

Introduction

Magnitude and context of Gender-Based Violence among young adolescents

Gender-based violence involves both men and women and is that in which, usually, the female is the victim; and evolves in part from women's subordinate status in society (Heise, 1999). It includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual, and psychological harm. Focusing on GBV in young adolescents provides an opportunity to influence future adult behaviors in this regard. A recent nationally representative survey of violence against children in Tanzania, sampled young persons aged 13-24 years old, and explored exposures to various forms of violence prior to the age of 18 years (Gladden et al., 2011). Findings showed 28% of females and 13% of males had experienced sexual violence prior to the age of 18 years; the most common reported forms were sexual/unwanted touching more so in females (16%) than males (8.7%); attempted sex (females 14.6%; males 6.3%) and coerced (females 3.1%, males 1.6%) and physically forced sex (females 5.5% , males 2.2%), with reports of such exposures by age 15 years or younger being more prevalent in females than males. Rates for recent (past year) sexual violence were 6% and 14% amongst males and females respectively. The rates for physical violence exposure prior to age 18 years amongst females and males were 74% and 72% respectively; while those for emotional violence exposures were 24% and 28%. The rates of sexual violence found in Tanzania are perhaps reflective of rates in the rest of Africa; a recent multisite, cross sectional study, surveying a total of 46,000 learners across 10 African countries.(Andersson et al., 2012) Using similar questions across sites assessing sexual violence victimization and perpetration (e.g. 'anyone ever forced or persuaded the participant to have sex when they did not want to?' and 'if they had engaged in forced sex with someone without their consent'). The findings showed 19.6% and 21.1% of female and male learners respectively, aged from 11 to16 years reported ever experiencing forced or coerced sex, with rates of sexual abuse/coercion increasing by age in females and being higher than in males by the age of 16 years.

Understanding of the context within which gender-based violence occurs is helpful when developing an intervention to prevent GBV from occurring in the first place. Identifying factors preceding GBV, scenarios associated with GBV as well as responses to such events in a particular cultural context, helps identify intervenable proximal predictors, and relevant scenarios that can be used when adapting an evidence-based programme to the local context. In a recent Tanzanian national representative school-based survey, perpetrators of sexual violence occurring prior to the age of 18 years were known to 68% of females and 74.3% of males; with 24.7% and 47.9% respectively implicating dating partners, others

implicated included a class-mate or friend [10.3% and 8.6% respectively]; a neighbor [32.2% and 16.6% respectively]; a relative [7.1% and 14.1% respectively]; and an authority figure [14.7% and 2.8% respectively] (Gladden et al., 2011). These findings suggest a significant proportion of known perpetrators of sexual violence in young persons are in fact persons whom adolescents have a close or intimate relationship with. It is of note that most sexual violence perpetrators were older than their female victims, but were of the same age as their male victims; and females more so than males implicated an authority figure – both situations suggesting more vulnerability in females than males in partnerships where gender power differentials existed between victims and perpetrators. Most incidents of sexual violence in this study were reported to have occurred in somebodies home, at school or on the way home from school, with most incidents reported to occur at times outside school hours, between mid-day and 8.00 pm (Gladden et al., 2011). Furthermore, both coercion and deceit are noted to be commonly used by partners of particularly school-based adolescent girls, to solicit sex (Masatu, Kazaura, Ndeki, & Mwampambe, 2009; Plummer & Wight, 2011) and elsewhere in Africa (Mathews et al., 2009).

Dating violence is a type of intimate partner violence that can be physical, emotional or sexual and includes stalking that occurs between two people in a close relationship (CDC factsheet, 2014). Estimates from a US based review show rates of dating violence perpetration (DVP) that range from 26-46% for physical violence and 3-12% for sexual violence (Hickman, Jaycox, & Aronoff, 2004). While studies that specifically explore dating violence in SSA are limited, the evidence available suggests the phenomenon is not uncommon amongst young school-based adolescents. In South Africa, for example, 20%–50% of school-based adolescents have reported perpetrating violence against a boy- or girlfriend (Alan J. Flisher, Myer, Mèrais, Lombard, & Reddy, 2007; Swart, Seedat, Stevens, & Ricardo, 2002). In a South African longitudinal school-based study amongst girls and boys that transited from virginity to becoming sexually active, of those reporting at baseline experience of physical intimate partner violence (IPV), more than a third reported having ever being forced to have intercourse at follow-up compared to only about 19% of those not reporting physical IPV at baseline (Mathews et al., 2009). A recent study amongst school-based adolescents aged 11 to 19 years (mean age 13 years) in Tanzania and South Africa, assessing violence in relationships with boyfriends/girlfriends, utilized five and four items respectively to measure physical or sexual victimization and perpetration; 15.7% - 36.4% of informants reported violence victimization (males 10.2% - 35.8% and females 22.1% - 37.8%); and 3.1 - 21.8 % reported violence perpetration, while 8.6% to 42.8% of participants belonged to an overlap group of both victims and perpetrators (Wubs et al., 2009). This particular study suggests violence occurring in adolescence within close/intimate heterosexual relationships is as prevalent in Tanzanian school-based

adolescents as elsewhere in the world (Wubs et al., 2009). Given these observations from South Africa and Tanzania, it is likely that intimate partner violence (both physical and sexual) may also happen within school-based dating relationships.

In summary, dating violence is common in African contexts, Tanzania inclusive and it would be important to better understand its patterns and risk factors including intimate relationships development during adolescence. Such understanding may offer an important opportunity to inform strategies for decreasing the perpetuation of interpersonal violence and abuse and to teach/learn young person's more adaptive, nonviolent alternatives (Wolfe, Scott, Wekerle, & Pittman, 2001).

Risk factors/determinants of gender-based violence in Sub Saharan Africa

Overall for male and female youth, individual, household/family, school and community risk factors for SV victimization and perpetration have been identified in African samples.

Individual level socio-demographic and other factors: There is some information from SSA on risk factors for sexual or dating violence amongst adolescents. At an individual level, older age has been shown to be a risk factor for dating violence perpetration in South African samples of male and female adolescents (Boafo, Dagbanu, & Asante, 2014; Alan J. Flisher et al., 2007). For females, being aged above 13 years was a risk factor for sexual violence victimization; for both males and females living in a household with food insecurity (insufficient food in the past week) was associated with sexual violence victimization (Andersson et al., 2012). School-based female learners were more likely to be victims of GBV, while males were more likely to be perpetrators or be in an overlap group of both victims and perpetrators (Andersson et al., 2012, Wubs et al., 2009). Low socio-economic status has been consistently associated with higher dating violence risk in both international and African samples (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Rennison & Planty, 2003; Wubs et al., 2009), though in the multi-site study, amongst adolescents in urban Tanzania, this association with low socio-economic status was only found for perpetration, while adolescent dating violence victimization and victimization-perpetration, were more likely to be reported amongst the higher socio-economic status group (Wubs et al., 2009). Furthermore, female adolescents reporting higher rather than lower maternal education attainment had a higher likelihood of dating violence victimization (Wubs et al., 2009). Higher maternal education may have been an indicator of existing violence in the home, as there is some evidence that women contributing more to household income tend to report higher rates of IPV than those who contribute less with authors suggesting gaining more domestic power due to earned income, may be a threat to

established patterns of gender and power relations and increase resistance and violence from partners (Blumberg, 1991; Hindin & Adair, 2002).

Alcohol use and dating violence: Alcohol use has been implicated as a risk factor for intimate partner violence in the African context (Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013; Rachel Jewkes, Jonathan Levin, & Loveday Penn-Kekana, 2002). In young persons, a review of 28 studies, examining associations between alcohol use in youth aged 11-21 years and physical dating violence perpetration (DVP), showed positive associations in 13 of 18 estimates of frequency and/or quantity of youth alcohol use and DVP (Rothman, McNaughton Reyes, Johnson, & LaValley, 2012). While longitudinal studies in these analyses confirmed the concurrency of DVP with alcohol use, alcohol use frequency or quantity did not predict occurrence of DVP, suggesting alcohol may work with other risk factors, with evidence existing for its mediating role in the childhood victimization-dating violence relationship (Rothman et al., 2011).

Other individual risk factors: Most other individual level DV risk factors have been explored in studies outside the African continent. A recent literature review shows among both young men and women, more distal risk factors for DV perpetration include witnessing inter-parental violence, child abuse and juvenile delinquency. More proximally, non-equitable attitudes related to gender including gender/sex-role stereotyping, adherence to traditional gender roles, and accepting attitudes towards violence are associated with young persons (both male and female) dating violence perpetration associated positively with DV perpetration (Dardis, Dixon, Edwards, & Turchik, 2014).

A recent meta-analysis provides some evidence for the size of the associations between intimate partner violence experiences and a few identified risk factors. Five risk factors were shown in a recent meta-analysis to have particularly large composite effect sizes for physical violence perpetration, including emotional abuse, forced sex, illicit drug use, attitudes condoning marital violence, and marital satisfaction. More moderate effect sizes were reported between perpetration of physical violence and traditional sex-role ideology, anger/hostility, history of partner abuse, alcohol use, depression, and career/life stress (Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004). In the same study, large effect sizes were found between calculated between physical violence victimization and the victim using violence toward her partner; while more moderate effects were demonstrated between female physical violence victimization and depression and fear of future abuse. Studies included in these analyses were those exploring risk factors for physical IPV perpetration and victimization in samples of couples in a marital or cohabiting relationship. Some of these risk factors, such as permissive attitudes towards violence,

exposure to coerced sex, prior partner abuse have also been reported for adolescent dating violence perpetration in the African context (A. J. Flisher, Myer, Merais, Lombard, & Reddy, 2007). In a study that determined independent risk factors of physical and/or sexual partner violence amongst women attending antenatal care in South Africa, child sexual assault and forced first intercourse were both associated with increased risk of physical and/or sexual partner violence(Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman, & Laubsher, 2004).

Relationship risk factors and dating violence:

Familial relationships: IPV occurring in the context of the family affects all members of the family particularly children who are often witnesses. Studies in high and low and middle income countries report associations between childhood adversities [abuse, witnessing domestic violence and/or serious household dysfunction] and partner violence during adolescence. Furthermore in adulthood additional effects include poor adult sexual (early intercourse, promiscuity and sexual dissatisfaction) and mental health outcomes (Anda et al., 2006), as well as intimate partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2011; Stockl, March, Pallitto, Garcia-Moreno, & team, 2014). Exposure to domestic violence is shown in a meta-analysis to have moderate effects on externalizing (for example physical aggression, verbal bullying, and relational aggression) and internalizing behaviors (example depression or eating disorders) in children and adolescents, as well as trauma symptoms (Evans, Davies, & DiLillo, 2008). Developmental effects of domestic violence exposure are also reported, with evidence for lowered intelligence quotient (IQ) when exposed children and compared to the unexposed (Koenen, Moffitt, Caspi, Taylor, & Purcell, 2003).

A recent systematic review of pathways of influence in the relationships between exposure to domestic violence and child development and growth discusses the dysregulation effects on a child's stress response; biological systems that are important for maintaining physical and mental health (Yount, DiGirolamo, & Ramakrishnan, 2011). More significant, are observations suggesting that in addition to these effects, familial factors described set the stage for intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence occurs perhaps through social learning (Foshee, Benefield, Ennett, Bauman, & Suchindran, 2004; Hickman et al., 2004; Wolfe et al., 2001). In the African context, a recent review of 7 studies exploring associations between current IPV in adults and exposure to familial violence (being physically abused as a child, witnessing violence between parents and child sexual assault) during childhood, included samples from South Africa (n=5), Liberia (n=1), and a multisite study including Egypt, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda and Zambia (Roman & Frantz, 2013). Despite concerns about varying

definitions of IPV in the adult sample, associations were found between exposures to familial violence and a range of health problems in adulthood, including IPV victimization and perpetration as adults, and more recently, effects of poor-parental attachment on sexual violence perpetration in adolescence (Miner, Swinburne Romine, Robinson, Berg, & Knight, 2014).

Parenting and sexual/dating violence: Identified relational risk factors for adolescent dating violence at family level mentioned in the previous section include family conflict, parental rejection and perhaps low levels of family cohesion; these factors have also been reported as some of the risk factors for violence in general (Ttofi & Farrington, 2012). It has been suggested that aggression and violence may be learned within violent families (Famularo, Kinscherff, & Fenton, 1992). From a more proximal perspective, one wonders if acquisition of skills for healthy parenting may be an approach that may reduce adverse exposures and prevent dating violence in the future. With respect to parenting styles, researchers have argued that authoritarian parenting, characterized by the imposition of an absolute set of standards, the valuing of obedience and respect for authority, and the discouragement of give-and-take, may prohibit ability of a child to adapt better in the face of adversity, through development of autonomy (Baumrind, 1971). A number of family processes have been identified as influencing positively adolescents' health behaviors including violence. These include dimensions of family connectedness (Resnick et al., 1997); parent–child communication ((DiIorio, Kelley, & Hockenberry-Eaton, 1999; Kotchick, Shaffer, Miller, & Forehand, 2001); parent child attachment, social isolation and parental modeling, ((Dittus, Jaccard, & Gordon, 1999; Jessor, Turbin, & Costa, 1998; Miner et al., 2014). However, evidence shows communication between young school-based adolescents and parents on matters of sexuality and sexual health in Dar es Salaam are limited (Kajula, Sheon, De Vries, Kaaya, & Aaro, 2014; Namisi et al., 2009). Developing measures for assessing these dimensions would be important to understand to what extent they can be changed or modified by interventions aimed at improving parenting and resilience in children and in this way reduce vulnerability to dating violence.

More wider cultural factors have been reported to play a role in occurrence of IPV in adults, and could explain the greater victimization of adult females particularly in the African context; male control of women and notions of male sexual entitlement feature strongly in the social construction of masculinity in both South Africa (R. Jewkes, J. Levin, & L. Penn-Kekana, 2002) and Tanzania (Laisser, Nystrom, Lugina, & Emmelin, 2011) and has been implicated in IPV perpetration in adults. No study could be retrieved that longitudinally assessed effects of social learning as a result of IPV and other violence exposures in the home, on DV victimization and perpetration in school-based adolescents in Africa.

Structural level risk factors influencing dating violence: Characteristics of schools may point to an important risk factor for involvement in sexual violence (SV). In a ten country SSA based study where nationally representative school-based adolescents were sampled; multilevel analyses showed a number of school group and community risk factors for sexual violence victimization (SVV) (Andersson et al., 2012). In terms of the school context, reported female SVV was independently associated with school groups with a lower proportion of learners that knew about child rights; with a higher proportion of male and female learners in these schools reporting experiences of SVV, as well as sexual violence perpetration (SVP) in males; when compared to schools where learners knew about child rights. Similar higher rates of SVV and SVP were reported in school groups where rates of learner reported alcohol use were high compared to those where use was lower (Andersson et al., 2012). These school context related risk factors suggest the importance of interventions focusing on greater awareness of the rights of female and male adolescents and reducing tolerance of dating violence. Challenges may include working against normative values related to violence victimization and perpetration in intimate heterosexual relationships. It is likely that in the Tanzanian context, cultural and family factors that endorse sexual and intimate partners' violence as a response to conflict may be reflected in individual behaviors of young adolescents and in the school climate, influencing tolerance. The importance of the school climate, which has been defined as the quality and character of school life, including the norms, values and expectations that a school accepts and promotes (Brookover, 1985), in GBV prevention interventions should always be considered.

At a community level, cultural factors also appear to influence processes related to close/intimate relationships amongst learners. IPV reports by school learners in 10 African countries were analyzed by structural factors common to groups of schools(Andersson et al., 2012). Reported sexual IPV was more common amongst both female and male learners, in school groups where adults in the community held attitudes of men's entitlement to sex if gifts were offered to a woman. Rates of reported sexual IPV by female learners were also high in school groups where adults in the community reported intimate partner violence perpetration in the past year. Finally, sexual violence perpetration (SVP) was more commonly reported by male and female learners from communities inaccessible by tar roads; while for reported SVP amongst female learners, community level risk factors included more adults in their community believing it was okay for older men to have sex with adolescents; and where more adults in their community reported IPV in the past year. These observations suggest overall a need for multiple levels of inquiry when attempting to understand sexual intimate partner victimization and perpetration (dating violence) amongst young school-based adolescents; and equally multiple levels of intervening may be required in order to minimize GBV in school settings. This is particularly the case for the Tanzania
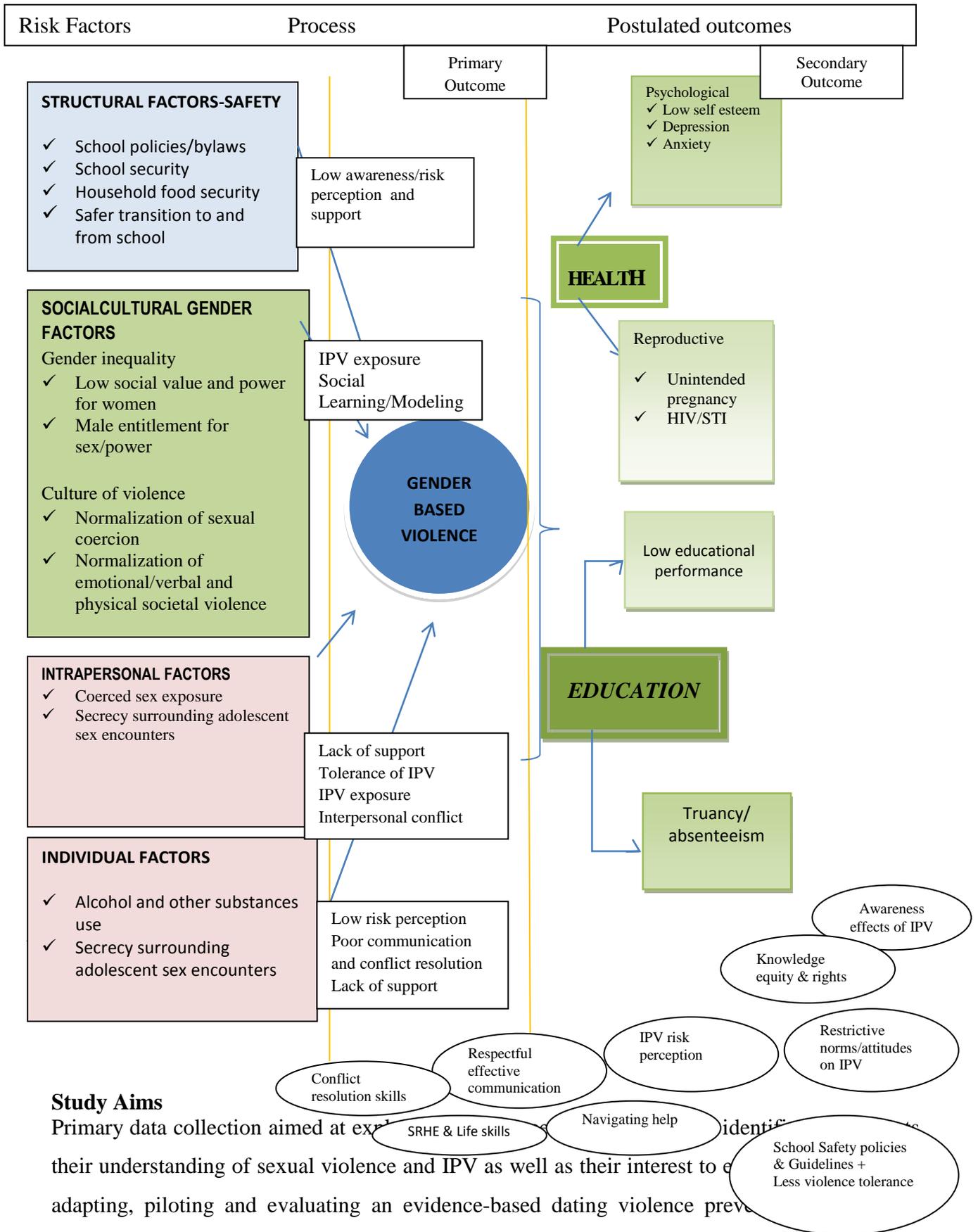
context, where relative to South Africa, communications related to sexuality and sexual health between adolescents and responsible adults are restricted; coupled with tolerance for IPV, unless interventions are put in place, the likelihood of reporting acts of dating violence outside surveys may by small.

Key conclusions from the desk review

Risk factors for sexual and intimate partner violence (the later best described as dating violence amongst adolescents) in school-based adolescents, occur at individual, inter-personal/family, school/community and cultural/societal levels and are best framed within a socio-ecological framework. At the wider societal level, cultural beliefs and understandings of gender-roles and entitlements, shapes awareness, attitudes towards and responses to violence in relationships, at community, family and individual levels. The pervasive silence in communications between adults and adolescents, on matters of sexuality and sexual health (Namisi et al., 2009), may be a significant barrier to supportive communications when sexual or IPV occurs. Early sex initiation and low risk perception of consequences, when initiating relationships may not prepare young adolescents with skills to negotiate conflicts. Possible processes connecting risk factors to dating violence amongst school-based young adolescents are summarized in Figure 1.

There are high rates of dating violence victimization and perpetration reported by male and female learners respectively. Methodologies used in surveys, do not allow us to understand if reported sexual acts are homosexual or heterosexual, or contexts within which female-male violence occurs in the Tanzanian cultural context. While school-based adolescents may be the main targets of a violence prevention intervention, it is imperative that the intervention shifts permissive attitudes towards forms of IPV; focuses on strategies to increase school environment safety, as well as strategies that will reduce tolerance of IPV in schools and in homes. In order to capture the different levels of risk, elucidated by the review, involvement of the school community – learners, teachers and parents, as well as school systems may be important when adapting an evidence based intervention that can be sustained. It is therefore imperative to understand the context of the school environment in its broadest sense to inform relevance and adaptation of evidence based interventions for primary prevention of aggression that include components that also identify and respond to learners exposures to domestic violence. Our goal is to use context rich information to ensure adequate cultural adaptation of selected evidence-based parenting and/or safe schools strengthening intervention components.

Figure 1: Adolescents IPV (Dating violence) Theoretical Framework Dar es Salaam

Risk Factors	Process	Postulated outcomes

Primary Outcome

Secondary Outcome

STRUCTURAL FACTORS-SAFETY
- ✓ School policies/bylaws
- ✓ School security
- ✓ Household food security
- ✓ Safer transition to and from school

Low awareness/risk perception and support

Psychological
- ✓ Low self esteem
- ✓ Depression
- ✓ Anxiety

HEALTH

SOCIALCULTURAL GENDER FACTORS

Gender inequality
- ✓ Low social value and power for women
- ✓ Male entitlement for sex/power

Culture of violence
- ✓ Normalization of sexual coercion
- ✓ Normalization of emotional/verbal and physical societal violence

IPV exposure
Social Learning/Modeling

Reproductive
- ✓ Unintended pregnancy
- ✓ HIV/STI

GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

INTRAPERSONAL FACTORS
- ✓ Coerced sex exposure
- ✓ Secrecy surrounding adolescent sex encounters

Low educational performance

Lack of support
Tolerance of IPV
IPV exposure
Interpersonal conflict

EDUCATION

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS
- ✓ Alcohol and other substances use
- ✓ Secrecy surrounding adolescent sex encounters

Truancy/ absenteeism

Low risk perception
Poor communication and conflict resolution
Lack of support

Awareness effects of IPV

Knowledge equity & rights

IPV risk perception

Restrictive norms/attitudes on IPV

Respectful effective communication

Conflict resolution skills

Navigating help

SRHE & Life skills

School Safety policies & Guidelines + Less violence tolerance

Study Aims

Primary data collection aimed at ex~~pl~~ identif~~y~~

their understanding of sexual violence and IPV as well as their interest to e

adapting, piloting and evaluating an evidence-based dating violence prev~~e~~

Therefore, the primary data collection part of the formative phase was to fill in the gaps in local information on perceived forms of GBV, and attitudes towards sexual violence and IPV from the perspectives of learners, teachers, parents and other stakeholders with interest in violence prevention, qualitative data were collected to answer the following aims:

1) To describe sexual GBV experiences and exposures from the perspectives of the learners, teachers, and parents
2) To describe attitudes and social norms related to sexual GBV among school-based young adolescent
3) To describe parenting practices (connectedness, control, and communication), comparing and contrasting the perspectives of the parents, and learners.

The results from this study will inform adaptation recommendations for a multi-faceted, school-based sexual and intimate partner primary prevention intervention.

Methodology

1.1. Study design

A qualitative approach was used to answer study aims. Research methods included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews.

1.2. Study population

This study interviewed learners aged 12-14 (n=44; 8-10 per school), their parents (n=20; four per school), teachers/head teachers (n=20; four per school) from five purposively selected schools (urban and peri-urban) in Kinondoni Municipality in Dar es Salaam. The schools were purposely selected to participate in the study based on their proximity and head teachers had to show willingness to participate in developing and piloting an intervention.

In addition key informant interviews were held with district education and social welfare officers, 2 police gender-desk focal persons and 2 violence prevention advocates from community based organizations in the district. Violence prevention advocates are usually persons that work with voluntary community based organizations that provide direct or indirect support to victims of gender-based violence. In total, 91 individuals participated in 18 IDIs, 8 FGDs and 9 KIIs. Participants were stratified by gender, age and roles (learners, teachers, parents and other stakeholders) (Table 1).

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Table 1: Overview of FGDs and IDIs

Participant Categories	Number of Interviews/discussion (participants)
In-Depth Interviews (IDI):	
Male learners aged 12-14 years	6 (6)
Female learners aged 12-14 years	6 (6)
Male parents of 12-14 year old	2 (2)
Female parents of 12-14 year old	2 (2)
School teacher counselors	2 (2)
Subtotal	*18 (18)*
Focus Group Discussions (FGDs):	
Male learners (12-14 years) FGDs	2 (16)
Female learners (12-14 years) FGD	2 (16)
Male teachers FGDs	1 (8)
Female teachers FGDs	1 (8)
Male parents of 12-14 year olds	1 (8)
Female parents of 12-14 year olds	1 (8)
Subtotal	*8 (64)*
Key Informant Interviews:	
Head teachers	2 (2)
District Education Officer	1 (1)
District social work officer	1 (1)
District GBV focal person	1 (1)
Police gender desk staff (Male and female)	2 (2)
Male CBO/NGO GBV prevention advocate	1 (1)
Female CBO/NGO GBV prevention advocate	1 (1)
Subtotal	9 (9)
Grand total	35 (91)

Interviews and discussions were conducted in the Swahili (local language). Interview guides (see appendices I-VI) and digital tape recorders were used by the interviewers to collect information.

1.3.   Interview and focus group discussion guides

*In-depth interviews***:** As perspectives of young adolescents on gender-based violence were not known at all in the Tanzanian context, interview themes focused broadly on gender-based violence in general prior to focusing more specifically on violence in intimate relationships. In-depth interviews gain insights into lived experiences with sexual GBV. With learners in particular, the interviews utilized a narrative approach to elicit their perspectives and experiences with gender based violence. For parents, IDI collected information on parenting experiences pertaining to sexual and physical gender based violence in the home, while among teachers, the IDI sought information related to school policies related to responses to gender based violence prevention, and implementation challenges.

Focus group discussions: The aim of the FGDs was to gain insight into social norms related to different forms of violence i.e. bullying, physical and sexual GBV, describe parenting styles and communication in relation to aggression between responsible adults (parents, guardians, and teachers) and young adolescents and between young adolescents. More specifically, perspectives on content of such communication, motivators and barriers to change concerning gender based violence and victimization and understanding learners' and parents' perspectives with regards to aggression prevention.

Key informants interviews: These in-depth interviews gathered information from perspectives of stakeholders in GBV prevention focusing on all forms of violence that include physical, sexual and emotional violence.

1.4.   *Field team training and data collection procedures:*
Two experienced sociology graduates were trained to conduct IDIs and FGDs with both adults and young adolescent learners. Three day training aimed at understanding study aims and interview guides included skills based session using role play with the rest of the team. The training also included proper use of digital voice recorder to ensure smooth data collection procedures. All interviews were audio recorded to ensure availability of verbatim data. An

iterative process between data collection and analysis was implemented through review of narrative data with the study team after 2 interviews each, then after 25%, 50% and 75% of completed interviews. Emerging themes were discussed, and additional question were integrated in the interview guide to further probe the information. These questions are indicated in blue type in the tools. During these debrief sessions, codes and their descriptions were developed for future coding and revised continuously at each subsequent session, through sharing of insights from the data.

1.5. Data management and analysis

Qualitative data from the IDIs and FGDs and KIIs were transcribed in Swahili within 24 hours of data collection and subsequently translated into English. Study team members discussed themes and emerging findings and refined codes and their descriptions. A codebook was developed using set objectives as well as emerging themes during data immersion. NVivo version 10 was used to code the data and reduce it to manageable units.

1.6. Ethical considerations

All study participants provided informed consent and or assent prior to participation. Learners in schools participated in a class room session where the study objectives were described by the research team. Information was also provided on risks and benefits to participation, the voluntary nature of participation and measures that would be taken to maintain confidentiality. Assenting learners were recruited and provided with information letters to parents/guardians. Parents/guardians were required to return signed forms only if they declined their child's participation. The Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences IRB reviewed and provided ethical approval for this study. The district administrative secretary received the protocol and IRB approval, reviewed the same and permitted the study in the five schools with the district education officer as our main point of contact. Head teachers of all five schools agreed to their school's participation in the study.

Parents were identified through the school committees, which included both teachers and parents. Parents were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study. An informed consent process was conducted and consenting parents were required to sign a consent form. Teachers likewise were selected using the same criteria with volunteers and underwent a similar informed consent process. Key informants were selected based on their position in

setting local school policies, community based strategies for GBV interventions and monitoring their implementation.

Results

Sexual violence was reported to be a major issue; this was reported to occur at home, on the way to school and in schools. Challenges regarding parenting were also reported, especially regarding poor parental monitoring and silence regarding SGBV. Several themes emerged from our findings from learner and adult participants from IDIs and FGDs. These include; fear prohibiting disclosure of sexual violence, parents not reporting sexual abuse of their child, exposure to GBV in the home, adolescent sexual practices in school, physical violence between peers in school, normative use of violence at home and is school as well as and gender norms, roles and socialization at home.

Sexual violence at home

Several phenomena were described by a learner, a police officer and a teacher describing exposure of children to sexual violence within the home. The situations described include particularly female learners as victims of sexual violence perpetrated by family members or neighbours. The above-mentioned participants suggested that neglectful parenting and poor monitoring added to risk factors for such violence in children.

Some participants mentioned incidents where incestuous sexual abuse of school children occurred. The following participant, a police officer reports one such case:

> *"The newest one is about a man who tore his 12 year old daughter's genitalia with his fingers. The father is HIV infected so he was feeling pity for his daughter, and decided to insert his fingers in her vagina and rectum …. and the girl was reaching orgasm. As usual, the X* (name of location withheld) *people destroyed the door after suspecting something. They found the father and his daughter in bed. We wrote a police form for the daughter to be treated at a hospital and the father was sentenced to 7 years in jail. That father had chased his wife and son from the house and had remained with the daughter".* Male Police Officer, KII

From the above account, several issues are of concern. One is that the perpetrator who was also the father was infected with HIV and therefore other than rape, he also put his daughter at risk of

HIV. Furthermore, the father had also chased his wife and son, thereby removing social support and protection from the daughter.

Another participant, a teacher, described her attempts to explore reasons for a learner not attending class:

> *"There is a student who is in standard seven now who used to sleep in the class and I made a follow up on her. I asked her why she always slept in class and she said that it's because of her uncle. She told me that her mother went to X (*name of region withheld) *and she is with her stepfather and the uncle used to rape the girl when the stepfather left the house early in the morning. He threatened to kill her if she made any noise".* Female teacher, IDI

According to this teacher, the learner's mother travel made the learner vulnerable to sexual abuse. From the incident, the use of threats to prevent children disclosure of incidents and also help seeking is clear.

Decline in parental monitoring, when a mentally challenged girl was left alone at home may have contributed to the girls rape. Furthermore, a perpetrator's threat to harm either the victim or close family members prohibits disclosure of incidents of rape as demonstrated by the following quote reported in a learner's focus group discussion:

> *"Last week a girl was raped, she is mentally challenged and was left at home alone. A man who was working on a construction site for a nearby house called her into the unfinished house and coerced her to have sex after offering her one hundred shillings* (equivalent to 0.06 USD) *so that she can keep quiet. But as this was happening a group of four year old children saw what was happening and told her parents, when asked she agreed but said that she was afraid of saying anything before, because the man had threatened to beat her mother if she came asking around.* Female learner, FGD

While in the above incident other children reported to the victim's parents, some victims themselves are able to report incidents of sexual violence to their parents as exemplified below:

> *"Aaah, we have dealt with a lot of such cases. Children pass through the narrow passage when they are heading to the bus station. There was a chips vendor who was offering*

chips to some boys and in return for sodomizing them. The learners were going to see that chips businessman daily, he was sodomizing them in turns. One boy reported this to his father and we prepared a plan to snare him". Male police officer, KII

This quote also brings to fore the fact that adolescent boys are also at risk of sexual violence.

Barriers to reporting sexual abuse of children

While the incidents of sexual violence reported in the previous section resulted in discovery, reporting and prosecution, a teacher participant noted that not all incidents of child sexual abuse are reported and prosecuted:

"I have a student who is now in standard five who was made pregnant by a motorcycle driver. Her father reported to us about it. We never thought that she was pregnant, because she is fat. The head teacher asked her father about the hospital report and he showed it to him. They called that man who made her pregnant and the head teacher also made a phone call to the police. The policeman came dressed in civilian clothes and waited outside for the perpetrator. The head teacher and the father asked the man about the number of times he had sex with the girl and if he knew that she was a student. The man knew that she was a student and he had shared sexual intimacy with her thrice. The policeman came in and arrested the man. The father was angry with us because we had reported the incident to the police and he (the perpetrator) *was sent to jail while he was supposed to care for the baby. We told him that we must take care of him* (the perpetrator) *to teach others… I know that child didn't come back to school because they know that I will follow up on the case"*. Male teacher, IDI

From the above report, parents may have different reasons for not reporting sexual violence of their children, especially if they become pregnant. Having the perpetrator outside the jail may mean that he may help financially with the pregnancy and the baby after birth. In the quote above, the father's main reason for seeking the assistance of the school was perhaps to threaten the perpetrator to provide support for his daughter.

Witnessing GBV in the home by children

Witnessing of familial conflicts by children was a concern raised by parent participants. This was mentioned as a possible exposure that children learn from and emulate in their own interactions with the opposite sex. As a female parent noted during an in-depth interview:

> *"Some men beat their wives and leave them outside naked for children to see. You know they rent houses, maybe there are two rooms, the living room and the bedroom; the parents go to the living room where the children are sleeping when they fight".*
> Female parent, IDI

Another female parent participant describes her experience of an incident in which a disagreement occurred between a couple in her neighbourhood and the husband beat his wife:

> *R: "The man went to the place the women were cooking and started to hit his wife. He hit her so hard and the food poured onto the ground. He took her outside and hit her until all of her clothes were torn and the undergarments could be seen. A lot of people gathered there to see what was happening. My children were the ones that called me outside to see that. The woman that was hit was feeling ashamed and humiliated because all of her clothes were torn".*

> *I: "Where were the children?"*

> *R: "The children were at home and they saw their mother's torn clothes. That woman is currently depressed; she also looks so weak and doesn't respond well to greetings".*
> Female parent, IDI

Of interest in this incident, was not only those children observed their mother being beaten and humiliated by their father, but also neighbours came out to observe as well, and did not intervene. From this experience, the children may have received a very powerful negative message of the right of their father to beat and humiliate their mother and therefore that men can beat women with impunity. The possibility of secondary trauma – in this case emotional- for the children that witnessed the violent act is another concern.

Adolescent sexual practices and abuse in school

Adolescent learners express their sexuality differently as it was most evident in probes around sexual violence in the school setting. Learners reported a number of peer sexual behaviours, including peers, particularly boys, showing and touching each other's genitals. Sexual abuse was also reported including inappropriate touching of girls by boys;

> *"In the class…boys touching each other's genitals. For example they are arguing about their genitals, so they start showing each other, then they touch each other's genitals".* Female Learner FGD

The reported incident appeared to occur mostly between boys, and may reflect a competitiveness/curiosity about what each ones genitalia looks or feels like.

Another learner participant reported discomfort and a reflection of bad manners when boys touch girls inappropriately:

> *There are some who are ill mannered, they touch girls.* Female learner, IDI

Adult participants reported more overt sexual acts of learners. Whether these peer-to-peer acts were consensual or not is unclear, though it is obvious that the reporting social welfare officer labelled these behaviours as sexually violent acts, as noted in the quote below:

> *"We have a lot of sodomy cases. One of the examples is the case I have already told you about a boy who was sodomizing his younger brother after seeing pornography videos that were given to them secretly by their aunt. We also had a case in 2013 of a boy who reported that his peers were sodomizing him at school. We had another case from X* (Name of school withheld) *primary school about boys who were sodomizing each other in toilets".* Male social welfare officer, KII

Since provision of pornography to minors is a crime, the above example can also be considered as child sexual abuse. Teacher participants supported accounts by other informants of same sex sexual practices particularly amongst boys.

Reasons for learner truancy put forward by teachers included taking time off school for transactional same sex encounters or to watch pornographic movies through street kiosks. The quotation below is illustrative:

> *"There are a lot of things like rape, sodomy…Some children leave their homes for school but pass by some places and meet young men who trick them with chips and some money and end up abusing them* (sexually). *We did an investigation and discovered that it's the garage men's doing. We also found that some of the children who are always absent go to street video shows in which they watch porn videos".* Female teacher, IDI

The teacher continued to narrate an incident where a food vendor outside the school premises was involved in enticing children to perform sexual acts with treats as reported in the quote below:

> *"There was another case in the same year that involved an old man. He used to sell cassava to the children and they liked him a lot. He had sex with girls and boys and he used to call the students to his house for soda. That old man used to sodomize them. We reported that to the police and sent one child for examination and it was found out that he was already hurt. The old man had already run away when we came back for him because the door was destroyed".* Female teacher, IDI

According to this teacher, schools and teachers in particular play a mediating role in some incidents when a learner is afraid to talk to her/his parents about abuse. Teachers also appear to take interest in the lives and wellbeing of their learners.

Some participants reported that deficiencies in parenting may encourage incidents of relational violence amongst peers. When parents for some reason do not reprimand or intervene after their child perpetrates violence, such lack of parental interventions is suggested to perpetuate the behaviour. A parent participant suggested that some sexually active adolescents sexually abuse their peers knowing that there will be no consequences to their behaviour:

> *I: Why are children violent towards each other?*

R: I think that's a result of upbringing. Some are coming from good families while others are from the bad side. A child may be violent towards a peer knowing that his parents will do nothing to him if he will be reported or that his parents will pay the fine if he will be accused. Female parent, IDI

Bullying, communication and conflict resolutions skills among learners

Bullying in school, especially in the form of physical violence was mentioned by several learner participants. Adolescent learners also mentioned perpetrating physical violence in their descriptions of involvement in beating other learners as a way to resolve conflicts:

> *The teacher came after me, and then I told him that the student I had beaten continued calling me bad names that's why I beat him.* Male learner, FGD

Being younger or smaller was mentioned by a number of participants as a risk factor for being bullied. In the incident described by a younger learner in the quotation below, it is also apparent that verbal bullying may precede physical bullying:

> *Standard sevens', who are older than me, are the ones who beat me and bully me. Sometimes I may just be passing and they start joking when I tell them I am going to report them, sometimes they stop and sometimes they throw small stones at me which hit me.* Male learner, FGD.

From this account, reporting bullying to teachers may not help the victim, since bullies retaliate with different forms of bullying. Furthermore, due to anti-bullying policies in schools, the teachers may not know how to appropriately solve bullying cases.

Normative use of violence

Corporal punishment is one way in which violence is normalised and has been reported to occur both in the home and at school. Such normative use of violence as a disciplinary reaction was reported by most participants, according to these reports parents use the cane as a means of 'correcting behaviour':

> R2: O*ne day I came back from school and my mother asked me to take a device to her friend, the place she sent me was far and I was hungry so I refused to go, my mother*

told me to go first then I will have lunch afterwards, but I refused. So my mother locked me outside the house and took the device by herself to her friend. When she left my friend Y convinced me to pass through the window and have tea then come out, I did that and after having tea I got out of the house again through the window and went to play. When my mother came back she knew what I had done, so she caned me so much, I asked her to beat me on the buttocks but she refused, instead she beat be on the back.

R4: one day I broke my mother's favourite cup, she slapped me until I felt dizzy, later I apologised to her but she refused to forgive me. So the next day I woke up and did all the chores then I apologised again and she forgave me. Male learners, FGD

From the extreme reaction of the mother in the account above, physical violence seems to be used to punish any mistakes by children at home. Apart from the violence of physical abuse, it could also mean that children do not learn different ways to resolve conflicts, other than violence.

A parent elaborated on the reasons she uses corporal punishment at home, though also acknowledging that it was not the best way to discipline children. This participant felt she had no option but to do so, although it was interesting that the participant named corporal punishment as a form of violence, as quoted below:

Daah!!! I administer corporal punishment but with reasons especially when they repeat the same mistakes again and again, but it's not good anyway, we should do much more of the talking than the punishment. Some children will not understand your words unless you inflict some pain on them. A lot of parents are like that. So I can say that's the only form of violence that I have done. Female parent, IDI

Normative use of violence in schools, in the form of administering corporal punishment was also acknowledged. Learner participants mentioned several incidents where teachers used corporal punishment to correct behaviour:

I: What did the teacher do?

R6: He (student) *was beaten and up to date the habit has stopped.* Male learner, FGD

The participant below suggested several circumstances and situations where corporal punishment happened in school:

> *You will be punished if you have done something wrong. Lying, hitting others, not doing the assigned exercises, not sending exercises for marking, not finishing homework etc.* Female learner, IDI

In the following quote, it is apparent that such punishment is sometimes communicated to parents by children; and that some parents may feel corporal punishment has been used excessively by teachers to an extent that requires parental intervention:

> *Corporal punishment is usually executed in my children's school. They always complain that they were punished…sometimes because they have not paid money for porridge. They are also punished if they don't go to school on Saturdays; they get two sticks daily for the whole week just for that. That hurts them a lot. I usually make a follow-up to their school if I think it's too much. I just ask for the name of the specific teacher that does so.* Female parent, IDI

From all the above reports, it appears that corporal punishment is utilised in multiple scenarios at home and in schools. As such, violence is being normalised through corporal punishment and the learners will most likely perpetuate violent behaviour including different forms of GBV. It is also important to note that, corporal punishment lessens connectedness and as such, children are less likely to report abuse to adults they do not feel connected to or that they are afraid of.

Gender norms, roles and socialization

Gender norms and roles that perpetuate Sexual GBV and the inferiority of females have been mentioned by several participants including teachers, learners and parents. Since gender norms and roles are socialised to adolescents at home, in school and community at large it is important to understand how participants describe transmission of the existing gender norms.

A teacher participant explained how one learner was emotionally devastated due to what she was told by an older man about being a girl:

One day a father held an initiation ceremony for his daughter, during the ceremony one man who was equal to her father's age came to the girl and spoke to her in a way that affected that child psychologically, he told her that she will only be married and there is nothing she can accomplish on her own in life. The child was very sad to hear that, and lamented that these customs all they do is to make children feel purposeless. Female teacher, FGD

According to this teacher, the girl was discouraged from having any higher expectations other than being married. Participants also described what community expectations were of the behaviour of a boy and a girl

I: How is a girl child supposed to behave?

R: She should be clean and should not be in the company of bad boys. She should be with well- mannered boys who can help her.

I: How should a girl child behave in school?

R: She should study hard and should not do bad things. She should not speak in insults against others, or sing provocative songs about others. Male learner, IDI

In a focus group discussion female learner participants elaborated further what they felt others expected of them as females; these perspectives that focused on being reserved, obedient, respectful and have dignity are illustrated by the following quotation:

I: Now, at home or school, how do parents want you as a girl to be?

R3: They want me to be decent and respectful.

R5: They want me to have a good habit, not to follow bad habits.

I; what kind of habit?

R5: Obedient and maintain dignity. Female learner, FGD

The socialization to a more subordinate position compared to boys is highlighted, as well as the high expectations imposed by cultural norms on boys. Participants in a female learners focus

group discussion elaborated their perspectives on what the community expected from boys as follows:

>*I: And if a boy cries, what is he told?*
>
>*R1: To stop crying like a girl.*
>
>*I: And what does he do after being told that?*
>
>*R3: He just feels bad.*
>
>*I: How do they want a boy to be?*
>
>*R6: They want him to be strong, not to be a weakling or they tell him a boy never cries.* Female learner, FGD

Female teacher participants during a focus group discussion agreed with the female learners' comments about boys who cry:

>*R8: Most of the time we try to build his confidence* (male learner) *and courage by telling him that, men never cry.* Female teacher, FGD

Learner participants also mention awareness that there were different role expectations for boys and girl as exemplified by their descriptions about chores and how they were assigned for boys and girls:

>*You may be asked by your parents to do the chores that are always done by your sisters maybe because they are sick…you should not refuse to do anything that you are asked by your parents***.** Male learner, FGD

Despite being assigned roles that were traditionally female roles, a male learner with younger female siblings, noted during an in-depth interview that at some stage his mother would no longer assign him chores often done by girls:

>*R: Our mother says so. She says that the girls will cook when they are grown up, so we won't have to cook again.* Male learner, IDI

Other participants suggest that not only do girls have different chores than boys, but they are also expected to do more around the house:

> *R4: I think girls have a lot of duties compared to boys, girls do house chores before and after school but boys all they do is go to school thereafter eat and play.* Female teacher, FGD

The issue of girls having more chores in the home than boys, and their movements being more restricted outside the home is also supported by female learners. A female learner participant elaborated:

> *I: What do you do at home after school hours?*
>
> *R: I wash the utensils, wash clothes, mop the floors, take bath, eat and lastly sleep.*
>
> *I: Do you have male relatives?*
>
> *R: Yes.*
>
> *I: Which activities do they do?*
>
> *R: They just fetch water.*
>
> *I: What do they do after fetching water?*
>
> *R: They take bath, eat and sleep. The classes are over by 3 pm, they visit their friends after fetching water.*
>
> *I: Don't you go to visit friends?*
>
> *R: I visit my relatives in my sister's company.* Female learner, IDI

The life of the above female learner at home seems to be filled with chores, while her male siblings have one chore. The male siblings also seem to get time to visit friends, while the participant is more restricted. This could have several implications for the learner including low self-esteem and the belief that she is not as important as her male relatives. Furthermore, for the male siblings, they are being socialised to believe that they are better than girls. However, the

male siblings could also engage in risky behaviours since they have more unstructured time, with minimal monitoring.

Parents' tendency to favour a child depending on his/her sex has also been mentioned by parents in focus group discussions. Female participants noted:

> *R1: After school a father may sit with his son and talk to him but if the daughter wants to sit and listen she is chased away and the son is told that everything that the father has, belongs to him* (the son) *because the daughter is just going to get married*

> *I: what do you advice about how boys are brought up?*

> *R7: I think parents love and favour boys more than girls.*

> *R6: I advise that children should be raised the same, no matter their sex.*

> *R2: I suggest that parents should not show favouritism among children both sexes should be taken to school*

> *R1: All children should be treated the same because it is not possible to know who will be successful in the future and who will help their parents more.* Female parents, FGD

Although these participants were parents, they seemed to be blaming other parents of favouring boys. However, some parents may be unhappy with the assigned specific gender roles to their children as reflected in assigning chores and preferred treating children equally in this regard as captured in the quote below:

> *I like treating both girls and boys equally, if it is doing chores both will do the same and I explain to them that there will be no gender based segregation because of their differences, at my home all children are the same so he has to know how to cook, wash the dishes. Being a boy does not mean you act like the man of the house that everything from bathing water, food should be prepared for him, he is still a child and is the same as the others.* Female parent, IDI

While the above participant suggests that her sons do similar chores to girls, she then suggests that "men of the house" should have everything prepared for them. It can be assumed that children are socialised to believe that they do similar chores when they are still young and then boys will perform less at home as they mature and have their own houses.

And another male parent elaborates:

> *The difference between boys and girls socialization is that for boys we teach them what to do in order to live as respectable men in the society for example how to dress, how to appear in front of people and how to speak to people, while girls we teach them how to become good mothers in the future. But when it comes to work at home, every child regardless of their sex is given an equal amount of work to do because they are all children and they are all learning.* Male parent, FGD

According to this father, he does not differentiate chores for his male and female children, however according to him girls are socialized to be good mothers. This male parent also while suggesting that he treats his male and female children equally, he also implied that it is only during childhood and may change in adulthood.

Adult participants also report that they would like their children to be treated fairly in adulthood:

> *R1: I would like my children to be treated equally in everything; work distribution should be in equal and fair proportions, both children should receive education, health and other services they are supposed to be given as children.* Female teacher, FGD

In summary, norms about being male or female from our findings are gendered with several differences in expectations for girls and boys, in behaviour and roles, whereby girls are expected to be demure, decent, have good habits, have low expectations, work more around the house (with suggestions of expectation to be married). Boys however, are expected to be strong, stoic, not to show sensitivity such as crying and also have few, specific chores around the house. However, even in families with equal assignment of chores for girls and boys, there is no guarantee of gender equitable attitudes. This is especially noted when almost all parents who supported equal assignment of chores, also noted that things will change as the boys mature.

These gender roles could have several negative consequences including socialising girls to believe that they are subordinate to men. Boys who are socialised to believe that they are better than girls, are more likely to perpetuate SIPV in their as they get older.

There is also a notable contradiction between learner reports and parent reports, with learner participants reporting significant gender norms being transmitted to them.

Discussion
The main findings from our study include sexual violence at home, barriers in reporting sexual abuse of children, witnessing GBV in the home, adolescent sexual practices and abuse in school, bullying, communication and conflict resolutions skills among learners, normative use of violence and gender norms, roles and socialization. While there are many factors regarding exposure to different forms of GBV facing adolescents, families and parenting practices in particular play a vital role in their lives (Baumrind, 1991). Research has consistently shown a relation between dimensions of parenting and a range of adolescent outcomes (Peterson, 2005). Parenting style is suggested to predict child-wellbeing in the domains of social competence, including problem behaviour (Darling, 1999). From our study, some of the factors regarding exposure to GBV were associated with neglectful parenting and also authoritarian parenting which favours punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will (Baumrind, 1966).

The negative effects of neglectful or disengaged parenting appear to be constant across all cultural groups (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Neglectful parenting could also include exhibiting behaviour that is harmful for child development such as parents fighting in front of children, a fact which could also be traumatic emotionally. It has been suggested that in homes affected by GBV, the educational performance of children is affected (Bair-Merritt et al., 2008; Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003)

Poor monitoring by parents have also been mentioned as a risk factor for GBV and although parenting practices include but are not limited to monitoring of offspring there is strong evidence that higher levels of parental monitoring such as supervision and regulation are associated with more protective youth risky behaviours. (Adu-Mireku, 2003) suggests that from their study in Ghana youth reporting high levels of parental monitoring were less likely to have had sex in the last 12 months. Further, findings from Ghana, Malawi, Uganda, and Burkina Faso showed that across sites, adolescent males reporting low parental monitoring had a higher risk of having had

sex in the last year. This could be similar to this study where there have been reports of adolescents watching porn when parents are not home or in the sheds outside their homes.

Corporal punishment has also been mentioned as a risk factor for GBV in this study. This has been exemplified by numerous examples of harsh parenting and corporal punishment in the home and at school. According to the Human Rights Committee (2006), corporal punishment of children has been strongly linked to all other forms of violence, including gender-based violence. Findings from research suggest that punishment is a form of psychological control that is negatively viewed and is characterised by being harsh, strict or arbitrary with the adolescent (Henry, 1994). Corporal punishment could also be setting up adolescents to believe in settling disagreements with violence (Henry & Hubbs-Tait, 2013), suggest further research is needed to understand punitive behaviour outcomes. Findings about punitive behaviour outcomes related to GBV in East Africa, will be beneficial in adolescent interventions for GBV reduction.

School is an important socialising tool for children as it is where they spend most of their time next to home. However, schools are also associated with exposure to relational violence including bullying and GBV. According to (Olweus, 1994) bullying is the exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal. Scientific evidence suggests that there is association between bullying behaviour and earlier exposures to violence, particularly domestic violence (Baldry, 2003). This is important for this study where children have been reported to be exposed to GBV at home.

Furthermore, gender inequalities in the community are pervasive. Gender inequalities increase adolescent girls' vulnerabilities by socialising them in a way that perpetuates the belief of victimisation, while socialising boys into possibly becoming perpetrators. Gender norms have been suggested to influence intimate partner violence (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Furthermore, there is evidence that gender norms are one of the important drivers of IPV (Gevers, Shai, & Sikweyiya, 2013). As evidenced in our study, adolescent learners are socialised with gender norms that seem to drive home the female as less important than a male, which could have devastating outcomes for both female and male learners who could end up as perpetrators in adulthood.

Limitations

Interviews and focus group discussions were carried out in Swahili that was translated to English prior to uploading narratives into NVivo version 10 for coding. Although careful checks were made to ensure the Swahili narratives were meaningfully translated, and certain Swahili language nuances may have been difficult to translated into English, in a meaningful manner. It is therefore possible that exact meanings were lost. Moreover, this study was based on perceived experiences and not actual observations of behaviours and practices. Also, the fact that this study had male interviewers could have implications whereby findings could be skewed with a male perception. Also, girl learners may have found it difficult to share sensitive sexual experiences with a male interviewer. However, there was a consistency in patterns and emerging themes across different categories of participants for the study team to feel reasonably confident about the validity of information gained. Lack of a theoretical model to inform data collection has resulted in more data on responses rather than a focus of underlying risk and protective factors for sexual and intimate partner violence among adolescents.

Conclusions and recommendations

Learners are exposed to different forms of GBV from several fronts namely the home, school and community. Interventions need to focus on proximal issues such as gender socialisation and learning respect for other people regardless of gender, attitudes towards GBV, and other forms of violence and communication and other skills for negotiating conflict in non-violent ways. Parenting skills need to be improved so as to increase the use of more of authoritative style that focuses on improving connectedness and warmth and less of harsh parenting. Teachers also need an intervention so as to be aware and reduce normative use of violence as well as making them aware of different forms of GBV in the schools.

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Appendices

1.7. Appendix I – Leaners FGD Guide

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting interventions in Tanzania

Student FGD guide

Introduction

We would like you thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences. The interview will take about 30 - 45 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and no one will be able to connect you to the information provided.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?
- Sex
- Current grade in school

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying
  (Elements of bullying to elaborate: exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)
- Can you tell me how you came to understand that?
- What would make someone bully another person? What things would they do to the other person? Where have you seen this behaviour happen? What did you do when you saw this behaviour happen?
- Can you tell me instances when you have done something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened.

Probe:

- What did you do? Where was this?

- Can you tell me when something similar to bullying was done to you? Probe: What happened? Where did this happen? What did you do next?

- To what extent do you think young people of your age are carrying out behaviour that could be called bullying? Probe response: What makes you think so? What are your thoughts about persons of your age being bullied? What are your thoughts about persons of your age bullying others?

- How many peers in your class do you know that have been bullied? How did you know that this person/s was being bullied?

- **Please tell me how you think bullying is different for girls and boys.**
  Probe: how does bullying happen for girls and boys? Why do you think it happens like that for boys, girls? Can you share examples of girls and boys being bullied differently?

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit about your experience with your parents/guardians.

- Please tell me what happens when you are home and you want to go visit a friend, what do you do? Probe: Do you tell your parents/ask permission? How do your parents know where you are at different times of the day?

- Please share with me some of the usual things that happen after you get home from school. Probe: what about schoolwork? What about when you're nearing exams, what do your parents do? How do your parents know that you have homework? What happens at home when you are in the middle of your terminal exams?

- I'd like to know about your involvement with house chores. What do you do on a daily basis?

- What happens when you have made a mistake and your parents know about it? Can you share an experience with me, what happened? How did your parents react? Do you have another experience for you or your sibling that you can share with me?
  Culture and bullying

- **How do you think culture has contributed to bullying?**

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Probe: How so? Can you share a specific example of how you think culture has contributed to bullying?

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit more about your experience with your parents.

- **Please tell me how differently do you think, your parents treat daughters and sons. What do your parents tell you about what it means to be a man? And what do your parents tell your brother/sister about what it is to be a woman? Probe: (for boys) what if you became emotional and cried, what would they tell you? What if your sister was very physical (likes physical activities and less feminine) etc., what would they tell her? Why would they tell her that?**

- **I would like to know from you why parents think that beating is important in shaping a child's behavior. Please elaborate. How can using beatings improve behavior? What do you think about parents and schools using beating as a way to correct behavior? Please elaborate.**

Please tell me what other forms of punishment that parents/teachers can use instead of beatings. How do you think these would work?

Please tell me about parents that you know who use alternative punishment. Where did you see that?

Please share an example (if they've not shared above) of you experiencing corporal punishment. (And for those students whose parents do not use beatings, what do they do instead?

Adolescent use of media

I would like to know what you think about your use media like TV, newspapers & radio.

How do you think media is shaping your behaviour? Please elaborate.

Probe: what are some of the negative influences from media; what are some of the positive influences from media? How so?

What would you like to change about the influence of media in your life?

Probe: How have your parents contributed to your use of media?

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting interventions in Tanzania

Parent FGD guide

Introduction

We would like to thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences with bullying and Gender based Violence as well as parenting. The interview will last about 30 - 45 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and any identifying information will be removed.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?
- Sex

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying.
- (elements of bullying to elaborate : exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)
- Can you tell me how you came to understand this?
- What would make a child bully another child? What things would they do to the other child? Where have you seen this behaviour happen in your home/neighbourhood?
- **Please tell me how you think bullying is different for girls and boys.**
  Probe: how does bullying happen for girls and boys? Why do you think it happens like that for boys, girls?

- Can you tell me instances when you saw something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened.

   Probe:

- What did the bully do? Where was this?

- Can you tell me when something similar to bullying that happened to a child under your care? Probe: What happened? Where did this happen? What did your child do next? How did you come to know?

- To what extent do you think young people of your child's age are carrying out behaviour that could be called bullying? Probe response: What makes you think so? What are your thoughts about persons of your child's age being bullied? What are your thoughts about persons of your child's age bullying others? What would you like to happen to reduce bullying?

   Culture and bullying

- **How do you think culture has contributed to bullying?**

Probe: How so? Can you share a specific example of how you think culture has contributed to bullying?

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit more about your experience of being a parent (parents).

- **Please tell me how differently do you treat your daughters and sons. How do you tell your sons about what it means to be a man, and how do you tell your daughter about what it is to be a woman? Probe: what if your son became emotional and cried, what would you tell him? What if your daughter was very physical (likes physical activities and less feminine) etc., what would you tell her? Why would you tell him/her that?**

- Please tell me what happens when you are home and your child want to go visit a friend, what do they do? Probe: Do they tell you/ask permission? How do you know where your child is at different times of the day?

- Please tell me, what are some of the usual things that happen after your child comes home from school? Probe: what about schoolwork? What about when they're nearing

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exams? How do you know that they have homework? What happens at home when your child is in the middle of their terminal exams? Please tell me about your child's involvement in household chores. What do they do on a daily basis? Please tell me what happens when they have made a mistake and you know about it? Can you share an experience with me, what happened? How did you react?

- **I would like to know from you why parents think that corporal punishment is important in shaping a child's behavior. Please elaborate. How can using beatings improve behavior?**

Please tell me what other forms of punishment that parents can use instead of beatings. How do you think these would work? Please tell me about parents that you know who use alternative punishment. Where did you see that?

Please share an example (if they've not shared above) of you using corporal punishment. (And for those parents who do not use beatings, what do they do instead? How did they make the decision not to use beatings to correct behavior?)

Adolescent use of media

I would like to know what you think about your children using media like TV, newspapers & radio. How do you think media is shaping your children's behaviour? Please elaborate. Probe: what are some of the negative influences from media; what are some of the positive influences

What would you like to change about the influence of media in your son's/daughter's life?

Probe: How have you as parents contributed to your children's use of media?

1.8. *Appendix III – Teacher FGD Guide*

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting interventions in Tanzania

FGD guide: Teachers

Introduction

We would like you thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences. The interview will take about 45 - 60 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and no one will be able to connect you to the information provided.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?

- Sex

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying.

- Can you tell me how you came to understand that? [If they are not clear then you may share with them the elements of bullying to elaborate: exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)

- What would make a child bully another child? What things would they do to the other child? Where have you seen this behaviour happen in your school? What did you do when you saw this behaviour happen?

- Can you tell me instances when you saw something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened. Probe: What did the bully do? Where was this?

- **Please tell me how you think bullying is different for girls and boys.**
  Probe: how does bullying happen for girls and boys? Why do you think it happens like that for boys, girls?

  Culture and bullying
- **How do you think culture has contributed to bullying?**
  Probe: How so? Can you share a specific example of how you think culture has contributed to bullying? Do you have examples of how bullying from one culture to another in Tanzania? Please elaborate.

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit about your experience with parents of school going adolescents.

- **Please tell me how differently you think parents treat their daughters and sons. How do you think they tell their sons about what it means to be a man, and how do they tell their daughters about what it is to be a woman?**

- **Probe: what if a son became emotional and cried, what would parents tell him? What if a daughter was very physical (likes physical activities and less feminine) etc., what would they tell her? Why would they tell him/her that?**

How do parents know when a child comes home with homework or they're nearing exams? How do parents know when their children have homework? Please share a specific incident with me.

How else is your school associating with parents of adolescents in your school?

What would you like to happen between teachers and parents?

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- **I would like to know from you what about corporal punishment is important for shaping a child's behavior. Please elaborate. How what about beatings helps improve behavior?**

What other non-beating forms of punishment are present that teachers can use? How do you think these would work in your school? Please tell me about teachers you know who use these alternative punishments. Where did you see this?

Please share an example (if they've not shared above) of when you used corporal punishment. Probe: in what circumstances do you use corporal punishment and in what circumstances do you not? And in those circumstances that you do not use corporal punishment, what was the effect on the students' behavior?
(And for those teachers who do not use corporal punishment, what do they do instead? How did they make the decision not to use beatings to correct behavior?)

Adolescent use of media

I would like to know what you think about your students using media like TV, newspapers & radio. How do you think media is shaping your students' behaviour? Please elaborate.

Probe: what are some of the negative influences from media; what are some of the positive influences?

What would you like to change about the influence of media in your students' life?

Probe: How have you as teachers contributed to your students' use of media?

1.9.   *Appendix IV - Teachers Key Informant Interview*

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and

Parenting interventions in Tanzania

KII interview guide: Teachers

Introduction

We would like you thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on

Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences. The interview will take about 30 - 45 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and no one will be able to connect you to the information provided.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?
- Sex
- How many years have you been teaching?

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying.
- Can you tell me how you came to understand that? [If they are not clear then you may share with them the elements of bullying to elaborate: exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)
- What would make a child bully another child? What things would they do to the other child? Where have you seen this behaviour happen in your school? What did you do when you saw this behaviour happen?

- Can you tell me instances when you saw something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened. Probe: What did the bully do? Where was this?
- What are your thoughts about young people in school being bullied? What are your thoughts about young people in school bullying others?

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit about your experience with parents of school going adolescents.

How do parents know when a child comes home with homework or they're nearing exams? How do parents know when their children have homework? Please share a specific incident with me.

How else is your school associating with parents of adolescents in your school?

What would you like to happen between teachers and parents?

School located GBV

I would like to talk about GBV next. What do you know about GBV? How did you come to know that?

Can you share with me about an incident when you saw an incident similar to GBV occur in your school? What happened? How did you or your school solve that issue? Can you share another incident?

Please tell me what happens when students make a mistake and you know about it? Can you share an experience with me, what happened? How did you react? What are your school policies about punishment of student offenses? What documents do you have about the mentioned school policies? Who made these policies? Who in school has the responsibility/mandate to enforce these policies?

How does your school engage parents in cases of student punishment? Please elaborate.

1.10.   Appendix V- Leaners In-depth Interview Guide

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and

Parenting interventions in Tanzania

Student IDI guide

Introduction

We would like you thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on

Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences. The interview will take about 30 - 45 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and no one will be able to connect you to the information provided.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?

- Sex

- Who do you live with? (parents, older siblings, other family members, other please mention)

- Current grade in school

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying
  (Elements of bullying to elaborate: exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)

- Can you tell me how you came to understand that?

- What would make someone bully another person? What things would they do to the other person? Where have you seen this behaviour happen? What did you do when you saw this behaviour happen?

- Can you tell me instances when you have done something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened.

Probe:

- What did you do? Where was this?
- Can you tell me when something similar to bullying was done to you? Probe: What happened? Where did this happen? What did you do next?
- To what extent do you think young people of your age are carrying out behaviour that could be called bullying? Probe response: What makes you think so? What are your thoughts about persons of your age being bullied? What are your thoughts about persons of your age bullying others?
- How many peers in your class do you know that have been bullied? How did you know that this person/s was being bullied?
- Has any friend discussed with you about their experience of being bullied?
- To what extent do young people in your class talk about bullying? With whom? Can you describe circumstances (what is discussed, who starts the discussion, etc.). For each discussant mentioned probe for what makes it easy or difficult to engage in such discussions? If not mentioned what about with friends? With what types of friends would a young person hold such discussions with? What about teachers? With what types of teachers would a young person hold such discussions with?
- What would you like to happen to reduce bullying?

Parenting and violence

Now, I'd like to talk a bit about your experience with your parents/guardians.

- Please tell me what happens when you are home and you want to go visit a friend, what do you do? Probe: Do you tell you're parents/ask permission? How do your parents know where you are at different times of the day?
- Please share with me some of the usual things that happen after you get home from school. Probe: what about schoolwork? What about when you're nearing exams, what do your parents do? How do your parents know that you have homework? What happens at home when you are in the middle of your terminal exams?
- I'd like to know about your involvement with house chores. What do you do on a daily basis?

- What happens when you have made a mistake and your parents know about it? Can you share an experience with me, what happened? How did your parents react? Do you have another experience for you or your sibling that you can share with me?

- What do you know of your parents' expectations of you? How have they communicated those expectations to you? What do you expect for yourself? How have you shared that with your parents? What were the circumstances that made you share that? Did you share that with both parents and just one? If one, which parent was it?

- What activities do you do together as a family? Can you share with me two examples of that? What do you think parents and children should do together? Where have you seen this? Does this happen in your family? What do you with for your family?

School located GBV

I would like to talk about GBV next. What do you know about GBV? (Point for elaboration if needed:

- Probe: How did you come to know that? How do you know when your parents are in conflict? Can you share an example with me? Probe: what happened? What did you do?

- Can you share with me about an incidence when you saw or heard your parents disagree? Please tell me what happened. What did they do or say to each other? Where were you? Did your parents know that you were there? How many times have you heard/seen that from your parents?

- Also, I would like to know your experience about corporal punishment in school. How is this administered in your school? Please share with me an incident that happened to you (if not then if it happened to a classmate).

1.11. Appendix VI – Parents In-depth Interviews

Formative assessment on Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting interventions in Tanzania

Parent Interview guide

Introduction

We would like you thank you for participating in this interview. The interview is part of a research on

Primary Prevention of School Based GBV and Parenting Interventions in Tanzania. The reason for interviewing you is to get a better understanding of young people's, parents and teachers' opinions and personal experiences with bullying and Gender based Violence as well as parenting. The interview will last about 30 - 45 minutes. If you feel that there are related issues that are relevant and important, you are mostly welcome to raise these issues during the interview. Confidentiality will be ensured in any use of the interview and materials at a later stage and no one will be able to connect you to the information provided.

Socio-demographic information

- What is your Age?
- Sex
- Highest level of education attained
- Occupation
- Number of children in your care (ages, gender, in school or not, at home or not)

Bullying

- Please tell me what you understand about bullying.
- (elements of bullying to elaborate : exposure to the negative actions of one or more persons repeatedly and encompasses a spectrum of aggressive actions both physical and verbal)
- Can you tell me how you came to understand that?

- What would make a child bully another child? What things would they do to the other child? Where have you seen this behaviour happen in your home/neighbourhood? What did you do when you saw this behaviour happen?
- Can you tell me instances when you saw something that could be close to bullying? Please elaborate what happened.
  Probe:
- What did the bully do? Where was this?
- Can you tell me when something similar to bullying was done to the child under your care? Probe: What happened? Where did this happen? What did your child do next? How did you come to know?
- To what extent do you think young people of your child's age are carrying out behaviour that could be called bullying? Probe response: What makes you think so? What are your thoughts about persons of your child's age being bullied? What are your thoughts about persons of your child's age bullying others? What would you like to happen to reduce bullying?

Parents' experience of bullying/ being bullied during own childhood
- Can you share with me your own experience of being a bully? Please elaborate an incidence when you were a bully? Probe: Who did you bully? How long ago was this?
- Please share with me when something similar to bullying was done to you. Probe: What happened? Where did this happen? What did you do next?

Parenting and violence
Now, I'd like to talk a bit more about your experience of being a parent (parents).
- Please tell me what happens when you are home and your child want to go visit a friend, what do they do? Probe: Do they tell you/ask permission? How do you know where your child is at different times of the day?
- Please tell me, what are some of the usual things that happen after your child comes home from school? Probe: what about schoolwork? What about when they're nearing exams? How do you know that they have homework? What happens at home when your child is in the middle of their terminal exams? Please tell me about your child's

involvement in household chores. What do they do on a daily basis? Please tell me what happens when they have made a mistake and you know about it? Can you share an experience with me, what happened? How did you react?

- What do you expect of your child? How did you come to that expectation? How have you communicated that expectation to your child? How do you respond when your child meets your expectation and how do you respond when your child doesn't meet your expectations?

- What do you know about your child's expectation of themselves? In what way did you come to know about those expectations? What were the circumstances that made them share that? Did they share that with both of you? (If parents are living together). If only one parent, which parent was it?

- What activities do you do together as a family? Can you share with me two examples of that? What do you think parents and children should do together? Where have you seen this? In what ways does this happen in your family?

School located GBV

I would like to talk about GBV next. What do you know about GBV? (Acts such as

- Can you share with me about an incident when your children saw or heard you parents disagree? Please tell me what happened. What did you do or say to each other? Where were the children? Did you know that the children were there? How many times do you think your children have heard/seen you in conflict with your husband/wife?

- Also, I would like to know your experience about corporal punishment in schools. How is this administered in your child's school? Please share with me an incident that happened to your child.

- How are you involved with your child's school? Please elaborate. What would you like to happen between teachers and parents in your child's school?

1.12. Appendix VII - Extra Guide Questions

For Pupils

I would like to know to what extent you have access to media like TV, radio and news in your home(s). What about in the homes of your friends?

Probe; how about access to street video shows? What kind of films are they watching? What do your parent's think about you watching these shows? What do they tell you about the street video shows?

I would like to know what you or your peers do when someone bullies them. Who do you report to about this? Where and when do you/your friends report? Can you share with me what happens if someone does report? Probe about what third parties observe the incidence of bullying. What does he/she do?

Can you please share with me what experiences of sexual violence you have had/observed in your school or at home? (***The previous question was not directed to learners)***

Probe if s/he provides a scenario or knows a victim of sexual abuse (What happened, where, who did what after?)

For Parents and Teachers

Please tell me how the community perceived the issue of bullying? What makes it happen what makes it not happen? Who instigates, who are victims? (***We needed to determine normative values in communities ?***) Are there any resources or official systems to mitigate bullying at community level?

I would like to know your thoughts about corporal punishment. To what extent, in your opinion, is corporal punishment an option used in your school? How do you equate beating/corporal punishment with other forms of punishment? What in your opinion is the best approach for disciplining a child? (***Here we need to know if there is a teacher who does not use corporal punishment)***