

# Tanzanian students' experience of safety and inclusion in school.

A research design that applies social norms theory and social network analyses to understanding the collective action problem of violence against children in Tanzanian school settings.

Dr Kate McAlpine, 2021



# CONTENTS

- 1/ Executive Summary**
- 2/ Background**
  - 2.1/ Research intent**
- 3/ Social norms theory as an entry point to understanding the collective action problem of violence against children**
  - 3.1/ What makes a social norm?**
  - 3.2/ Effecting change in interdependent behaviours.**
- 4/ Methodology**
  - 4.1/ Next steps in the project**
  - 4.2/ Study sites & participant demographics**
  - 4.3/ Limitations and questions for future inquiry**
- 5/ Findings**
  - 5.1/ Type & prevalence of harm**
  - 5.2/ Students' reference groups**
  - 5.3/ Students' social expectations**
- 6/ Discussion**
  - 6.1/ Students' views on the characteristics of safe and inclusive schools**
  - 6.2/ What might be - Students' provocative propositions**
  - 6.3/ Is violence in school settings driven and/or maintained by social norms?**
- 7/ References**



This research project seeks to inform investments and interventions in child protection with a recent, deep and nuanced understanding of child maltreatment in the context of schools; and the identification of people who are already predisposed to protect children.

Specifically, the project seeks to review the literature on social norms theory and use it to inform an innovative research design that adopts the Theory U process (Scharmer, 2012), that uses digital tools to collect data, and that conducts a social network analysis that explores the prevalence and nature of violence against children. In doing so we aim to start answering the question of whether violent practices in school settings are maintained by social norms, or other non-social practices.

This part of the study elicits children's voices about their experience of violence. A second stage will use the same data collection tools, but deployed via SMS, to compare children's and adult's perspectives.

**Social norms theory as an entry point to understanding the collective action problem of violence against children.** Social norms are informed by beliefs about the social expectation of people whose opinion is valued. Social norms tell us how we think we ought to act. People prefer to follow social norms because they expect that people whose approval matters to them will also comply with the same behaviours.

Not all drivers of violence are social. They may be extra-social and caused by economic, legal, political, religious or technological factors. The first challenge is to understand if punitive treatment of children in Tanzanian school settings is in fact a social norm. This requires understanding the nature of people's reference groups and thus whose approval or sanction determines what behaviours are valued.

**The data from this study was collected with 188 students** who are members of Tanzania's Junior Councils in the 7 regions of Arusha, Bukoba, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro and Mtwara. 125 of the students are in primary schools, 53 in secondary and 5 at college / university. 97% of participating schools are Government schools; 79% of which are in urban settings.

Students participated in a two-day workshop where they were surveyed about their experience of maltreatment and protection in school settings. They then jointly interpreted the findings of the survey and engaged in Appreciative Inquiry to discover the conditions that support children to thrive. This is a preliminary study and so the key limitation lies in the size and the nature of the sample.



## Findings

The findings depict students' perceptions about the prevalence of harm; not their own personal actual experience of it as victims.

Corporal punishment and the emotional harm that accompanies it are the most common forms of harm. **39%** of children said that corporal punishment had occurred in the story.

Corporal punishment was associated with:

- 33%** saying that the child felt like they were not important
- 30%** saying that the child's feelings were hurt
- 30%** saying that the child did not feel cared for and
- 24%** saying that coercion force or threat had occurred

Corporal punishment and the attendant emotional harms are pervasive **across all age groups.**

Of the various harms described, **87%** said that 'yes' their story did involve violence. Girls seem to be more attuned to the existence of various harms, even if they do not problematise them as violent practices. They are also more attuned to the existence of emotional violence than boys who are attuned to the physical forms of violence.

**15%** of the girls and **18%** of the boys referenced various forms of sexual harm.

In this small sample **11%** of 9-12 year olds referenced sexual harms of different kinds;

**21%** of 13-15 year olds spoke of it, and **25%** of 16-18 year olds did likewise.

These findings reveal children's chronic exposure to harm with 53% of participants saying that the harms they experienced or witnessed occurred more than once. There is no evidence that girls are experiencing harm more frequently than boys or vice versa.

## It is close authority figures who pose the most danger for children.

Overwhelmingly the perpetrators are:

**29%** male teachers

**21%** parents/caregivers

**16%** female teachers

Teachers are equal opportunities abusers, enacting their aggression equally on girls and boys. Parents, in contrast, actively discriminate against their daughters in enacting harmful behaviours with 13% of girls saying parents / caregivers were the perpetrators, compared to 7% of boys.

Children experience harm at school and at home. More boys than girls experience harm in school (**31% compared to 28%**) and more girls experience harm at home than do boys (**22% compared to 12%**).



## The circle of care around children is worryingly small.

**87%** said their mother was the person whose opinion they valued, but only

**74%** said that they would talk to her about school

There is a similar pattern with the father, where

**78%** valued his opinion, but only

**57%** would talk to him

Students report that they would seek assistance from their mothers **(79%)** and fathers **(66%)**. This indicates that students do not routinely talk to their parents about school, but that they do value their opinion and that when they do need help they do seek out their parents' assistance.

**24%** said they valued the opinion of their teachers, and **42%** said that they would talk to their teacher about school. But only **36%** said they would actually seek help from teachers.

## The questions for programming are:



How to effect the transformation of teachers from perpetrators of harm to protectors of children  
 How to create the conditions that encourage children to value the opinion of their teachers  
 How to equip parents with the skills to talk to their children about their life at school and how to better build their toolbox to take action when their children experience harm.

**35% of students think that people either approve of harmful behaviour, criticise it but do nothing, or just do nothing.**

Social norms are constructed by one's beliefs about what others do and about one's beliefs about what others think one should do.

Children think harmful behaviours frequently happen to people in their community. But

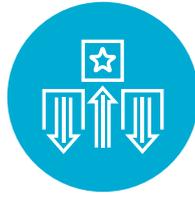
**84%** believe that the people in their lives would disapprove very much of the harms being perpetrated. There is a disconnect between people's claimed values where they disapprove of harm, and their actual behaviour when they witness harm.



Students believe that schools that are safe and inclusive must be characterised by peace. They think that people need to take personal responsibility for schools to become safe and inclusive. Their priorities were:



**That their peers take personal responsibility to others by being disciplined, cooperating and caring for others**



**That teachers take personal and professional responsibility to listen to, encourage and cooperate with students and to communicate with parents**



**That parents take responsibility to provide, encourage and communicate**

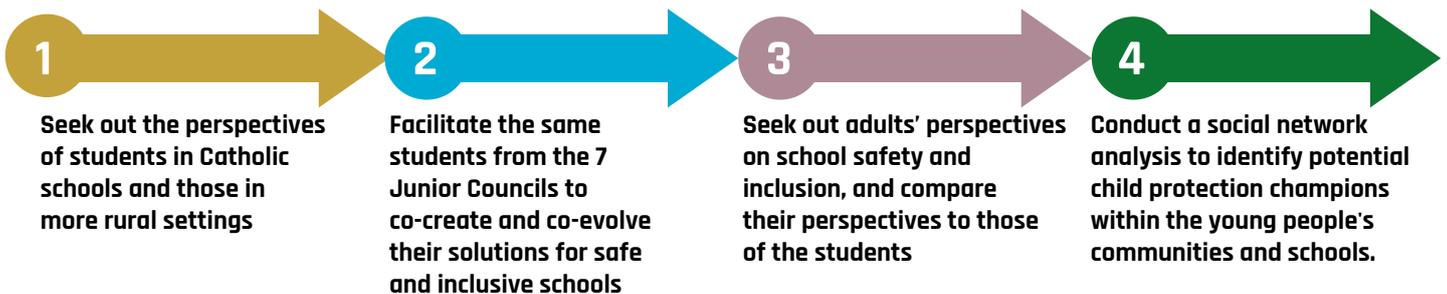
## The punitive and harmful behaviours discussed in this study are

**maintained by social norms.** Corporal punishment, emotional violence and sexual relations with children continue to be pervasive behaviours. They are disapproved of, but are not socially sanctioned.

Violent behaviour in school settings may not necessarily be caused by social norms. There may be many non-social reasons why teachers and parents are so punitive towards children; and these will be explored in more depth via surveying adult teachers, parents and safeguarding professionals. But the punitive behaviours discussed in this study are maintained by social norms. The reasoning is as follows,

- 1** Students' main reference groups are their parents and teachers; who are also the perpetrators of harm
- 2** Students believe from their lived experience that harm is perpetrated frequently by people in their reference groups; whose violence counters these adults' claims to disapprove of such punitive behaviour
- 3** Students see that there is no real social sanction taken against either teachers or parents who are violent.

## The next steps in the project are to:



## Peak youth and high levels of violence against children prevent East Africa from developing inclusively.



### MORE THAN 50% OF EAST AFRICANS ARE UNDER THE AGE OF 18

**Violence and maltreatment of children costs East Africa over \$20 billion annually**

(Fang, Brown, et al, 2012; Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015; Korir, et al; 2016; Perezniето et al, 2014; Save the Children South Africa, 2017)

64%

of these children and youth in East Africa report experiencing physical violence.

**This equates to 73.5 million people**

(Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development, 2015; UNICEF, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, & Muhumbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, 2011; United Nations Children's Fund Kenya Country Office, Division of Violence Prevention National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, & Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2012; Rwanda Ministry of Health, 2017).

22%

of these children and youth **or 26.5 million people**, report experiencing sexual violence.

Notably, this includes high rates of sexual violence against boys in Kenya and Uganda that far exceed the global incidence where 1 in 13 (5.5%) males report having been sexually assaulted as a child (WHO, 2016).

26%

of these children and youth **or 30.8 million people** report experiencing emotional violence (ibid).

**Child victims of physical, sexual or emotional abuse and violence carry a burden that negatively affects their well-being, functioning and productivity over their lifetime.**



In schools, punitive disciplining of children is too often the norm (McAlpine, K, 2015; McAlpine, K; Omesa, N; Mbise, A, 2016). A recent study (Haki Elimu, 2020) into the prevalence and nature of violence against children in Tanzanian schools interviewed 1,824 students in 96 primary and secondary schools. The study revealed that:

- 61%** had experienced psychological violence
- 88%** had experienced physical violence, with 90% of them saying this took the form of caning
- 17%** from public schools and 14% from private schools had experienced at least one incident of sexual violence.



The absence of an effective child protection system means that there is a real need for individuals to step up and intervene when they come across a child who is being harmed. Research into the world views of Tanzanian protectors revealed that they are motivated by their *Ujasiri* mindset. This is an attitude that is informed by people's experience of childhood; their possession of empathy; a belief that children are blameless; a hope that the child will pay help forward the help that they have received by helping others; and a moral drive that says "I can't close my eyes and do nothing" (McAlpine, 2015).

A study of the capacities and opportunities within Catholic schools that could protect children, revealed that 85% of those interviewed possessed characteristics of the *Ujasiri* mindset, and thus were predisposed to protect children. The study discovered that teachers believe that the profession gives them the opportunity to do the right thing by children. But they under-estimate young people's resilience and could better include and listen to young people.

Opportunities to better protect children from harm also lie in the fact that Tanzania is committed to Sustainable Development Goal 16.2 that promotes peaceful and inclusive societies (United Nations, 2015) and has developed a National Plan of Action to eliminate violence against women and children (United Republic of Tanzania, 2016).



This research project seeks to inform investments and interventions in child protection with a recent, deep and nuanced understanding of child maltreatment in the context of schools; and the identification of people who are already predisposed to protect children.

Specifically, the project seeks to review the literature on social norms theory and use it to inform an innovative research design that adopts the Theory U process (Scharmer, 2012), uses digital tools to collect data, and conducts a social network analysis that explores the prevalence and nature of violence against children. In doing so we aim to start answering the question of whether violent practices in school settings are maintained by social norms, or other non-social practices.

This part of the study elicits children's voices about their experience of violence. A second stage will use the same data collection tools, but deployed via SMS, to compare children's and adult's perspectives.

The broader research project intends to build an understanding of the system in which violence against children occurs in schools and to identify and mobilise public servants and individuals from within the teaching, student, parenting bodies to create a safe system for young people to protect themselves, report, and heal from their experience of maltreatment.



## Enabling Tanzania's Junior Councils to Enhance School Safety & Inclusion for All

The data from this part of the study was collected with 188 students who are members of Tanzania's Junior Councils.

The Junior Council of the United Republic of Tanzania is a formal body that represents all Tanzanian children and works to promote their rights. Since its establishment in 2002, Junior Councils have been created at different levels, from streets/villages to wards, districts, regions and up to the national level. Junior Councils are led by children themselves between the age of 12-17 and supervised by the Child Development department under the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, the Elderly and Children (MoHCDCGEC).

The rationale for choosing to work with Junior Council at this stage of the project was to leverage the relationship that Citizens 4 Change already has with the Council via alumni and to test the survey tool with children who represent their peers before scaling it to other school settings.

Over time different Junior Councils have advocated for children's rights and have been consulted to seek out children's views about national policies and progress in achieving the UNCRC. But they have not been effective in co-initiating sustained child led movements that reflect meaningful child participation.

In the first 6 months of 2021, Citizens 4 Change embarked on a programme of collaborative work with 7 Junior Councils, in Mtwara, Dodoma, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Bukoba, Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro, to answer the question "How to ensure that all children are safe in school?" We developed a mobile app and trained 40 Junior Council leaders how to use it as a tool to survey young people for their views. 188 Junior Council members responded about their experience of harm and protection in schools and then participated in face-to-face workshops where they co-created their visions for safe and inclusive schools and brainstormed and voted for their ideas for home-grown solutions to violence in school settings.

The short-term outcomes from this engagement with the Junior Councils are that the student members:



**better understand the system in which violence arises**



**learn skills to keep themselves and their peers safe**

The students who participated in this first stage of the process are now being mentored so that they can go on to interview other young people and to widen the circle of care around children.

The data and findings in this paper reflect that obtained from the 188 individuals who participated in this first stage of the project.



Few development programmes explore beliefs about the social environment, but understanding the presence and effect of social norms is critical if the complex problem of violence is to be successfully addressed (Mackie et al, 2015).

Mackie et al, 2015; Fry et al, 2016; Valente, 2010; Paluck and Shepherd, 2012; and Bicchieri, 2006, 2014, and 2016 have all written extensively and valuably about social norms theory.

### 3.1/ What makes a social norm?

There are multiple meanings of the term “norm”. It can be a statistical regularity, a typical behaviour within a group, a moral belief that is motivated by conscience, or a legal convention. In contrast, a social norm is socially conditioned.

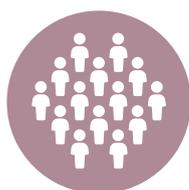
**‘A social norm is a rule of behaviour such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people in their reference network conform to it (empirical expectation), and (b) that most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it (normative expectation).’ (Bicchieri, 2016)**

Social norms have three key elements related to social motivation.



#### Social expectations

Social norms are constructed by one’s beliefs about what others do and about one’s beliefs about what others think one should do.



#### Reference groups

Social norms are informed by one’s beliefs about the social expectation of people whose opinion is valued.



#### Anticipation of social approval or sanction

Compliance with a social norm is maintained by anticipation of the overt or covert approval or disapproval of people within the reference group.

Social norms tell us how we think we ought to act. They are second-order beliefs that include an element of “should” or “ought” and express social approval or disapproval of a behaviour. People prefer to follow them because they expect that people whose approval matters to them will also comply with the behaviours.



### A brief timeline of social norm research

1960,  
1978

#### Schelling

Game Theory hypothesising about regularities in human behaviour.

1990

#### Ajzen & Fishbein

Developed the theory of human action, which accounts for the gap between attitude and behaviour. They also developed the Reasoned Action Approach (2010).

1998

#### Cialdini & Tost

Distinguished between descriptive “do what others do” and injunctive norms “do what others think you should do” and personal norms that are internally motivated and consistent with one’s sense of self worth.

1993

#### Prentice & Miller

Argued that pluralistic ignorance means that many privately reject a group norm but mistakenly believe that many others accept the norm. Thus the norm is persistent and even publicly favoured even though it may be privately opposed.

2006

#### Bicchieri

Distinguished between empirical expectations, a belief that many others follow the norm; and normative expectations, a belief that many others believe the rule should be followed, and/or may be willing to sanction deviations from it.

### 3.2/ Effecting change in interdependent behaviours

Norms refer to interdependent behaviours where other people’s actions and opinions matter to one’s choice. Not all drivers of violence are social. They may be extra-social and caused by economic, legal, political, religious or technological factors.

The first challenge is to understand if punitive treatment of women and children in Tanzania is in fact a social norm.

Fry et al (2016) studied social norms related to children in Zimbabwe and explained that in fact, “There is a belief that most social norm behaviours are more common than they actually are.” Senga (2020) argues that in Tanzania there are emerging protective norms; but he does not systematically use social norms theory to evidence this claim. Thus, there is a real need to fully understand which violence issues are related to social norms; and only then to determine interventions for behavioural change (Mackie et al, 2015).



## How to determine if punitive treatment of children is a social norm?

Demographic Health Surveys may suggest the presence of a social norm;

-  if there is a high spatial or ethnic variation in a practice, indicating a reference group, or
-  if there is a high discrepancy between behaviour and attitude, indicating a social norm prevailing over personal attitudes, or
-  if there is comparative persistence of the practice or a comparatively rapid shift in the practice, indicating a highly interdependent action.

In empirical research it is rarely people's behaviours that indicate the presence of a social norm, but rather their beliefs about others. Thus, to understand if a social norm is present three things need to be investigated.

## 1/ The nature of the Reference Group

The reference group includes everyone who matters to an individual in a certain situation. Some people can matter more than others, and their approval or sanction determines what behaviours are considered valued. These are the opinion leaders in people's lives; and they may be physically distant or proximate to the individual to whom they matter. Paluck & Shepherd (2012) hypothesised that highly connected and "chronically salient individuals provide cues as to the social norms of the collective." It thus makes sense to also ask, who is highly connected and therefore salient?

Social network analysis can be used to indicate the reference group; or to identify who is most influentially located in the group. The simplest and most informal type of network analysis is just asking people who relates to whom with respect to a practice. For example, they could be asked if they have recently interacted, discussed a specific topic, or received some sort of assistance (Valente, 2010).

Possible questions could be: Please think about the people in your life;

**Whose opinion do you value?  
Who would you discuss your school life with?  
Who do you go to if you need assistance?**



## 2/ Beliefs about others

The starting point in understanding a social norm is to investigate beliefs about others. There are three categories of belief;

**those about the non-social environment,  
those about oneself; and  
those about the social environment, specifically about what others in the group think or do**

Understanding if a social norm exists starts by exploring the third category of beliefs about the social environment. Thus, we need to measure individuals' beliefs about who the reference group is, beliefs about what others do, and beliefs about what others approve of, otherwise known as their normative expectations.

A possible question could be:

**Is the behaviour that you describe common  
in your community?**

## 3/ Anticipation of social approval or sanction

The key is to understand what people think is socially approved of or disapproved of, in the context of the reference group. One could also ask whether an action is socially appropriate or inappropriate, or leads to social acceptance or rejection in the reference group.

It is important to be aware of social desirability bias when looking for social norms; whereby respondents give the answer they think the questioner wants to hear, rather than providing a true reflection of their belief or behaviour. This is particularly so when exploring the potential existence of social norms that are punitive; because there is now sufficient popular awareness of children's and women's rights that people tend to 'cover up' behaviours that they know are considered to be rights violations.

**Once it is clear that a behaviour is maintained  
by a social norm the challenge becomes  
one of effecting change.**



## Social norms are often resistant to change



**Because of the interdependence of expectation and action, social norms can be stiffly resistant to change.**

Mackie et al (2015)



To abandon a harmful old norm or establish a beneficial new norm requires that enough people in the reference group change their social expectations. There are three potential avenues to effecting change in interdependent behaviours that are maintained by people's belief systems about other people.

### **Change the behaviour of influential people within the reference group**

A small number of highly influential people can more easily bring about change than a larger number of less influential people. This is one way that unequal power is relevant to social norms change

### **Change what people think about the behaviour of others who are important to them - their social expectations**

This can be done by attracting those most motivated to change and make highly public that many are changing.

### **Dismissing myths about the prevalence of a behaviour**

## Measuring if a social norm has changed

Change in beliefs about social approval tend to precede actual change in group behaviour. So declining social approval for an old behaviour, or increasing social approval for a new behaviour can indicate progress towards behavioural change. To understand if a social norm has changed we would need to use repeated surveys over time to find out:



**Have some individuals shifted to another reference group or formed a new one?**



**How have empirical and normative expectations changed with respect to the old behaviour and the new behaviour?**



**The purpose of the wider research project is to** understand the nature of the system in which violence against children occurs; to navigate the complexity of violence in a way that catalyses collective action; and to assess which mechanisms are most effective in achieving the research participants' vision for change.

We anticipate that the research project will:



**Contribute to building safer and more inclusive communities**



**Generate evidence of progress in achieving Tanzania's aspirations to protect children from harm**



**Contribute to a decolonized understanding of violence prevention and response in the East African context.**

**3,970**

**representatives from the system in which protection and violence arises in school settings will participate. They will include students, teachers, caregivers and public servants who will receive a set of SMS surveys that mimic the process that the students in this preliminary study have experienced in face-to-face workshops.**

## Innovation

A separate paper details the innovations in this research design. In summary, they include:

Facilitating transformative processes in complex situations using digital tools and Theory U (Scharmer, 2010) as a way to enable a system (or an individual) sense and see itself.

Partnering with children and the institution that best represents their lived experience, the Junior Councils, to enable children and young people to champion school safety and inclusion.

Building the digital literacy of Junior Council members to use mobile apps to seek out the experiences of their peers; to monitor their ideas for change, and to build their toolbox as agents of change.

Countering the instinct of respondents towards social desirability bias; whereby respondents give the answer they think the questioner wants to hear. This was done by asking students to describe an actual experience, asking them to identify the detailed harms that the child had experienced and then making a decision about whether the harms constituted violence. By thinking about harms at a granular level students shifted their thinking away from any potential resistance to calling a behaviour "emotional, physical or sexual abuse" and instead considered the varied and often micro aggressions that make up a violent experience.

**It is important to note that when the students describe a form of harm it does not always relate to their own experience. They are often describing harms that occurred in a story that they recounted about another child or themselves. Thus cannot be claimed that each of these students in the survey is directly experiencing harms at these frequencies. The findings reflect the students' different perceptions of the prevalence of violence; not the absolute number of students who have been victims.**



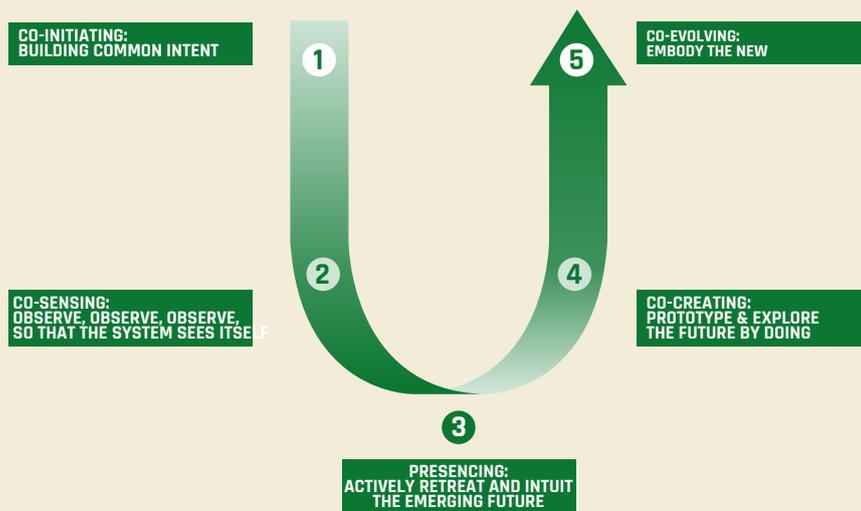
## The purpose of this preliminary study with children was to:

1. Develop the data collection tools and technology behind them (Mobile App and SMS platform) that would enable us to survey people on the digital margins.
2. To seek out children's perspectives on the prevalence of child maltreatment in school settings; to learn what forms it takes and who perpetrates it.
3. To understand the nature of students' desire for change and to use that to inform the questions we ask adults in the next stage of the research project.
4. To draw preliminary conclusions about whether punitive treatment of children in school settings is maintained by social norms.

### Data collection procedures

The activities moved along steps 1 and 2 of Scharmer's (2010) Theory U process; co-initiating and co-sensing. Next steps in the project will co-create and co-evolve the students' ideas for promoting safe and inclusive schools.

Read C4C's 'Four Innovations' for more information



## 1/ Co-initiating: Build common intent

**Online kick-off meeting** The intent was to form the backbone of the project and map stakeholder groups so that individuals who represent the system are identified.

**Seek buy-in** to the project from Community Development Officers who supervise the Junior Councils and permissions from Regional Administrative Secretaries in the 7 regions.

**Design a mobile app and survey** that asks children about their experience of safety in school.

**Purchase ipads** for each Junior Council and upload the survey to the mobile app so that it could be delivered with children in face-to-face workshops.

## 2/ Co-sensing and Ideation - Observe so that the system sees itself; illuminate strengths and intuit the emerging future

Visit each of the 7 Junior Councils and facilitate 2-day workshops with students and the Community Development Officers in each region. The objectives of the workshops were to survey children about their experience of maltreatment and protection in school settings; to jointly interpret the findings of the violence prevalence survey with the students; and then to engage in Appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider & Witney, 2005) to discover the conditions that support children to thrive.





## Data analysis

Basic descriptive analytics were conducted on the quantitative data using Tableau. The qualitative stories of harm, and the audios and flip charts from the workshops were coded using Dedoose. The basic demographics of each participant were then linked to their individual stories so that the quantitative and qualitative data could be integrated into a coherent data set.

RISK	MITIGATION STEPS
People may feel threatened or uncomfortable discussing violence.	Research introduced as an exploration of how to enable children to thrive. Work from a strengths-based perspective.
Challenge to unearth people's actual values in action, because of a prevailing narrative that "we all think violence is wrong".	Data collection tools that help unearth the unconscious and build a reflective practice.
Reflection & discussion about violence triggers stressful thoughts & memories.	Team trained to identify a person in distress, to respond sensitively and to make referrals to trained counsellors at the Child Helpline.
Personally identifiable information insufficiently protected.	Comply with General Data Protection Regulations,
Covid-19 transmission.	Covid precautions - masks, social distancing, handwashing, meet outside. PCR testing between field visits. Online meetings where possible.

## 4.1/ Next steps in the project

### Seek out the perspectives of students in Catholic schools and those in more rural settings.

We will encourage the Junior Council leadership to use the Ipads and mobile apps to continue interviewing their peers about their experiences of safety in schools; specifically seeking out the views of children in faith based schools.

When we launch the SMS surveys to adults we will explicitly ask Head Teachers; who have been identified via the Christian Social Services Commission, to encourage students to respond to the surveys. We are collaborating with UNICEF's U Report to survey an additional 110,000 young people in Tanzania about **"Where are we failing in making schools safe"**.

### Facilitate the same students from the 7 Junior Councils to co-create and co-evolve their solutions for safe and inclusive schools.

1. Brainstorm young people's ideas for solutions to violence in schools and develop a process whereby Junior Council members and those individuals that children identified as sources of support all vote for their preferred idea.
2. Mentor the Junior Council leaders in monthly Community Connect meetings where they create actionable plans for putting their members' ideas into action.
3. Establish a Solution Challenge Fund that supports the chosen ideas with a 'start up' support for their prototypes.
4. Develop a simple app based monitoring system that Junior Council can use to track the implementation of their prototypes and deploy a user feedback survey to track users' experience of the prototypes.
5. Host a Solutions Summit with Junior School Supervisors and teachers, with funders who have supported Junior Council in the past, representatives from the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children; and with the District Executive Officers to profile students' successful prototypes, and to explore how to institutionalise and/or scale up the prototypes.



## Seek out adults' perspectives on school safety and inclusion, and compare their perspectives to those of the students.

1. Deploy the same survey about the prevalence of harms in school settings to adults using our SMS platform.
2. Design and deploy a SMS survey that seeks to find out the non-social reasons why teachers and parents are so punitive towards children; and specifically why they so frequently use corporal punishment.
3. This study reveals that children want teachers who listen to, encourage and cooperate with students and who communicate with parents. We will design and deploy a survey that draws on Kegan and Lahey's (2001) Immunity to change process, to explore adults' unconscious fears and the source of their reluctance to sanction others' harmful behaviours.

## Conduct a social network analysis to identify potential child protection champions within the young people's communities and schools.

Reference groups include everyone who matters to an individual in a certain situation. Some people can matter more than others, and their approval or sanction determines what behaviours are considered valued. These are the opinion leaders in people's lives; and they may be physically distant or proximate to the individual to whom they matter. Paluck & Shepherd hypothesised that highly connected and "chronically salient individuals provide cues as to the social norms of the collective". It thus makes sense to also ask, who is highly connected and therefore salient?

Working with Dr Senga we plan to use the SMS platform to survey people about the individuals in their lives who matter to them. The objectives of the social network analysis are to understand the nature of social capital by

- **Describing people's social network**
- **Identifying the actors [nodes]**
- **Describing their ties [bonding or bridging]**
- **Exploring people's support seeking behaviours**
- **Learning about their motivation**

In doing so we hope to get clues as to how protective norms may spread and change over time.



## 4.2/ Study sites & participant demographics

Junior Councils in the 7 regions of Arusha, Bukoba, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro and Mtwara participated in the research.

**97%** of participating schools are Government schools.

**79%** of participating schools are in urban settings.

**95%** of the participants attend secular schools. Of those schools that did have an ethos of faith,

**0.53%** are Catholic, **1.06%** are Muslim and **0.53%** are Protestants.

**188** students were interviewed. All consented for their data to be shared except for one male

**125** of these students are in primary schools, **53** in secondary and **5** at college / university.

**55%** of consenting participants are female (n=103), and **45%** male (n=84). One student preferred not to state their gender.

**42%** of participants were between 9-12 years, and **40%** between 13-15 years.

**54%** of participants live with both parents

**18%** live in a single-headed household (f=11.89%, m=6.49%)

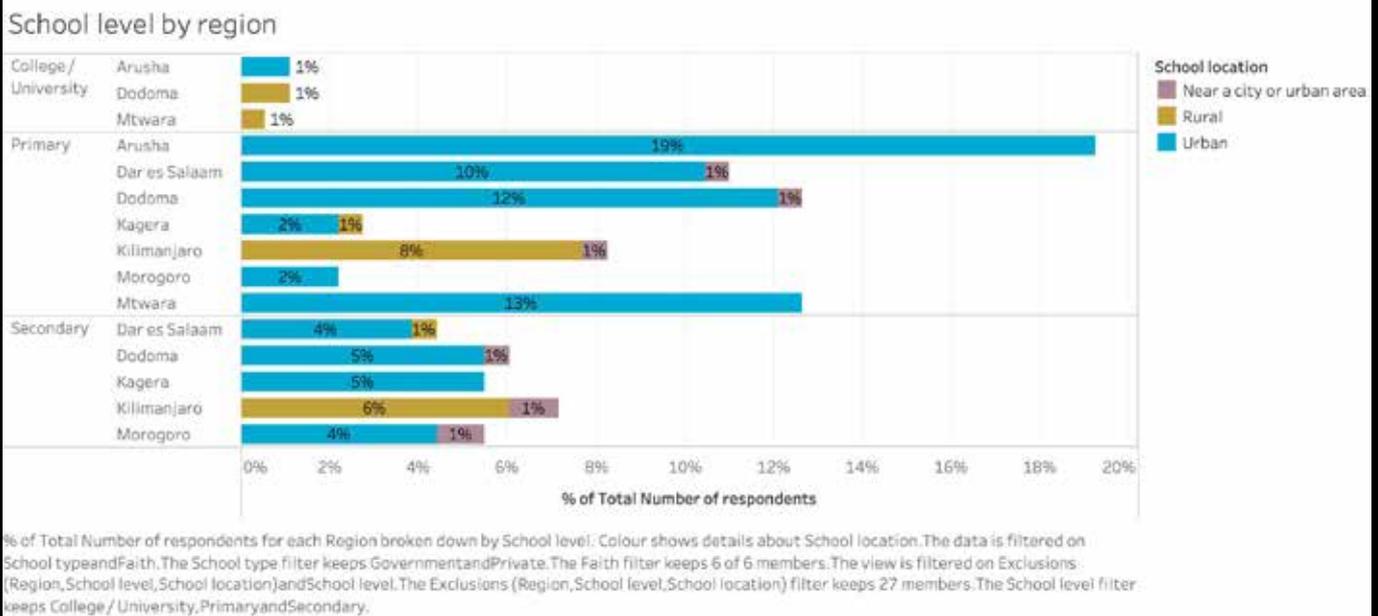
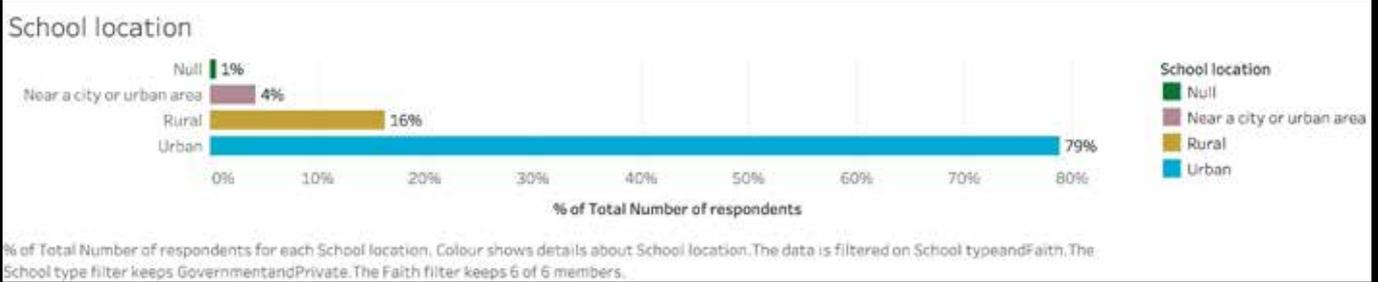
**15%** live with extended family and **9%** with grandparents.

**4%** of participants said that they have a disability

**84%** of participants participate in extracurricular clubs, and of those **88%** participate in Junior Council



Fig 3. School & participant demographics



### School location & faith

	None	Catholic	Islam	Protestant	Other
Near a city or urban area	4%				
Rural	16%		1%		
Urban	77%	1%	1%	1%	1%

% of Total Number of respondents broken down by Faith vs. School location. The view is filtered on School location and Faith. The School location filter keeps Near a city or urban area, Rural and Urban. The Faith filter keeps Catholic, Islam, None, Other and Protestant.

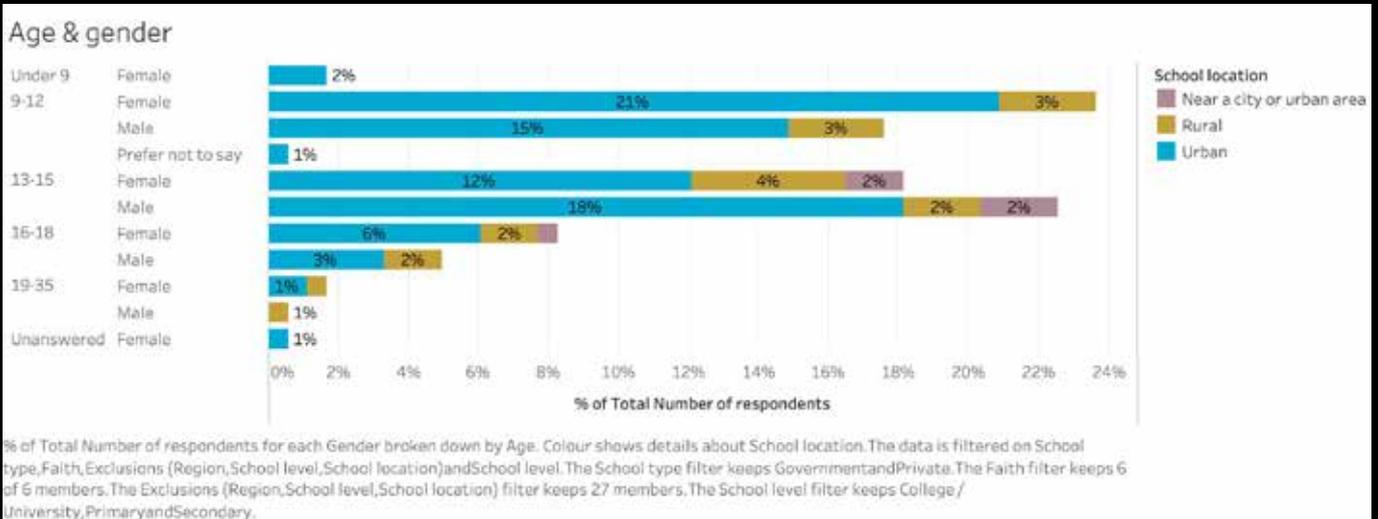
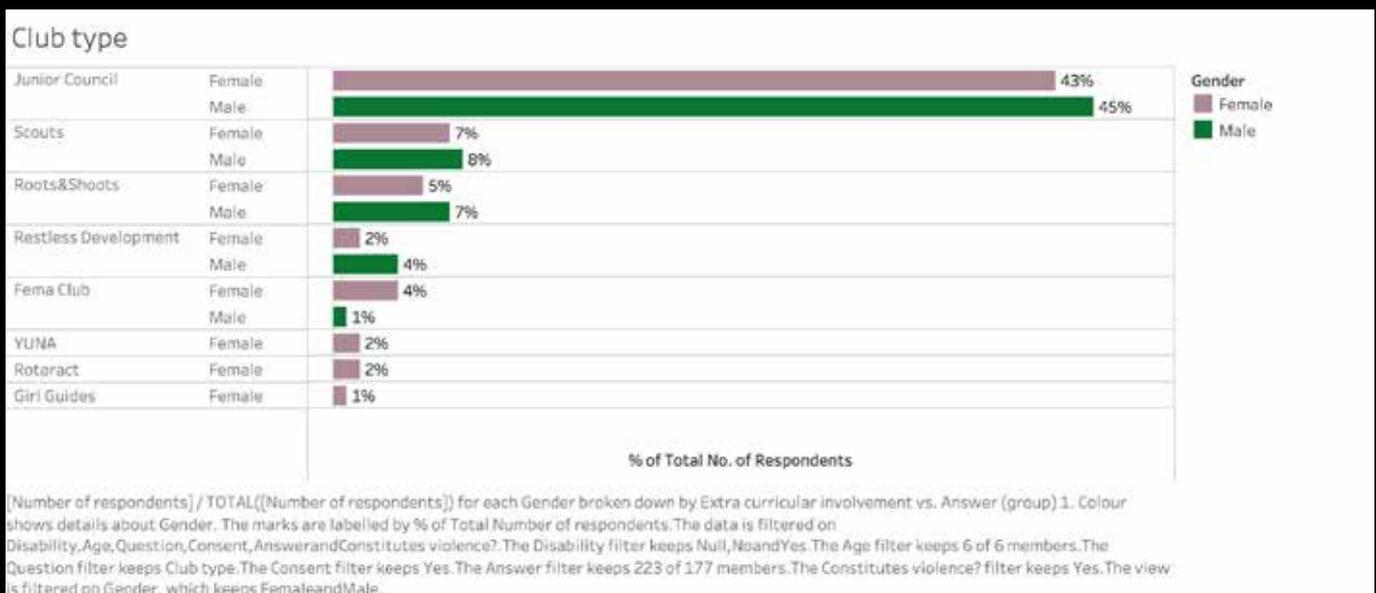
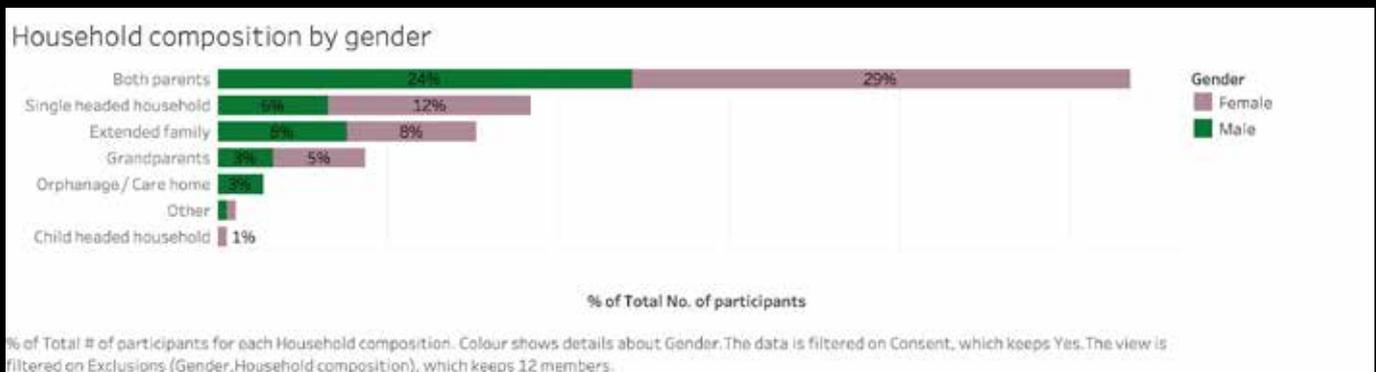
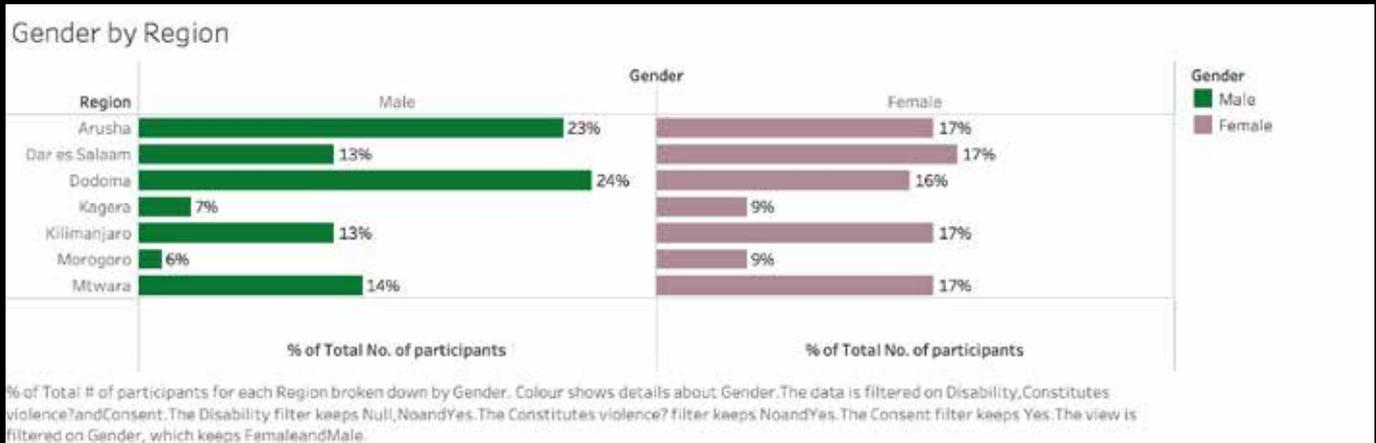


Fig 3. School & participant demographics





### 3.3/ Limitations and questions for future inquiry

This is a preliminary study and so the key limitation lies in the size and the nature of the sample. The sample is too small to draw definitive conclusions; and by the nature of the Junior Councils the findings reflect the experience of students in Government schools in urban settings.

As we collect more data we are interested to better understand:

-  If the prevalence of sexual violence increases as we sample more adolescents.
-  If there is a pattern in the frequency with which different harms are mentioned by children across different regions and whether it is possible to draw conclusions on whether there is any correlation between location and various harms.
-  Whether the harms of Female Genital Cutting, child prostitution and substance abuse are increasingly mentioned as the sample increases.

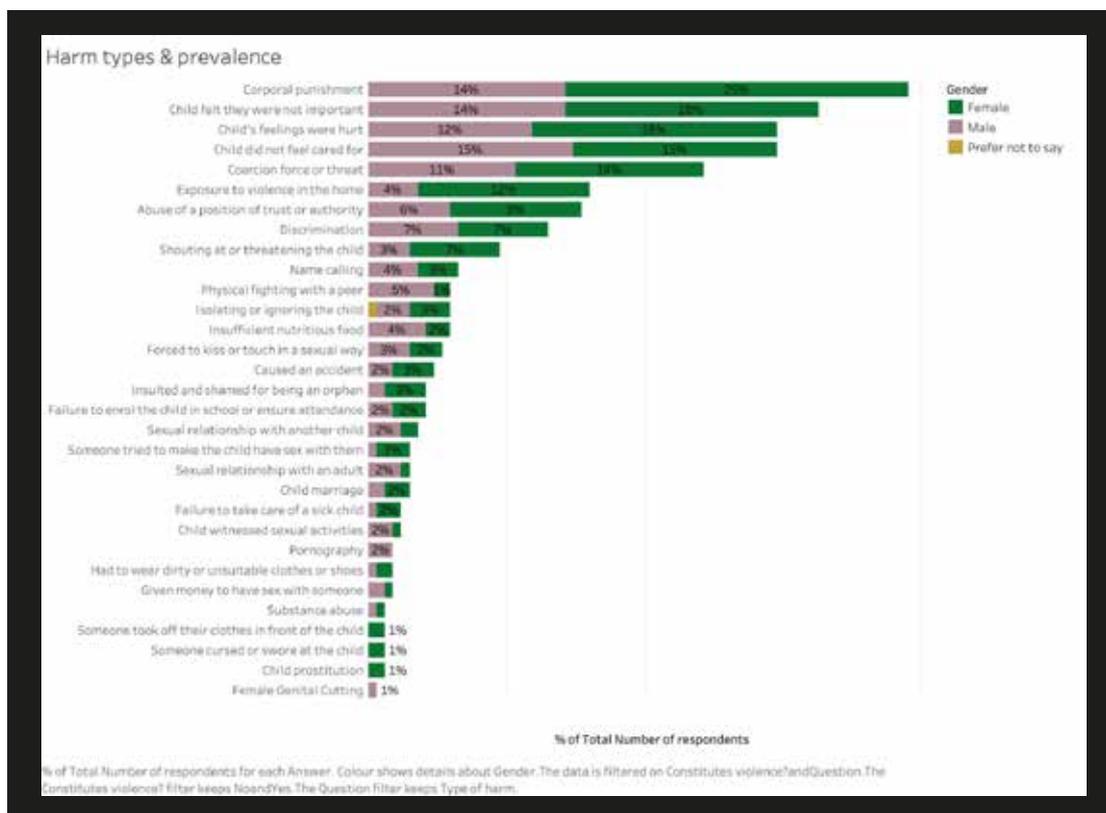
As our data bank increases we will start to conduct statistical analyses to look for significant differences by school type, location, child's gender and age and household composition.



The findings depict students' perceptions about the prevalence of harm; not their own personal actual experience of it as victims.

## 5.1/ Type & prevalence of harm

Fig 4. Types & prevalence of harm



**Corporal punishment and the emotional harm that accompanies it are the most common forms of harm. 39%** of children said that corporal punishment had occurred in the story. Corporal punishment was associated with the children also saying that the child felt like they were not important (32%), that the child's feelings were hurt (30%), that the child did not feel cared for (30%), and that coercion force or threat had occurred (25%).



*“Shuleni kwetu unaweza ukapigwa bila kosa lolote, tunaweza kujumuishwa kwenye kosa la mwingine.”*

*[At our school you can be beaten without any guilt, we can be included in the punishment for mistakes done by others]*

*“Kupigwa shuleni bila kosa”*

*[Being beaten at school without having made a mistake]*

*“Mwalimu alimchapa mtoto wa kike kifuni kwa hasira na kumdhuru yule mtoto”*  
*[A teacher beat the girl angrily at her chest and harmed her]*



### The least common harms described in the childrens' stories were:

- Someone took their clothes off in front of a child (1% of respondents)
- Someone cursed or swore at a child (1% of respondents)
- Substance abuse (1% of respondents)
- Child prostitution (1% of respondents)
- Pornography (1% of respondents)
- Female Genital Cutting (1% of respondents)



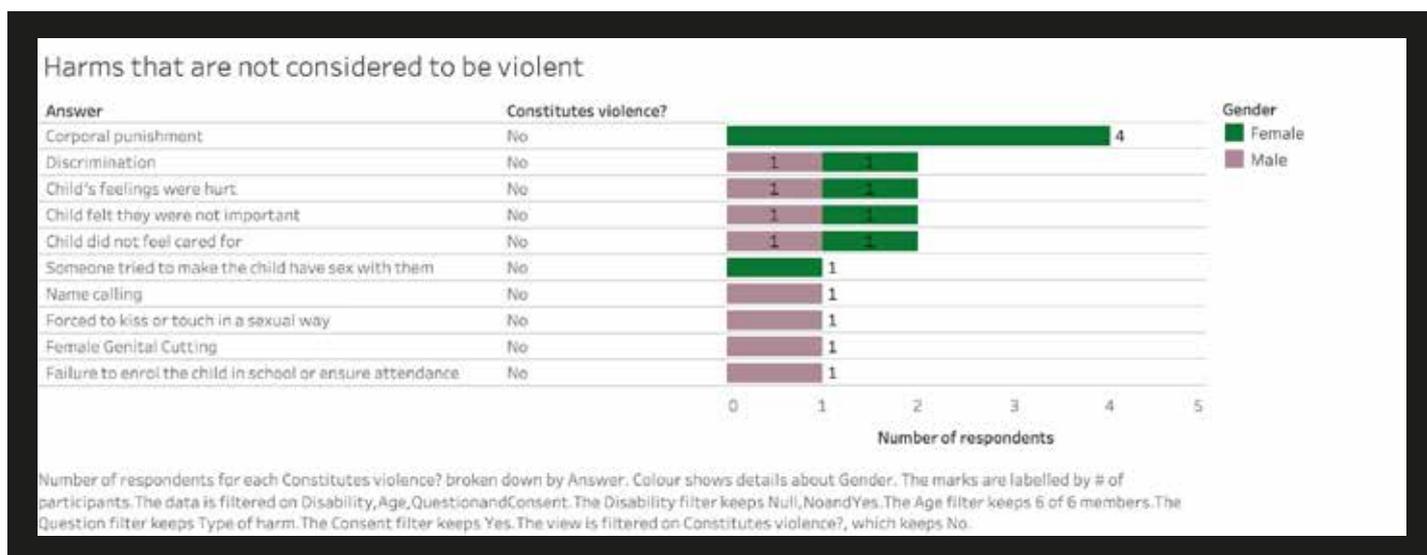
Fig 5: Constitutes violence?



Of the various harms described, 87% said that 'yes' their story did involve violence and 13% said 'no' it did not. Of those who said that the harms they had described were not violent, 17 were female and 8 male.

Four of these females did not classify corporal punishment as a violent act. This contrasts to the males, none of whom considered corporal punishment to be a non-violent harm. This indicates, as do subsequent findings, that some girls are not problematising violence in their lives. Two children (1 male, 1 female) considered their stories of discrimination, hurting a child's feelings, making the child feel unimportant or uncared for as also not constituting violence.

Fig 6: Harms that are not considered to be violent:



## The top 15 types of harm by gender, age and region

Fig 7: Top 15 forms of harm by gender

Answer	Gender	
	Female	Male
Corporal punishment	27%	15%
Child felt they were not important	20%	15%
Child's feelings were hurt	19%	13%
Child did not feel cared for	16%	16%
Coercion force or threat	15%	11%
Exposure to violence in the home	13%	4%
Abuse of a position of trust or authority	10%	6%
Discrimination	7%	7%
Shouting at or threatening the child	7%	3%
Name calling	3%	4%
Physical fighting with a peer	1%	5%
Insufficient nutritious food	2%	4%
Isolating or ignoring the child	3%	3%
Forced to kiss or touch in a sexual way	3%	3%
Caused an accident	3%	2%

% of Total Number of respondents broken down by Gender vs. Answer. The data is filtered on Constitutes violence?, Question and Region. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps No and Yes. The Question filter keeps Type of harm. The Region filter keeps 7 of 7 members. The view is filtered on Answer and Gender. The Answer filter keeps 208 of 177 members. The Gender filter keeps Female and Male.

Corporal punishment is overwhelmingly the most frequent form of harm experienced by children. Notably, girls report witnessing or experiencing it more than boys (27% versus 15%). As a result more girls report that the child they were telling their story about felt they were not important (f = 18%, m = 14%) and that the child's feelings were hurt (f = 18%, m = 12%).

**Girls seem to be more attuned to the existence of various harms, even if they do not problematise them as violent practices.** Girls report witnessing or experiencing harms more frequently than the boys on all dimensions except for physical fighting with peers; where 5% of boys reported the behaviour versus 1% of girls.

**Girls seem to be more attuned to the existence of emotional violence.** 13% of girls talked of exposure to violence in the home (4% of boys), and 7% described shouting or threatening behaviour (3% of boys).

**Boys seem to be more attuned to the physical forms of violence.** Physical fighting with a peer was more frequently mentioned by boys (5%, compared to 1% of girls). Boys also pay more attention to children receiving insufficient nutritious food (4%, compared to 2% of girls).



Fig 8: Top 15 forms of harm by age

Answer	Age				
	Under 9	9-12	13-15	16-18	19-35
Abuse of a position of trust or authority		6%	6%	4%	1%
Caused an accident		3%	1%	1%	
Child did not feel cared for	1%	11%	15%	4%	1%
Child felt they were not important	1%	11%	16%	5%	1%
Child's feelings were hurt		12%	13%	6%	1%
Coercion force or threat	1%	11%	11%	4%	
Corporal punishment	1%	14%	19%	8%	1%
Discrimination	1%	6%	6%	2%	
Exposure to violence in the home		11%	4%	2%	
Forced to kiss or touch in a sexual way		3%	3%	1%	
Insufficient nutritious food		4%	1%	1%	
Isolating or ignoring the child		2%	4%	1%	
Name calling		2%	4%	1%	
Physical fighting with a peer		4%	2%	1%	
Shouting at or threatening the child		4%	3%	3%	1%

% of Total Number of respondents broken down by Age vs. Answer. The data is filtered on Constitutes violence?, Question, Region and Gender. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps No and Yes. The Question filter keeps Type of harm. The Region filter keeps 7 of 7 members. The Gender filter keeps Female, Male and Prefer not to say. The view is filtered on Answer, which keeps 208 of 177 members.

**Corporal punishment and the attendant emotional harms are pervasive across all age groups.** A superficial glance at the top 15 most frequently cited harms indicates that students are not being exposed to sexual harm. However, a closer look at the data indicates that this is not the case. **Actually, 15% of the girls and 18% of the boys referenced various forms of sexual harm.** This sample is too small to draw definitive conclusions, but this difference is counter-intuitive given the attention that is placed on female victims of sexual violence and the comparative lack of attention given to boys who may be victims of sexual violence.

When all the varied forms of sexual harm are grouped together, as in figure 9 and 10, it becomes clear that sexual harm is far more frequently witnessed or experienced than breaking these forms of harm down into a granular level (which is what the survey tool did) may indicate at first glance. In this small sample, **11% of 9-12 year olds referenced sexual harms of different kinds; 21% of 13-15 year olds spoke of it, and 25% of 16-18 year olds did likewise.**



Fig 9: Violence categories by age

## Violence categories by age

	Under 9	9-12	13-15	16-18	19-35
Emotional violence	33%	77%	56%	71%	67%
Physical violence	67%	55%	60%	58%	33%
Sexual violence		11%	21%	25%	
Neglect		22%	8%	17%	

% of Total Number of respondents broken down by Age vs. Answer (group) 5. The data is filtered on Constitutes violence?, Question and Gender. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps Yes. The Question filter keeps Type of harm. The Gender filter keeps Female and Male. The view is filtered on Answer (group) 5 and Age. The Answer (group) 5 filter excludes Substance abuse. The Age filter keeps 13-15, 16-18, 19-35, 9-12 and Under 9.

## Sexual harm by age

	Under 9	9-12	13-15	16-18
Child marriage		1	1	3
Child prostitution			2	
Child witnessed sexual activities			4	
Coercion force or threat	1	17	17	6
Female Genital Cutting		1		
Forced to kiss or touch in a sexual way		4	4	1
Given money to have sex with someone		1	2	
Pornography			3	
Sexual relationship with an adult			4	1
Sexual relationship with another child		2	2	2
Someone took off their clothes in front of the child		1		1
Someone tried to make the child have sex with them		1	3	1

Number of respondents broken down by Age vs. Answer. The data is filtered on Constitutes violence? and Question. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps No and Yes. The Question filter keeps Type of harm. The view is filtered on Age and Answer. The Age filter keeps 13-15, 16-18, 19-35, 9-12 and Under 9. The Answer filter keeps 205 of 224 members.



## Harm by region

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Dodoma	Kagera	Kilimanjaro	Morogoro	Mtwara	Region
Corporal punishment	5%	8%	6%	4%	7%	5%	5%	Arusha
Child felt they were not important	6%	2%	9%	5%	5%	4%	3%	Dar es Salaam
Child's feelings were hurt	5%	3%	8%	5%	4%	2%	4%	Dodoma
Child did not feel cared for	8%	2%	8%	5%	2%	2%	2%	Kagera
Coercion force or threat	5%	2%	7%	2%	5%		4%	Kilimanjaro
Exposure to violence in the home	4%	2%	4%	1%	2%	1%	3%	Morogoro
Abuse of a position of trust or authority	1%	2%	6%	1%	2%	1%	2%	Mtwara
Discrimination	2%	2%	6%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
Shouting at or threatening the child	1%	2%	3%	2%			2%	
Name calling	2%	1%	3%		1%		1%	
Physical fighting with a peer	1%	1%	2%		1%	1%	1%	
Isolating or ignoring the child	2%		3%				1%	
Insufficient nutritious food	1%	1%	4%				1%	
Forced to kiss or touch in a sexual way	1%	1%	2%			1%		
Caused an accident	1%		2%	1%			1%	
Failure to enrol the child in school or ensure attenda..		1%	2%		1%			
Insulted and shamed for being an orphan			2%		1%		1%	
Sexual relationship with another child		2%	1%			1%		
Someone tried to make the child have sex with them	1%	1%	1%		1%			
Sexual relationship with an adult	1%		1%			1%		
Child marriage	1%	1%			1%		1%	
Failure to take care of a sick child			1%		1%	1%		
Child witnessed sexual activities	2%		1%					
Pornography	2%							
Had to wear dirty or unsuitable clothes or shoes	1%		1%					
Given money to have sex with someone	2%							
Substance abuse			1%		1%			
Someone took off their clothes in front of the child	1%							
Someone cursed or swore at the child	1%							
Child prostitution	1%				1%			
Female Genital Cutting			1%					

% of Total # of participants broken down by Region vs. Answer. Colour shows details about Region. The data is filtered on Constitutes violence? and Question. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps No and Yes. The Question filter keeps Type of harm. The view is filtered on Answer, which keeps 224 of 224 members.



## There is variation by region in the frequency with which different harms are mentioned by children, but this data set does not yet account for that variation.

Corporal punishment is noticeably more frequently reported in Dar es Salaam (61%) and Morogoro (62%) than in Arusha (23%) or Dodoma (34%).

*“Kuna siku moja mwanafunzi alichelewa kuja shule mwalimu alimchapa sana na hakujua kwa nini mtoto yule alichelewa shule kumbe yule mtoto anaishi na mama yake wa kambo na hutakiwa kufanya kazi za ndani ndipo aende shule, na mwalimu hakujua kama mtoto huyo anapitia taabu nyumbani”*

*[One day the student came to school late, the teacher caned the student so hard without knowing why the child was late for school; but the child was living with his stepmother and was required to do housework before going to school, the teacher did not know if the child was going through such troubles at home.]*

*“Mwalimu wetu wa hesabu alitupa adhabu ya kuruka kichura na fimbo darasa zima uwe umefanya kazi yake au hujafanya darasa zima tuliadhibiwa”*

*[Our mathematics teacher gave us the punishment of jumping like a frog and caned the whole class whether you did his job or not the whole class we were punished]*

*“Shuleni kwetu unaweza ukapigwa bila kosa lolote, tunaweza kujumuishwa kwenye kosa la mwingine.”*

*[At our school you can be beaten without any guilt, we can be included in punishment for other's fault]*

Incidences of a child not feeling cared for are more often reported in Arusha (37%) and Kagera (60%). Harms that could be associated with neglect, such as insufficient nutritious food and isolating or ignoring the child seem to be peculiar to Mtwara, Dodoma and Arusha.





*“Rafiki yangu hana baba na mama yake amekuwa akinyanyasa na kumtolea kauli mbaya kuwa ni kwa sababu hana baba anamlea tu siku ziende na imekuwa ikimpa mawazo sana na hata kumweka katika wakati mgumu masomoni shuleni”*

*[My friend does not have a father and his mother has been harassing him and saying bad things about him because he does not have a father and that she is just raising him; so days could go by and this has been giving him a lot of stress and even putting him in a difficult time in his studies at school].*

*“Rafiki yangu nasoma nae darasa moja anaitwa Salome alisha nihadithia kwamba anateswa sana na mama yake; alisema mama yake nyumbani hampendi, kitu ambacho hajafanya anasingiziwa amefanya. Kuna siku baba yake na mama yake walikuwa wamegombana, mama yake akachukia sana akawatoroka na baba yake akaanza kuumwa na ugonjwa wa akili na kumpelekea kufariki dunia; lakini yeye Salome hakuambiwa kuwa baba yake amekufa baadae ndo akaja kuambiwa kuwa baba yake amekufa. Akachukuliwa na shangazi yake akaishi naye na mama yake akawa anapita na watoto wawili wengine na pia hakuwa akimsaidia kwa mahitaji yake ya msingi wala kwa malezi yake. Na pia Salome hapewagi fedha za tuition, chakula na mitihani na hivyo mwalimu mara nyingine huwa wanamruhusu bure ashiriki.”*

*[My classmate Salome told me that she was being abused at home by her mother and said that her mother does not love her, and she has been accused of things she has not done. There was a day when her father and mother had an argument, her mother got angry and she ran away from the family and later on her father started suffering from mental illness and led to his death. But my friend Salome was not told that her father was dead until later she was adopted by her aunt and lived with her two other children. The aunt was also neither supportive of her basic needs nor her upbringing. Salome is not being given money for tuition, food and exams and so some other times teachers do allow her to participate for free.]*

*“Kuna watoto unakuta wameanzia MEMKWA na hawajapata elimu ya awali huwa wanachapwa sana na kuambiwa wewe umesoma mtu mzima, na kuna mda mwingine unakuta mwalimu haingii kwenye vipindi na hatushirikishwi baadhi ya mambo na walimu kuwa na ubaguzi baina yetu.”*

*[There are children who have started from the adult education program and have not received pre-primary education - they are often being beaten and ashamed that they are already adults. Some other times you find a teacher does not attend classes and does not share with us some issues. Also, teachers have discrimination between us].*



Across all regions children are attuned to the different forms that discrimination takes. This was particularly so in Dodoma where 34% of children categorised the harms that children faced as stemming from discrimination.

*“Wenzangu walikuwa hawataki kukaa na mimi kwa sababu nimepitia mazingira ya mtaani”*

*[My fellows didn't want to sit with me because I have been through street-connected situations]*

*“Marafiki kutengena kwa sababu ya kubaguana kulingana na uwezo na hali yao ya kimaisha. Watoto wanaotokea kwenye familia zenye hali duni na watoto wenye ulemavu hubaguliwa na watoto wenzao.”*

*[Friends get separated because of discrimination based on ability and their life circumstances. Children from poor families and children with disabilities are often discriminated against by their peers]*

*“Kuna rafiki ana ulemavu wa miguu anabaguliwa na wenzake katika kila kitu shuleni kwa sababu wanafiki hawezi chochote”*

*[There is a friend with a crippled leg who is discriminated against by his peers in everything at school because they think he can't do anything]*

*“Mdogo wangu tuna fanya kazi za nyumbani pamoja pale mama akiwepo lakini asipokuwepo dada wa kazi anmkataza asifanye kazi hivyo wao huangalia TV kwa sababu dada huwa ananiambia kwa kuwa mdogo wangu niwa kiume basi hatakiwi kufanya kazi”*

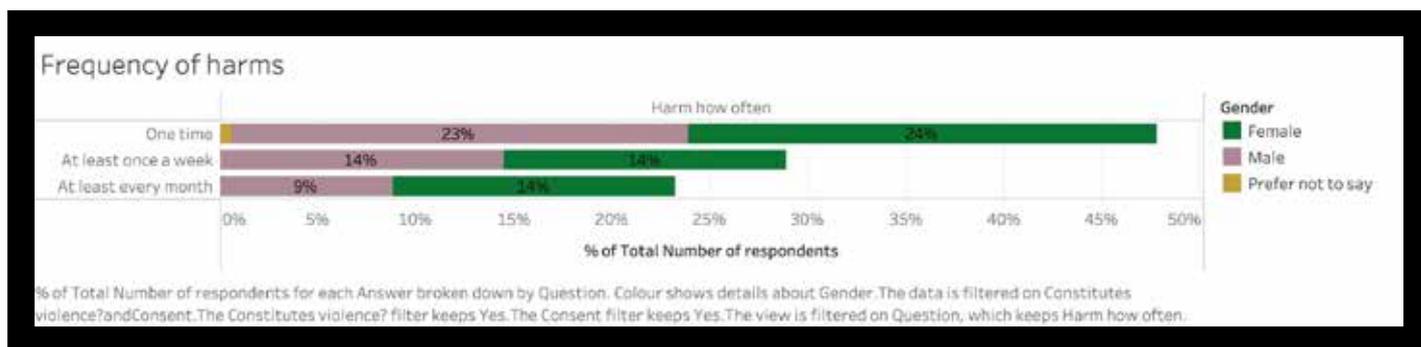
*[My younger brother and I do household chores together when my mother is around but when she is not there our domestic worker forbids my young brother from working so they watch TV, and she tells me that since my younger brother is a man then he should not work]*

The sample of this group is too small to be able to spot trends in harmful behaviour by region; but we would hope that in saturating this data with more responses from young people and with those from adults that we will be able to then draw conclusions on whether there is any correlation between location and various harms.



### Frequency of harm

Fig 12: Frequency of harms



These findings reveal children’s chronic exposure to harm with 53% of participants saying that the harms they experienced or witnessed happened more than once. 29% of harms occurred at least weekly and 24% at least every month. 48% of harms were reported to have only happened once. There is no evidence that girls are experiencing harm more frequently than boys or vice versa.

Fig 13: Frequency of harms by region

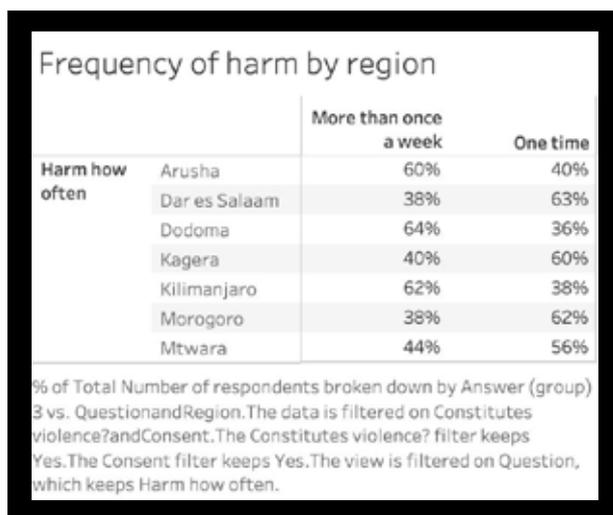
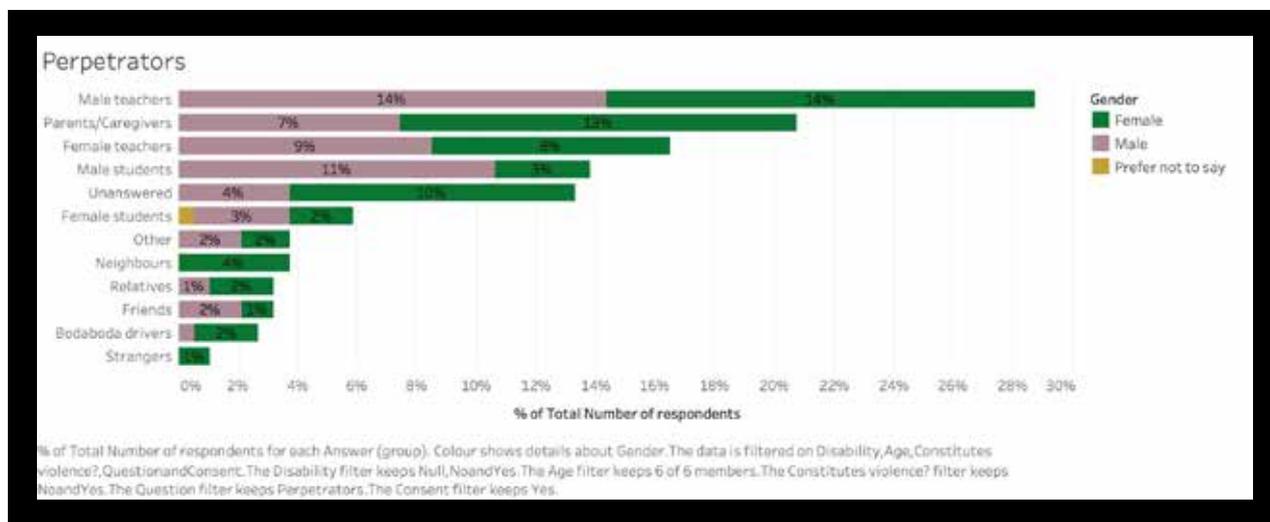


Fig 14: Perpetrators of harm



**It is close authority figures who pose the most danger for children.** Stranger danger is not a pressing reality for children. Overwhelmingly the perpetrators are male teachers (29%), parents or caregivers (21%), and female teachers (16%).

**Teachers are equal opportunities abusers; enacting their aggression equally on girls and boys. Parents, in contrast, actively discriminate against their daughters in enacting harmful behaviours** with 13% of girls saying parents / caregivers were the perpetrators, compared to 7% of boys.

### Where do children experience harm?

Fig 15: Place of harm by gender

Place of harm by gender		
	Female	Male
At school	28%	32%
At home	22%	12%
In the community	9%	3%
On the way to or from school	2%	1%
Online	1%	

% of Total Number of respondents broken down by Gender vs. Answer. The data is filtered on Disability, Age, Constitutes violence?, Question and Consent. The Disability filter keeps Null, No and Yes. The Age filter keeps 6 of 6 members. The Constitutes violence? filter keeps No and Yes. The Question filter keeps Place of harm. The Consent filter keeps Yes. The view is filtered on Gender, which keeps Female and Male.

### Children experience harm at school and at home.

More boys than girls experience harm in school (32% compared to 28%) and more girls experience harm at home than do boys (22% compared to 12%).

The community is safer for boys than girls, with only 3% of boys experiencing harm there, compared to 9% of girls. Children are not being exposed in any real way to online violence. In fact in terms of types of harm they talked about from their stories, only 2% of children mentioned pornography and no children mentioned cyberbullying or online sexual exploitation even though these were available options in the survey tool.

### Children with disability

Nationally 8% of people live with a disability. Within this highly selective sample of young people, each of whom has a predisposition towards leadership as indicated by their election to the Junior Council, 7 respondents had a disability (4%); 5 were female and 2 male.

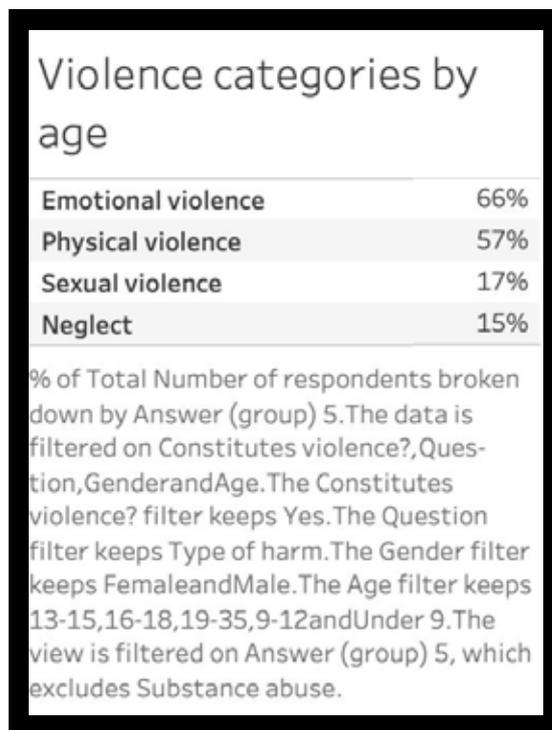
Three of the girls who had disabilities were blind. One had a learning difficulty and one did not respond about the type of disability she had. Amongst the males one had a physical disability and one did not state. The relatively higher rates of blindness mirrors the 2012 Census findings whereby difficulty in seeing was the most reported type of disability.

The female children who are blind described a wide range of harms that others experience, but did not describe harms that were being incurred by themselves. Notably, they did not indicate in either the stories they told or the survey that followed that their disability put them at greater risk of harm. Similarly, the one male who identified as having a physical disability spoke of a friend's exposure to corporal punishment, but did not say that he had been exposed to any harm. The female child with a learning difficulty was exposed to the threat of sexual violence on her way to school.



## In summary

Fig 16: Violence categories



Corporal punishment and the emotional harm that accompanies it are the most common forms of harm across all age groups. 39% of children said that corporal punishment had occurred in the story.

Of the various harms described by the children, 87% said that 'yes' their story did involve violence and 13% said 'no' it did not. The data indicates that some girls are not problematising violence in their lives, even though they seem to be more attuned to the existence of various harms. Girls seem to be more attuned to the existence of emotional violence and boys seem to be more attuned to the physical forms of violence. 15% of the girls and 18% of the boys referenced various forms of sexual harm. In this small sample, 11% of 9-12 year olds referenced sexual harms of different kinds; 21% of 13-15 year olds spoke of it, and 25% of 16-18 year olds did likewise.

These findings reveal children's chronic exposure to harm with 53% of participants saying that the harms they experienced or witnessed happened more than once. There is no evidence that girls are experiencing harm more frequently than boys or vice versa. Close authority figures pose the most danger for children. Overwhelmingly the perpetrators are male teachers (29%), parents or caregivers (21%), and female teachers (16%). Teachers are equal opportunities abusers; enacting their aggression equally on girls and boys. Parents, in contrast, actively discriminate against their daughters in enacting harmful behaviours.

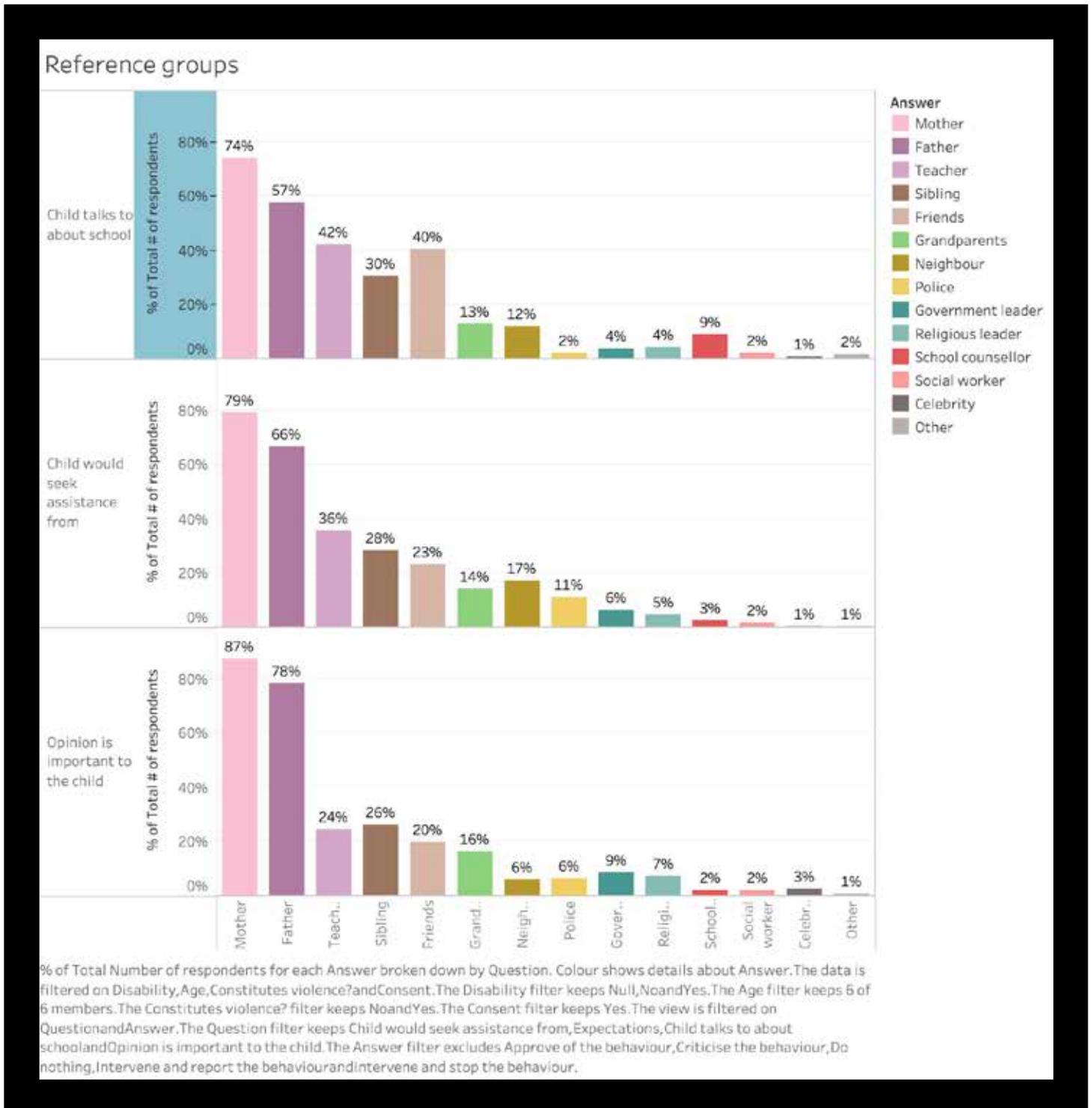
Children experience harm at school and at home. More boys than girls experience harm in school (32% compared to 28%) and more girls experience harm at home than do boys (22% compared to 12%).



### 5.2/ Students' reference groups

In empirical research it is rarely people's behaviours that indicate the presence of a social norm, but rather their beliefs about others.

Fig 17: Reference groups





Students were asked "Please think about the people in your life; who are the top three people whose opinion you value?"

**87%** said their mother was the person whose opinion they valued, **78%** their father and 26% their siblings. 20% friends and 16% grandparents.

**24%** mentioned their teacher, but these were the only people in authority positions that were routinely mentioned. Police (6%), Government leaders (9%), school counsellor (2%) and religious leaders (7%).

The question for programming may lie in **how to create the conditions that encourage children to value the opinion of their teachers.**

There was no significant change in this distribution amongst the children who were aged 16-18 years and who would typically be widening their circle of people of importance in their lives. In the small group of respondents (n=3) who were aged 19 - 35 the significance of the teacher as a reference group did increase to 50% as did that of religious leaders (also 50%). Celebrities and government leaders were also more important to this age group with 25% mentioning both of them.

In order to understand if the people that children consider to be important in their lives are also people who they trust and feel able to be open with, participants were also asked "Please think about the people in your life; who are the top 3 people that you would discuss your school life with?"

Their responses follow the pattern of the previous question, with some variation.

**87% said that their mother was in their top 3 people whose opinion they valued, but only 74% said that they would talk to her about school.** There is a similar pattern with the father, where 78% valued his opinion but only 57% would talk to him. This behaviour did not differ by the child's gender or age.

The programming question lies in **how to equip parents with the skills to talk to their children about their life at school.**



In contrast, there was an increase in responses saying that they would talk to friends (up to 40%) and siblings (up to 30%) about school. This indicates that providing a semi-structured safe fora for children to spend time with their peers may be a protective factor, and certainly that an investment in supporting peers to educate each other about protective behaviours would be valuable.

Whilst teachers were considered the fourth most important group in terms of their opinion being valued they are much more important as people that children talk to about school, **where 42% said that they would talk to their teacher.** Similarly, school counsellors, whose opinion was not markedly valued, are important as people that students would talk to about school (9%).

Finally, students were asked "Please think about the people in your life; who are the top 3 people that you would go to if you need assistance?"

There is an interesting uptick here where **students report that they would seek assistance from their mothers (79%) and fathers (66%).** This indicates that students do not routinely talk to their parents about school, but that they do value their opinion and that when they do need help they do seek out their parents' assistance.

Given that parents are a source of support for their children when called upon to take action, the programming question lies in **how to better build their toolbox to take action when their children experience harm.** The following section on social expectations indicate that whilst they may be called upon for help by their children the tendency is often to criticise rather than to intervene, stop and report harmful behaviours.

With regards to teachers, **only 36% said they would actually seek help from teachers;** down from the 42% who said that they would talk to the teacher about school. This probably is attributable to 45% of perpetrators being teachers in authority positions, and students' perception that teachers' colleagues are unlikely to provide assistance in case of a complaint against another teacher. This is mirrored in the school counsellor for whom only 3% would seek assistance, even though 9% would talk to them about school.



## From a programming perspective the key outcome needs to be the transformation of teachers from perpetrators of harm to protectors of children.

Friends, such a source of support in terms of talking about school, are not the actors that students seek out for actual support (23%). This is less so with siblings (28%). Again indicating that the actual helping assets that a friend can bring to a child seeking support are limited.

A point of interest is that grandparents (14%) and neighbours (17%) seem to become more important as a source of actual assistance; even though they were not particularly high on students' radar as people whose opinions mattered or who they would talk to.

There is also a small uptick in students saying they would seek assistance from the police (11%) and similarly from government leaders (6%), where neither of these groups were on their lists of people whose opinions they valued or that they would talk to about school.

Students' awareness and use of social workers as a source of support was almost negligible. Only 2% mentioned them as having an opinion that was important or as someone they would talk to and only 2% as someone that they could seek assistance from.

In the group discussion with students where they looked at the aggregated results of the surveys they had completed individually the previous day, they mentioned far more frequently the importance of the Government authorities in their lives. The conversations indicated that they see Government leaders' role as being a protective resource to young people. But they were not able to describe situations where they or their peers had actually called upon them for assistance.

Children's reference groups are primarily their immediate family members. Valuing the opinion of these people does not necessarily equate to children feeling able to disclose to them their experience of harm. In the school setting children talk to teachers about school, but neither value their opinion nor seek out their help when they experience harm.

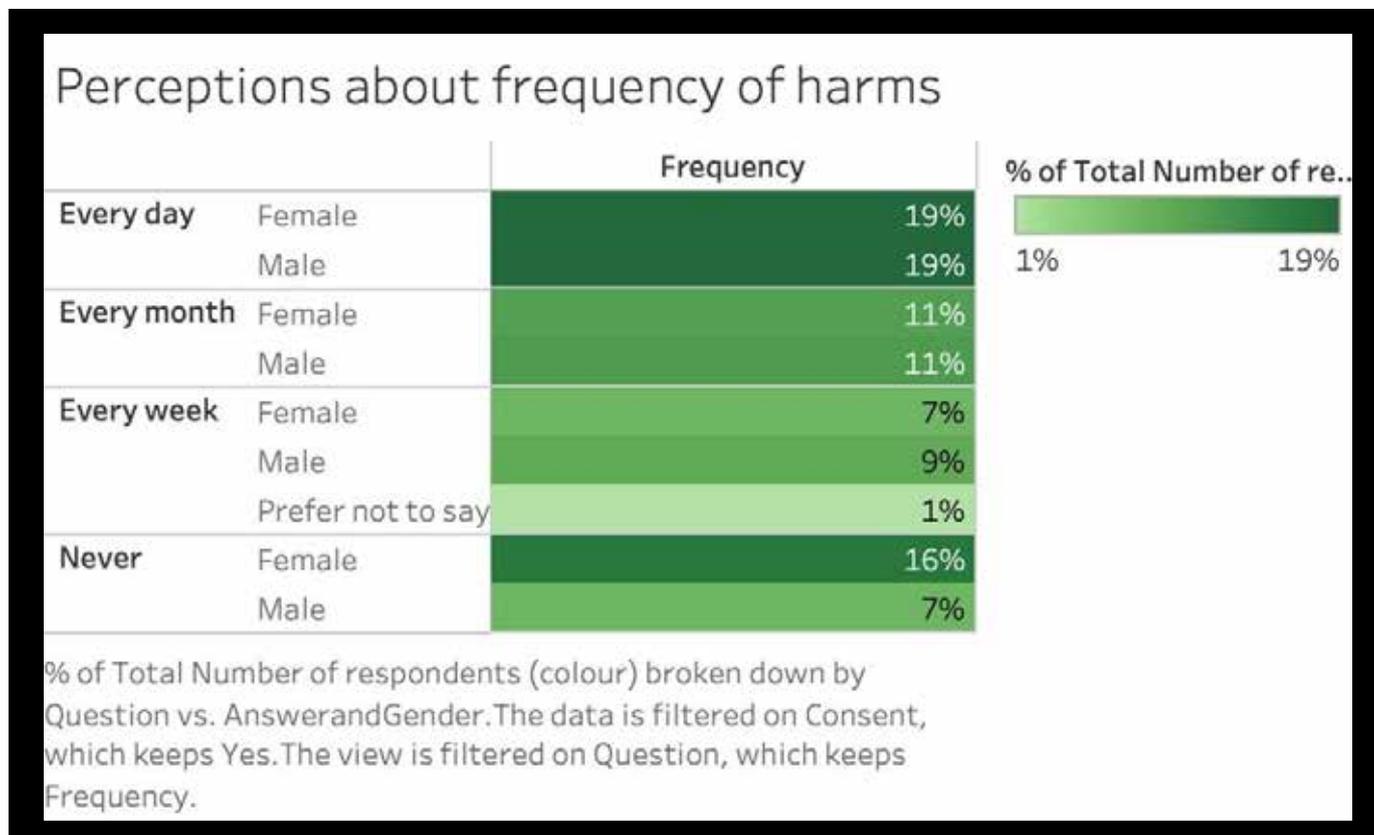
**The result is that the circle of care around children is worryingly small.**



### 5.3/ Students' social expectations

Social norms are constructed by one's beliefs about what others do and about one's beliefs about what others think one should do. Children were asked, "Please think about your story and your community; how often does the behaviour happen to people in your community?"

Fig 18: How often do these harms happen to people in your community?



**Children think harmful behaviours frequently happen to people in their community.** 37% responded that the harmful behaviour occurred every day, 17% said every week, 22% said it happened every month, and 24% said it never happened.

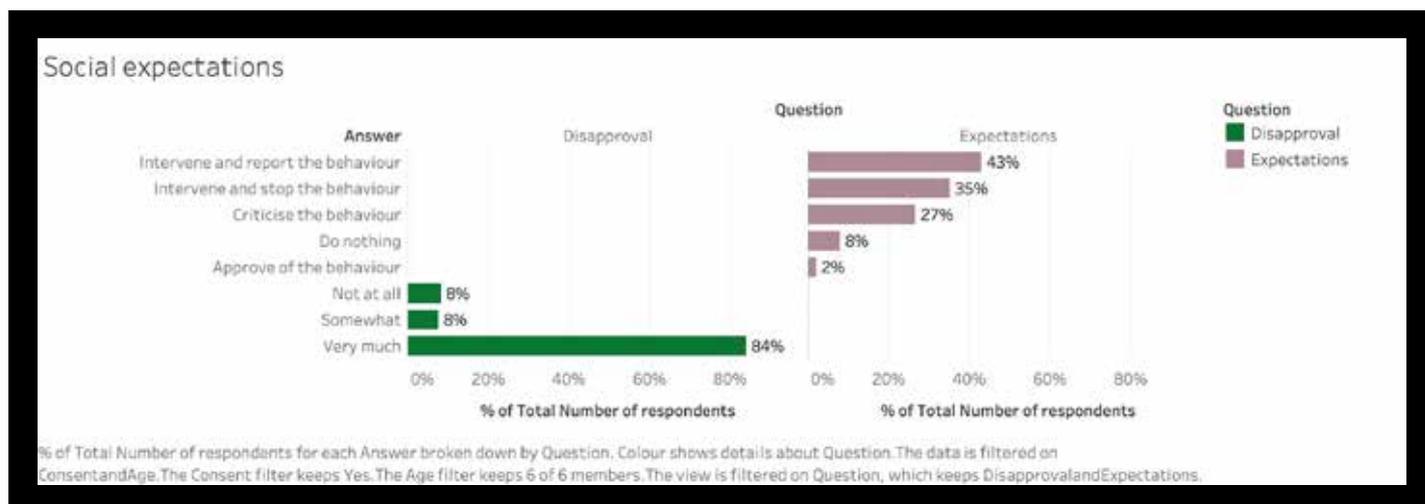
There is little difference in responses by the child's gender except that 9% more girls than boys think that harmful behaviours never happen. This reinforces the indications that girls are normalising harmful behaviours, firstly by not naming them as violent practices and secondly by closing their eyes to the prevalence of harm in their lives.

Social norms are also constructed by people's beliefs about what others in the reference group think or do, in order to anticipate social approval or sanction; what is known as normative expectations. Children were asked, "Think about your story and the people whose views you value, how much would they disapprove of the behaviour you describe in your story?"

**84%** of the children believed that the people in their lives would disapprove very much of the harms being perpetrated. But that 8% would approve of the behaviour and that 7% would be largely ambivalent.



Fig 19: Social expectations



When subsequently asked what people would actually do if they witnessed the behaviour students believe that in the main people would take action.

Specifically, **43%** felt that people would intervene; either by reporting the behaviour (35%), or actually stopping the behaviour (35%). **35%** of children thought that people would either approve of the behaviour (2%), criticise it but do nothing (26%), or just do nothing (8%).

This disconnect between people's claimed values where they disapprove of harm, and their actual behaviour when they witness harm is discussed in the next section which explores if violence in school settings is driven or maintained by social norms.



## 6.1/ Students' views on the characteristics of safe and inclusive schools

Students' aspiration is to achieve academic excellence as measured by exam success. They believe the four pre-conditions for this excellence are that

- Schools are safe and inclusive
- Teachers do not rely on punishment
- Parents encourage their children
- Students are obedient

**Children believe that schools that are safe and inclusive must be characterised by peace.**

They dream of a school system where there is no oppression from teachers and all members of the school experience a friendly and supportive environment. The school is considered to be a positive place away from home.

The focus of the school is on building capacities in young people for their future, so that they can fulfil their ambitions and live a better life, help others, and support their parents as they age.

Schools that are safe and inclusive inculcate resilience in their students; the “spirit of not giving up”. They also teach children practical, linguistic and interpersonal skills. Importantly, safe and inclusive schools have the facilities that support teachers in these endeavours. This includes schools that are clean, have water and sanitation facilities, and gardens where children can play. Schools provide books and meals and are close to children's homes. In this environment of peace children are able to build new, nice friendships.

**Children believe that teachers who teach well do not rely on punishment.**

There is zero discrimination by individual teachers or within the wider school culture. Rather, interactions between students and teachers are characterised by fairness and encouragement. Teachers are motivated and follow the school timetable. They inculcate a love of learning in students and nurture their talents by demonstrating their own love of learning. They make learning fun for the students by

- Using examples
- Fostering self expression by discussing the content with students
- Hosting clubs and debates that value creativity
- Encouraging play and sports

Students have a role to play in fostering safe and inclusive schools by being obedient. Obedience takes a specific form in the students' minds. It requires young people to “Put God first”, to collaborate with teachers by following instructions and putting effort into their studies. Students argue that if their parents and teachers incentivised them to be obedient via motivation and rewarding success the desire to be obedient would automatically follow.



## 6.2/ What might be - Students' provocative propositions

A provocative proposition is a statement that bridges the best of “what is” with people’s own speculation or intuition of “what might be”.

**All of the students' provocative propositions centre around their dreams for “good development”.** Girls in Morogoro envisaged their dreams in the form of the “President’s School”; no doubt having been inspired by the elevation of Samia Suhulu to the role.

Others proposed their dreams of

- **Schools of advocates** who champion revolution and liberation. These schools would be characterised by equality, effort and hope as a route to achieving success
- **Schools of love** where there is unity between teachers and students; where people are calm, obedient and kind
- **Schools of the environment** surrounded by fresh air, flowers and fruit

**Children think people need to take personal responsibility for schools to become safe and inclusive.**

We had hoped to elicit ideas for action, but what emerged are aspirations that will need more work with the children to develop them in actionable plans. Please see the section on next steps for how this could be done. The following aspirations provide a guide to what students think should be key objectives when working towards promoting school safety and inclusion.

Participants were presented with the following dilemma. “Students often lack the ability to keep themselves safe and to avoid risk taking behaviour. Sometimes other students are the perpetrators of harm. What needs to happen so that children can protect themselves and their peers?”

Their priority was **their own personal responsibility to others** - the need for students to be disciplined, to cooperate and to care for others; and then only secondarily on the need for students to **know their rights** so that they can protect themselves.

Students were also presented with a dilemma related to teachers. “Teachers are both perpetrators of violence in schools and have an important role in protecting children from harm. What needs to change so that they can become part of the solution to violence in schools?”

Again, the young people’s **priority was on teachers’ personal and professional responsibility**. They want teachers who listen to, encourage and cooperate with students and communicate with parents.

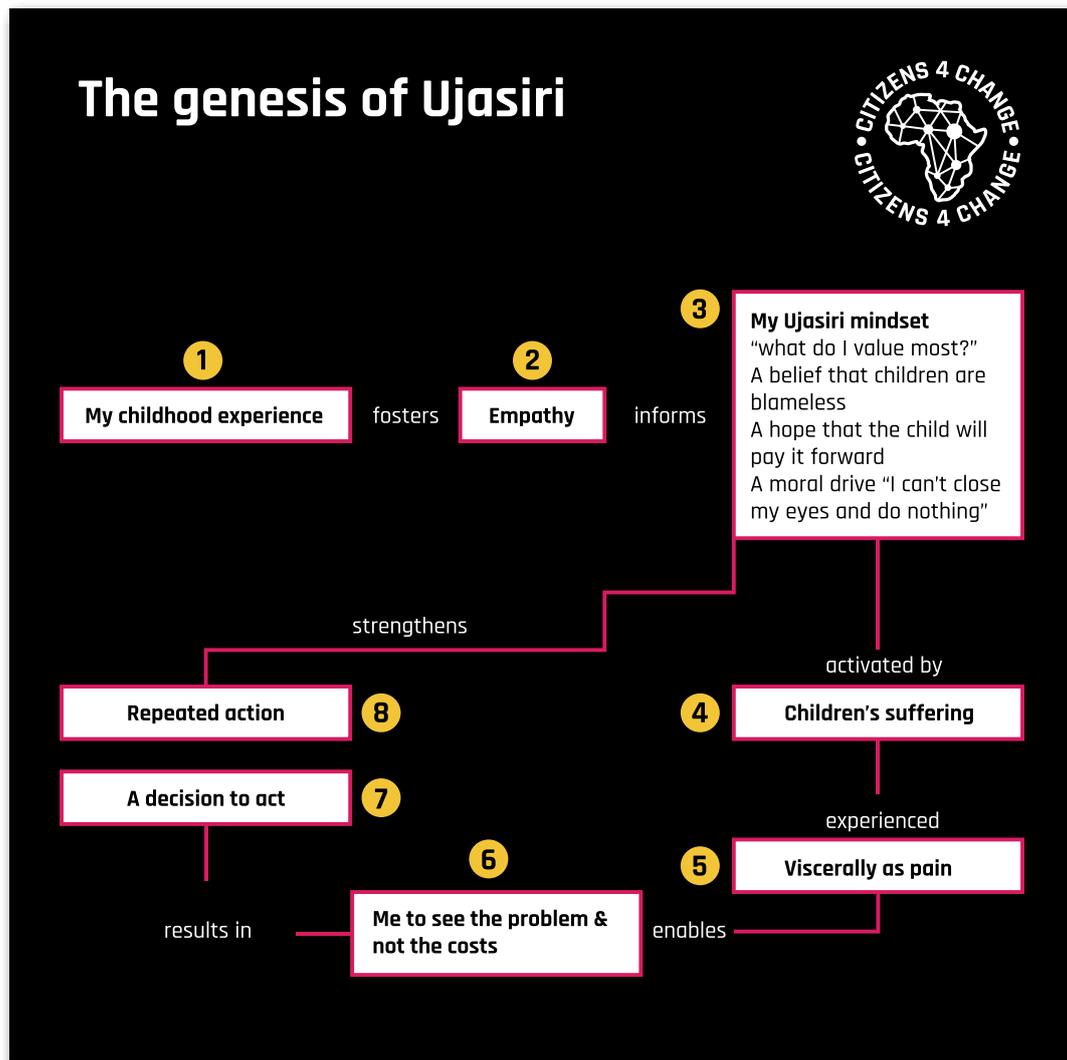


The third dilemma is related to parents' role in protecting children. "Parents want their child to thrive, but may use punitive treatment as a way to discipline their children. They may be reluctant to have challenging conversations with their children that would help their child keep safe. What needs to happen so that parents can better protect their children?"

Students argue that parents have a responsibility to **provide, encourage and communicate**. Students say that parents need to know about and protect children's rights. They need to provide for their children's needs; to encourage them to go to school; help their children with assignments; and communicate with children and teachers.

Students' perspectives emphasize personal responsibility as the solution to school safety and inclusion. This mirrors the findings of a study on the world-view of Tanzanian protectors (McAlpine, 2015) where the *Ujasiri* mindset characterised individuals who took action to protect children. The findings in this study indicate that the concept of *Ujasiri* resonates with students' who see part of the **solution to the harms that they face, as tied to their own and others' personal moral drives to do the right thing**.

Fig 20: The genesis of *Ujasiri*



The final dilemma was framed as follows: “Children experience violence on the way to school; when in school; and at home and in their communities. What needs to change so that they are safe in all locations where they spend time?” It was premised on the instinct at the design phase that perpetrators of harm may be individuals that children met on their way to and from school; and thus it was expected that their ideas for change would target those individuals who cause harm. However, the results were very different.

In response to the dilemma students focussed instead on schools as institutions. They argued that for children to be safe in their environment they need **clean, resourced facilities in and on the way to school**. This includes sufficient clean classrooms and teaching materials, proper waste disposal, sports facilities and improved school transport.

From a programming perspective each of these calls to action from students offer the seeds for theorising about action and change. Having paced the data collection and analysis by starting with the young people we now have a wonderful opportunity to take these calls to action and to survey adults about

1. What prevents adults from taking up responsibility, and

2. What needs to change so that adults can put these values into action and in doing so improve young people's lives.

### 6.3/ Is violence in school settings driven and/or maintained by social norms?

Drawing on the findings of the 2011 Violence Against Children study (Ministry of Community Development Gender & Children, UNICEF, Centre for Disease Control, & Muhumbili University) and the 2020 Haki Elimu study, and then aggregating the different forms of harms discussed in this study into different categories of violence reveals the seeds of a story of changing norms related to violence.

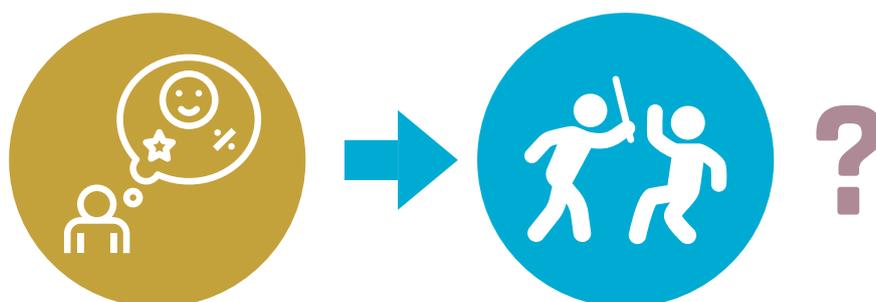
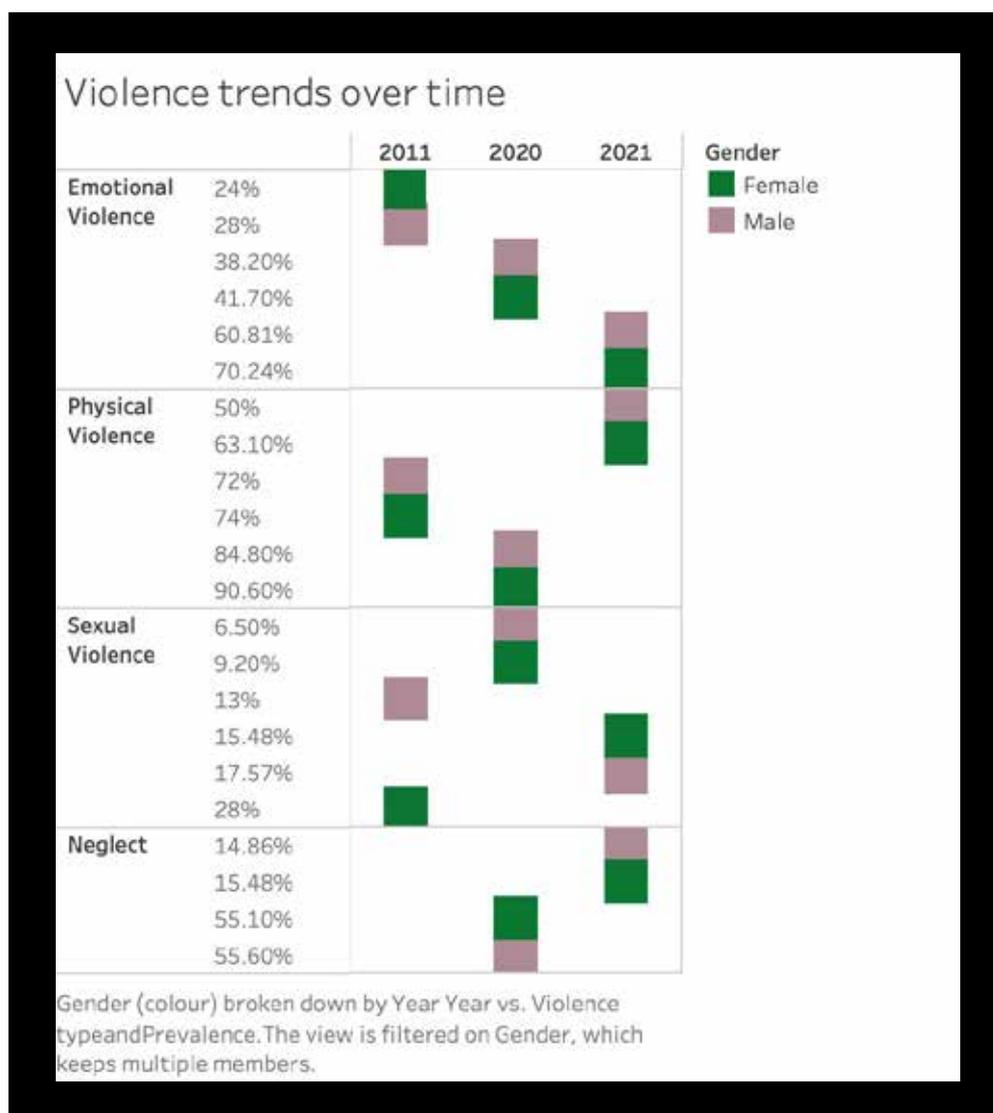


Fig 21: Violence trends over time



This study asked students to speak to their lived experience using their own language and then to make meaning of that story by categorising at a granular level the harms that had occurred. This method provided opportunities for them to articulate the various emotional harms that they experience and may provide an explanation for the increasing acknowledgement of the prevalence of emotional violence in children's lives. The nature of the survey tool used here also provided language and thus an opportunity for children to express the different emotional harms that they experience and that they may have normalised as just being an inevitable part of their childhood.

A comparison between the three studies indicates that physical violence may actually have diminished in the last decade. This may be attributable to the increased public awareness of child's rights. Given that the 2020 Haki Elimu study noted much higher rates of physical violence than this small data set we will await further data saturation before making a reliable claim in this regard. Similarly, the data set is too small to make any claims in relation to sexual violence trends.



## **Corporal punishment, emotional violence and sexual relations with children continue to pervasive behaviours. They are disapproved of, but are not socially sanctioned.**

Children's reference groups disapprove of these harmful behaviours. These are what Argyris & Schon (1996) calls people's espoused values; the values that people think that they should have. However, people's values in action indicate the existence of a disconnect. **36% of students believe that no one actually takes action to sanction harmful behaviour when it occurs.**

The findings from this study indicate that **violent behaviour in school settings may not necessarily be caused by social norms.** There may be many non-social reasons why teachers and parents are so punitive towards children; and these will be explored in more depth via surveying adult teachers, parents and safeguarding professionals.

**But the punitive behaviours discussed in this study are maintained by social norms.** The reasoning is as follows,

- Students' main reference groups are their parents and teachers; who are also the perpetrators of harm.
- Students believe from their lived experience that harm is perpetrated frequently by people in their reference groups; whose violence counters these adults' claims to disapprove of such punitive behaviour.
- Students see that there is no real social sanction taken against either teachers or parents who are violent.



1. Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Prentice-Hall.
2. Argyris, C., & Schon, D. (1996). *Organisational Learning II*. Addison-Wesley.
3. Bicchieri, Cristina. (2006). *The Grammar of Society*. Cambridge University Press.
4. Bicchieri, Cristina. (2016). *Norms in the Wild. How to Diagnose, Measure, and Change Social Norms*. Oxford University Press.
5. Bicchieri, Cristina, & Mercier, H. (2014). Norms and Beliefs: How Change Occurs. In M. Xenitidou & B. Edmonds (Eds.), *The Complexity of Social Norms* (pp. 37–54). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-05308-0\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-05308-0_3)
6. Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. . (1998). Social influence: Social norms, conformity and compliance. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 151–192). McGraw-Hill.
7. Cooperrider, D. L., Witney, D., & Stavros, J. M. (2005). *Appreciative Inquiry Handbook*. Crown Custom Publishing and Berrett-Koehler Publishing.
8. Deborah, F., Hodzi, C., & Nhenga, T. (2006). *Addressing Social Norms that Underpin Violence Against Children in Zimbabwe*. [https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/FINAL\\_Social\\_Norms\\_strategy\\_Highres\\_170214.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/FINAL_Social_Norms_strategy_Highres_170214.pdf)
9. Fang, X., Brown, D. S., Florence, C. S., & Mercy, J. A. (2012). The economic burden of child maltreatment in the United States and implications for prevention. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 36(2), 156–165. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2011.10.006>
10. Global Peace Index. *Measuring Peace, Its Causes, and Its Economic Value*. (2015). [www.economicsandpeace.org](http://www.economicsandpeace.org)
11. Haki Elimu. (2020). *The State of Violence Against School Children in Tanzania Mainland*.
12. Kegan, R., & Laskow Lahey, L. (2001). *Immunity to Change: How to overcome it and unlock the potential in yourself and your organization*. Harvard Business Review Press.
13. Korir, J., Mohamedali, F., Makokha, J., & Asienwa, B. (2016). *Gender-based violence in Kenya: The economic burden on survivors*.
14. Mackie, G., Moneti, F., Shakya, H., Denny, E., Mackie, G., & Denny, E. (2015). *What are Social Norms? How are They Measured?* <http://www.polisci.ucsd.edu/~gmackie/>
15. McAlpine, K. (2015). *Doing the Right Thing to Protect Children in Tanzania. An Explanatory Theory of the Basic Psychological Process of Doing the Right Thing and a Practical Theory to Enable More and Better Protection of Children*. Fielding Graduate University.
16. McAlpine, K., Omesa, N. K., Mkude, M., Mbise, A., & Semwene, J. (2018). *Capacities and opportunities for protection of children within the Catholic Church & Schools that can be leveraged to advance the protection of children*.
17. Ministry of Community Development Gender & Children, UNICEF, Centre for Disease Control, & Muhumbili University. (2011). *Violence against children in Tanzania*.
18. Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development. (2015). *Uganda Violence Against Children Survey; Findings from a National Survey*.
19. Paluck, E. L., & Shepherd, H. S. (2012). The salience of social referents: A field experiment on collective norms and harassment behavior in a school social network. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(6), 899–915. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030015>
20. Perezniето, P., Montes, A., Langston, L., & Routier, S. (2014). *Shaping policy for development The costs and economic impact of violence against children*.
21. Prentice, D. A., & Miller, D. T. (1993). Pluralistic ignorance and alcohol use on campus: Some consequences of misperceiving the social norm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(2). <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.2.243>
22. Rwanda Ministry of Health. (2017). *Violence Against Children and Youth Survey; Findings from a National Survey, 2015-2016*.
23. Save the Children South Africa. (2017). *Violence against children: The cost of inaction to our society and economy*.
24. Scharmer, O. (2009). *Theory U: Leading from the Future as it Emerges* (Kindle Edition). Berrett-Koehler.
25. Schelling, T. (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Literary Licensing, LLC .
26. Senga, M. (2020). *Changing social norms and values to eliminate violence against women and children through gender transformation in Tanzania: An assessment of theory and practices*.
27. United Nations. (2015). *Sustainable Development Goal: GOAL 16*. UNICEF.
28. United Nations Children’s Fund Kenya Country Office, Division of Violence Prevention National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, & Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2012). *Violence against children in Kenya. Findings from a 2010 National Survey*.
29. United Republic of Tanzania. (2016). *National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women and Children in Tanzania*.
30. Valente, T. (2010). *Social Networks and Health: Models, Methods, and Applications*.
31. World Health Organization. (2016). *Child maltreatment*. <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/child-maltreatment>



## Workshop procedure

#1/ Conduct the school safety survey individually with 20 Junior Council members in each region using the mobile app.

#2/ Facilitate the whole group of students to interpret the survey results and to envision a country with safe schools. The workshop steps are as follows;

Introduce yourself; “When you are 70 years old, what would you want to say about your life?”

“What are you looking forward to about today?”

Split into 4 groups, each with an iPad to interpret the survey results. Students are encouraged to play with the app which has already aggregated the responses from the previous day’s surveys. Each group investigates one of these questions:

1. **What harms happen in schools? Which of them are violent?**
2. **Who perpetrates violence against children? In what settings?**
3. **Who are the important people in students’ lives?**
4. **What attitudes do people in student communities have towards violence?**

These insights are then shared in plenary.

**Discover exceptionally positive moments in schools.** In pairs students tell each other a story about a time when they felt safe and motivated to learn in school. Each story is shared in plenary. After each story the facilitator asks the group, “What were the characteristics in the situation we heard about that enabled the student to feel safe and motivated to learn?” The characteristics are written on index cards and put on the wall. If characteristics are duplicated, those cards are clustered together.

**Discover life giving forces.** Each student is given 5 stickers and asked to place them on the characteristics that they think are the most important to focus on if we want to create safe schools for all. The facilitator records the top 10 characteristics that the students want to focus on.

**Dream of a preferred future.** Working in groups of 5 the students create images together that show the future in which the high points identified in the stories are the everyday reality. This visioning or dreaming process starts with them creating a visual image that shows their desired future. They then create a word image drawing on the visual image. These are “Provocative Propositions” that state in a short and energising sentence their vision for change.

**Generate ideas for creating that future.** Brainstorm all the ideas in the room for achieving the students’ visions. These are written on cards and categorised by the following 4 topics and put on the wall.



**Teachers:** Teachers are both perpetrators of violence in schools and have an important role in protecting children from harm. What needs to change so that they can become part of the solution to violence in schools?

**Environment:** Children experience violence on the way to school; when in school; and at home and in their communities. What needs to change so that they are safe in all locations where they spend time?

**Student behaviour:** Students often lack the ability to keep themselves safe and to avoid risk taking behaviour. Sometimes other students are the perpetrators of harm. What needs to happen so that children can protect themselves and their peers?

**Parent behaviour:** Parents want their child to thrive, but may use punitive treatment as a way to discipline their children. They may be reluctant to have challenging conversations with their children that would help their child keep safe. What needs to happen so that parents can better protect their children?



Insight sharing continued...

**Expand ideas.** Split into 4 groups; each group takes the ideas related to their topic. Together ask each other "How could these ideas be improved?" Write their additions on the cards.

**Rate ideas.** Each child gets 5 stickers and puts them on the ideas that they want to take up as Junior Council.

**Check out.** Split into 2 groups. Group 1 discusses "How would you summarise this experience?" and Group 2 discusses "What action will you now take?" Their conclusions are shared in plenary.

