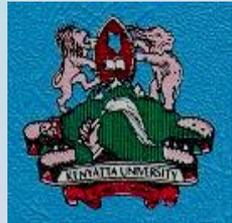
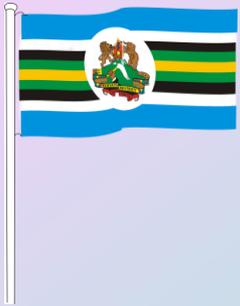
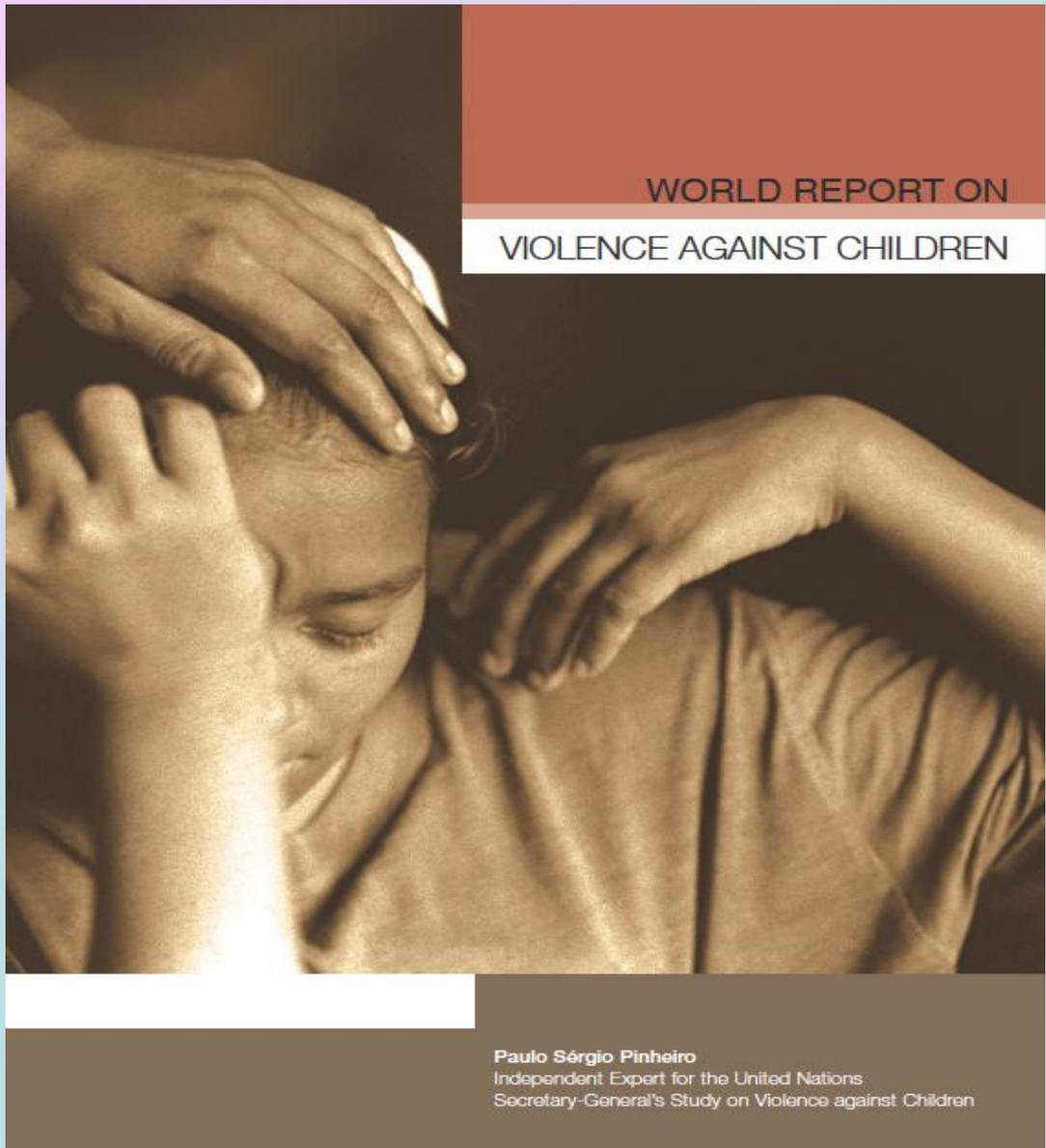


Memory Work in Researching violence against Children and Young People: University Student- teachers Learning from a Life Cycle Approach



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WORLD REPORT ON
VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro
Independent Expert for the United Nations
Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children

It is when we, as humans become aware of the inhumanity of violence, of its absurdity and pointlessness, that we discover within ourselves a demand for non-violence, the basis and organizing principle of our humanity

(Muller, Jean-Marie, 2002).

Children's & Young People's Rights to peaceful Education: Framework for Understanding Violence

Three (3) complementary pillars

1. Convention on the Rights of the Child (**CRC Article 19, 1**)
 - guarantees **protection** of children from
 - o physical and/or mental violence, injury or abuse,
 - o sexual abuse
2. Education for All (**EFA**) goals & the Millennium Development Goals (**MDGs**)
 - commit governments to ensuring that all children **access quality basic** education through schools with **protective learning environments**
 - o promoting inclusion, retention, gender equality and the performance of all children.
3. Recognition that **schools are key** to
 - transforming society
 - building a culture of peace.

Violence (threat to peace and security),

- the **first obstacle** to the harmonious development of **quality education** affecting relevance, universal values, decision-making etc

Note/ *Education and Culture in Africa's Quest for Development* UNESCO, Education Sector, March 2005...

*Studies in Africa indicate violence against –especially - young girls/women in school related environment has increased in the societies which were traditionally recognised as being founded on a **culture of peace***

Theoretical Debates on the Meaning of Violence

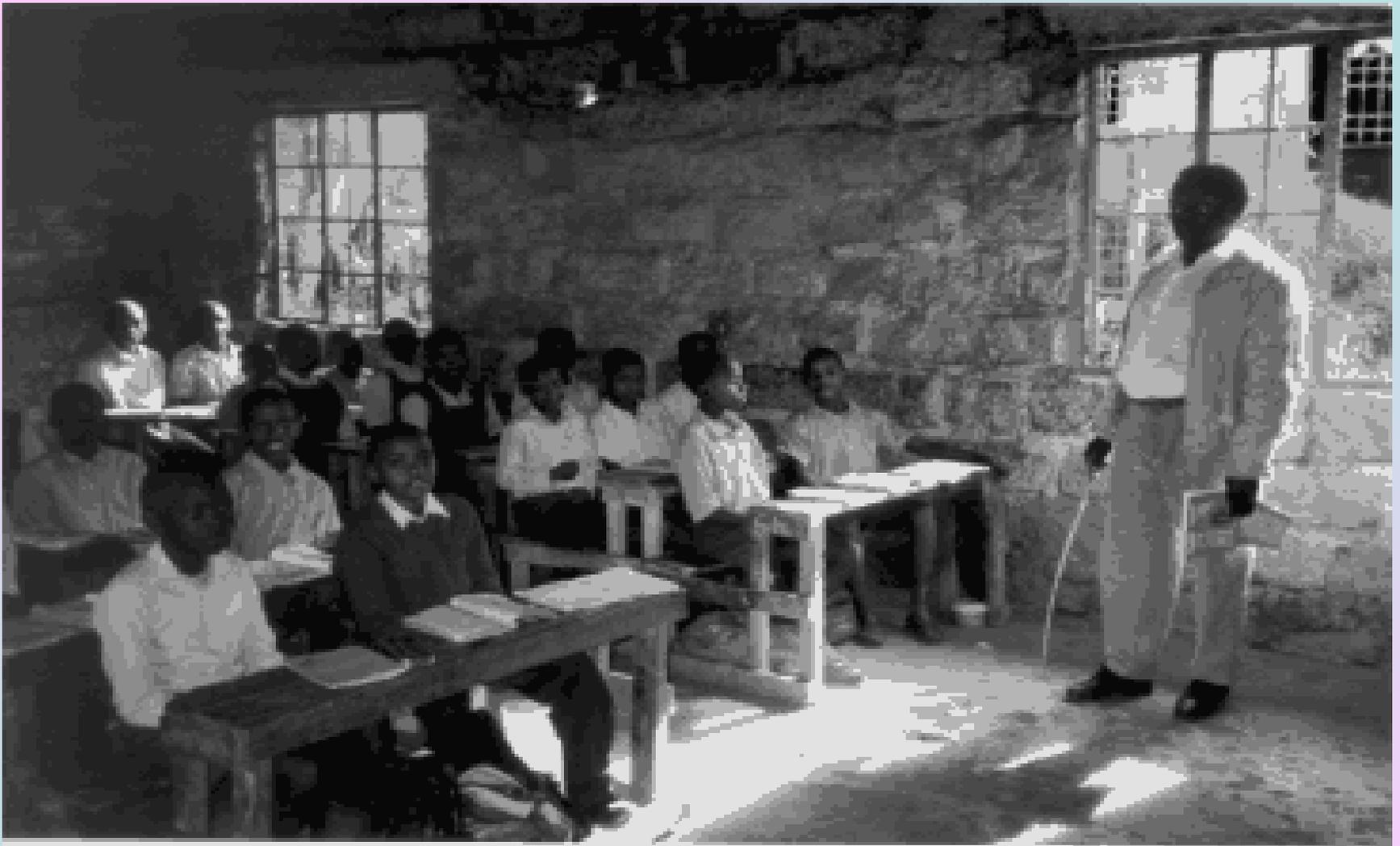
- **Violence** concept :
 - complex and contested
 - different ways of understanding produced
 - different research and action
- **Popular** understandings of violence I
 - physical acts of force,
 - Increasingly harmful psychological acts broaden definitions,
- **The UN World Report** on Violence Against Children (VAC, 2006),
 - “All forms of physical and mental violence,
 - injury and abuse,
 - neglect or negligent treatment,
 - maltreatment or exploitation,
 - including sexual abuse.
- **The UN Declaration** on the Elimination of all forms of Violence Against Women (2003)
 - attention drawn to the **gendered dimensions** of violence,
 - “Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women ... occurring in public or private life”
 - non-physical forms (threats, coercion)
 - arbitrary deprivation of liberty (trafficking, forced prostitutions etc)

school-Community/Family Couple...

- Is there violence in schools because there is violence in the larger context of society in general?
- To what extent does violent crime that happens in schools spill over into the community?
- How do rigid hierarchies and power structures in the school itself and in society at large impact on the nature of violence among children
- How can schools become a resource of breaking the cycle of violence in community and school?

Note: Many countries report teachers as:

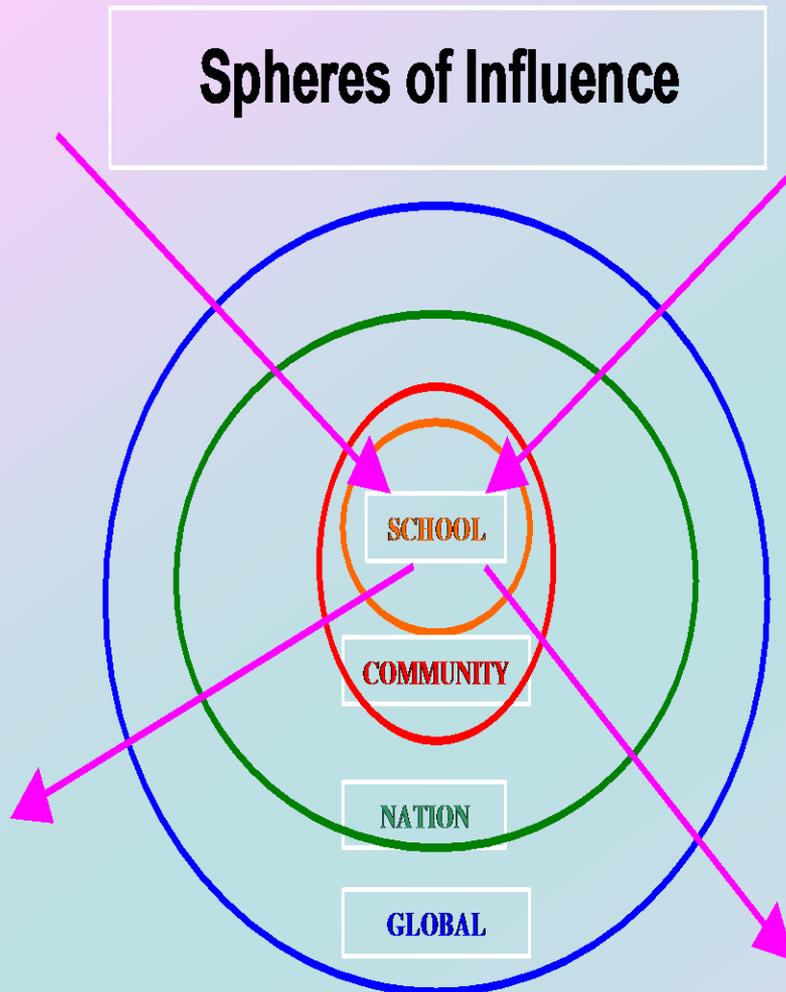
- **poorly trained** and **lowly paid**,
- Having **low status**
- **deal with large classes** at any one time.
- **working with few resources**
- Governed by **policies** offering **few alternatives** to manage classroom except physical punishment and verbal humiliation.



Source: Classroom Site in African School

*(Photo – Anonymous from Human Rights Document
September 1999, Vol. 11, No. 6 [A])*

Effects of violence Bronfenbrenner (1979)... “school is one ‘layer’ of a much bigger picture of the factors that shape children’s lives”.



School site –

1. **A community within a community**
2. Exist in **context** **Not** in vacuum
3. **Reflects larger social order** of the community.
4. Can **reproduce or reinforce** certain values and behaviours
5. **Potentially transformative** space promoting children’s learning - **academic & social beings.**

Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1979)

No conclusive evidence that a violent society produces violence in schools

Considerable evidence – **Children's experiences outside school** (media, youth culture, literature, language, inequalities) **accompanies them to school**

- **Headache** (38%)
- Stomach **ache** (25%)
- Backache (19%)
- Sleeping difficulties (32%)
- Tired in the morning (20%)
- Dizziness (20%)
- Irritable / bad temper (49%)
- **Feeling nervous** (43%)
- **Feeling low** (33%)
- **Feel** left out of things (12%)
- **Feeling** lonely (19%)
- **Feel** helpless (9%)
- 5+ weekly symptoms (32%)

Power and Violence

Power: A basis of all violence

- Attempts to reinforce or change the social order
 - **Physical punishment** - maintain balance of power between adults and children.
 - **Intimate partner violence** - perpetuate male authority (Silberschmidt, 2001, 2005 studies in Kenya & Tanzania).
 - **Wars and civil conflicts** - men's **struggles** to **wrest power**, resources and political control
 - **(Leach, 2006)** Recognising links between power and violence– is key to understanding violence against children & against ,girls/women
 - Acts of violence - **often**
 - Hidden,
 - Taken for granted
 - Unrecognised
 - Unreported (fear repercussion/rejection)
 - **Firstly**, over-emphasis on acts of violence - downplay power functions underpinning these acts and their gendered nature.
 - **Secondly**, quest for universal definitions can detract from the importance of subjective meanings.

Multidimensional Considerations in Policy Studies of Violence

- Most policy and data collection activities related to violence in children's lives tend to focus on:
 - **single type** of violence e.g. child abuse or media violence
 - **particular social context** e.g. family, school, or neighbourhood
 - **particular social group** e.g. teens, children from slum/inner-city.
 - Specific age group: e.g. below age 3 years (pre-school), 5-9 years (pre adolescents), 10-13 years (young adolescents) etc

However: addressing issues of violence can be enriched by understanding the

1. **many forms** of violence that affect children's lives
2. **at different ages** and
3. **for different demographic** groups
4. **In different social-educational** contexts

Age Factor & Experiences of Violence

(©2003 child trends)

As children age, changes occur in:

- **types** of violence
- **sources** of violence
- **risks** involved
- **Infants and young children below age 6 years**
 - **Home** is primary locus of neglect
 - **death** is the most tragic outcome (Janssen,2004)
- **Neglect and abuse is higher** than for any age group up until age **17.4 years**
- **40.9 % of deaths** resulting from child abuse and neglect were among children **under 1year**
- **84.5 % deaths** among children **under 6.4 years**
- **Middle childhood (ages 7 to 12 years)**
- **more television** viewing than other age group
- **more exposed** to television violence than other
- **physical abuse** almost same as in younger children
- chances of **being bullied** in school are higher than for any other group
- **fear of attack at school** or on the **way to or from school** is also **higher** than other age group

Age Factor cont...

TEENAGERS

- **Violence** towards children at its **peak** among teenagers.
- Also some of the **more extreme forms** of violence **begin to recede** during the teenage years.
- Homicide and suicide rates increase rapidly throughout the teen years (ages 15 to 19)
- **Risk** of being a victim of **sexual assault, robbery** also increases as teens get older.
- **minority** of teens carry a **weapon**. (one in six high-school students)
- **dating violence common** during the teen years.
- nearly **10 %** year 9-12 (junior secondary) have been **hit, slapped, or physically hurt on purpose** by a **boyfriend or girlfriend**
- **By high school, 10%** females report being **raped** in her lifetime, compared with **5%** males.
- Female teens (ages 12 to 17) are also
- **female high-school** students are nearly twice as likely as males to report attempting suicide
- **males** are far more likely to be **successful** in their attempts

The Gender Factor

Gender –neither gender is immune from any particular form of violence

- types of violence experienced by males and females are often **very different**,
- relative levels of **risk differ**
- **females** are much **more likely at every age** to be victims of **sexual abuse and rape**.
- Reports from Britain of sexual abuse to the child welfare agencies are **2 to 7 times** higher for **females** by age group.

Examples of sexual violence against girls - sub-Saharan African schools



Stop it...
Stooooop!
! Just
STOP
IT...!!!



- **South Africa:** One 15-year-old girl spent weeks away from school because she was scared of the teacher who had sexually assaulted her. She said, “I didn’t go back to school for one month after... everything reminds me of what happened. I have dreams. He is in my dreams. He is in the classroom laughing at me. I can hear him laughing at me in my dreams... my grades are horrible”

- **Botswana:** one girl in an interview reported what she described as sexual harassment of a classmate saying, ‘*Yesterday something happened. There was this girl in class whom some boys were touching and she kept on hitting them with books and telling them to stop; and then all of a sudden she started crying as if something, part of her, had been taken away*’ (UNICEF, *Finding Our Voices: Gendered and Sexual Identities and HIV/AIDS in Education*, UNICEF, ESARO, 2003... Rob Pattman & Fatuma Chege).

Assumptions

- violence continues to militate against global efforts towards the achievement of EFA targets of securing a full cycle of quality basic education for all children by 2015 (see Colclough et al, 2004; Chege, Leach, and Stromquist, 2005)

Memory Work Method - Generating Qualitative Data on Violence

Kippak, Crawford, Waldby, & Benton (1990)

- **Memory Work: Advantage** over the more conventional interview
 - *combining the self-conscious autobiographical accounts with the collective understanding of the matter of concern*

Research activities

1. **Sampling:** voluntary basis (3rd & 4th year female & male students - **total 20**)
2. **Collective definitions** of concept of 'violence'
3. **Familiarisation of procedures** on individual documentation of student's recollections of particular episodes of violence using **life cycle approach**
4. **Regular collective discussions and analyses** of the shared memories of violence ... the then & now & future
5. **analyses** of diary entries (thematization of personal revelations, reflections, interpretations, and judgements)
6. Indications of **professional resolutions** for non-violent schooling processes
7. Documenting findings & reporting (online **MEMORIES OF CHILDHOOD VIOLENCE**)

Introducing Memory Work to Volunteer Education Students of Kenyatta University - Kenya

• **Brief Explanation for Student Teachers**

- a research technique used to refer to mental recollections for purposes of linking them to current situations (violence in schools).
- reflecting on past experiences to facilitate positive change in society and self.
- recording **individual memories** in diaries/ 'journals' to consciously generate data for analysis (individual & group).
- Record & document group discussions through a process known as '**collective memory work**' for joint resolutions/actions

Step One –Collectively Defining ‘Violence’

- **Materials:** Flip Chart & Markers
- **2 X one-hour meetings (group discussions)**
 - Moderator 1st meeting – Lecturer
 - Moderator 2nd meeting – 3rd year female student
 - **exploring** and **interrogating** ‘violence’ as generally understood
 - **Generating joint operational definition** - ‘any **act** that inflicts physical or emotional **discomfort/pain** on a person’.
- **Guiding frameworks:** (1) human rights perspective & (2) Convention on Rights of Child
 1. all human beings (including children and women) are entitled to violence free environments
 2. All children are entitled to care & protection from all harm (physically/emotionally).



OUTCOMES: Joint definition

Actions -

(physical/verbal/literal)

Hurtfulness =core feature of violence



Step Two- Introducing Life Cycle Approach

4 months of diary project

- i. **Before** school age (before 3 yrs)
- ii. **Pre-school** classes/ nursery (3-6 yrs)
- iii. **Lower** primary (class 1-4)
- iv. **Upper** primary (class 4-8)
- v. **Secondary** (1-4)
- vi. **University** (year 1-current)



Write/comment

- Type of violence
 - **Where** did it happen?
 - Done to who
 - Done by who
1. What was my role
 2. What **did I** feel/think then
 3. What **do I** feel/think now
 4. What can I do now
 5. What can I do after graduating as a teacher



Step Three –Talking to Diary

(My Friend ... My Confidante)



- **Organising entries:**

1. **Writing** the following information on your Diary:

- Your name
(optional/pseudonym)
- Gender: (female/male)
- Age (last birthday)
- Year of study at University

2. Divide diary into 6 age-related sections
3. Relax and enter every memory of violence in appropriate section
4. Remember to comment on each memory entered

Always, be centre of action e.g. actor who is observer, receiver, thinker, or doer. For each memory written, use the pronoun 'I' as much as possible

Points to Remember

- Talk to **dear diary** the same way you would to a confidante.
- Use the following **hints to help** you 'open up' and talk to your diary. For example, start by the words:
 - 'I remember one time when I was...'
 - 'It seems just like yesterday when I....'
 - 'My friend Diary, this one is hard but I will ...'
 - 'Dear diary, I need to share this...'
 - 'Dear Diary, I shall never forget when I...'
 - 'It was my first...'
- **For reassurance:** Dear Diary, what I tell you is only between you and me.
- **Be in control:** Dear diary, thank you for being a good listener and not interrupting...
- **Do not worry** if memories are **not coming in neat/ orderly chronological fashion**. This is normal, so just continue being patient and record clearly as memories unfold in whatever manner

FINDINGS:

- Three main sites identified for violence
 - School
 - Family
 - Community

Transition from home to Nursery School (under 6 yrs)

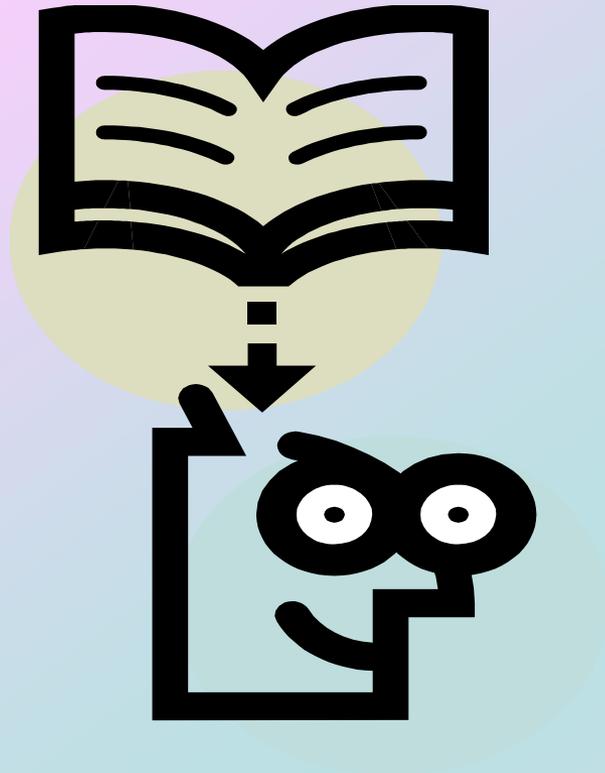
- **corporal punishment and verbal insults**

I was thoroughly whipped by that madam

Dear Diary, I shall never forget an incident that happened one time when I was in nursery. The teacher asked a question but didn't get it well. (...) This incident resulted into severe punishment from the teacher. She did not consider my tender age. I was thoroughly whipped by that madam. This made me hate the school and I never wished to go back because of such treatment from the teacher **(Debbie -F)**.

Nursery School (cont...)

Cant write or read as expected!!!



I fear this unfriendly school life!

Dear diary... I remember, I am in nursery school and the teacher canes me because I am unable to write 1-10. I feel violated physically and psychologically. Why has she hurt me? Is it my fault that I am unable to master these strange figures? (...) I fear this unfriendly school life!
Dear diary, I realized rule one for school life: a teacher is someone to be feared not a friend and that has stuck up to date! (Mary)

Transition to Primary School



She asked all my classmates to avoid me since I was a killer....

Dear Diary, it seems just like yesterday when this incident happened but for sure it occurred 16yrs ago when I was in class one at age of 7yrs. It was at break time (...). I, and a group of friends ran out of class and engaged into a wrestling match. We thought it was just a matter of having fun not realising the risks that we were exposing ourselves to. **Unfortunately, I hit my playmate on the chest,** without much hesitation he collapsed and started fainting. Since I had no life saving skills I started running for my own safety (..) I knew what was in the store for me not just at school but also at home. But when I went to school the following week, the **class teacher 'worked' on me (beat)** thoroughly and she asked all the class members to avoid me since **I was a killer. (John -M)**

Emotional abuse

Lower Primary School



He instructed me to urinate on my pants

My dear diary I was only a few days old in my new school. (...) I think I talked to everyone. So I met this older boy who to me (...) the memory is very fresh. I was going to the toilet and thought I could wait for him to come out before I could go in. On seeing me he called me in and instructed me to urinate on my pants. (...) he pulled some metal like pen, which he told me he could use to kill me if I did not do what he told me. (...) Back to class I encountered all the pupils and the teachers were laughing at me. This made me cry for the teacher was (also) laughing at me. (...) **To date, this incident embarrasses me** when I remember of it. (...) I strongly feel that the latrines and urinal for older pupils should be separated and some pupils put in-charge of younger pupils in schools to guide them (**Harry**).

Broken dreams –my first day in school

Oh! I remember this day (Jan 15 1986) vividly well as if the alliance happened this year. I was filled with joy. This was to be my first day at school. (...). we were met by the muscular man whom I learnt later that he was the headmaster. I was "ordered" to perform an 'interview' (...) to pass my hand across the head and hold my ear on the other side of the head. Since I was short **I failed the 'interview' terribly.** (...) I had to return home till I grew up to pass the interview. (...). This made me conclude that I will never go back to that school when the right time comes. (...) I went home crying.

Upper primary

- **Mrs. ‘Sit and waste your father’s money... I don’t care’ (F)**
- **They began abusing me and accusing me of my dad’s punishment** “yes, she is the one, she is the daughter to him” (M)
- **I was caned to an extent I was not able to move about ...for failing a single sum yet he was not available to do the teaching (M)**
- **They would be caned by the group of teachers** After marking of the test, teachers of various subjects would jump into class and command ‘*sema we in ng’ombe [say you are a cow’,]* (M)
- One of the questions was, **‘Whose son is this? How ugly is this boy...!’ (M)** ...“Do I have a father?” Emotions ran all over my body. I felt like ending my life and not to be seen again (M)

Out of the 20 students participating in the project, **12** wrote about sexual harassment

- I was so worried and harassed. I have never told anyone about it. Afterwards when I grew up, I understood that, that teacher wanted to rape me (**Nancy**).

Secondary School (most reports of violence)

- Violence from **powerful** school **prefects**
- Pervasive **culture** of **bullying**
 - behaviours include **physical** aggression, **verbal** harassment and public **humiliation** (e.g., **name-calling** and spreading **rumours**, among other things (Jaana Juvonen, Sandra Graham and Mark A. Schuster 2003p.2).
- **The teachers had put too much power on the prefect body** ...We were forced by the older students to **wash their shirts, trousers using our own soap** (M)
- Some of those boys **brushed our faces** (after) rubbing the blackboard using their palms...**No one was allowed to wipe their face** (M)
- It was a **traumatizing** welcome into secondary school... I shall never forget...the '**superior, senior students**' **stole my sheets, socks** and my **jumper** (F)
- As a prefect in that particular school, (...) **you were accorded a lot of respect** and there were a few particular privileges **We were allowed to cane them** ... again they would receive a **beating from the headmistress** in front of the whole school (Prefect F)
- We were **falsely accused of being lesbians** and **suspended from school**...my mother called me *Shetani* (Satan)... I had no right to express myself; those in authority like the head-girl have all the right to accuse someone (...). This incident has always made me feel **I was deprived of something**. (F)

University and Experiences

Negotiating romantic love

- I cried many times, felt worthless, used and deceived ... He came **to my room no more** as he **claimed to be very busy** and that he **found my hostel too far!** (F)
- I now truly think he's a dog. I sympathize with his wife! ...the chick (girl) pointed at my boyfriend and says "*na huyu ni bwana yangu na baba ya mtoto wangu!* (*this is my husband and he is the father of my child*). (F)
- I felt rejected and hopeless ...I have been a victim here in Kenyatta University. In my second year, I bumped into a girl whom I gave a lot of gifts, presents and offered every bit of time she could need... **she turned down my offer when I asked her to be girlfriend** (M)
- I never thought I would survive without her... I fell in love with a lady who was truly a lady but her sister **told her that I was ailing with the virus (HIV)** and was spreading it.
- He came straight at me. **I couldn't scream since his mouth was on mine...** Finally he let me go and said he wished he had gone all the way... he said **I wish "ningekumanga"** that is he wished he had sex with me. I stood there confused whether to proceed or go back

Some Conclusions

- Students expected school environments, particularly the teachers, to be different
- Students were shocked that teachers did not appear keen at being protective
- School violence as explicitly gendered, confirming findings of other research on the same subject
- Transition to higher levels seemed to be characterised by intensity of types of violence
- Types of sexual violence seemed to increase at university more for the girls while also noted among the boys in less variations
- Having second chance at engaging with memories of violence provides a more mature space of confronting the same –especially for teachers and student teachers