VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS IN SEKE DISTRICT: INFLUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY

DODO Obediah and MUZENJE Alois

ABSTRACT
The study looked at how violence impacts on the education system in private colleges in high density areas. Two hundred (200) primary and high school pupils participated in the exploratory qualitative study. Questionnaires were used to collect data and SPSS was used to analyse it. Social learning theory guided the study. The study established that while violence exposure has been associated with diminishing attention, deteriorating intellectual performance and regressions in school achievement, it also has some positives. It heightens the level and forms of youth violence subsequently hardening the youth in as far as violence and aggression are concerned. It also established that youth violence is also driven by amongst others, attitudes of the school authorities, school policies, drug use and the continued over-population of urban communities with mixed cultures and social practices.

KEY TERMS: violence, youth, pupils, aggression, violence exposure, interventions

KEY DATES
Received: 06 September 2018
Accepted: 01 February 2019
Revised: 13 February 2019
Published: 26 February 2019

Funding: None
Conflict of Interest: None
Permission: Not applicable
Ethics approval: Not applicable

ARTICLE TYPE: Original research
INTRODUCTION

Realizing a serious dearth of information regarding the influence of violence on pupils in private colleges in high density areas, the study sought to fill the gap for both policy makers and the entire research fraternity. The study looked at how various forms of violence that is recorded most in Zimbabwe’s high density areas impact on the pupils enrolled with the newly established private colleges. The study also explored the nexus between society and the pupils with regards to post-school criminality.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

From year 2000, Zimbabwe’s education operating environment has been going through some gradual changes allowing private players to take part as ‘private colleges’. This new dispensation has seen the mushrooming of several colleges, registered and unregistered which have absorbed all the bottle-necked residual both at primary and secondary levels. Private colleges thrived following the collapse of the formal education system owing to a poor economy, low remuneration forcing qualified personnel to leave for greener pastures and frequent job actions by the few remaining staff. In Zimbabwe, students are forced out of school by various reasons; failure to pay tuition fees, pregnancy, and criminal conviction. Other reasons include early marriages, failure of examinations, failure to secure places and religious reasons, illnesses, parents’ illiteracy and psychological and emotional influences amongst others. The private colleges have therefore filled the gap created by some of the above cited reasons albeit without meeting the required minimum education standards. Some of the colleges are located in areas not conducive for learning while others’ infrastructure cannot meet health standards.

The study sought to understand the influence of pupils’ exposure to violence on education. This comes against a background where pupils who fail to make it into the formal and conventional schools, find themselves back in school having been exposed to illegal activities and adult-related practices. Some of these activities and practices socialise pupils into mischief which often result in violence.

In Seke urban, there were 41 private colleges that operate both at designated sites and in residential properties and boasting of an enrolment of 9350 pupils. Ty and Hl are codes for the selected colleges in Seke Unit F and Unit M respectively that were used for the study. The colleges hereafter referred to as schools offer both primary and secondary tuition. The two residential areas are low income settlements. Both schools are established in terms of Section 43 of the Education Act of 1987 [Chapter 25:04] (amended in 2006) (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013) and operate like any other conventional school.

Most private schools that operate along the ‘college’ lines are profit-oriented and therefore often ignore some of the responsible ministry’s policies and guidelines especially with regards to student enrolment, age restrictions and school time-tables for profit purpose. The two schools are located in the midst of residential areas with Ty being housed at a church while Hl has its own premises. In the study, the term students will be inter-changed with pupils.

METHODOLOGY

For the two-year study; 2013-2014 and 2014-2015, 200 primary and high school pupils were recruited to participate in an exploratory qualitative study. 50 participants were purposefully sampled from Ty and Hl primary schools in Seke Unit G and M respectively with each contributing 25 (10 females and 15 males) and another 150 being randomly sampled from the same schools’ higher divisions with each contributing 75 participants (35 males and 40 females). Purposive sampling was followed to allow deliberate selection of grade 7 students. The median age of the participants was 13. To enable their developmental ages, pupils were grouped into two categories: under age 13 and age 14 and over but below 19. Participants below 13 were drawn from Primary schools while those over 14 but below 19 were from the Secondary schools. All participants were considered to be at risk for violence and other offensive conducts and were from low income families. The two residential areas are for low income earners.

Questionnaires were used to collect data. The tool was pre-tested with 20 pupils before they were administered to the targeted participants. All the participants’ responses were coded to conceal identities as a way of respecting children’s rights. Questionnaire completion time was controlled as a way of ensuring maximum response to which 95% was achieved. The questionnaire designed in a Lickert scale format sought to answer the following issues;

1. Age range
2. Sex
3. Identify with school
5. Extra-curriculum activities pursued
6. Trend of school results during the 2 academic years.
7. Frequency of violence at home, school and within peer groups
8. Ever armed with weapons
9. Frequency of smoking or taking drugs
10. Frequency of sexual indulgence

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS which coded, themed and analysed before creating coherently structured responses to the questionnaire aspects.

**Scope**

The study sought to understand the influence of students’ exposure to violence on education in the district of Seke at the randomly selected private colleges. The study sought to understand the influence of violence at home, school and within peer groups to the pupils taking cognizance of the colleges’ administration and the backgrounds of the pupils.

**Procedure**

Research procedures, including parental permission and secrecy guarantees were approved by the school authorities and respective guardians following an advance clearance by the relevant Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. Advance permission was secured from the respective Schools’ Development Association chairpersons who also went through the questionnaires to ensure that the questions were ethical. All the pupils’ participants were explained about the study and its implications before they committed themselves.

**Theoretical framework**

Social Learning theory proposed by Bandura guided the study. The theory posits that most human behaviours are acquired observationally by copying others (Bandura et al, 1961 and Bandura, 1973). In the study, the theory was expected to validate the similarities and differences in the behaviours displayed by the youth at school, home and within their peer groups from a social learning perspective. The theory was also expected to prove by way of facts and contextually that what has been established by other scholars elsewhere can be generalizable and transferable to the Zimbabwean situation.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**Education system in Zimbabwe Post-2000**

The education system in Zimbabwe is classified into five stages; pre-school, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary and tertiary education. The pre-school education focuses on elementary education and caters for children in the 3 to 5 year age category and is delivered in nursery schools and crèches while Primary education, a 7-year cycle leads students into lower secondary level. The Zimbabwe’s Secondary education is divided into two clusters; lower which offers forms 1 to 4 classes before feeding into upper secondary which is the advanced part of it (Shizha and Kariwo, 2011). The upper secondary prepares students for tertiary education. Macroeconomic and fiscal policies in any economy determine the planning and allocation of resources (Drolet, et al, 2007). In that regard, following the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy in year 2000, the allocation of resources towards the education sector drastically declined adversely impacting on the quality of tuition and the rate of staff turn-over.

Similarly, Shizha and Kariwo (2011), talk about the link between the nature and standard of institutions and the quality of education, citing them as vital factors for the development of education. Some of the major challenges to the development of education in Zimbabwe that have been identified include lack of effective supervision by the relevant regulatory authorities, lack of appropriate resources and inconsistent policies by the relevant government departments (Drolet, et al, 2007 and Shizha and Kariwo, 2011).

**Violence**

Non-fatal violence in schools continues to be a key worry to both teachers and parents in most urban schools in Zimbabwe in particular and the rest of the world in general. However, various scholars have come up with five mutually dependent classes of student risk factors that have a propensity to adversely influence student behaviour. The identified factors are related with the community, family, individual, peers, and school (Drolet, et al, 2007; Leach and Humphreys, 2007; Reddington, 2007; Massart, 2007).

According to MSI (2008) and Basch (2011), the forms of violence amongst school-age youth seem to mirror students’ phases of development. It has been noted that violence in lower grade students may be shown by way of beating, spitting, kicking, and name calling, whereas violent behaviour in lower high school may be defined by intimidation and physical fighting (Shoko, 2012). High school pupils could use weapons and take part in gang assault (Dodo et al, 2014).
Community violence
While scholars like Fieldman (2009) and David-Ferdon and Simon (2014) have reported that over 80% of the youth especially pupils residing in urban areas have seen community violence with over 70% of them having reported being victims, this cannot be said of developing democracies like Zimbabwe. This is due to lack of empirically proven statistics (Dodo and Msorowegomo, 2012). Violence is particularly severe in urban neighbourhoods. This practice has gradually cascaded to the young people who often times transfer it to their peers and the school. Unfortunately, at the school where the new human rights-based policies have been enacted, the authorities can no-longer do anything about it except reporting to the police for investigation and prosecution, the latter of which is also restricted under children’s rights.

Cooley-Strickland et al (2009) suggest the establishment of school-based treatment and preventive interventions for pupils at high risk for exposure to societal violence amongst those whose exposure weakens their capability to developmentally operate suitably and attain educational success. Despite these suggestions, according to UNHCR (2007), protracted community violence is prevalent among social groups with effects impacting considerably on young ones over a considerable period of time. What has to be realized is that pupils residing in regions with the highest statistics of crime and violence also experience the most violence exposure and coincidentally come from the city’s poorest neighbourhoods like Seke amongst others. Urban pupils from poor communities are at-risk for a series of co-occurring behavioural and emotional signs and weak psychosocial functioning (Fieldman, 2009 and Gudyanga et al, 2014). Exposure to violence takes place through different means; participation, media, victimization and hearsay (Gudyanga, et al, 2013)

Delinquency and school performance
In Zimbabwe, most schools in the high density areas are characterised by poor school results and high levels of delinquency so much so that there has been a generalized hypothesis to the effect that delinquency is directly related to poor performance in school. Unfortunately, there has not been an empirical study in Zimbabwe that can be generalized and transferred to all the low density areas. However, there are some researchers (Zhang et al, 2015) who have established that weak school performance is directly related to delinquent behaviours. Such studies have been common in the developed world and especially in the west. It is further argued that students who do poorly in school are within the most expected to break the law. The same school of thought goes on to argue that it is usual for school failure to serve as a solid forecaster of delinquency than other factors like peer influence, economic issues, social class background. Other researchers; Reddington (2007), Marais and Meier (2010) and Mangwuko et al (2011), found out that delinquents are more academically lacking and thus more susceptible to abandoning school and getting involved in rebellious behaviour than non-delinquents. According to Salter and Schechtman (2007) and Shoko (2012), the existence of an encouraging social environment promotes a sense of comprehensiveness.

FINDINGS
The results of this research are based on data collected over two-years (2013-2015). At the time of the post-test, 190 participants completed the test having lost 10 females in the 14 to 18 years category.

Fig. 1 Full explanation of symbols:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Ns</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Onc</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dram</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>Ot</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec</td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Paint</td>
<td>Painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft</td>
<td>Football</td>
<td>Sev</td>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illeg</td>
<td>Illegal</td>
<td>Sx</td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Indulgence</td>
<td>Vl</td>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karat</td>
<td>Karate</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
<td>Netball</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Level of school truancy and motivation for truancy
While both schools access all the students to both academic and extra-curricular activities, students from the two schools enjoy more freedom due to lack of strict monitoring from the authorities. It has also been revealed that while supervision is low, the schools generally enroll naughty students, former drop-outs and truants in a bid to cash in financially on their desperation.
On school absenteeism, five and 53 (28%) indicated that they absent daily and weekly respectively while another 52 (27.3%) cited other reasons out of this study. Sixteen (8.4%), 30 (15.7%), 26 (13.6%), and 14 (7.3%) participants indicated that their absenteeism was influenced by economic reasons, drunkenness, and preoccupation by sexual activities and violence respectively while the other 28 cited other reasons. However, there was a loud sentiment about the influence of political youthism in the conduct of the participants largely emanating from their community politics. One participant said;

“Ndinorovha kuchikoro nekuti tinenge tichiita marounds emusangano”
(I absent from school because I will be engaged in party activities)

The findings also show that 15 and 10 males and 31 and 16 females played truancy and were influenced respectively by various anger suppression and conflict management reasons. Most of the participants studied in the two-year research displayed a wide range of ill-adaptive effects like despair, apprehension, school failure, post-traumatic stress signs, and school disengagement amongst others. There were also sentiments to the effect that some participants played truancy because the infrastructure allowed. The locations of the schools were not strategic and appropriate enough for decent tuition. Another participant said;

“Hakusi kutiza chikoro, handiti hapana kuvharwa? Saka ndinongoenda muclub”
(It is not that I run away from school, since there is no perimeter wall, I simply cross to the night club)

There were 48% more females in truancy levels with 35 (+14 females) compared to 18 (+14 males). This difference has to be viewed in relation to the fact that there are more females motivated to absent from school by sexual factors than males. There were 21 females compared to five males. There were also more females (10) who drop out of school due to economic reasons than males (2). This could be attributed to cultural beliefs that males need more education than females.

**Number of extra-curriculum activities pursued**

An interesting finding was that youth who participated in extra-curricular activities especially sports showed low involvement in violence in public. The possible explanation for this finding was the fact that they interacted with the community and therefore had created some relationships and that they had perfected their art of communication through interaction.

The findings show that sporting activities were divided into two; football and karate, which is used for peacebuilding and violence-oriented respectively. Football had 33 (17.3%) and netball 60 (31.5%) while karate had 20 participants (10.5%) clearly confirming the proposition of the Social Learning theory. In the arts, there were 56 (29.4%) and 24 participants (12.6%) in the drama and painting groups respectively with more females pursuing soft extramural activities. There were also 41 (21.5) and 22 (11.5%) males and females respectively pursuing illegal activities, which were not identified.
Trend of school results during the final 2 academic years.

Fig. 4 School results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TY</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>HL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>Fail</td>
<td>Improve</td>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>Fail</td>
<td>Improve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Female</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On pupils’ academic performance, the study showed that there were 24 (12.6%), 40 (21.05%) and 31 (16.3%) participants at TY who passed, failed and improved respectively while there were 33 (17.3%), 36 (18.9%) and 27 (14.2%) participants at HL who also passed, failed and improved respectively. The results showed that the failure rate for both schools was way above pass and improvement rates. It also showed that the failure rate for males was higher than female participants. There were 58 (30.5%) pupils participating in after-school activities who improved their grades and exhibited a reduced amount of deviance.

Frequency of violence at home, school, and within peer groups per week

Fig. 6 Frequency of Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Peer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Violence statistics showed that there were 19 (2.8%) and 73 (11%) incidents daily and weekly respectively at home while 108 (16.2%) others were recorded elsewhere. In school, nine (1.3%) and 75 (11.3%) cases were recorded daily and weekly respectively across all age ranges while 111 (16.7%) cases were recorded in other situations whereas in peer groups, 19 (2.8%) and 100 (15.08%) cases were recorded daily and weekly respectively with 149 (22.4%) recorded in other situations. On violence at home, three participants confirmed the following:

“Kwedu kunorwiwa mazuva ose”
(At home, there are fights daily)

In total, there were 200, 195 and 268 violence cases recorded in homes, at school and at other undefined places respectively across all age groups. Males below 14 years and above 14 years had experienced 144 (21.7%) and 280 (42.2%) cases of violence respectively while females below 14 and above 14 years had also recorded 88 (13.2%) and 150 (22.6%) cases respectively during the same period as recorded after the post-test. Some of the common terms used to refer to fighting were:

“kukiyana, kumamisana, dhudhu, zvimbokoma”

Ever armed with weapons

Fig. 7: Weapon use
Females showed low involvement with the use or carrying of weapons at both stages of the study having recorded 47.9% against males’ 52.08% cases. The number of participants who confirmed having used/carried a weapon to school was 34 (17.8%) with 116 (61.05%) indicating a negative response while 38 (20%) were not sure. Participants who also responded affirmatively to having used a weapon at home were 35 (18.4%) with 132 (69.4%) responding negatively while 23 (12.1%) were also not sure. There were more females (4) who admitted to using weapons than males (1). One female participant said:

“Haa, ini ndinobaya, nescrew-driver, handitambise”
(I stab with a screw driver, I don’t threaten at all)

Frequency of smoking or taking drugs and sexual indulgence per week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School /week</th>
<th>Home/week</th>
<th>Sex Ind/week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onc</td>
<td>Sev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Male</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14 Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+14 Female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Females exhibited high involvement in drug and alcohol related activities. Results for the school show that there were 52 (27.3%) and 70 (36.8%) participants who took drugs once and several times a week while the other 27 (14.2%) took at other times respectively. With regards to home situation, 59 (31.05%) and 88 (46.3%) indicated that they did drugs once and several times a week respectively while the other 11 did at other unspecified times. Interestingly, the results show that one female and four males below 13 years of age and an average 49 (49%) males and 33 (36.6%) females had used drugs at home.

The research also showed that there were 39 and 26 participants across all ages who had indulged in sex at least once and several times a week respectively with 95 others having indulged under some unspecified circumstances. The study also showed that on average, there were four under 14 years age and 24 over 14 years age range females who engaged in sexual intercourse once a week.

There were 14 males taking drugs once a week at school compared to 28 females, while there were also 16 males taking drugs once a week at home compared to 33 females during the same period. However, statistics for male drug takers both at home and school were almost double those of females.

In respect to sex, females engaged in sex almost 80% more than male participants. During the second year of the study, 10 girls were lost after falling pregnant. This subsequently reduced the participants from 200 to 190.

DISCUSSION

Global studies show that these results are in line with general trends that indicate that the differences between boys and girls are gradually closing with respect to participation in violence. Partaking in extramural activities by pupils occasionally expedited attachment to the school and also improved family relationship. Most of the extramural activities built relationships between the pupils and the school authorities and between the pupils and their parents since the activities bring joy and entertainment in the communities. However, some activities like karate exposed students to some form of violence so much so that they copied and reproduced it as argued by Bandura in the Social Learning theory.

There was a noticeable effect on the risk behaviours of the ages below 13 females as they were more vulnerable to external influences than their male counterparts. One probable justification of this result could include the fact that younger children are more amenable to intervention. Links between exposure to and show of hostility,
violence and negative educational outcomes are well documented. The study showed that family support played a significant part in guarding against pupils’ violence. In aggressive or low-support communities, peer deviance connection resulted in a worsening violence trajectory.

The most fascinating outcome from the in-depth study of the 2013-2015 data is the solid positive relationship between pupils’ exposure to violence and their real participation in violence. The findings of the study show that pupils’ exposure to violence is a risk factor. Therefore, this explains why components of the Social Learning theory have been applied as the guiding theory for the study. Formal and conventional school programs supported by family can meaningfully lessen the type and magnitude of violent and aggressive behaviours. The studies also showed that aggressive and violent behaviour are exceedingly and unreasonably predominant amongst school-aged urban pupils and have an undesirable bearing on educational accomplishment.

Culture has always played a part in the level of community violence to which pupils are exposed. In Zimbabwe, there has been serious impunity with regards to violence perpetrators so much so that it has been seen by most pupils as a noble practice to persecute others. Prolonged exposure to violence was proved to have an adverse effect on different facets of child development. Most pupils raised in urban settings with notable intensities of overpopulation, poverty and violence displayed a wide range of ill-adaptive effects, which include internalizing signs like despair, apprehension, school failure, and school disengagement.

While community violence exposure has been associated by various scholars (Fieldman, 2009, Basch, 2011, and David-Ferdon and Simon, 2014) with diminishing attention, deteriorating intellectual performance and regressions in school achievement, the study has also established other factors like family stability and inter-parent relationships, community interactions and how social services’ provision allow people to relate. Others are the attitudes of the school authorities, school policies that criminalise the traditional beating of pupils by teachers, accessibility to immoral material and over-populated communities with mixed cultures and social practices.

The Social Learning theory can be expounded in terms of the give-and-take relations between behavioural, intellectual and environmental effects. Similarly, the solid positive links detected for exposure to violence and participation in violence in the 2 schools’ pupils points to the fact that violence is acquired by seeing others and reproducing their behaviours. Bandura’s assertions are also evident in Goldstein's (1991) Familial Modeling theory which asserts that a person who might have been physically abused during childhood, assaults peers.

CONCLUSION

It is the study’s conclusion that pupils’ exposure to violence is a risk factor. Deducing from Bandura’s Social Learning theory, it is evident that most participants despite the fact that their enrolment is tainted by other factors, their behaviours are shaped by what they experience on a daily basis. It is also concluded that extramural activities build relationships between the pupils and the school authorities and between the pupils and their parents. Their encouragement could see an improved learning environment provided they are closely and sincerely monitored. From the findings especially on the behaviours of the participants below age 13, it is concluded that age and maturity do play a significant role in how pupils perceive violence as a solution to their challenges. Similarly, age also shapes and refines how pupils sometimes make decisions. It has become a culture in Zimbabwe for pupils who are also defined as youth to regularly engage in violence as a solution to grievances. Resultantly, this has adversely affected education results across the board. It is also concluded that while violence influences education badly, there are also several other factors and effects related to the problem.
REFERENCES


Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ); (2013), *Constitution of Zimbabwe*, Harare, Printflow.


United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); (2007). *Safe schools and learning environment: How to prevent and respond to violence in refugee schools*, Geneva, UNHCR.