# Is Violence against Children Preventable?

Findings from the Good Schools Study summarized for general audiences





Raising Voices

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# Introduction

## Background

Violence against children (VAC) carries lasting negative impacts on physical and mental health, leading to increased risk of low educational attainment (UNICEF 2006). While current, nationally representative data on rates of VAC in Uganda is yet to be published, our research in Luwero district shows that VAC—particularly in schools—is widespread and affects the majority of children. Across East African schools, VAC is a common way of disciplining and intimidating children, with half of children in Kenya and Tanzania reporting cases of school violence (UNICEF 2011, 2012).

Corporal punishment has been prohibited by the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) in Uganda since

1997, and since 2016, has become illegal. However, our research in study schools shows that over 90% of children primarily aged 11-14 years still report physical violence from school staff in their lifetimes, 88% report being caned, and 8% report

We define VAC as "the intentional use of physical, sexual, or psychological force or power, threatened or actual, against a child that either results in or has high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation." (Pinheiro, 2006)

severe violence such as being burned, choked, cut or severely beaten (Devries et al. 2013b). Marginalized children, such as those with disabilities, may be at even greater risk of school violence (Devries et al. 2014).

Despite the high levels of reported VAC, rigorously evaluated interventions to prevent VAC in schools in low and middle-income settings have been severely lacking. The Good School Toolkit, developed by Raising Voices (www.raisingvoices.org), is one such intervention.

This report summarizes findings from the Good Schools Study (GSS), a cluster randomized controlled trial (RCT) assessing an intervention (The Good School Toolkit) aimed at reducing violence against children in schools in a central district in Uganda. Most of the results presented here have been published in peer reviewed journals, and are available at www.raisingvoices.org/good-school/.

The Good School Toolkit was developed and implemented by Raising Voices, a Ugandan non-governmental organization (NGO) working to prevent violence against women and children. The RCT was led by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) and the University College London — Institute of Education in collaboration with Makerere University and Raising Voices (Devries et al. 2015a). The study compares two groups: schools that received the Good School programming (intervention schools or Good Schools) and those where the Toolkit was not implemented (control schools).





Following 18 months of Good School intervention, findings from this study show that violence against children in intervention schools was significantly reduced (Devries et al. 2015a):

- Students in Good Schools were 42% less likely to experience physical violence from a school staff member.
- In intervention schools, 50% fewer teachers (compared to control) report using physical violence against students.
- The Toolkit promoted students' identification with their school, as well as their sense of safety and belonging at school.

The intervention was effective at preventing violence against diverse groups of children, including boys, girls and those with a disability. The findings of this RCT demonstrate that reduction of violence against children is not only possible, but can be achieved in a relatively short period of time (18 months) and with limited resources. The intervention is led by teachers and students at the school and does not require any additional investment of resources except an initial in-depth introduction, periodic oversight and access to peer support.



Photo credit: Henry Vanderspek.



## What is the Good School Toolkit?



The goal of the Toolkit is to prevent VAC at schools by influencing the operational culture of the school itself (see page 7 for more details). It is a six-step process containing about 60 activities coordinated at the school level by two teacher 'protagonists', two student representatives and two school-affiliated community members, with additional activities engaging parents and the community as a whole. The intervention is designed to help schools

navigate a process of change that takes on average 18 months. The six steps are designed to build upon one another based on the transtheoretical model of behavior change, which helps understand the process an individual goes through when contemplating, preparing for, and acting on and maintaining changes in their behavior (Prochaska & Velicer 1997). Each school is encouraged to involve a wide range of stakeholders in each stage of this process. For more detais see www.raisingvoices.org/good-school/

#### step one Your Team & Network

Schools identify key protagonists at school and create their Good School Committee to build school-wide support for the process (pre-contemplation)

#### step two Preparing for Change

Baseline measurements gather information on each schools' starting point, and school leaders cultivate interest among parents, the community and local education officials (contemplation)

### step three Good Teachers & Teaching

A school-wide reflection on teacher-student relationships provides a renewed sense of teacher roles, increased professional support, and new approaches for positive student engagement (preparing for action)

### step four Positive Discipline

Schools reflect on how violence manifests and establish a new school culture by exploring positive disciplinary methods to create students who believe in themselves (action)

### step five Good Learning Environment

Schools reflect on what a good learning environment looks like and work with all stakeholders to foster a psychological sense of safety and inclusion (maintenance of action)

### step six Good Administration & the Future

The work of the preceding steps is celebrated and consolidated through reflection and transfer of leadership to the school administration (consolidation of gains)

The Toolkit is currently being rolled out at scale in over 750 schools across Uganda, with an additional 5,000 schools being exposed to Toolkit materials. It is available to the public at www.raisingvoices.org, along with additional materials, tools, and videos of the Toolkit in action.





## How the Toolkit Works



When we developed the Toolkit, our hypothesis was that the ultimate product ought to achieve the following four outcomes:

#### Elevate status of students in the eyes of their teachers.

The Toolkit would present opportunities, activities and processes through which teachers would come to see their students' aspirations, acknowledge their humanity and recognize the important role they play in helping students realize their full potential.

## Improve students' and teachers' sense of belonging and connectedness to their school.

The Toolkit would present opportunities for students and teachers to participate, address peer-topeer relationships and, through practical everyday activities, create opportunities for them to play a meaningful role in how their school is governed.

#### Encourage a sense of ownership of the process.

The Toolkit would put students and teachers in leadership and decision-making roles, to create a sense of responsibility towards other members of school and foster improved feelings of competency.

#### Engage the parents and the community of the school for support.

The Toolkit would provide structural ideas for engaging parents and local officials, involve them in the unfolding process and create an opportunity to contribute their ideas or simply articulate their endorsement.

The Good School Toolkit uses practical ideas and tools to help educators and students work together to create more fulfilling schools. It presents ideas and suggestions for activities that foster systemic change in the operational culture of schools and creates a violence-free environment conducive to learning. The Toolkit seeks to influence the operational culture of the school through

#### four main entry-points:

- (1) Teachers to students relationship
- (2) Peer-to-peer relationship
- (3) Students and teachers relationship to the school
- (4) Parents and community members relationship to the school

The Toolkit also includes learning materials that explain complex ideas in popular format and peer learning processes that lead to exploration of new ideas. It also proposes experiments (such as Student's Court and Behavior Contracts) that enable students to gain direct experience with core concepts such as justice, responsibility and consequences for behavior.



### Operational Culture of the School

The Good School Toolkit builds on the idea that the operational culture of the school – the way in which stakeholders experience, behave and feel at their school (Cohen 2006) – impacts the level of violence children are experiencing in their learning environments. A school's operational culture is a delicate ecosystem influenced by teachers, parents, community members, students and other children, all of whom are directly influenced by each other's respective histories and the socio-economic environment in which the school is situated. The operational culture is shaped by the beliefs, shared values, behaviors, norms and experiences of all actors involved. The interpretation of the operational culture is further influenced by subjective characteristics through which each child navigates their learning environment, such as age, sex, cognitive capacity, health, nutritional status or history of violence at home. Recognition of the interplay, and leveraging the aggregate effect of all of these, and other such components, on the reality of the school, is the key driver behind the change promoted by the Good School Toolkit. In this sense, each implementation of the Toolkit is a unique experience with a common underlying process.

## Theoretical Foundations

### Ecological Framework

The design of the Good School Toolkit is based upon a holistic analysis that considers the flow of influence towards the learner based on all levels of influence — individual, interpersonal, community and society. The Toolkit thus begins from a student's experience of school and works outwards from a child-centric point of view on what a high quality school experience would look like, and aims to engage each of these levels in order to affect change across all spheres.



## Transtheoretical Model of Change

A key strength of the Good School Toolkit is its recognition that each school will be ready and able to implement the Toolkit at its own pace. The six steps discussed above are thus sequenced according to the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska & Velicer 1997)—used as a framework for individual level change (pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation for action, and maintenance and consolidation of action)—which is scaled to the school and community levels in the Toolkit.





# The Good Schools Study

### Methods

The Good Schools Study utilized a two arm cluster randomized controlled trial (RCT) with randomization carried out at the school level. The study was conducted in primary schools in Luwero District in central Uganda. As a large, central district comprised of urban trading centers and rural sub-districts, Luwero is broadly representative of a typical Ugandan district.

- A total of 42 primary schools were randomly selected from Luwero to be a part of the study; 21 of these schools were randomly allocated to get the intervention (Good Schools).
- All students in Primary 5, 6, and 7 and all staff members who spoke either English or Luganda and could provide informed consent were deemed eligible to participate.
- Parents were informed of the study and were given the option to opt-out their child, while headmasters, staff and students all provided individual consent.
- The intervention was implemented from September 2012 to April 2014, with control schools waitlisted to receive the Toolkit following the study.

Data were collected via two waves of cross-sectional surveys, the first at baseline before the Good School program started (n=3,706 students, 577 staff) and again at follow-up after 18 months of programming (n=3,820 students, 591 staff and 828 parents). Student characteristics were evenly distributed across each study arm at baseline, indicating high comparability between arms.

#### Table 1: Sample Characteristics at Baseline

Students	Staff
• Aged 13 (11 – 14)	• Average age 35
• 52% female, 48% male	• 59% female, 41% male
• 7% reported some disability	• 63% reported being married
<ul> <li>54% had experienced physical violence from school staff in the past week</li> </ul>	

#### Source: Devries et al. 2015a

Additional qualitative data was collected at follow-up through interviews with 71 students, 33 teachers, eight head teachers and 21 parents, with two additional focus groups conducted with teachers from two rural and two urban schools, respectively. From 8 of the 21 schools that received the Good School intervention, 55 students and 25 teachers were sampled for qualitative interviews and 16 students and 8 teachers interviewed from 8 control schools. Themes discussed included participants' views of the school, the relationship between students and teachers, experiences of learning and teaching, students' relationship with peers, discipline, rewards and praise, students' treatment and experiences of corporal punishment both in and out of school, and feedback on the Good School Toolkit itself.

Additional process evaluation and economic analysis was conducted to better understand what aspects of the Toolkit are most important in achieving impact, as well as associated costs.<sup>1</sup>



1 These pieces are currently under review for publication. They will be made available at: www.raisingvoices.org/good-school/

## Baseline Levels of Violence

At baseline, reports of physical and emotional violence from school staff and peers were incredibly high, reflecting the pervasive nature of VAC in Uganda (Devries et al. 2013a; Wandera et al. 2017). For instance, the experience of physical violence from teachers is near universal—93% of boys and 94% of girls—underscoring the urgency to address school violence against children. Sexual violence - which includes both forced/coerced sex and unwanted touching/sexualized comments - may have been underreported because of the potential stigma associated with these experiences. Secondary analysis of GSS data suggests that innovations such as the sealed-envelope method (SEM) could potentially mitigate underreporting of sexual abuse among youth (Barr et al. 2017).

Percentage of girl and boy students (age 11-14) who report experiencing violence from school staff in their lifetime



Percentage of students who report experiencing violence from peers in their lifetime



Further links have been identified between children witnessing intimate partner violence (IPV) in the home and VAC experiences; among boys and girls who report witnessing IPV (26%), nearly all had also experienced violence themselves from parents or other perpetrators. This underscores that many children in this context experience overlapping violence and that IPV and VAC frequently co-occur (Devries et al. 2017b). Additional exploratory factor analysis further investigates the relationships between experiences of different types of violence, individual student characteristics, and dimensions of resilience - the ability to adapt and maintain positive functioning in the face of adverse conditions-in students who participated in the study (Namy et al. 2017).







### Referral System

Potential risks related to the intervention itself were minimal, but we anticipated that during survey data collection we would identify children in need of support from child protective services. Children were informed during the consent process that their details might be passed on to child protection officers if they were thought to be in imminent danger. Referrals were based on predefined criteria agreed with service providers, related to the severity and timing of violence reported. All children were offered counseling regardless of what they disclosed. Any adverse effects of the intervention itself were monitored during regular visits to schools by the dedicated study monitoring officer.

Based on extensive discussions with local partners, it was decided that for child safety reasons, cases of violence should not be reported to senior teachers or headmasters within the same school but instead be referred directly to local service providers. The strategy outlined what constituted a case in need of referral, with consideration of local norms, the prevalence of different forms of severe violence, the capacity of receiving agencies, and Ugandan law. The baseline referral protocol also outlined to which agency cases would be referred, feasible timeframes for following up referrals considering the structure of the local child protection system, and key personnel and agencies in different sub-counties where the study was taking place (Child et al. 2014).

In addition, all children interviewed in the GSS baseline and endline survey were offered counseling and referred if needed. During baseline a trained study counselor was provided. Although this would not normally be available in the study setting, it was deemed the most appropriate means of providing psychosocial support for children who disclosed violence (see Child et al. 2014 and Devries et al. 2015b for a full report on the development and use of referral protocols). At endline a local child protection agency was supported to provide counseling and referral services.

## Exposure to the Toolkit

At the time of follow-up, **81%** of students in the intervention schools had completed the previous grade in the same school that they were currently in, and **89%** of staff had worked in their current school for at least one year, suggesting high levels of exposure to at least some intervention activities within Good Schools. There was one incident of contamination (control schools being exposed to intervention materials and activities) wherein an intervention school invited three neighboring control schools to an event about the Toolkit. These control schools did not engage in further activities, nor did they receive support from Raising Voices during the study.

### Strengths & Limitations

There are several components of this study that both strengthen the results and increase confidence that the impacts observed can be attributable to the Good School Toolkit:

- The randomized controlled design increases confidence that any observed program effects are attributable to the Toolkit (rather than school-level factors or external events).
- A high level of comparability between control and intervention schools was measured at baseline (with regards to students' previous experience of violence, average age, prevalence of disabilities and number of meals eaten per day on average).
- Low levels of contamination (spread of Good School Toolkit materials into control schools).
- Very high response rates among schools, with **100%** agreeing to participate and no schools dropping out of the study.
  - Very high response rates among students, with 93% interviewed at endline. Students were



asked to self-report experience of *specific* acts of violence, which is the best way to ask about violence exposure.

Some limitations to the study should also be noted. For questions surrounding sexual violence, stigma attached to the experience and perpetration of this form of violence may have led to underreporting. Similarly, not all students may have felt able to disclose other experiences of violence that happened to them, so our figures should be interpreted as conservative estimates.



## Overview of Report

The findings of this study are organised and discussed based on the following entry points through which our model hypothesized that the operational culture of schools could be influenced:

#### 1. Teacher-Student Relationships

The first section of the report will look at the overall reduction in staff violence against students and will discuss how the Toolkit is effective for different groups of students (boys, girls, and students with disabilities). This section will also explore new relationship dynamics between students and their teachers that emerged in Good Schools, as well as shifts in attitudes surrounding violence as a form of discipline.

#### 2. Peer-to-Peer Relationships

The second section will highlight how the Good School Toolkit was also effective at decreasing peer-to-peer violence in schools. We will examine reported improvements in peer interactions, as well as how the Toolkit activities were successful at fostering a participatory environment where students could work together to improve each other's behaviors and overall educational experience.

#### 3. Student & Teacher Relationships to the School

The third section will summarize findings on relationships of teachers and students to their schools. This includes a look at enhanced participation in school processes that affect the lives of students and teachers, the increased connectedness — or sense of wellbeing and belonging at school — that students from Good Schools experienced, and the secondary outcomes on student learning and mental health. This section will also look at how the attitudes of students and teachers regarding physical punishment in schools changed throughout the course of the intervention.

#### 4. Parent & Community Relationships to the School

The final section will briefly explore how the Good School Toolkit was able to influence the way that parents and the community view the school, as well as how they view VAC itself. We then examine how the Good School Toolkit impacts community attitudes related to VAC. Finally, we explore how the Good School Toolkit may be seen to influence parent perceptions of their children's schools.

Except where specified, all data presented are from the endline survey, after the Good School Toolkit was implemented. Only findings that attained statistical significance are presented in this report (unless otherwise noted).





# Teachers to Students Relationship

The relationship between teachers and their students is the primary entry point for influencing the operational culture of the school. In this section we report on the Toolkit's impact on:

- Student reports of experiences of violence from staff
- Staff reports of their use of violence as a way of disciplining students
- Severity of violence experienced by students
- Violence experienced by students with a disability
- Gendered experiences of violence
- The 'dose-response' effect of the GST
- Social acceptability of physical violence as a form of punishment among students and staff
- Power dynamics between teachers and their students in the classroom

Quantifying experience of violence is a complicated exercise. Given that the MoES has prohibited corporal punishment at school and the recent amendment of the Children Act has made it illegal, many adults require assurance of confidentiality and anonymity before they will engage in such discussions. We used the best tools available for asking about experiences of violence, and have contributed to additional research into how to ask about violence in an appropriate manner. In this section, we have stated endline reports from students and teachers side by side. Both reports indicate that the Toolkit was successful in significantly reducing physical violence against students from staff. Additional evidence presented in this section shows that the more the Toolkit is used, the more effective it can be.

The Good School Toolkit was highly successful in its goals to reduce overall levels of staff-perpetrated physical violence towards students in school and to improve relationships between students and their teachers.

The Good School Toolkit reduces physical violence against children from school staff by





# A. Student reports of violence against them from staff



Asking young people about their experience of violence raises many issues.<sup>3</sup> The ethical concerns about bringing up traumatic or painful experiences as well as ambiguities of generalized responses can make the exercise daunting and unreliable. However without asking young people about their experience, it is hard to quantify the nature of the problem and devise practical solutions. We chose to break down the experience into a series of specific questions about violent acts experienced (see examples in box below), with the aim of making the recall process more accurate.

# The Good School Toolkit reduced experiences of physical violence

Percentage of students who report experiencing physical violence from staff in the past week



Snapshot from the Trial: The Good School Toolkit works to reduce physical violence in schools! The reduction of physical violence in schools at the hands of school staff was a primary outcome measured in the Good School Toolkit RCT—and was its biggest success. Our analysis shows that the Good School Toolkit effectively reduced students' risk of experiencing past week physical violence from a teacher by **42%** (odds ratio (OR) 0.40, 95% CI 0.25—0.62, p-value<0.0001), and this result was statistically significant. To our knowledge, no other school-based program to reduce violence against children in schools has demonstrated such a large effect size.

Source: Devries et al. 2015a



3 For more on the ethical considerations for asking children about violence in resource poor settings, see Devries et al. 2015b



#### Questions used to assess experiences of physical violence included:

"Has a school staff member: hurt you or caused pain to you? Slapped you with a hand on your face or head as punishment? Hit you by throwing an object at you? Hit you with a stick? Caned you? Kicked you? Burnt you as punishment? Taken your food away from you as punishment? Choked you? Tried to cut you purposefully with a sharp object? Severely beat you up?"

Source: Devries et al. 2013b

At both baseline and endline, caning (using a stick to strike a child as a form of punishment) was found to be the most common act of physical violence from school staff reported by both boys and girls in the past week. While caning was by no means the only form of physical violence reduced in schools as a result of the Toolkit, it did experience significant and notable reductions along with other forms of severe physical punishment.

## Percentage of students who report being caned by school staff in the past week



### A Note on Emotional & Sexual Violence

The Good Schools Study also sought to assess impact on reduction of emotional and sexual violence against students by school staff. While overall trends did suggest fewer cases of both emotional and sexual violence in Good Schools, reporting of sexual violence was too low to draw any statistically significant conclusions, so data on sexual violence in isolation are not presented in this report. In general, fewer students in Good Schools reported emotional violence; this association was not statistically significant over the past week, but was significant over the past term. The most commonly reported specific acts of emotional violence were being cursed, insulted, shouted at or humiliated. Student reports of emotional violence from peers over the past week and past term were found to be lower in Good Schools. There was some suggestion that the use of the Toolkit was associated with an increase in reports of cases of peer sexual violence among girls, but case numbers are low and this finding should be interpreted with caution. A plausible explanation for this increase is that the intervention has created an environment where they feel more able to disclose their experiences (Devries et al. 2017a).



# B) Staff Reports of Perpetrating Violence



# The Good School Toolkit reduced staff perpetration of physical violence

In addition to student reports, we collected data from teachers and school staff regarding their perpetration of violence against their students. Teachers in Good Schools were less likely to report perpetrating physical violence against students in the past week, matching up with the reduced reports from students and highlighting the reduced risk of teacher-perpetrated violence in schools as a result of the Good School Toolkit.

Percentage of staff who report perpetrating physical violence against students in the past week





# C) Severity of Staff Violence in Schools

The Good School Toolkit reduced the severity of violence where VAC did occur

Percentage of students (who experienced severe violence) who report sustaining an injury (severe or moderate) from school staff in the past week



While the Good School Toolkit did not achieve a 100% reduction in the risk of violence, those students who *did* report experiencing physical or sexual violence in the past week experienced it with significantly less severity. Among students who experienced violence, those attending Good Schools reported fewer injuries — both moderate and severe. Although complete rejection of violent discipline takes time, these findings suggest that reductions in both frequency and intensity of violence can be realized within program timeframes.

Questions to assess injuries sustained by physical violence — an indicator of violence severity — included measures to assess both moderate and severe injuries. For moderate injuries, questions included: "You had bruising/swelling/bleeding/cuts?" "It was difficult to sit down on your buttocks?" "It was difficult to walk?" "You had to stay home from school?" For severe injuries, additional questions included: "You lost consciousness, even temporarily?" "You suffered a dislocated, sprained, fractured or broken bone?" "You had any other serious injury?" "You had to get medical attention, for example from the health worker or hospital?"



## D) Attitudes towards Violence in Schools

The Good School Toolkit reduced acceptance of physical violence in schools among both teachers and students

Staff acceptance of physical punishment in school (scored 0-9)



Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review

#### Measuring Acceptability of Violence in Schools

We measured staff acceptability of physical punishment on a scale of 0 (low acceptability) to 9 (high acceptability). Staff acceptance of physical punishment in school was based on agreement with items such as: *"Students who misbehave should be physically disciplined"* and *"Sometimes teachers must hit students to make them learn."* Student acceptance was based on agreement with items such as: *"Teachers must hit students to make them listen"* and *"Students should fear their teachers."* Agreement measures were: *"All the time"* or *"Most of the time"* (scored as 1); *"Sometimes"* or *"Never"* (scored as 0). Scores are summed and modeled as a continuous variable.

Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review





Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review





### Snapshot From the Trial: Acceptability of School Violence

Looking at overall attitudes towards violence, we observed very strong evidence not only of reduced incidents of violence, but also of lower acceptance of physical punishment practices in intervention compared with control schools among students (adjusted mean difference: -1.51; 95%CI: -1.95 to -1.07, p<0.001) and staff (adjusted mean difference: -2.49; 95%CI: -3.15 to -1.84, p<0.001). These findings suggest that in addition to preventing violent behaviors, the Toolkit is also effective at shifting harmful social norms that tolerate violence as a means of disciplining students.

Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review



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# E) Toolkit Effects on Students with Disabilities



Students reporting disabilities are more vulnerable than those without and stand at an increased risk of violence. At baseline, girls with disabilities reported slightly more physical violence and considerably more sexual violence than girls reporting no disabilities (Devries et al. 2014). Baseline findings were similar for boys (but these were not statistically significant).

Percentage of girls with and without disabilities reporting lifetime physical violence and lifetime sexual violence (at baseline)



# The Good School Toolkit is effective at reducing violence for students with disabilities<sup>4</sup>

The Toolkit was effective at reducing violence for  $\boldsymbol{\mathit{all}}$  students, including those who reported some form of disability.

Percentage of all students (boys and girls) with and without disabilities who report experiencing physical violence in the past week from school staff





4 At baseline, disability was measured using a single question with multiple response options, and included domains of sight, hearing, mobility, speech and whether or not students had epilepsy. At follow up it was measured using the Washington Group short set: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/washingtorgroup/wg questions.htm



Snapshot From The Trial: Risk Factors for Violence against Students with Disabilities For almost every form of violence—physical, sexual and emotional violence by staff or peers students who report disabilities were more likely to experience violence than students who report no disabilities. Girls reporting disabilities show higher levels of victimization from a variety of forms of violence than peers who report no disability, and are **twice as likely** to have experienced sexual violence; boys reporting disabilities are also at increased risk (Devries et al. 2014).

The Toolkit was just as effective at preventing VAC for students who reported a disability. After the intervention, prevalence of past week physical violence from school staff was lower in intervention schools among children with disabilities (aOR=0.29), a similar comparable reduction to that experienced by students without any disabilities. While overall levels of violence remain higher among students with disabilities after the intervention, *all* students experienced a reduction in violence as a result of the Toolkit.

Source: Devries et al. 2017, under review



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# F) Gendered Analysis of the Toolkit's Impact



The Good School Toolkit reduced violence for both girls and boys

Percentage of girls and boys who experienced physical violence

from staff in the past week



Percentage of girls and boys who experienced caning from staff in the past week







Percentage of girls and boys (who experienced severe violence) who sustained an injury from school staff in the past week



The magnitude of reduction of violence is very large for both girls and boys. However, exploratory analyses suggest that the magnitude of reduction of physical violence from staff was larger in boys (OR 0.34, 95% CI 0.21–0.56) than for girls (OR 0.46, 95% CI 0.29–0.74; p for interaction=0.043) (Devries et al. 2017a). This could be explained by preliminary findings that girls were slightly less exposed to the Toolkit than boys and were a third more likely than boys to report physical violence from staff after the intervention, even when accounting for Toolkit exposure. There are a few reasons this could be the case:

a) Despite the intervention, teachers were perhaps still influenced by social norms that expected girls to be more submissive and subject to greater control.

- b) The gendered household responsibility placed on girls (for chores and caretaking) could expose them to additional situations where they are likely to be punished, such as arriving late at school or missing lessons in class.
- c) Long-term gendered norms may be making girls hesitant to participate in—and therefore getting lower exposure to—Toolkit activities, beyond what is measured in our exposure score.

Further investigation is needed to determine why the Toolkit sees less effect for girls than boys, and this issue points to the need to augment activities that create discussions about gender and behaviour that perpetuate these social norms. Overall, it is highly encouraging that the Toolkit is ultimately very effective for both girls and boys.

Source: Devries et al. 2017a



# G) The Dose-Responsive Effect of the Toolkit



The Good School Toolkit was found to be "dose-responsive", meaning that more intensive intervention resulted in greater impacts

Percentage of students who experienced physical violence from staff in the past week (broken down by level of exposure to the Toolkit)



Preliminary process evaluation analysis suggests that the Good School Toolkit had a "dose-response" effect, meaning the more that students and teachers engaged with Toolkit activities, the greater effect it had on reducing violence in schools. Among those students exposed to the Toolkit, students who reported more exposure to the Toolkit also reported less violence from school staff at endline. This implies that more engagement with Toolkit activities results in less violence.<sup>5</sup>

Students with more exposure to the Toolkit were found to be **24%** less likely to experience physical violence from school staff. This reduction was observed even when other reasons why these students may be experiencing violence are taken into account, and irrespective of which intervention school they attended. Similarly, teachers who have more exposure to the Toolkit were **23%** less likely to perpetrate violence against children in schools in the last term. These findings are very promising and indicate that the greater the uptake of the Toolkit, the more violence against children in schools can be prevented. This adds to the evidence that the intervention worksl



5 Student exposure was measured based on responses to 10 questions; for this report we present by the following categories: highly exposed answered positively on 9 or more, less exposed answered positively to 7 or less. The GSS process evaluation paper was under review at the time of this report. All GSS papers will be made available at www.raisingvoices.org/goodschools at time of publication.

# H) Shifts in power dynamics between teachers and students

Qualitative analysis revealed how the Good School Toolkit may have helped to reduce an authoritarian approach to teaching (Kyegombe et al. 2016). In this context (as in many others), teachers are typically the ultimate decision-makers in classrooms. They assess wrongdoing, choose modes of punishment, and discipline students when they are perceived to be misbehaving or violating other classroom rules as set forth by the teacher. This role breeds an authoritarian teaching style that leaves students with little room to take part in the decisions in their school environment that affect them the most, thus generating fear and distance between educator and learner and potentially negatively impacting student learning.



Through the practices brought into classrooms via the Good School Toolkit, students noted a shift in this power dynamic. For example children shared that:

- Introducing ideas about positive discipline created the possibility for students to participate more and take responsibility for their actions.
- Suggestion Boxes introduced through the Toolkit enabled students to make comments about how their learning environment could be improved, for example through building pit latrines, constructing teachers' quarters, or providing school meals, making the school safer and more conducive to better educational outcomes.
- Student's Court, Wall of Fame, and other such innovations enabled students to use their voice and report feeling 'more listened to' as a result. In this way, students could play an active role in the construction of their educational spaces, which may help to reduce fear and improve levels of comfort in school environments.

We as children now have a collective voice...we [are] no longer scared to ask teachers [for what we want] for fear that we will be [verbally] abused or [that the] teacher will say no. We have come to realize that the teachers are now highly concerned to respond to us, they are no longer as tough as they were before.

- Male student, Good School





### Key Findings: Teacher-Student <u>Relationship</u>

- Students in schools that had received the Good School intervention experienced a significantly lower risk of physical and emotional violence from staff than students in control schools.
- For students who *did* experience violence from school staff, the number of injuries reported an indicator of violence severity was lower in Good Schools.
- The Good School Toolkit was found to improve relationships between students and their teachers beyond violence reduction by shifting many teachers away from an authoritarian teaching style.
- The Good School Toolkit was effective at reducing violence against girls as well as for boys.
- The Good School Toolkit was effective in reducing physical violence in schools against students reporting disabilities.
- The Good School Toolkit was found to be doseresponsive, meaning that students and teachers who were more exposed to Toolkit activities were less likely to experience or perpetrate staff violence, respectively.
- Not only did the Good School Toolkit reduce physical violence in schools, but it also reduced the acceptability of violence as a means of discipline among both teachers and students.





2 Peer-to-Peer Relationship

The Good School Toolkit achieved success in reducing peer-to-peer violence in schools.

This section will explore the Good School Toolkit's impact on different forms of peer-to-peer violence reported by students.

Specifically, we will examine the Toolkit's impact on:

- Prevalence of physical violence between peers
- Prevalence of emotional violence between peers
- Effects on peer-to-peer relationships as reported by students

The Good School Toolkit is associated with significant reductions in both physical and emotional violence between peers







6 Reduction in peer-to-peer violence did not reach statistical significance in the past week, but did reach statistical significance in the past term (Control: 17%, Intervention: 14%)



Percentage of students who report experiencing physical violence from peers in the past week



Percentage of students who report experiencing emotional violence from peers in the past week



## A Note on Peer-to-Peer Sexual Violence

The Good Schools Study also sought to assess impact on reduction of sexual violence against students by their peers. As with sexual violence perpetrated by staff, the number of reported cases where peers were the perpetrators over the past week and past term were few in number, and no clear pattern of effect emerged. As sexual violence is a sensitive issue and often largely underreported, particularly among such a young participant pool, rates of sexual violence in the sample were too low to draw any statistically significant conclusions. Data on sexual violence alone between peers is therefore not presented in this report (note, however, that sexual violence is included in data on "any violence").



## B) Improved Relationships between Peers



The Good School Toolkit fosters more emotionally connected and non-violent dynamics between peers



Qualitative analysis reveals that among students in Good Schools, there was a general sense that the prevalence of fighting between students — whether physical fighting or bickering/arguing — had decreased (Kyegombe et al. 2016). Among teachers that reported this change, they attributed it to the Good School Toolkit's ability to help students reflect on what a 'good student' is and is not supposed to do, and to some extent to the presence of the Student Court and Student Committees. Findings suggest that these structures allow students to play a more active role in constructing their own relationships and monitor each other's behavior beyond the confines of prefect structures — a system in which senior students are authorized to enforce discipline — that indeed existed in some schools. When students are given the opportunity to resolve their own interpersonal disputes in a structured setting like the Student Court or Student Committees, they also obviate the need for harsh discipline from teachers, which can potentially contribute to feelings of safety and well-being at school.

We teachers are no longer bothered with the minor cases that Student's Committee... like so and so has stolen my pen...The Student Court has a judge, secretary and also members. They meet to discuss the offense... and bring the "criminals" and ask them to defend themselves, in the same way as it is done in the normal court. So the students in the Court find a way of reconciling both parties... They will think of an appropriate punishment that the student has to do...they try to solve the case without coming to us teachers. We only intervene if it is a serious case ... or if they fail to handle it in the Court.

- Female teacher, rural intervention school





Key Findings: Teacher-Student Relationship

- The Good School Toolkit effectively reduced peer-to-peer emotional violence over the past week, and was seen to reduce peer-to-peer physical violence over the past term.
- The Toolkit allowed students to play a more active role in constructing their own social relationships and improved feelings of wellbeing among students.
- Key structures within the Toolkit that facilitated this shift were the Suggestion Boxes and the Student Courts.



# 3 Students and Teachers Relationship with the School

The Good School Toolkit was successful at improving student and teacher relationships to the school, meaning that it strengthened the sense of engagement, voice and connection to the school among teachers, students, and parents within the surrounding community.

This section will explore the Good School Toolkit's impact on these relationships to the school in a variety of forms.

Specifically, we will examine the Toolkit's impact on:

- Student connectedness to their school and its effects
- Student participation in school governance
- Students' mental health and learning outcomes
- Teachers' views on school climate

## Connection Matters!

Based on responses to survey questions around perceived belonging and safety in schools, students in Good Schools report stronger connection to their schools



# • A) School Connectedness

#### The Good School Toolkit increases school connectedness

One way that the Good School Toolkit affected student and teacher relationships to their school was through its impact on school connectedness — that is, a collective sense of well-being and attachment to the school. Based on responses to survey questions around perceived belonging and safety in schools, students in Good Schools reported stronger connection to their learning environments.

Student connectedness score (scored 0-15)



Measuring School Connectedness — A score for school-level connectedness (ranging from 0-15) was obtained by summing student responses to 5 items: "I feel that my teachers care about me." "I feel safe in school." "I feel like I belong at school." "I like to spend time at school." "I am scared of my teachers." While it may seem small, the difference in these scores was found to be statistically significant, showing that the Toolkit was effective at increasing school connectedness!

Source: Devries et al. 2015a

Snapshot From the Trial: Connection Matters! Student connectedness is important in its own right – the more safety and well-being that students report, the more confidence we have that the learning environment is a safe space to learn. The study found, however, that connection in schools matters beyond its intrinsic value. Connectedness at that school level was also associated with lower levels of violence from school staff. At baseline, we found that students in schools with higher levels of student connectedness had 36% lower odds of reporting violence from school staff (aOR 0.58, 95% CL: 0.25 to 0.91). While the reverse could also be the case - that those who do not experience violence are more likely to have higher levels of connectedness to their school – these findings demonstrate just how much connection really matters.

Source: Knight et al. 2015



## B) Student Participation

The Good School Toolkit strengthened participatory school environments and improved student participation in school governance

Students in Good Schools engage with a variety of activities that aim to strengthen the participatory nature of the school environment and increase student participation in school governance. Good School structures like the Wall of Fame, Suggestion Box, Student's Court and Student's Committees are means by which the Good School Toolkit creates a more participatory environment. While some students in control schools also reported that their school had a Wall of Fame or a Suggestion Box, these reports were low in number, and likely referred to similar structures that may have been in place but may not have had the same effects as the Good Schools structures, or it is possible that some students misunderstood the question.



#### Percentage of students responding positively to questions about Good School structures being in place

Source: Analysis of process evaluation data





Secondary Outcomes: Student Connectedness, Mental Health & Learning Outcomes In addition to student connectedness, two other secondary outcomes measured in the Good Schools Study were mental health status and learning outcomes. Assessments of baseline data showed a strong relationship between mental health difficulties and past-week experiences of violence perpetrated by both school staff (OR=1.58, 95% CI: 1.31 to 1.90) and peers (OR=1.81, 95% CI: 1.47 to 2.23). In addition, children with low school connectedness had 1.43 times (CI: 1.11 to 1.83) the odds of mental health difficulties compared to those with high school connectedness (Thumann et al. 2016).

Mental health status was measured using the Strengths & Difficulties Questionnaire (http://www.sdqinfo.com/), and learning outcomes were measured using scores on educational tests (see Goodman et al. 2000). All of these secondary outcomes were measured using instruments widely used and validated across a variety of international of settings. The Toolkit positively affected students' feelings of safety and wellbeing at school, but contrary to our hypotheses, the Toolkit did not affect student mental health outcomes or student educational test scores.

According to our theory of change, improvements in school wellbeing and reductions in mental health symptoms should precede improvements in educational outcomes. It is possible that, over the timeline of the intervention, these effects simply did not have the requisite time to materialize. We also note that both mental health symptoms and educational outcomes are likely to be associated with a range of socioeconomic, familial, and structural factors outside of school, which might not be amenable to a school-based violence prevention programme (or require more targeted activities to effectively address).



# C. Teachers' Perceptions of the School



The Good School Toolkit improved teachers' perceptions of school climate

Percentage of teachers who have positive perceptions of school climate



The Good School Toolkit led to a significant improvement in school staff members' perception of the school climate, including perceptions of support, respect and communication among staff and students. Although these differences may appear small, they are statistically significant and thus demonstrate meaningful improvements in the beginning stages of a longer term process of change (Kayiwa et al. 2017).




Key Findings: Student & teacher relationships to the school

- The Toolkit improved student's connection to their schools.
- While connection matters as an end in and of itself, findings go on to show that higher levels of student connectedness are also associated with lower prevalence of violence.
- The Good School Toolkit increased student participation in school governance and fostered participatory school environments.
- Teachers in Good Schools report more positive outlooks of school climate.



# 4 Parents and Community Members Relationship with the School

When teachers and school staff are able to engage with parents and community members, the effects of the Good School Toolkit extend beyond the school walls and spill into the surrounding social environments. Thus the program intentionally creates structures to reach parents and promote positive norms around non-violent discipline at the community level.

The Good Schools Study set out primarily to measure reductions in violence against children, as well as mental health and educational outcomes. However, secondary findings have allowed us to better understand how the Good School Toolkit was able to influence the operational culture of the school via its fourth entry point aimed at improving parents' and other community members' relationships to the school itself. While less conclusive than impacts observed for entry points one, two and three, several promising trends emerged, particularly regarding social acceptability of VAC within the community. Subsequent iterations of the Good School Toolkit have intensified community-level engagement to strengthen outcomes in this area.

This section will explore the Good School Toolkit's perceived effects on parent and community members' relationships to the school.

Specifically, we will examine the Toolkit's impact on:

- Parents' perceptions of the school culture
- Relationships between school staff and parents
- · Social acceptability of violence against children among parents

The Good School Toolkit significantly reduces parents' acceptance of violence against children in school and in the home





#### A) Parents' Perceptions of the School

### The Good School Toolkit improved parents' view of the school culture

While it was not the primary aim of the Good Schools Study, qualitative analysis speculated on some pathways through which the Good School Toolkit could potentially affect the relationships that parents have with their children's schools and with the way in which schools are governed (Kyegombe et al. 2016). Among the parents interviewed, most had heard of the Toolkit either through their children or by being invited to a Good School process, such as a school meeting on Toolkit practices. Those with children in intervention schools reported improved outlook of the teachers in those schools as a result of the Toolkit, thus increasing their confidence in the school itself. Many parents also reported an improved relationship with the school, with some reporting that they were consulted on decisions about new constructions at school, school fees and other school requirements, and students' overall welfare at school.



The teacher would only mind their own affairs and even the parents minded their own affairs. But now in case there is anything at school, we work together.

- Community Member

Ultimately, parents reported caring about their students' academic performance above all else. When they saw that their child's school was working with an NGO and that teachers were being trained in the Good School Toolkit, it signaled to them that things at the school were improving and that the teachers were acquiring skills to become better educators. Parents expressed approval that the Toolkit sought to improve relationships between students and their teachers, focusing on making students less fearful of their school environment, from which parents would expect better academic performance and improvements in behavior.



#### B) Teacher and Parent Relationships



The Good School Toolkit may have had some effect on improved relationships between teachers and parents in the surrounding community

Secondary analyses of quantitative data suggest that relationships between teachers and parents may have been improved through implementation of the Toolkit (Merrill et al. 2017b, *under review).* While these results did not reach statistical significance, positive trends are observed for both staff perceptions of their relationships with parents' perceptions of their relationships with school staff.

Percentage of staff who report having a good relationship with parents of their students



Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review

Percentage of parents who report having a good relationship with teachers at their students' schools





## C) Parents' Attitudes towards Violence in Schools

The Good School Toolkit reduced social acceptability of punishment among parents in the surrounding community

Acceptability of physical punishment in school

among parents (scored 0-12)



Measuring Acceptability of Violence among Parents — We measured the acceptability of physical punishment in school among parents on a scale of O (low acceptability) to 12 (high acceptability) based on agreement with items such as: *"Sometimes teachers must hit students to make them listen"* and *"Students who misbehave should be physically disciplined."* 

We then measured acceptability of physical punishment at home among parents on a scale of 0 (low acceptability) to 12 (high acceptability) based on agreement with items such as *"Sometimes parents must hit children to make them learn."* Scores were then summed and modeled as a continuous variable, with mean scores calculated by school to compare intervention vs. control schools.

Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review









Secondary Outcomes: Normative beliefs and acceptability of physical punishment The Toolkit significantly improved normative beliefs regarding the acceptability of physical punishment among parents (p<0.001). Acceptability of physical punishment in school was significantly lower in communities surrounding Good Schools compared with control schools (adjusted mean difference: -0.77; 95%CI: -0.89 to -0.66).

In addition, communities surrounding intervention schools were less likely to condone physical punishment in the home setting when compared to control communities (adjusted mean difference: -0.67; 95%CI: -0.80 to -0.54).

Source: Merrill et al. 2017b, under review





#### Key Findings: Parent & community relationships to the school \_\_\_\_

- Parents in communities surrounding Good Schools were less likely to accept physical punishment in schools.
- Parent relationships with teachers at their students' school may have been slightly improved through the intervention. While results are not statistically significant, qualitative evidence further suggests that the Toolkit improved the relationship between parents and Good Schools.



#### Conclusion



The Good Schools Study randomized controlled trial evaluated the effectiveness of the Good School Toolkit at preventing violence against students. Findings showed that it was highly effective at reducing violence against students in just 18 months. It achieves this goal through improving relationships and creating a safer psychological environment within which students are able to invest in their learning process, form healthier attachments to their teachers, better identify with their peers, and develop a sense of belonging at their school.

The Toolkit was shown to work for all groups of children including the most marginalized, such as those with disabilities — and was shown to have similar impacts on both girls and boys (even where found to be slightly more effective for boys). While violence against students still occurred after the intervention (31% for past week physical violence), a 42% reduction is an important change, particularly within the study time-frame. In addition, higher levels of exposure could potentially reduce levels of violence even further; the Toolkit had a "dose-responsive" effect, whereby increased exposure to Good School activities was associated with larger reductions in the risk of violence.

The core aim of the Toolkit was to prevent violence in schools, and as such, impacts on violence reduction are the most robust. Nonetheless, the four entry-point approach of the intervention saw other significant program effects. The study revealed that school connectedness — that is, a collective sense of well-being and attachment to the school reported by students — is associated with lower levels of violence from school staff, and that students exposed to the Toolkit reported feeling more connected to their schools. The intervention additionally led to reductions in peer-to-peer violence and improved relationships between the students themselves. Students in Good Schools were more likely to report feeling listened to by school staff, and increased participation in Good School activities was shown to reduce students' risk of violence. While fewer outcomes were assessed related to the fourth entry point (parent and community engagement to the school), we are encouraged by significant effects on decreasing social acceptability of physical punishment in surrounding communities.

The Toolkit is a low-cost, locally-developed approach, implementable by teachers and students and is currently being used at more than 750 schools in Uganda. This model can and should be adapted for contexts across the globe where it can be localized and led by each school with their own unique needs, vision for their students and operational culture. Further research will assess the sustainability of this approach, as well as the most cost-effective model for delivery at scale. The key takeaway from this study is that violence against children at school *is* preventable, and such prevention efforts can be implemented in a relatively short time period. By investing in practical, context-specific interventions, educators can create not only safe schools, but *good* schools, where investments will pay dividends beyond violence reduction.

# Violence against CHILDREN is PREVENTABLE!







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#### The following GSS publications are currently under review:

- 1. Devries, K., Kuper, H., Knight, L., Allen, E., Kyegombe, N., Banks, M., Kelly, S., Naker, D. (2017). Is the Good School Toolkit effective for reducing physical violence from school staff and peers towards primary school students with disabilities? A cluster-randomised controlled trial in Uganda.
- 2. Merrill, K.G. et al. (2017a). Why do school staff perpetrate physical violence against their students? A multilevel analysis of risk factors in Uganda.
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- 7. Washington Group Short set http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/washingtongroup/wg questions.htm



#### Because a ...



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