Violence in Schools: Prevalence, Impact, and Interventions

GABRIELA SMARRELLI, DONGYI WU, LINE BAAGO-RASMUSSEN, SUSANNAH HARES, DIPAK NAKER

With thanks to Kate Adams, Sally Gear, Ali Hendy, Caroline Pritchard, and Heather Saunders for their contributions.

ABOUT THIS BRIEF

This brief has been developed to support conversations on addressing violence in and through education. It focuses specifically on violence against children in and around schools, while fully recognising that different forms of violence are interconnected, and occur in multiple settings including homes, communities, and online.

The brief provides an overview of the magnitude and effects of violence in and around schools and a review of evidence-based interventions aimed at eliminating school-related violence. The brief should not be viewed as an expansive summary. Readers interested in further details are recommended to visit the studies cited in the references.

GLOSSARY

School-related violence: includes any acts of physical, sexual, and psychological violence against students perpetrated by school staff, other students, or persons unaffiliated with the school, either in school or around schools.

School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV): defined as acts or threats of sexual, physical, or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes, and enforced by unequal power dynamics.

Physical violence: includes any form of physical aggression with the intention to hurt perpetrated by peers or members of the school staff. It includes physical bullying, physical attacks (with or without weapons), physical fights between students, and corporal punishment by school staff.

Psychological violence: includes any form of verbal abuse and social exclusion, including isolating, rejecting, ignoring, exclusion from a group, spreading rumours, name-calling, humiliation, intimidation, and threats.

Bullying: pattern of aggressive behaviour involving verbal attacks, psychological manipulation, hitting, kicking, pushing, and stealing or destroying personal belongings that occur repeatedly against a victim, rather than as isolated events. Bullying involves an imbalance of power.

Sexual violence: can take many forms, including non-consensual completed or attempted sexual contact (i.e., unwanted touching, attempted unwanted sex, forced sex), non-consensual acts of a sexual nature not involving contact (sexual harassment) and any form of coercion into sexual situations by the school staff and peers.

Executive Summary

Violence against children in and around schools is preventable and the education sector has the opportunity to play a critical role in driving the change through schools and school systems. This review provides an overview of the available data and prevalence of violence against children in and around schools, research analysing the consequences of violence, and school-based interventions, policies and laws aiming to end school violence in and around schools. The main messages from this report include:

▶ **Prevalence of violence is high.** Children face high levels of physical, psychological, and sexual violence in and around schools, with girls being more vulnerable to sexual violence and boys to physical violence by peers and corporal punishment by teachers. The available data, however, does not provide the complete picture of the problem. Around 20 percent of low-and-middle-income countries do not have data to measure the prevalence of any form of school-related violence, and significant data gaps exist on younger children, children with disabilities and LGBTQ+ children, as well as data to monitor changes on violence over time.

▶ **Need better data.** We need more and better data, both from surveys dedicated to violence against children in and around schools, as well as formative research on the social and behavioural drivers of violence in schools to inform and continuously enhance interventions and programming, accounting for the social norms, gender, identity, and power dynamics that affect the way violence occurs and who is targeted.

▶ **Violence in and around schools has profound impact.** Violence negatively impacts multiple dimensions of children's life and well-being, undermining not only the child's developmental potential, but also schools, families, communities, and the society's development as a whole. This violence is underpinned by harmful social and gender norms, and it is therefore a critical barrier to achieving gender equality.

▶ **Violence is preventable.** Interventions following innovative approaches in low- and middle-income countries have shown that violence in and around schools can be prevented, particularly when involving the school staff and management, students, family, and community members. Moving forward, we need to build the skills, systems, and infrastructure necessary for implementing interventions at scale, keeping in mind that interventions should be designed considering the whole school, aiming to transform the operational culture of schools to achieve sustainable change, and in response to each context, social norms and behaviours, and specific needs.

▶ **Policy and laws as a crucial first step.** Beyond specific interventions, national, regional, and local governments need well-implemented and enforced national laws and policies that protect children from all forms of violence, including, laws banning corporal punishment and efficient reporting and referral mechanisms.

▶ **Violence and learning.** Globally we need to recognise that the learning crisis is inextricably linked with the prevalence of school-based violence and urgent action for both is required.

▶ **Resources and accountability infrastructure.** We also need mechanisms that build funding for making violence in and around schools a priority through the education budget and an engaged and resourced civil society who hold governments accountable and demand schools free of violence.

Urgent and sustained action is needed to end violence against children, and the education sector could drive change through schools and school systems. It must seize this opportunity and eliminate violence in schools.

Introduction

Schools should be safe learning environments, but instead, high numbers of girls and boys experience violence in and around schools. Violence against children is a major obstacle to learning, affecting children's brain development, as well as children's likelihood of school completion, physical and mental health, employment, and earnings potential.

The dynamics of violence are complex, explained by institutional, community, interpersonal and individual factors that are inextricably linked to restrictive social norms, gender, identity, and power dynamics that affect the way violence occurs and who is targeted. Girls, for example, are more likely to experience high levels of sexual violence, and boys are more likely to experience physical bullying from peers and corporal punishment from teachers. Children with disabilities and LGBTQ+ children are also particularly vulnerable, and many remain invisible as we have limited data on these populations.

The magnitude and devastating consequences of violence in and around schools calls for urgent action and there is a particular opportunity to act through the education sector. Schools can play a crucial role in ending violence by fostering children's socio-emotional development, enhancing their understanding of human rights, gender equality and respectful relationships, and shaping their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours towards violence. It is therefore of vital importance that we invest in well-implemented interventions, policies and laws that create the conditions to improve systems of education and end violence.

In the remainder of the document, we review the magnitude of school-related violence and its consequences and discuss evidence-based promising actions to end violence in and around schools. We highlight existing data, research, and evidence gaps throughout.

# 1. Violence in schools: What the available data tell us

In this section, we review the available data on violence against children in and around schools and provide summary statistics using data from the Violence Against Children and Youth Surveys (VACS), Global School Health Surveys (GSHS), Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), PISA for Development, Young Lives Surveys and the Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (ERCE). We observe that children and adolescents experience unacceptably high levels of violence in and around school, and that girls and boys are targeted and affected in different ways, with girls being more vulnerable to sexual violence.

We note that the existent data is unlikely to reveal the real prevalence of the problem as many countries lack data on some forms of violence, particularly sexual violence. For example, a study reviewing all international surveys collected between 2013 and 2023 with questions on school-related violence, shows that 20 percent of low- and middle-income countries do not have data on any form of school-related violence and only one-third of low- and middle-income countries have data to measure all three categories of violence—physical, psychological, and sexual violence.[1] We also lack data on younger children, children with disabilities and LGBTQ+ children. And the violence levels we observe are likely to be underestimated, as many victims do not disclose their experiences of violence. Gender, identity, restrictive social norms, and fears of retaliation all affect whether violence is reported.

1.1. Physical bullying

Worldwide, a third of adolescents aged 13 to 15 years old self-report being bullied by their peers.[2, 3] Physical bullying is a common form of violence in schools (and the one for which we have the most data), with more boys than girls reporting being hit, kicked, or beaten by other students (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1   Physical bullying and physical attacks

Physical attacks

Physical bullying

Girls   Boys
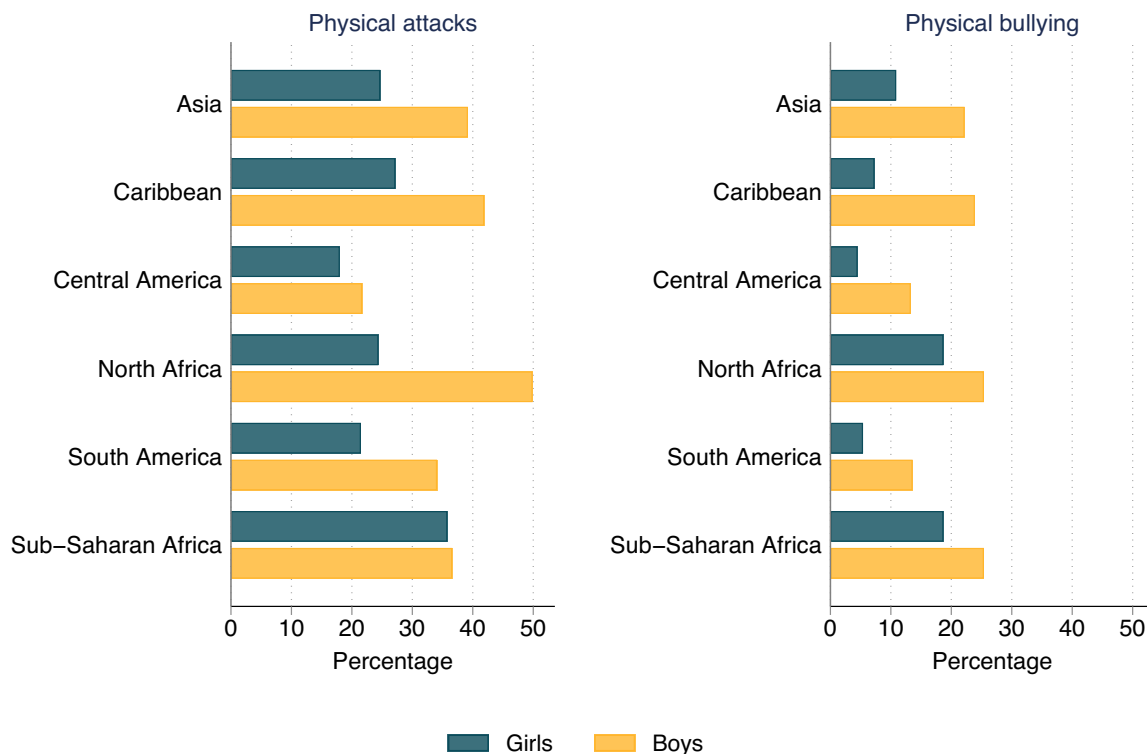
Source: Estimates from UNESCO (2019)2, which build on GSHS data for 13–15-year-olds, an in-school survey which does not cover students who may have dropped out. Physical bullying refers to being hit, kicked, or pushed around in the last 12 months. Physical attacks refer to actions when one or more people hit or strike a student (including with a weapon such as a stick, knife, or gun).

Much of the data we have, focuses on adolescents, but a few studies suggest that physical bullying by peers starts from an early age and that it can be higher among primary-age children than among adolescents.[i, 4, 5] For example, data from the ERCE shows that in Latin America and the Caribbean, 37 percent of 3rd graders, compared to 26 percent of 6th graders, have been victims of physical bullying.[6]

1.2. Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment by teachers is legal in 63 countries—including the six most populous countries in the world.[7]

Even where it has been banned, it remains common across many low- and middle-income countries. The prevalence of corporal punishment by teachers varies across countries, reaching up to 90 percent in some settings.[8] Analysis of the VACS shows differences in the prevalence of corporal punishment against girls and boys aged 13 to 17 years old by country (Figure 2). Data from the Young Lives Survey for India, Ethiopia, Peru, and Vietnam[9] indicates that boys are more likely than girls to experience corporal punishment, with younger children being more vulnerable to corporal punishment in schools relative to adolescents.

....

[i] Differences by age groups must be interpreted with caution as willingness to report incidents of violence may differ by age group, with older children (and particularly boys) being more likely to underreport.

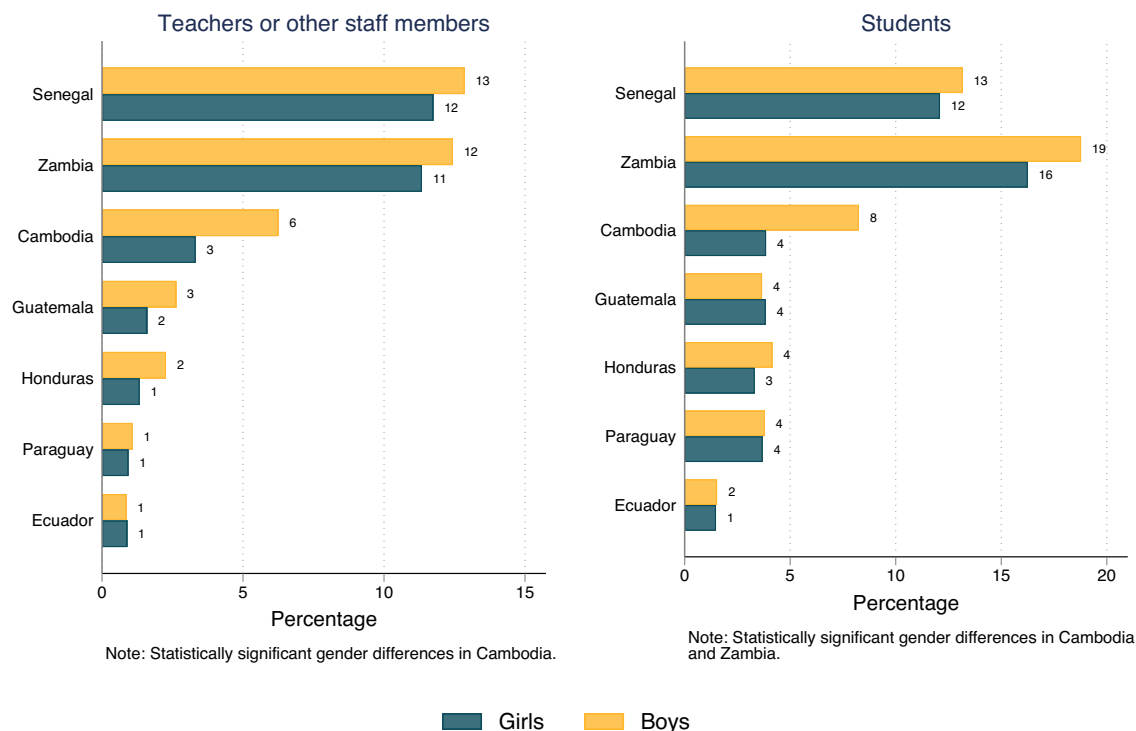FIGURE 2 Experience of corporal punishment in the last 12 months
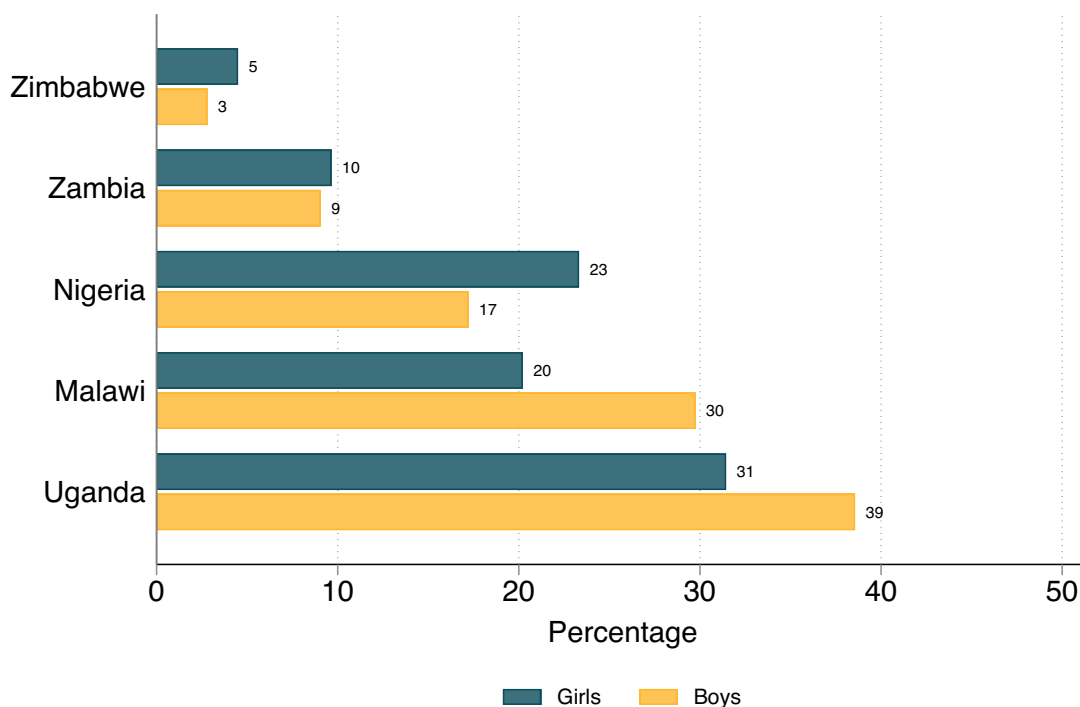
Source: Analysis of VACS data reported as experienced in the last 12 months by children aged 13–17. Differences between girls and boys are statistically significant (p=0.000) in Nigeria, Malawi, and Uganda.

1.3. Sexual violence

Sexual violence is pervasive, especially for girls, but obtaining reliable data on the prevalence of sexual violence in or around school is difficult. In part, this is due to confidentiality concerns, fears of retaliation and stigma that affect children's decision to speak up about sexual violence incidents. This is often particularly the case for girls in contexts where gender inequality is deeply entrenched in society. Data from VACS for seven low- and middle-income countries show that sexual violence against boys and girls is highly prevalent: up to 25 percent of adolescents report experiencing sexual violence, and among those that experience it, up to 40 percent experience it in schools and girls are particularly vulnerable to forced sex.[6] Data also shows that adolescents in Africa are more vulnerable to sexual harassment relative to other regions (Figure 3). In Senegal, 12 percent of adolescents report sexual harassment perpetrated by teachers, and almost 20 percent report sexual harassment by peers. Coercive sex also takes place in educational settings, including cases where teachers pressure young women into presuming sexual favours in return for passing grades.[10]

FIGURE 3 Sexual harassment by the school staff and students

Teachers or other staff members

Note: Statistically significant gender differences in Cambodia.

Students

Note: Statistically significant gender differences in Cambodia and Zambia.

Girls   Boys

Source: CGD analysis of PISA for Development data.

1.4. The differential experience and impact of violence for girls and boys

Violence affects boys and girls in different ways. Boys are more likely to be victims of corporal punishment from teachers and physical violence from peers, a dynamic that is influenced by gendered stereotypes and expectations about masculinity. Girls are systematically disadvantaged as a result of their gender and are particularly more vulnerable to the most severe forms of sexual violence and, as a result, may suffer detrimental consequences, including unwanted pregnancies, rejection and loss of social support networks. Many children do not feel comfortable reporting their experiences of violence, and some evidence suggests that boys are less likely to speak up. Data from the VACS survey in Malawi, Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe indicate that 43 percent of girls and 58 percent of boys do not disclose their experience of sexual violence to anyone. This is explained largely due to fears of relation, rejection, and gender-specific norms and stereotypes. An adequate response to violence in and around schools has to consider how girls and boys are affected by different types of violence, and we need policies and interventions that can change the traditional norms that endorse the use of violence.

1.5. The data challenge

This level of violence is shocking. What's more, the data we have are also likely to *underestimate* the problem, as many victims do not report their experiences of violence. Gender, identity, restrictive social norms and fears of retaliation all affect whether violence is reported. We also lack data on school violence trends over time; the prevalence of violence among young children; violence on the way to or from school, and the characteristics of the perpetrators.[1] Data from marginalized groups is also lacking, with the few data sources

that exist revealing that children with disabilities and LGBTQ+ children are particularly vulnerable. In a survey of 3,706 primary school children from Uganda, 24 percent of 11 to 14-year-old girls with disabilities reported sexual violence at school, compared to 12 percent of non-disabled girls.[11] A study by UNESCO found over 60 percent of LGBTQ+ children in Chile, Mexico and Peru had been victims of bullying.[12]

We need more and better data, ideally from surveys dedicated to violence against children. To end violence, we also need more research on the social and behavioural drivers of violence in schools to inform and continuously enhance policy, interventions, and programming. Violence is a result of complex dynamics and multiple interlink factors at the institutional, community, interpersonal and individual levels that are exacerbated by harmful social and gender norms, stereotypes and cultural practices that support violence.[13] At the institutional level, weak child protection systems, poor school governance and weak legal structures create conditions in which violence is more likely to occur. At the community, interpersonal and personal levels, social codes of silence around some forms of violence, family early experiences of violence and conflict, shared community beliefs on gender roles, and lack of interpersonal and socio-emotional skills are some of the factors that affect the likelihood of violence occurring. In section 3, we discuss interventions and policies addressing these risk factors.

2. The Detrimental Effects of School Violence

Despite the limited data availability, the prevalence of violence in and around school shows alarming concerns, as it has detrimental implications on multiple aspects of children's lives and on society as a whole.

2.1. Violence in school has an alarming impact on learning outcomes

Measuring the causal impact of violence on learning outcomes is a challenge due to multiple interlinked factors affecting both violence and learning. For example, a teacher who offers students better grades in exchange for sex might also be ineffective in the classroom. In this scenario, the correlation between violence and learning might be driven partly by the experience of violence, and partly by the teachers' poor teaching skills. There might also be a reversed causality between bad learning outcomes and violence, as peers and teachers might exert more physical and (or) emotional violence towards students struggling in class.[14]

Despite these difficulties, a range of studies has demonstrated that violence in school (including corporal punishment, bullying, and sexual violence) is harmful to children's learning outcomes. Among these studies, corporal punishment is proven to be consistently associated with lower learning outcomes, especially in literacy and numeracy. This runs counter to the intuition of many parents and educators, who have defended the use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline in schools. A recent study in India found that teacher-perpetrated corporal punishment had enduring negative impacts on English and maths scores.[15] Another study in India confirmed those impacts and showed that they were worse for the poorest (low caste) students.[16] Evidence from Jamaica,[17] Pakistan,[18] Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam[9] all show a negative association between corporal punishment and student learning outcomes.

Bullying also affects learning outcomes negatively. Several multi-country studies in Latin America[19, 20, 21] and Sub-Saharan Africa[22] show adverse associations between bullying and students' reading and math scores. Relatively fewer studies have examined the impact of sexual violence on academic performance. In Malawi, boys who experienced sexual violence in school had worse reading outcomes; girls had worse numeracy outcomes.[23]

2.2. The far-reaching impacts of sexual violence and gender-based violence, especially for girls

Sexual violence on its own has far-reaching and gender-based consequences for the victims. Several studies[24, 25]

have documented that in the aftermath of sexual violence, victims are confronted with stigmatization and negative social consequences such as abandonment, rejection and loss of social support networks, as well as worse mental health symptoms related to depression and posttraumatic stress. Another direct consequence of forced sex relates to early pregnancy,[26] which has been found to result in a higher likelihood of dropouts among adolescent pregnant girls.[27, 28, 29] In many countries, school dropouts are also associated with negative perceptions of safety, with evidence[30, 31, 32] suggesting that girls are withdrawn from school at an early age to prevent them from experiencing sexual harassment on the way to or from school. Negative perceptions of safety in and around school also increases the likelihood of early marriage, as families may consider early marriage as a safeguard against premarital sex and transfer the responsibility to protect daughters from sexual violence from the family to the husband.[33, 34] Sexual violence victimisation is also associated with absenteeism. A study with SACMEQ data on Sub-Saharan African countries[35] suggests that sexual harassment perpetrated by teachers significantly increases learners' absenteeism. A meta-analysis[36] reviewing 43 studies from 21 countries found that girls who are victims of sexual violence have a three-fold increased risk of being absent from school.

2.3. Long-lasting effects on higher education and labour market outcomes

Childhood experiences of school-related violence are associated with altered labour market outcomes in adulthood. In the short run, violence in schools is correlated with a higher probability of early labour force participation. A study in India, Peru, Vietnam, and Ethiopia found that being bullied during adolescence reduces the likelihood of an individual's enrolment in tertiary education and increases the likelihood of early labour force participation.[37] Victims of bullying were also found to be working longer hours with lower hourly wages, compared to those who had not experienced bullying. In the long run, various longitudinal studies in the United Kingdom,[38] the United States[39] and Greece[40] have found that

bullying is associated with lower employment rates, mid-life income and accumulated wealth. On the macroeconomic level, school violence imposes huge costs on society. A World Bank report[3] estimated that violence in and around schools implies a loss of $11 trillion in lifetime earnings.[ii]

2.4. Impact on mental health

The severe and enduring impact of school-related violence on education and labour market outcomes is partly explained by its effect on student's mental well-being. There is solid evidence that victims of school-related violence tend to internalise the adversity they encounter, leading to a higher risk of mental health problems. Multiple studies, mostly conducted in high-income countries (Italy,[41] United States,[42, 43] Australia[44]), have documented the impact of peer victimisation on anxiety, depression, feelings of loneliness and withdrawal. A meta-analysis[45] of 18 longitudinal studies also found consistent linkages between peer victimisation and internalising problems. The impact on mental health is different by gender.[46] The direct association between bullying victimisation and depression, as well as the indirect association between victimisation and lower academic performance, were found to be significantly stronger among girls than boys.

There is also emerging evidence on the impact on mental health from low and middle-income countries. A study using data from the GSHS for Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Thailand, and Timor-Leste[47] found bullying victimisation to be associated with anxiety, loneliness, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts. Two other studies using GSHS data from Bangladesh and Nepal[48] and from Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar[49] both found similar results in suicidal behaviour, loneliness and sleeping disorders.

....

ii This estimate, however, has to be interpreted with caution. As stated by the report, the results are sensitive to important assumptions and other parameters related to data quality. These estimates are rather "broad orders of magnitude", as they are not meant to be precise or definitive given the many assumptions involved.

Existing studies—in the United Kingdom,[50] Finland[51] and the United States[52]—also suggest that experiences of bullying during childhood have an enduring impact on mental health, even in adulthood. And school violence is not only detrimental to the victims. Studies in the United Kingdom[53] and the United States[27] found that observing bullying at school predicted risks to mental health over and above the one predicted for the perpetrators or the victims.

2.5. Impact on social-emotional skills

Studies have also found significant associations between school violence involvement and altered socio-emotional skills (e.g. empathy,[54] self-esteem[55]), as well as increased substance use.[56, 57, 58, 59] It is worth noting that most of these studies found reciprocity in the correlation, meaning that the negative effects of bullying on these outcomes, reinforce and predict bullying perpetration at later points in life. Such reciprocity has alarming implications, as it is suggestive of a self-perpetuating loop. In the absence of interventions, the perpetration and victimisation of school-related violence are likely to persist.

The normalisation of violence in and around schools is particularly detrimental to girls as it exposes them to life-long risks of violence. As a part of the socialisation process, children learn about dominance and control through observation and experience of the behaviour of teachers, peers, and parents. Evidence suggests that boys' experience of bullying is related to later dating violence and IPV perpetrations while girls' exposure to bullying puts them at higher risk of victimisation later in life.[60, 61]

2.6. Persistent violence is especially bad for brain development

Chronically experiencing violence has adverse effects on children's brain structure and functional development. Early childhood exposure to adversity and toxic stress can leave a long-lasting impact on the genetic predispositions that affect emerging brain architecture and long-term health.[62] A study with longitudinal data from the Netherlands showed that bullying involvement in young children was associated with differential cortical morphology.[63] Specifically, the fusiform gyrus, often involved in facial processing, showed a thicker cortex in victims of frequent bullying. Other clinical studies[64, 65, 66] showed that frequent exposure to bullying as a "social stressor" could alter the functioning of the HPA axis, producing lower cortisol levels and resulting in one's inability to manage stress.

3. Taking action to end violence in and around schools

The size of the problem and the far-reaching negative consequence of violence against children call for urgent action and schools and education systems more broadly provide an opportunity to take action. In this section, we review school-based interventions, laws and policies aimed at creating safer school environments and ending violence in and around schools.

3.1. Evidence-based interventions

We review school-based[iii] interventions designed to prevent violence in schools and prioritize 33 interventions[iv] (and 43 studies) that have been rigorously evaluated in high-, low- and middle-income countries (see Appendix). Two-thirds of the interventions were designed and implemented in high-income settings, 25 percent in middle-income countries and just a tenth of the evidence comes from low-income settings.

There are multiple ways of categorizing interventions as these follow different approaches, cover different topics, and target different stakeholders. Overall, most interventions

---

iii We focus on school-based interventions, but family-level and community-level interventions targeting violence against children also play a role in preventing violence in and around schools.
iv We review existing reports and systematic reviews on what works to reduce violence against children. The review only considers interventions that have been rigorously evaluated using randomized control trials and quasi-experiments. Moreover, we prioritized interventions with higher statistical power by choosing those with higher sample sizes (more than 30 schools or 500 students).

cover five thematic areas: (i) building life skills, (ii) building knowledge and awareness, (iii) providing psycho-social support, (iv) providing skills training for the school staff, and (v) promoting a whole-school approach.

Half of the evidence is from interventions that promote a whole-school approach. Most of these interventions show reductions in peer-to-peer violence—either physical or emotional forms of violence— as well as reductions in corporal punishment. Programs with a whole-school approach aim to achieve structural sustainable change by following comprehensive actions that involve the participation of the entire school community, including students, principals, teachers, parents and -in some cases- even the community members and leaders.

One example from low-income countries is the Good School Toolkit (GST)[67] intervention in Uganda which provided behavioural-change techniques to the school staff and students related to goal setting, development of action plans, positive discipline, and reflection and practice on new behavioural skills. The intervention achieved a 42 percent reduction in the risk of physical violence from the school staff.

Another example relates to the Right to Play[68] program in Pakistan, which was rigorously evaluated through the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)'s *What Works to Prevent Violence Programme* and was found to reduce peer-to-peer physical and verbal victimization by 5 and 37 percent among boys and girls, respectively, and improved children's mental health and gender-equitable attitudes. The structure of this program is different to the GST as it uses play-based learning activities with students to build confidence, empathy, and resilience, and to encourage children to reflect critically on norms relating to gender and the use of violence. The program also includes community-based events and teacher training on positive discipline and child protection.

Other types of interventions focus on a narrower set of agents. A third of the evidence is from interventions targeting mainly the students through activities that enhance

life skills (e.g., communication skills, problem-solving skills, empathy) and provide information on violence, its effects and what to do as victims or witnesses of violence. These interventions have also shown effective results in reducing peer-to-peer victimization, except for a couple of interventions focusing only on building knowledge and awareness that did not reduce victimization.

Involving parents is also crucial. In China,[69] an intervention that fosters empathy among students by coaching their parents was found to reduce bullying incidents. Another key action involves training the school staff on classroom management, positive discipline, and identification and management of different forms of violence. Evidence from Tanzania[70] and Peru[71] shows that training principals and leaders is an important step towards reducing teacher-perpetrated violence and increasing the likelihood of reporting cases of violence when they happen. Evidence on implementation fidelity and beneficiary responsiveness is scarce but shows that low attendance of teachers to intervention activities can result in null effects on violence reduction.

Impacts on sexual violence are rarely measured. Only three of the 43 studies measured sexual violence and only two interventions—following a whole-school approach—generated decreases in sexual violence. We urgently need more research about how to effectively address the drivers and roots of sexual violence, ideally models following comprehensive approaches.[72] Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) models may be a promising approach for preventing sexual violence perpetrated by teachers or pupils, even though these type of programs could be challenging to implement in some settings due to cultural and normative factors.[73, 74] CSE are curriculum-based programs consisting of teaching about cognitive, emotional, and physical aspects of sexuality. CSE models are designed to have an integrated focus on gender, provide knowledge and skills on sexual and reproductive health, gender equality, and empowerment, and aim to create safe and healthy learning environments with zero-tolerance policies against violence.[75] Evidence suggests these programs can improve sexual health knowledge

and safer sexual practices,[76, 77] reduce early marriage,[78] and reduce intimate partner violence.[79] There is potential in evaluating whether well-implemented CSE models can also have impacts in reducing sexual abuse, and other forms of gender-based violence in and around schools.

Evidence beyond violence indicators is also scarce and mixed. Of the 12 studies that measured learning, only five showed improvements in learning. Similarly, there is mixed evidence on the effect on mental health, socio-emotional skills, and adoption of risky behaviours (e.g., smoking, drug abuse), with around a third of studies showing improvements in at least one of these outcomes. An after-school program in El Salvador also showed effects in reducing delinquency behaviour outside school. The program used cognitive behavioural therapy to build students social and conflict management skills, and, in addition to reducing delinquency behaviour outside school, the program reduced misbehaviour at school and improved learning outcomes potentially by improving students' emotional regulation.[80]

Evidence shows pathways to reduce violence in schools, but several questions remain unanswered, and we need concrete actions to address them. Four urgent actions include (i) applying social and behaviour change approaches informed by data, evidence and formative research on the social and behavioural drivers of violence in school, (ii) the generation of more evidence on intervention impacts on educational and wellbeing outcomes and the sustainability of effects in the medium and long term, (iii) assessment of the cost-effectiveness of different school violence approaches, and (iv) generation of evidence on how to implement interventions at scale. New interventions should be designed considering the whole school, aiming to transform schools' operational culture and social environment to achieve sustainable change, and in response to each context, social and gender norms, behavioural drivers, and specific needs.[81]

3.2. Laws and policies

Beyond specific interventions, national, regional, and local governments need well-implemented and enforced national laws and policies that protect children from all forms of violence, as well as an engage civil society and youth activists that hold governments accountable and demand schools free of violence. Laws banning corporal punishment in all settings are an important step towards ending teacher-perpetrated violence. In the last decade, the number of countries that have enacted new legislation banning corporal punishment more than doubled, with the most recent legislation being enacted in Pakistan and Sierra Leone. However, in 63 countries corporal punishment in schools is not fully prohibited and, where it has been banned, the practice of corporal punishment has not always been eliminated. Even though some evidence[82] suggests drops in the use of corporal punishment, the lack of enforcement means that in some settings teachers continue to use this practice. In addition to laws prohibiting corporal punishment, anti-bullying strategies and laws are also important. Evidence from the United States[83] shows that bullying and suicide rates significantly dropped in the states that enacted laws that had clear guidelines on how to resolve incidents of bullying, implemented strict investigatory procedures and sanctions and provided training to the school staff.

At the national level, it is also crucial to create safe and confidential reporting mechanisms to enable victims and witnesses to report cases of violence. Reporting mechanisms include school-based focal points, telephone helplines, school complaint boxes and online platforms for reporting. These reporting mechanisms must be accompanied by agreed protocols for dealing with reports and strong systems of support and referral implemented through multisectoral collaboration from the public health, justice, education and social services sectors. Examples of national reporting systems exist in Colombia[84] and Peru,[85] where Ministries of Education have created online platforms that allow victims and witnesses to report cases, and designated school staff, officials of the education ministers, and the national police to view, act and monitor the status of the reported cases.

A broad range of stakeholders—including governments, non-governmental institutions, and donors—have taken

action to reduce violence in schools but more needs to be done to achieve sustainable change at scale. Ending violence against children in and around schools must be a global and national priority. We need mechanisms that build funding for this priority through education budgets, national and global tracking indicators to monitor changes in violence and learning mechanisms for the prevention of violence such as the FCDO's *What Works to Prevent Violence Programme*. We also need an engaged civil society that is a partner in making it happen, demanding and holding governments accountable to end violence in schools.

4. Conclusion

This brief reviewed the available data on school-related violence, research analysing the consequences of violence, and school-based interventions, policies and laws aiming to end school violence in and around schools. Key messages from this brief include:

▶ Children face high levels of physical, psychological, and sexual violence in and around schools, with girls being more vulnerable to sexual violence and boys to physical violence by peers and corporal punishment by teachers. The available data, however, does not provide the complete picture of the problem. Around 20 percent of low-and-middle-income countries do not have data to measure the prevalence of any form school-related violence, and significant data gaps exist on younger children, children with disabilities and LGBTQ+ children, as well as data to monitor changes on violence over time.

▶ We need more and better data, both from surveys dedicated to violence against children in and around schools, as well as formative research on the social and behavioural drivers of violence in schools to inform and continuously enhance interventions and programming.

▶ Violence negatively impacts multiple dimensions of children's life and well-being, undermining not only the child's developmental potential, but also schools, families, communities, and the society's development as a whole. This violence is underpinned by harmful social and gender norms, and it is therefore a critical barrier to achieving gender equality.

▶ Innovative interventions in low- and middle-income countries have shown that violence in and around schools can be prevented, particularly when school staff and administration, students, family, and community members are involved in the approach. Moving forward, we need to build the skills, systems, and infrastructure necessary for implementing interventions at scale, considering the whole school, aiming to transform the operational culture of schools to achieve sustainable change, and in response to each context, social norms, behaviours and specific needs.

▶ Beyond specific interventions, national, regional, and local governments need well-implemented and enforced national laws and policies that protect children from all forms of violence, including, laws banning corporal punishment and efficient reporting and referral mechanisms.

▶ Globally we need to recognise that the learning crisis is inextricably linked with the prevalence of school-based violence and urgent action for both is required.

▶ We also need funding for making violence against children in and around schools a priority through the education budget and an engaged youth activities and civil society who hold governments accountable and demand schools free of violence.

Urgent and sustained action is needed to end violence against children, and the education sector could drive change through schools and school systems. It must seize this opportunity and eliminate violence in schools.

Appendix: Database of Interventions

List of interventions available at https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/database-of-interventions.xlsx.

References

1   Evans, David, Susannah Hares, Gabriela Smarrelli, and Dongyi Wu. "When the Data You Have Aren't the Data You Need: School-Related Violence Data Availability in Low- and Middle-Income Countries." CGD Working Paper 658. 2023.

2   UNESCO. "Behind the numbers: ending school violence and bullying". 2019. https://doi.org/10.54675/TRVR4270

3   Wodon, Quentin, Chloe Fèvre, Chata Malé, Ada Nayihouba, and Hoa Nguyen. "Ending Violence in Schools: An Investment Case". World Bank, Washington, DC, July 2021. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/35969.

4   Menesini, Ersilia, and Christina Salmivalli. "Bullying in Schools: The State of Knowledge and Effective Interventions". Psychology, Health & Medicine 22, no. sup1 (6 March 2017): 240–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2017.1279740.

5   Eslea, Mike, and Josette Rees. "At What Age Are Children Most Likely to Be Bullied at School?" Aggressive Behavior 27, no. 6 (2001): 419–29. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.1027.

6   Susannah Hares and Gabriela Smarrelli, "What We Know (and Don't Know) about Violence against Girls and Boys in School," Center for Global Development | Ideas to Action, 2023. https://www.cgdev.org/publication/what-we-know-and-dont-know-about-violence-against-girls-and-boys-school.hare

7   "Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children". Accessed 8 January 2024. https://endcorporalpunishment.org/.

8   UNESCO. "School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV): a human rights violation and a threat to inclusive and equitable quality education for all." 2020.

9   Ogando Portela, M. J. and K. Pells. "Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and VietNam". UNICEF, February 2015.

10 Wilton Park. "Charter to End Sex for Education Fees, Grades and First Jobs". Accessed 8 January 2024. https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/reports/ending-sex-for-education-fees-grades-and-first-jobs/charter-to-end-sex-for-education-fees-grades-and-first-jobs/.

11 Devries, Karen M., Nambusi Kyegombe, Maria Zuurmond, Jenny Parkes, Jennifer C. Child, Eddy J. Walakira, and Dipak Naker. "Violence against Primary School Children with Disabilities in Uganda: A Cross-Sectional Study". BMC Public Health 14, no. 1 (29 September 2014): 1017. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-1017.

12 UNESCO. "Education sector responses to homophobic bullying". 2012.

13 Maternowska, Mary Catherine, Alina Potts, and Deborah Fry. "The Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children. A Cross-Country Snapshot of Findings." Florence: UNICEF Office of Research. 2016.

14 David Evans and Susannah Hares, "Violence in Schools Is Bad for Learning," Center for Global Development | Ideas to Action, 2023. https://www.cgdev.org/blog/violence-schools-bad-learning

15 Maiti, Abhradeep. "Effect of Corporal Punishment on Young Children's Educational Outcomes". Education Economics 29, no. 4 (4 July 2021): 411–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/09645292.2021.1901073.

16 Kumar, Deepak, Debasmita Padhi, Bhanu Pratap, and Archana Aggarwal. "Corporal Punishment and Praise in Indian Schools: Caste-Based Heterogeneity on Children's Cognitive Skills". International Journal of Educational Development 89 (1 March 2022): 102554. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2022.102554.

17 Baker-Henningham, Helen, Julie Meeks-Gardner, Susan Chang, and Susan Walker. "Experiences of Violence and Deficits in Academic Achievement among Urban Primary School Children in Jamaica". Child Abuse & Neglect 33, no. 5 (1 May 2009): 296–306. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.05.011.

18 Naz, Arab, Waseem Khan, Umar Daraz, Mohammad Hussain, and Qaisar Khan. "The Impacts of Corporal Punishment on Students" Academic Performance/Career and Personality Development Up-To Secondary Level Education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan". International Journal of Business and Social Science 2, no. 12 (July 2011). https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2082986.

19 Chávez, C., Cebotari, V., Benítez, M.J., Richardson, D., Fen Hiu, C., and Zapata, J. "School-Related Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Building an Evidence Base for Stronger Schools." Innocenti Working Paper 2021-02. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research. 2021.

20 Delprato, Marcos, Kwame Akyeampong, and Máiréad Dunne. "The Impact of Bullying on Students' Learning in Latin America: A Matching Approach for 15 Countries". International Journal of Educational Development 52 (1 January 2017): 37–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2016.10.002.

21 Marcela Román and F. Javier Murillo. "Latin America: school bullying and academic achievement". CEPAL Review 104. August 2011.

22 USAID. "The Effects of School-related Gender-based Violence on Academic Performance: Evidence From Bostwana, Ghana & South Africa". 2016.

23 Psaki, Stephanie R., Barbara S. Mensch, and Erica Soler-Hampejsek. "Associations between Violence in School and at Home and Education Outcomes in Rural Malawi: A Longitudinal Analysis". Comparative Education Review 61, no. 2 (2 May 2017): 354–90. https://doi.org/10.1086/691117.

24 Campbell, Rebecca, Courtney E. Ahrens, Tracy Sefl, Sharon M. Wasco, and Holly E. Barnes. "Social Reactions to Rape Victims: Healing and Hurtful Effects on Psychological and Physical Health Outcomes". Violence and Victims 16, no. 3 (1 January 2001): 287–302. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.16.3.287.

25 Verelst, A., M. De Schryver, L. De Haene, E. Broekaert, and I. Derluyn. "The Mediating Role of Stigmatization in the Mental Health of Adolescent Victims of Sexual Violence in Eastern Congo". Child Abuse & Neglect 38, no. 7 (1 July 2014): 1139–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.04.003.

26 Young, Maria-Elena D., Julianna Deardorff, Emily Ozer, and Maureen Lahiff. "Sexual Abuse in Childhood and Adolescence and the Risk of Early Pregnancy Among Women Ages 18–22". Journal of Adolescent Health 49, no. 3 (1 September 2011): 287–93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.12.019.

27 Cruz, Emerson, Fabio Gagliardi Cozman, Wilson Souza, and Albertina Takiuti. "The Impact of Teenage Pregnancy on School Dropout in Brazil: A Bayesian Network Approach". BMC Public Health 21, no. 1 (13 October 2021): 1850. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-11878-3.

28 Birchall, Jenny. "Early Marriage, Pregnancy and Girl Child School Dropout". DFID, K4D Helpdesk Report. 2018.

29 Bajracharya, A., S. R. Psaki and M. Sadiq. "Child marriage, adolescent pregnancy and school dropout in South Asia." UNICEF, South Asia. Kathmandu, Nepal. 2019.

30 Shahidul, S. M., Karim, A. H. M. Zehadul, "Factors Contributing to School Dropout Among the Girls: A Review of Literature". European Journal of Research and Reflection in Educational Sciences 3, no. 2 (2015)

31 Juneja, Nalini. "Primary Education for All in the City of Mumbai [Bombay], India: The Challenge Set by Local Actors". UNESCO. 2001.

32 Mudege, Netsayi N., Eliya M. Zulu, and Chimaraoke Izugbara. "How Insecurity Impacts on School Attendance and School Drop out among Urban Slum Children in Nairobi". *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* (IJCV) 2, no. 1 (16 June 2008): 98–112. https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-2777.

33 Delprato, Marcos, Kwame Akyeampong, Ricardo Sabates, and Jimena Hernandez-Fernandez. "On the Impact of Early Marriage on Schooling Outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa and South West Asia". *International Journal of Educational Development* 44 (1 September 2015): 42–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.06.001.

34 Malhotra, Anju, Ann Warner, Allison McGonagle, and Susan Lee-Rife. "Solutions to end child marriage." International Center for Research on Women. 2011. https://www.healthynewbornnetwork.org/hnn-content/uploads/Solutions-to-End-Child-Marriage1.pdf

35 Lee, Sora, and Robert Rudolf. "The Relationship between School-Related Gender-Based Violence and Absenteeism: Evidence from 14 Southern and Eastern African Countries". *South African Journal of Education* 42, no. 4 (2022). https://www.ajol.info/index.php/saje/article/view/244444.

36 Fry, Deborah, Xiangming Fang, Stuart Elliott, Tabitha Casey, Xiaodong Zheng, Jiaoyuan Li, Lani Florian, and Gillean McCluskey. "The Relationships between Violence in Childhood and Educational Outcomes: A Global Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis". *Child Abuse & Neglect* 75 (1 January 2018): 6–28. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.06.021.

37 Hasnat, Isbat Ibn, and Adnan M. S. Fakir. "Condemned in Childhood: Bully Victimization and Labour Market Outcomes". Applied Economics Letters 30, no. 1 (2 January 2023): 51–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504851.2021.1971617.

38 Brimblecombe, Nicola, Sara Evans-Lacko, Martin Knapp, Derek King, Ryu Takizawa, Barbara Maughan, and Louise Arseneault. "Long Term Economic Impact Associated with Childhood Bullying Victimisation". *Social Science & Medicine* 208 (1 July 2018): 134–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.05.014.

39 Wolke, Dieter, William E. Copeland, Adrian Angold, and E. Jane Costello. "Impact of Bullying in Childhood on Adult Health, Wealth, Crime, and Social Outcomes". *Psychological Science* 24, no. 10 (1 October 2013): 1958–70. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613481608.

40 Drydakis, Nick. "Bullying at School and Labour Market Outcomes". *International Journal of Manpower* 35, no. 8 (1 January 2014): 1185–1211. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-08-2012-0122.

41 Baldry, Anna C. "The Impact of Direct and Indirect Bullying on the Mental and Physical Health of Italian Youngsters". *Aggressive Behavior* 30, no. 5 (2004): 343–55. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20043.

42 Flannery, Daniel J., Kelly L. Wester, and Mark I. Singer. "Impact of Exposure to Violence in School on Child and Adolescent Mental Health and Behavior". *Journal of Community Psychology* 32, no. 5 (2004): 559–73. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20019.

43 Klomek, Anat Brunstein, Frank Marrocco, Marjorie Kleinman, Irvin Sam Schonfeld, and Madelyn S. Gould. "Peer Victimization, Depression, and Suicidiality in Adolescents". *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 38, no. 2 (April 2008): 166–80. https://doi.org/10.1521/suli.2008.38.2.166.

44 Bond, L., J. B. Carlin, L. Thomas, K. Rubin, and G. Patton. "Does Bullying Cause Emotional Problems? A Prospective Study of Young Teenagers". *BMJ (Clinical Research Ed.)* 323, no. 7311 (1 September 2001): 480–84. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.323.7311.480.

45 Reijntjes, Albert, Jan H. Kamphuis, Peter Prinzie, and Michael J. Telch. "Peer Victimization and Internalizing Problems in Children: A Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies". *Child Abuse & Neglect* 34, no. 4 (April 2010): 244–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2009.07.009.

46 Kim, Youn Kyoung, Jane E. Sanders, Timothy Makubuya, and Mansoo Yu. "Risk Factors of Academic Performance: Experiences of School Violence, School Safety Concerns, and Depression by Gender". *Child & Youth Care Forum* 49, no. 5 (1 October 2020): 725–42. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-020-09552-7.

47 Pengpid, Supa, and Karl Peltzer. "Bullying Victimization and Externalizing and Internalizing Symptoms among In-School Adolescents from Five ASEAN Countries". *Children and Youth Services Review* 106 (1 November 2019): 104473. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.104473.

48 Rahman, Md. Mosfequr, Md. Mosiur Rahman, Md. Mostaured Ali Khan, Mahmudul Hasan, and Kamrun N. Choudhury. "Bullying Victimization and Adverse Health Behaviors among School-Going Adolescents in South Asia: Findings from the Global School-Based Student Health Survey". *Depression and Anxiety* 37, no. 10 (2020): 995–1006. https://doi.org/10.1002/da.23033.

49 Murshid, Nadine Shaanta. "Bullying Victimization and Mental Health Outcomes of Adolescents in Myanmar, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka". *Children and Youth Services Review* 76 (1 May 2017): 163–69. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.03.003.

50 "Adult Health Outcomes of Childhood Bullying Victimization: Evidence From a Five-Decade Longitudinal British Birth Cohort | American Journal of Psychiatry". Accessed 8 January 2024. https://ajp.psychiatryonline.org/doi/full/10.1176/appi.ajp.2014.13101401.

51 Klomek, Anat Brunstein, Andre Sourander, Kirsti Kumpulainen, Jorma Piha, Tuula Tamminen, Irma Moilanen, Fredrik Almqvist, and Madelyn S. Gould. "Childhood Bullying as a Risk for Later Depression and Suicidal Ideation among Finnish Males". *Journal of Affective Disorders* 109, no. 1 (1 July 2008): 47–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2007.12.226.

52 deLara, Ellen W. "Consequences of Childhood Bullying on Mental Health and Relationships for Young Adults". *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 28, no. 9 (1 September 2019): 2379–89. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1197-y.

53 Rivers, Ian, V. Paul Poteat, Nathalie Noret, and Nigel Ashurst. "Observing Bullying at School: The Mental Health Implications of Witness Status". *School Psychology Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (2009): 211–23. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018164.

54 Stavrinides, Panayiotis, Stelios Georgiou, and Vaso Theofanous. "Bullying and Empathy: A Short-term Longitudinal Investigation". *Educational Psychology* 30, no. 7 (1 December 2010): 793–802. https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2010.506004.

55 O'Moore, M., and C. Kirkham. "Self-Esteem and Its Relationship to Bullying Behaviour". *Aggressive Behavior* 27, no. 4 (2001): 269–83. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.1010.

56 Niemelä, S., A. Brunstein-Klomek, L. Sillanmäki, H. Helenius, J. Piha, K. Kumpulainen, I. Moilanen, T. Tamminen, F. Almqvist, and A. Sourander. "Childhood Bullying Behaviors at Age Eight and Substance Use at Age 18 among Males. A Nationwide Prospective Study". *Addictive Behaviors* 36, no. 3 (1 March 2011): 256–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2010.10.012.

57 Wright, Emily M., Abigail A. Fagan, and Gillian M. Pinchevsky. "The Effects of Exposure to Violence and Victimization across Life Domains on Adolescent Substance Use". *Child Abuse & Neglect* 37, no. 11 (1 November 2013): 899–909. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.04.010.

58 Kim, M.J., Catalano, R.F., Haggerty, K.P. and Abbott, R.D. "Bullying at Elementary School and Problem Behaviour in Young Adulthood: A Study of Bullying, Violence and Substance Use from age 11 to age 21." *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, no. 21(2011): 136–144. https://doi.org/10.1002/cbm.804

59 Mahady Wilton, Melissa M., Wendy M. Craig, and Debra J. Pepler. "Emotional Regulation and Display in Classroom Victims of Bullying: Characteristic Expressions of Affect, Coping Styles and Relevant Contextual Factors." *Social Development* 9, no. 2 (2000): 226–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00121.

60 Ellis, Wendy E., and David A. Wolfe. "Bullying Predicts Reported Dating Violence and Observed Qualities in Adolescent Dating Relationships". *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 30, no. 17 (October 2015): 3043–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260514554428.

61 Ozer, Emily J, Jeanne M Tschann, Lauri A Pasch, and Elena Flores. "Violence Perpetration across Peer and Partner Relationships: Co-Occurrence and Longitudinal Patterns among Adolescents". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 34, no. 1 (1 January 2004): 64–71. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2002.12.001.

62 Shonkoff, Jack P., Andrew S. Garner, Committee on Psychosocial Aspects of Child and Family Health, Committee on Early Childhood, Adoption, and Dependent Care, and Section on Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics. "The Lifelong Effects of Early Childhood Adversity and Toxic Stress." *Pediatrics* 129, no. 1 (January 2012): e232-246. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2011-2663.

63 Kooijman, Marjolein N., Claudia J. Kruithof, Cornelia M. van Duijn, Liesbeth Duijts, Oscar H. Franco, Marinus H. van IJzendoorn, Johan C. de Jongste, et al. "The Generation R Study: Design and Cohort Update 2017". *European Journal of Epidemiology* 31, no. 12 (2016): 1243–64. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10654-016-0224-9.

64 Plessis, Mieke R. du, Sanny Smeekens, Antonius H. N. Cillessen, Sarah Whittle, and Berna Güroglu. "Bullying the Brain? Longitudinal Links Between Childhood Peer Victimization, Cortisol, and Adolescent Brain Structure". *Frontiers in Psychology* 9 (2019). https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02706.

65 Knack, Jennifer M., Lauri A. Jensen-Campbell, and Andrew Baum. "Worse than Sticks and Stones? Bullying Is Associated with Altered HPA Axis Functioning and Poorer Health". *Brain and Cognition* 77, no. 2 (1 November 2011): 183–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2011.06.011.

66 Ouellet-Morin, Isabelle, Candice L. Odgers, Andrea Danese, Lucy Bowes, Sania Shakoor, Andrew S. Papadopoulos, Avshalom Caspi, Terrie E. Moffitt, and Louise Arseneault. "Blunted Cortisol Responses to Stress Signal Social and Behavioral Problems Among Maltreated/Bullied 12-Year-Old Children". *Biological Psychiatry* 70, no. 11 (1 December 2011): 1016–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2011.06.017.

67 Devries, Karen M., Louise Knight, Jennifer C. Child, Angel Mirembe, Janet Nakuti, Rebecca Jones, Joanna Sturgess, et al. "The Good School Toolkit for Reducing Physical Violence from School Staff to Primary School Students: A Cluster-Randomised Controlled Trial in Uganda". *The Lancet.* Global Health 3, no. 7 (July 2015): e378–386. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(15)00060-1.

68 Karmaliani, Rozina, Judith McFarlane, Hussain Maqbool Ahmed Khuwaja, Yasmeen Somani, Shireen Shehzad Bhamani, Tazeen Saeed Ali, Nargis Asad, Esnat D. Chirwa, and Rachel Jewkes. "Right To Play's Intervention to Reduce Peer Violence among Children in Public Schools in Pakistan: A Cluster-Randomized Controlled Trial". *Global Health Action* 13, no. 1 (November 2020): 1836604. https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2020.1836604.

69 Cunha, Flavio, Qinyou Hu, Yiming Xia, and Naibao Zhao. "Reducing Bullying: Evidence from a Parental Involvement Program on Empathy Education". Working Paper. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research, January 2023. https://doi.org/10.3386/w30827.

70 Fabbri, Camilla, Katherine Rodrigues, Baptiste Leurent, Elizabeth Allen, Mary Qiu, Martin Zuakulu, Dennis Nombo, et al. "The EmpaTeach Intervention for Reducing Physical Violence from Teachers to Students in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp: A Cluster-Randomised Controlled Trial". *PLOS Medicine* 18, no. 10 (4 October 2021): e1003808. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1003808.

71 Smarrelli, Gabriela. "School Leaders' Role in creating Safe Learning Environments". Center For Global Development | Ideas to Action. 2023. https://www.cgdev.org/blog/school-leaders-role-creating-safe-learning-environments

72 Girls Education Challenge (GEC). "Ending Violence in Schools: Lessons from the Girls' Education Challenge." Learning Brief 1. 2022.

73 Chavula, Malizgani Paul, Joseph Mum ba Zulu, and Anna-Karin Hurtig. "Factors Influencing the Integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education into Educational Systems in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review." *Reproductive Health* 19, no. 1 (September 29, 2022): 196. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-022-01504-9.

74 Shibuya, Fumiko, Crystal Amiel Estrada, Dian Puspita Sari, Rie Takeuchi, Hirono Sasaki, Cut Warnaini, Saki Kawamitsu, Hamsu Kadriyan, and Jun Kobayashi. "Teachers' Conflicts in Implementing Comprehensive Sexuality Education: A Qualitative Systematic Review and Meta-Synthesis." *Tropical Medicine and Health* 51, no. 1 (March 28, 2023): 18. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41182-023-00508-w.

75 UNFPA. "The Evaluation of Comprehensive Sexuality Education Programmes." 2015. https://www.unfpa.org/publications/evaluation-comprehensive-sexuality-education-programmes.

76 Kemigisha, Elizabeth, Katharine Bruce, Olena Ivanova, Els Leye, Gily Coene, Gad N. Ruzaaza, Anna B. Ninsiima, Wendo Mlahagwa, Viola N. Nyakato, and Kristien Michielsen. "Evaluation of a School Based Comprehensive Sexuality Education Program among Very Young Adolescents in Rural Uganda". *BMC Public Health* 19, no. 1 (28 October 2019): 1393. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-7805-y.

77 Fonner, Virginia A., Kevin S. Armstrong, Caitlin E. Kennedy, Kevin R. O'Reilly, and Michael D. Sweat. "School Based Sex Education and HIV Prevention in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *PLoS ONE* 9 no. 3 (4 March 2014): e89692. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0089692.

78 Amin, Sajeda, J. S. Saha, and J. A. Ahmed. "Skills-Building Programs to Reduce Child Marriage in Bangladesh: A Randomized Controlled Trial". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 63, no. 3 (1 September 2018): 293–300. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2018.05.013.

79 Mathews, Catherine, Sander M. Eggers, Loraine Townsend, Leif E. Aarø, Petrus J. de Vries, Amanda J. Mason-Jones, Petra De Koker, et al. "Effects of PREPARE, a Multi-Component, School-Based HIV and Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Prevention Programme on Adolescent Sexual Risk Behaviour and IPV: Cluster Randomised Controlled Trial". *AIDS and Behavior* 20, no. 9 (1 September 2016): 1821–40. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10461-016-1410-1.

80 Dinarte-Diaz, Lelys, and Pablo Egana-delSol. "Preventing Violence in the Most Violent Contexts: Behavioral and Neurophysiological Evidence from El Salvador". *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 14 November 2023, jvad068. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeea/jvad068.

81 Naker, Dipak. "Preventing Violence against Children at Schools in Resource-Poor Environments: Operational Culture as an Overarching Entry Point". *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 47 (1 July 2019): 268–73. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.04.004.

82 Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children "The Positive Impact of Prohibition of Corporal Punishment on Children's Lives: Messages from Research". 2023. https://endcorporalpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/The-positive-impact-of-prohibition-of-corporal-punishment-on-children.pdf

83 Rees, Daniel I., Joseph J. Sabia, and Gokhan Kumpas. "Anti-Bullying Laws and Suicidal Behaviors among Teenagers". Working Paper. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research, February 2020. https://doi.org/10.3386/w26777.

84 "Sistema de Información Unificado de Convivencia Escolar—SIUCE- | Ministerio de Educación Nacional". Accessed 9 January 2024. https://www.mineducacion.gov.co/portal/salaprensa/Noticias/404764:Sistema-de-Informacion-Unificado-de-Convivencia-Escolar-SIUCE.

85 "SíseVe". Accessed 9 January 2024. http://www.siseve.pe/web/.

**Stay up to date with CGD's work on education
by signing up to receive our newsletter:**

GABRIELA SMARRELLI is a senior research associate at the Center for Global Development.

DONGYI WU is a research assistant at the Center for Global Development.

LINE BAAGO-RASMUSSEN is Global Coordinator for Safe to Learn and Social and Behaviour Change Specialist in Education, UNICEF Education.

SUSANNAH HARES is a senior policy fellow and the director of the global education program at the Center for Global Development.

DIPAK NAKER is co-founder and the current Executive Director of Coalition for Good Schools.

CGD CENTER FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

www.cgdev.org